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OLD SLAVE REVOLTS.

Those who have read of Spartacus and Eunus will have noted two outstanding facts. The one that there are great events in history of which the conventional histories tell us nothing, and the other that there have been in the past struggles between slaves and their masters on a truly stupendous scale. The historian indeed loves to dwell upon "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome," but the lot and the deeds of the toilers upon whose bent shoulders the glory and grandeur were upraised are too lowly for his mention. The reason is in the mere fact that they were workers and the stigma of slavery is upon them and all that concerns them. In fact, the word "stigma" itself but signifies, in the first place, the brand that was burnt actually into the skin of the slave of old. Metaphorically it is still upon the brow of Labor. Hypocritical moralists and publicists of today may read us homilies on the worth of Labor; in actuality we are despised as of old. It is only the circumstance that our masters are perforce compelled to resort to guile to perpetuate their rule that precludes today the public contempt, social ignominy and unbridled oppression which were accorded the workers of other days. But, that oppression and degradation, though veiled, is still the lot of the workers, is shown in their growing revolt against the conditions of their existence, growing, as these conditions become less and less bearable.

Yet the workers' history, where it has by painful research been exhumed from oblivion, teems with episodes as heroic and with struggles as homeric as any to be found in epic or

romance. The two essential conditions for the existence of slavery have always been, as they are now, that those who toil should be able to produce a surplus over and above their own keep, and that their masters should be in a position to compel them to surrender this surplus into their hands. The results of these conditions could not be other than oppression on the one hand and revolt on the other. Broadly, the greater the exertions of the slaves and the less their portion the greater the masters' surplus. The greater the numbers of the slaves the greater the wealth of the masters.

Upon this basis the great empires, kingdoms and republics of the earth have been built, from forgotten Yucatan and Chaldaea to those of the present day, and only upon this basis were they possible. Consequently even the most ancient of them must have had their slave revolts, though records of even the comparatively more recent of these are most meagre. In ancient Greece slave revolts on a large scale are known to have occurred, while under the Roman empire their mention becomes quite frequent.

Drimakos.

One of the earliest recorded of these is that of Drimakos, a young slave on the island of Chios, who, with a number of companions, escaped to the mountains. Establishing themselves there in the fastnesses with Drimakos as their chief, they maintained themselves by forays upon the farms and granaries of the Chian slaveholders. Gaining accessions of strength from other escaped slaves, and maintaining a close discipline, they defeated and crushed, time and again, the troops sent out to suppress them. Until the masters were at length compelled to recognize their independence and to enter into a treaty with Drimakos, as their chief, by the terms of which he was permitted to levy toll upon their granaries and storehouses for what his adherents required. An arrangement which had at least the advantage for their masters that their granaries with their remaining contents were no longer given to the flames. This arrangement continued for many years, until the Chian lords,

begrudging the forced tribute, offered a large reward, freedom and amnesty to whosoever should bring them the head of Drimakos. The latter, now an old man, hearing of this, and feeling the near approach of death anyway, called to him a youth whom he favored and commanded him, and finally persuaded him, to cut off his head and take it to the Chians. To the credit of the Chians be it said that the youth is reported to have received his reward. But no doubt they repented later, for, released from the iron discipline of Drimakos, the escaped slaves broke up into marauding bands which laid the country waste whenever opportunity offered. At any rate the masters later erected a tomb over his grave, which subsequently became the temple of his deification as the guardian spirit of their granaries.

This may be said to have been the most successful of the ancient slave revolts in that it did not culminate, as did the others, in the final overthrow and resubjugation of the slaves. It is therefore significant that it nevertheless did not overthrow, or even materially ameliorate the institution of slavery. The best the escaped slaves could do was to maintain their own freedom, and that merely as a tribe of bandits themselves preying upon the products of slave-labor.

Viriathus.

Spain appears to have been a fairly prosperous country at the time that the wave of Roman expansion struck it. Under the pretext, not unknown in our day, that the country needed protecting, the Romans "occupied" province after province, enslaving the inhabitants and seizing the natural resources that they might be "developed" by slave-labor. Revolts were of course the natural consequence. These gathered head under Viriathus, a hunter and shepherd. After a number of skirmishes, Viriathus succeeded in luring the Roman governor into an ambush and defeated his army with great slaughter, the governor himself being killed. The revolt immediately spread and Viriathus was soon master of an entire province. He was made a king but preserved his primitive simplicity and set to

organizing resistance against the Romans. Army after army sent against him was defeated and destroyed until the Romans were glad to recognize him as king of Lusitania and to conclude a treaty of peace. This treaty, however, merely afforded the Romans time for compassing their ends and presently the new Roman governor succeeded in corrupting the officers of Viriathus and thus procuring his assassination. Hypocritically, the Romans gave him a great wake with vast gladiatorial "games" in his honor, and then proceeded with the subjugation of the country, with the usual massacres and crucifixions.

Triphon and Athenion.

This Spanish revolt, however, was more in the nature of an attempt to resist the spread of the Roman slave system. A most notable uprising of the actual slaves of Rome occurred in Sicily about twenty-nine years after the suppression of the revolt under Eunus. At this time such was the state of affairs in Sicily that, when an edict was issued from Rome calling upon the governors to furnish their quota of conscripts for the army, it was found that in Sicily a sufficient number of freemen were not available as the tax gatherers had sold almost the entire "free" plebian populace into chattel slavery, and slaves were not usually enrolled. True, a proclamation had been issued calling on all who considered themselves unlawfully enslaved to appear before a governor and claim their freedom, but the slave-owners of Sicily had bribed the governor to evade the law. Numbers of slaves, hearing of this proclamation, escaped from their masters and appeared before the governor, claiming their freedom. They were advised by him to go back to their masters, he promising to stand between them and all harm. The slaves, knowing the fate that awaited them if they took this advice, fled to the hills, where they formed the nucleus of the new revolt. The first outbreak was suppressed through the treachery of a Roman bandit who betrayed the slaves into an ambush. But a second attempt was more successful and eventuated in the defeat of a Roman detachment sent against them. Immediately the whole country was aflame.

Slaves everywhere massacred their masters and joined the revolt. They chose for their leader Salvius, whom they proclaimed king under the name of Triphon. Salvius, like Eunus, pretended to supernatural powers, but seems, nevertheless, to have understood that the hope of the slaves lay in organization. He raised and disciplined an army of over twenty thousand men with which he met the Roman governor in battle and completely routed his forces. Thereafter he soon made himself master of the entire southeast of the island.

The news of these successes, reaching the other extremity of the island, inspired to action Athenion, a slave who was overseer over two hundred other slaves. Gathering these about him he killed their masters, two wealthy brothers, and proceeded to recruit an army. So many slaves joined him that presently he had a well-equipped army of ten thousand with which he defeated two Roman forces successively.

Triphon had meanwhile established himself at a place called Triocala, where a palace was erected for him. Here he summoned Athenion to join him, but, when he came, with a small part of his force, Triphon treacherously threw him into prison. He was, however, glad to set him at liberty and seek his co-operation upon the approach of a large Roman army. Under this joint leadership the slaves met their foes at Scirthea. Here Athenion was wounded and the Romans were victorious, but were so severely punished that they were unable to follow up their advantage for nine days. By that time Athenion had recovered from his wounds and the slaves had regained courage. They again met the Romans in the open field and were this time victorious.

Athenion now became king of the slaves, Triphon having died in the meantime in some manner not stated. He made himself complete master of Sicily and beat off the Romans for several years. Finally, in a battle with a huge consular army, he was killed in a hand-to-hand encounter with the Roman consul. His army was defeated and the rebellion drowned out in blood.

The secret of the ultimate failure of these revolts lay in the fact that, while the slaves could maintain themselves in re-

Rebellion against the master class upon occasion for considerable periods, they could not overcome the system of slavery itself. Even had they at any time been able to completely destroy the state under which they were held in bondage to their masters, they could have established nothing in its place but another such state or else have relapsed into barbarism, out of which, in course of time, chattel slavery would again have evolved. The system and means of production were yet centuries from having evolved to a degree of efficiency sufficient to make any progress and civilization possible except upon a basis of slave labor. To such a degree they have today, however, evolved and the slave revolts of the future, which are already looming up, can and will eventuate in a step forward into a system of production which will afford to all freedom from exploitation, the only sense in which freedom can have any reality.

S. P. of C Candidates



- Victoria—GORDON BROWN
 Vancouver—E. T. KINGSLEY
 Yale-Cariboo—J. F. JOHNSON
 MacLeod, Alta.—ED. FULCHER
 Calgary, Alta.—A. MASTERS
 Red Deer, Alta.—S. W. WELCH
 Edmonton, Alta.—A. FARMILO
 Ottawa, Ont.—A. G. McCALLUM
 Cape Breton, N.S.—ALEX. McKINNON

THE WORKERS' SHARE.

BY T. EDWIN SMITH.

(Continued from last month.)

Thus far I have tried to show you how you are exploited to make profits for your employers (that is, your masters) by giving you exact figures in the case of the industries in which I thought you might be engaged. I think you will see that you are treated exactly like machines. In his eyes you are no better than machines and his actions belie his words if he tries to tell you anything different.

A man buys a machine in order to make a profit off its operation. I will show you. Let us go back to the case of the woodworker that I told you about at first. Working by hand we saw that if he made 144 balusters in half a day he was doing well. In that case he would create value to the extent of \$6.80 in a day. Suppose that worker puts in a gasoline engine and a set of woodworking machinery at a cost of \$300. Then he can do twice as much work in the same time with an additional expenditure of 35 cents for gasoline. With the machinery he can make \$6.45 more than before.

He gets this profit himself. He puts the extra money made off the machinery into his pocket and only turns back to the equipment enough to keep his engine running and to replace it when it is worn out.

Let us take another example. A blacksmith will do much the same. By working hard all day he can pound out twenty plow shares and clear perhaps 25 cents on each one above his

outlay for coal and the depreciation of his equipment. We will suppose he has more work than he can do alone, and he cannot get a man to help him, so he installs a trip hammer and an engine to run it at a cost of \$300. The machine is worth 20 cents a day to the work it does, figuring the life of it at five years and assuming there are 300 working days in a year. The gasoline he uses will cost him 20 cents a day more. Thus you see the machinery and the fuel are worth 40 cents for every day it works.

By using this equipment he can pound out fifty shares in a day, and, as before, clear 25 cents on each above the coal he burns in the forge and the hand tools he uses. You see, then, he takes in \$7.50 per day more than he did when working by hand at an additional outlay of only 40 cents. The machine, therefore, is making him \$7.10 a day. He gives back to the machine 20 cents a day in order to reproduce it when worn out and 20 cents a day to feed it to enable it to keep on working.

The capitalist treats his man in exactly the same way. He hires a man when he sees a chance to make a profit off his work and turns back to the man enough of his product in the form of wages to enable him to come back the next day and produce some more. He also pays him enough to enable the man to reproduce himself when he is worn out. The workers' food in his eyes is exactly the same as the gasoline or the coal that he gives his engine. The workers' children are the same as the sinking fund that he provides to buy new machinery when the old is worn out.

In another respect the worker is like a machine. As soon as a piece of machinery wears out or gets smashed in an accident, the capitalist throws it aside and buys new. As soon as the worker gets too old to do the fast work required by the employer or is injured in an accident so that he will be no good he is discharged and left to look after himself.

I have no objection to that capitalist's making a profit off that machine, but I do object to his making a profit off me. You do not object to it either, but are you a machine? Do you want to be treated like one?

You are a living, breathing human being with hopes, desires and aspirations. Yet you are treated like a mass of iron and brass. You have higher feelings that you must satisfy. You can love and hate. You can feel pleasure and suffer pain. Yet the present capitalistic system condemns you to the scrap-heap with a thing of insensate stone or wood.

A man is greater than anything his hands have made, therefore we say he is greater than any block of granite or piece of steel.

A wage slave in his economic relations is very much in the same boat with a horse. You know that if one of you owns a horse or hires one, that the horse must make enough from his work to pay for the hire of him or the cost of reproduction, his feed and care, as well as leave a profit for yourself, or you will not keep it. It is exactly the same with yourself.

We will suppose that you are a farmer and you want to do some breaking on your land or possibly on someone else's land. You have no horses of your own, so you hire four from a neighbor who has some that he is not using. You pay 50 cents a day apiece for them, or \$2 for the four; the feed will cost a dollar a day. Now you must make those horses earn \$3 for themselves, enough to pay your own expenses and leave some for profit.

We will assume that breaking is worth \$3.50 per acre where you are. Then you must get at least an acre and a half done in a day or you will lose money. If the horses are small or are in such poor condition that they cannot do this much, you will take them back to the owner and hire the work done. However, if the horses are in good condition you should be able to turn over two and a half acres in a day. In that event you are taking in \$8.75 per day. You are paying out \$2 a day for the hire of the horses, \$1 a day for feed, \$2 a day for yourself and have \$3.75 a day left over. This \$3.75 is the surplus value from the horses' work. You get this surplus.

Your boss treats you just like you treat your horses. You must pay back from the work you do your wages, your share of running the plant and earn a profit over and above all this for him. All that you earn over and above your wages and a

proportionate share of the running expenses is called surplus value, and this surplus value goes to make your master rich, instead of keeping you when you are not working as it should do.

Sometimes a horse will produce surplus values for you even when you do not hire him. Suppose you are digging a ditch by contract and get twenty cents per yard for doing it. When using a shovel and wheelbarrow you can move ten yards a day. Then you get \$2 for a hard day's work.

You think up a scheme to beat this, so you buy a team of horses, harness and a scraper at a cost of, say, \$400. The team, harness and scraper, you see, is worth about 13 cents a day. That is, there will be about ten years' work in the horses or 3,000 days. This 3,000 days is worth \$400 or 13 cents a day. When the horses are worn out they have added that much to the value of the work they have done. It will cost you about 60 cents a day to feed them, so the total expenses are 73 cents a day.

With the aid of the team the man can move eighty yards of earth in a day and earn \$16, or \$13.27 per day more than he did before. The horses enable him to earn this extra money, but they do not get it. All the horses earn above their feed and cost is surplus value and goes to the master.

It is the same with yourself. You must earn your own wages, your cost and all other expenses connected with your job and a whole lot more. All this that is above your wages and your share of the running expenses is the surplus value of your labor and it goes to your master.

Your wage may be \$2 a day, your share of the necessary expenses 50 cents, then all you make that is over \$2.50 a day is surplus and goes to the owner of the factory to enable him to live in a fine house while you live in a hovel. If the product of your labor is \$10 a day, the surplus value your labor creates is equal to \$7.50.

In this respect you are treated like a horse, but in every other way the horse has the better of you. If your horse gets sick you put him in a stall, feed him, doctor him and let him rest until he is able to go to work again. If you get sick your

employer turns you out to feed yourself, doctor yourself, and then take chances of getting your old job back again when you are able to work.

When a horse gets too old to do anything the master turns him out to graze in a pasture for the rest of his life or else mercifully puts him to death in the easiest and quickest way. When you get too old to work your master turns you out to die of starvation. If you try to kill yourself in some easier way he calls it a crime and will put you in jail for it. I would rather be a horse myself.

I do not care how much any one makes of a horse, but I do care how much the capitalists make off of men. I am not here to plead for the horse like some of our female Capitalists, but I am here to fight for men. When the Welsh coal strike was on, the mines were flooded and some of the horses were in danger of drowning. King George sent a message to the authorities asking them to look after the horses. At that same time there were hundreds of children on the verge of starvation. He did not ask the authorities to look after them.

We are not horses and we will not be used like horses. I know well that I am not one and I know that under the present system I am bound to be treated like one if you do not help me put an end to the system that degrades us all.

There is one other respect in which a horse has the better of a man. When a horse is badly treated he will kick. When a man is badly treated he endures it in silence. If you try to steal a horse's oats he will soon show you that he objects and will put his objections into actions. When your employer steals your food you simply stand aside and let him take it. Yes, some of you are thankful that he lets you have any at all.

I was talking once to a Calgary employer, some of you are working for him, and he said:

"Mr. Smith, the ordinary working man is the biggest fool on earth."

"Indeed, he is, Mr. K—," I answered, "or he would not work for you and let you keep three-fifths of all that he earns."

You think you all deserve something better than t

treated like a machine or a horse. You do if you try to get something better. If you wish to merely drift with the current and let matters take their course, if you are willing to be the supine slave of your capitalistic master, if you are content to be the equal of a stone, you deserve what you get. If you are struggling to make your conditions better you deserve to have them better. If you have the courage to stand out against the robbery you will find thousands to stand out with you. If you dare to strike even a single blow for freedom you will win.

You do not have to endure. There is a hope for every man who wants the full product of his labor. The Socialist Party of Canada is established and maintained for the sole purpose of freeing you from the curse of wage slavery and giving you the full product of your labor. Socialism is that branch of science that treats of the relations between man and the collective body of men called Society. It shows us that the rights and the interests of the many are greater than the rights and interests of any individual or any small body of men, however select they may think themselves.

Coming down to concrete things, Socialism teaches us that all the changes in society are caused by the changes in the way the people get their living. It shows us how the tool of production has developed and increased and how society has changed with it. The Socialists can see that the present state of society is but a natural outcome of the development of the machine and the stock company. We can see that the tool or rather the process of production is being evolved daily to suit changing conditions, and we know that society must change with it.

Today we have social production. That is, in the making of any article, no matter how small, there is employed some part of the productive power of every worker in the world. Along with social production we have class ownership. That is, the men who own the factories, as a rule, do not have anything to do with running them or even managing them, while the men who do the work, as a rule, do not have even a small share in the factories in which they work. It is the mission of the Socialist party to remove this condition and make the men

who do the work the owners of the factories, mines and mills, and railroads.

The capitalists have carried human development to a higher plane than it was when they found it, but they have gone now as far as they can. The capitalistic system has done its share. Now the workers must carry it one step further until the men who work will collectively own what they collectively use, and they will then enjoy the good things that their labor creates.

This seems like a dreamy, fantastic idea, but it is not. It is the most practical thing that has been evolved in the last hundred years. All that is necessary is to obviate the shareholders in the existing companies, and then direct the policy of the factories so that the workers in them will get all the wealth produced instead of turning over two-thirds of it to the shareholders in some foreign countries to maintain a bunch of blue-blooded parasites in idleness.

Just to show how it may be done, let us examine a particular case. The C. P. R. employs about 75,000 men. These men get on an average \$505 a year apiece. The company pays dividends on \$250,000,000 worth of stock and interest on about \$200,000,000 worth of bonds. Both the interest and the dividends is profit, or in other words, unpaid labor. The amount of unpaid labor in the operation of the C. P. R. in one year amounts to nearly \$34,000,000, or \$453 per man. You see the wealth a man produces and does not get is nearly as great as the part that he does get.

The C. P. R. as a railroad is managed by a set of salaried men who have no interest in it other than their salaries. These men make reports to the Board of Directors who are nothing more than a committee of the shareholders, and their business is nothing in the world but to approve of what the salaried men have done and to give the consent of the shareholders to the plans that the salaried men have prepared. Take notice that the shareholders have nothing to do with the running of the road. They cannot do a thing with it one way or the other. If one of the big shareholders who live in England came over here and wanted to change a switch or move a car or even to

take a pick he would have to go to the section boss. The section boss would refer him to the roadmaster. The roadmaster would send him to the division superintendent. The division superintendent would send him to the general superintendent, and so on, clear back to the Board of Directors. I think you will all see that the shareholders are useless. It is the men who actually work that count, so why not simply cut out the shareholders and let the salaried men make their report to some central authority?

Some will want to know what we mean to do in order to get possession of these public utilities, and one of the greatest obstacles to successful propaganda is the lack of a definite scheme to this end. The precise way of getting possession is a minor matter. As soon as there are enough people in a mind to take them it will be done, and no doubt the exact method will be determined by the circumstances at the time.

However, the precise manner of acquisition does not matter. Whenever there are enough of the people ready for the change they will find a way to bring it about. Our part in the movement is to help get the people thinking our way. You want to notice one thing, however. There is no use thinking we will buy the factories from the present owners. It could never be done. There is not enough wealth in the hands of the working class to buy even a tenth of the railroads, factories, mines and other productive agencies. If all the employees of the Canadian railroads saved every dollar of their wages for this purpose it would take them twenty-one years to buy out the present share and bond holders at the par values of the stocks and bonds. In actual practice it would take even longer for many of the stocks sell way above par. For instance, a share of C. P. R. stock that is worth \$100 on its face sells for nearly \$300. Not long ago a few shares in the Davies Packing Co. that were worth \$100 on their face sold for \$400. The shares of the Winnipeg Street Railway, really worth only \$100, are selling on the market for \$300. That is the price we should have to pay if we try to butt out the present owners. You see it is impossible.

THE WAY TO RECIPROCATE.

We have been kindly informed by both the Liberal and Conservative candidates that the political campaign now in progress is being fought out on the question of the reciprocity agreement with the United States and that on election day the compact will be either ratified or rejected. It has become quite common for these politicians to give their orders as to what the issue must be when appealing for votes, and no matter what they invent as an effective campaign slogan, it is supposed to hold vital interest for and have important bearing on the welfare of labor.

Workingmen as a class have notoriously short memories when dealing with political affairs; busy, no doubt, looking after other people's interests for a livelihood, they quickly forget what vital principle they voted to maintain at the previous election. So although we do not note any undue excitement over this matter of supposed economic importance to them, we are not deceived thereby into thinking that they are about to throw overboard these policies of plain capitalist origin. We distinctly remember how they rose to the occasion at the last election to the cries of "A White Canada" and "More Railways," since when nothing has been heard of them. Intelligent discussion even of their own pet issues, much less of the real working class proposition, is just what these politicians are most anxious to avoid. That would involve a slight element of decency and the boosting of wage slavery is a dirty business, its chief requirement being low cunning and its working meth-

ods a judicious mixture of bribery, reviving dying prejudices and a general circumvention of the election acts. However, we believe the average worker's criticism is getting beyond a petty discussion of the candidate's personalities and turning more and more towards a study of the principles they stand for. This is because it is slowly being realized that though these capitalist representatives be often proved grafters and thieves they exercise a power apart from and above their own personal aggrandizement.

The Socialist reason for entering this or any other political campaign is purely to uncover what this power really is that these men wield and why it should be opposed and if possible defeated. Nobody but accepts the fact that the ruling form of property today is known as capital, and the masters of capital constitute the ruling class. It is the ruling class of any age that controls all government and dominates all educational facilities. From among the subject class they appoint those who, obeying the impulse of self-preservation, hear their master's voice and bend all their energies to heed and teach the ideas and principles that uphold the power of the capitalist class. The prevailing ideas today are those that support the capitalist form of property rights even in the minds of those who bear all the burdens and derive no benefits therefrom. This can only be so because there is no form of industry over which the workers have any control; they are forced to apply to the capitalist owners in order to live.

On every hand those who do the world's work are chafing under the conditions imposed on them, but hitherto the majority have accepted the promise laid down by the present beneficiaries and can therefore come to no other conclusion than that work and wages for them and profits for capitalists is right and proper. The presence on the political field of two contending parties, Liberal and Conservative, that in essentials stand alike for the perpetuation of the present order only shows that within the capitalist class there are struggling factions and victory will remain with the most economically powerful which means that the political party representing the owners of the chief organized industries will win. Holding the conceptions outlined

above, the workers choose between these two sections and vote according as they imagine their work and wages will be affected there. But the trend is towards labor's awakening. As the chattel slave system finally succumbed to the rights of feudal property so "capitalist carrying within itself the seeds of its own destruction" gives way before the rising working class collective form of ownership and by the same general agencies that swept away the old systems. New discoveries, new inventions, new methods of production create new ideas and prepare the way for a new order to arise out of the ashes of the old. The industrial conditions of today form the basis of Socialist teaching an understanding of which is the education Socialism seeks to impart to that class that stands to benefit most by such knowledge. It points out to the workers their slavish condition and the action necessary to overcome it.

This reciprocity agreement; what is it to do with the working class? It is a business compact between buyers and sellers of commodities, a trading scheme between capitalist interests on both sides of the boundary line. What has labor to sell either in Canada or in the United States that they need reciprocate about? So far as we can remember, the worker's commodity, his "labor power," his ability to do work for others—his one possession, was always on the "free list" despite all alien labor laws, head taxes or various money requirements imposed by any government. The rulers of all countries see to it that a sufficiency of labor is always on hand. It is as fluid as water and as cheap. We heard there was a place once where the demand for labor was greater than the supply, but it seemed it could scarcely apply to this world, but that like the "better land" the song tells of, was "far, far away," but it proved to be only a dream and not a very pleasant one at that.

It should never be forgotten by any who talk of personal character as a guide to political affiliation that between the worst gang of thieves ever elected in Canada or elsewhere and the purest and best intentioned of representatives, it is possible to elect, either Liberal or Conservative, there cannot be the slightest difference when it comes to upholding capitalist prop-

erty rights. If in protection of these rights against the attack of rebellious workers, it becomes necessary to order the massacre of thousands of them, it will be done. Annually in every house of legislation no ethical consideration is ever allowed to stand in the way of any capitalist politician voting supplies for the upkeep and extension of all the police powers—army, navy, etc., that physical force upon which rests the power of the capitalist class.

Every recurring election campaign sees an increasing number of the working class becoming conscious of the robbery hid under payment by wages which keeps them poor and adds untold millions to the coffers of those who live by profits. The growing social character of modern production forces upon their attention the aims and objects of their long struggle and the winning of political power the means of attaining them.

RAYNER.

REASON AND THE SLAVE.

“What has the Socialist Party of Canada got to do with me?”

“More than you think, perhaps. You are ignorant or you would not ask that question. It's got a lot to do with you, no matter who you are; and the reason is that it's part of a world-wide movement that is making workingmen wake up and others sit up and take notice. Whether you are of the working class or of the master class it has a lot to do with you. For your interests are at stake—the Socialist Party is getting in on them.”

“What do you say Working Class and Master Class for? I do not believe in classes. Society is all one aggregation of individuals, free and equal, with castes and classes long since abolished.”

“Do you work for your living?”

“Most certainly I do, and I am proud of it.”

“Why do you work for your living?”

“Because everybody has to work for a living.”

“We'll see about that; but do you yourself like working for a living?”

“Yes, certainly. Every man should love his work.”

“Yes, it is not unreasonable for men to love their own work, especially if they are going to get all the good out of it, but you are not doing your work, you are doing the boss's work. I mean by “boss” the head-push, the man who owns the place you are working in and the things you use to work with. He is the one who gets the benefit of the work you are

doing. You are doing his work, and he pays you a small salary—just enough to live on—for doing it. But hold on. Do you get off Sundays?”

“Sure.”

“Why don’t you keep on working Sundays, when, as you say, you love working for a living?”

“Because a man has to have a rest.”

“Then I would assume that work wears you out, that is to say, if you had less work to do you would not wear out so quickly.”

“Well, what about it?”

“When a man is worn out he dies.”

“Yes.”

“The more quickly he is worn out, the sooner he dies.”

“Yes.”

“You love the boss’s work—you love your own subversion—you love your own death. Does the boss love things like that?”

“I don’t know. I suppose not.”

“Then the boss is in a different class from you. Look at him. Does he work for a living?”

“Of course, every man does his share.”

“What, then, has he been doing in Europe the last five months? Working?”

“No, he is on a vacation.”

“That is his share, is it? Surely he is in a different class from you. Why don’t you go on a vacation, too?”

“I don’t get the time off.”

“Then you are different from the boss, aren’t you? Supposing the boss let you off for six months, would you tour Europe?”

“No.”

“Why not?”

“I haven’t got the money.”

“Oh, I see. Another difference between you and the boss. Then you need two things—time and money. The boss has those two things; you haven’t. Is that so?”

“Yes.”

"You work all your life?"

"Yes."

"The boss takes holidays?"

"Yes."

"Seeing that the boss takes holidays instead of working, it is apparent that the boss prefers holidays to work. And seeing that he gets lots of money without work and gives you only enough to live on and lots of work to do, it is apparent that he prefers it that way. But you don't prefer holidays; you love work degeneration—death. Are you not in a separate class from the boss, seeing you are so different?"

"Maybe."

"Of course you are, judging from outside appearances alone. But that is not where the main distinction between his class and your class comes in. We see the main distinction when we see that you cannot help yourself and that you have to do as he prefers, whether you like it or not.

"Supposing you were to take enough of the boss's money to tour Europe for six months, what would the boss do?"

"I guess he would get the police onto me."

"Is he not your master then? Has he not got you in his power? But supposing you leave his money alone and resolve to be free and not work for him. Suppose you throw up your job. How many weeks could you hang out on that kind of freedom?"

"I don't know."

"You would have to work for some boss, any boss, to be able to live, wouldn't you?"

"Then haven't the bosses got the workingmen in their power? Of course they have. The aggregation of bosses constitute the Master Class and the aggregation of workingmen constitute the Working Class. That is what I mean when I say Master Class or Working Class.

"Now, look here, aren't you entitled to at least as much money as the boss is, without having the police onto you, seeing that you do more wealth producing work than he does. Aren't you entitled to even more than he is?"

"I don't know."

"Is he, then, more essential to the business than you are?"

"I would think so."

"Why?"

"Well, if it wasn't for his money, there wouldn't be any business for us to work in."

"But where did he get his money from?"

"I don't know. That isn't my business."

"Well, put it in another way. If you men who are doing the work were to walk out, and nobody else stepped into your places, and the boss kept on as he is doing—touring Europe—would his business still make money? That is to say, would the money he has put into the business make more money for him?"

"I don't know."

"There wouldn't be any work done, would there?"

"No."

"No money being made—no wealth being produced."

"No, I see."

"Now turn it around. Suppose the boss disseminated his assets. Suppose he sold it all at auction, sold his machinery and his office desks and his factory building to this and that Tom, Dick and Harry, sold everything and put the money into his pocket. There would be no work done, would there?"

"No."

"No money being made, no wealth being produced. The same result as before?"

"The same result exactly. That is what I say. Both the Workingmen and the Boss are essential."

"Now, hold on, this is where it comes in. When you withdrew you left the factory standing, and the office desks in place, didn't you?"

"Yes."

"When the boss withdrew he had to debar you from access to them before the wealth production came to an end, didn't he?"

"Yes."

"So long, then, as you continued at your employment in

the factory, it didn't matter about how wealthy the boss was, did it?"

"No."

"It did not matter about his money. Of course it didn't. The thing that made money for him was your contact with his machinery, your guidance of it, and the incidental accounting in the office. Isn't that so?"

"Seems like it."

"Your contact with or guidance of the machinery or your accounting in the office is called labor. That's English, isn't it?"

"Yes."

"Labor is the thing that produces the wealth."

"Yes, but I can't see why when the boss owns the machinery, the factory, the office, he is not essential to the production of the wealth."

"We are just coming to that. The boss can sell his factory, can't he?"

"Yes."

"He gets money for it?"

"Yes."

"That is to say, then, that the ownership of the factory is just the same as his ownership of so much wealth?"

"Yes."

"What produces wealth?"

"Labor, I guess."

"What produced the boss's wealth?"

"Labor."

"Did the boss perform that labor?"

"Some of it. He had to make a little money before he himself got a start."

"Since he made the start who has been producing his wealth?"

"I guess I have, a little."

"Yes, you have, and every man that he has hired since he started has produced some of it, too. And since he started with so little and now has such a prodigious fortune it looks as if the little he did would not inspire much admiration. It

"Looks as if there's some of his fortune coming to you, doesn't it?"

"Maybe."

"Under the present arrangement, that wealth—fleece out of working men—is being turned over at the death of the owners, to their sons, so that they in their turn may fleece working men. By what law in this wide world does that wealth and advantage belong to those useless young smarties who have never done a hand's turn in their lives? By the law of the masters. That is the law. Can workingmen change that law? Of course they can. They are greater in numbers than the masters and when they have the intelligence to act together in asserting their power they can dictate the laws to suit themselves.

"We have seen that the boss had to get some money to make a start—to get the advantage over other men—to enable him to buy up their persons to operate his machines. That advantage is the thing that the Socialist Party has got its eyes onto. It is the aim of the Socialist Party to place the wealth-producing machinery within the reach of any man or body of men so that they may produce what they desire, appropriating the full reward of their efforts. No man will then have the advantage of excluding others from access to wealth except on terms which he might like to stipulate."

"But that will never come."

"It has got to come. I haven't time now to go fully into the reasons why it has got to come. Some other day I'll have another talk. But in the meantime I would strongly recommend that you read up a few things that will show you why it has got to come. One of them is the "Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Canada," which you can buy for ten cents. In it you can read about the development of the machine. This development is the main factor leading to the inevitable change in the system of production. Man is distinguished from the other animals by the fact that he uses tools to assist him in acquiring those things upon which he lives. Early man used a very primitive tool. This tool was improved year by year, century by century, through various modes of production so

that now we have in its place the great factory machine. With each improvement in the machine less labor is required to operate it. This has brought about and will continue to bring about the expropriation of the worker from the machine. It sets him wandering, helpless and starving, for other employment while at the same time workers from other employments are joining him in destitution. If the working class continued to be totally ignorant as regards their own interests it is clear that as the number of starving unemployed became increased they would raid the owners of the wealth when their numbers were great enough to give them any promise of success. But the education of the working class is progressing, too, and although education will not make the final result any more certain it will give the first steps greater certainty of success. For education teaches us to strike at the source of any trouble, and it shows us the source. The source is in the present system. Change the system by changing the laws that constitute it. Make the wealth-producing machinery the collective property of those that operate it. The method of bringing about the change depends on the outcome of a race. That race is between the spread of education and the development of the machine—with the same inevitable culmination.

“The vision of the misery and wretchedness of the mighty unemployed would seem to show us that the time of revolution had even now gone past. To hear the tales told of the poor, of their want, of their terror, of their grief, to witness their degradation, to see the reality of their blind and awful despair; these things might tell us that their hope for victory was small, were it not that we know of a force ever impelling it on, the relentless force of economic necessity, a glorious force, the force that leads to salvation.”

BUCEPHALUS.

OUR DUTY.

Mrs. Annie Besant, the clever and popular lecturer on Theosophy, has recently, to use her own words, been taking a "plunge into social problems." "Plunge," by the way, in this connection, is a very apt and expressive term. It gives one the impression of the fair bather standing on the springboard with hands and feet in position, cold shivers, maybe, chasing each other up and down her spine as she contemplates the dive out of her natural element. Finally, urged by her conspicuous position, and the cold shivers, she says to herself, "Well, here goes for a try," and, taking a long breath, with closed eyes she springs. When she comes up (to continue the simile) she does not know whether it was a graceful header or whether she took the water "all in a heap." Those already in the water, however, within splashing distance, might better be able to say a few things about it, when they have recovered from the drenching.

To begin with—no one who fairly and fearlessly faces the social problems of to-day can very well arrive at any other conclusion than that there is a struggle taking place; a struggle, growing daily more intense, between the two great divisions of society, *i.e.*, the owners of the means of wealth production living in riotous luxury, and the wealth producers living in poverty and misery. All other struggles and divisions of society pale into insignificance before this one. This is the struggle which Mrs. Besant sees, and which she fears is heading straight for a hateful revolution. Well, maybe it is; we don't know; we don't want it to; we would rather it were

heading for a peaceful and glorious revolution, but we don't care much. The kind of revolution depends on the other party. We are the peace party and the majority; but they are behind the guns, and they may get so scared that one or two guns may go off, by accident as it were, and then Mrs. Besant's prophetic vision would be realized. For when the majority of society has become fully conscious of the desirability, possibility, and practicability of the change to Socialism, a little bit of popgunnery here and there will hardly stay their purpose.

But Mrs. Besant has hopes that a revolution may be averted, and here, in common with other plungers, she shows the shallowness of the dive. She says, "What is wanted to-day is that a new social order should be thought out, not fought out." Poor old Marx, and Engels, and Labriola, and Ferri, and Leibknecht, and others! After all these years of thought and speech! After all your proofs of the scientific basis of your new social order! After all the teaching of the thousands of your disciples and the winning of seven million converts in so short a time! After all this, Mrs. Besant is unaware that a new social order has been thought out; has been scientifically grounded, and has shown itself to be impregnable.

In another part of her lecture Mrs. Besant throws out the hint that the trouble to-day between capital and labor is owing to the fact that the people have lost their sense of duty to the State, and she would appeal to the masters to make conditions a little less irksome for the toilers; and to the toilers to remember that they also have a duty to the State. Buck up, ye wage slaves, do you not hear the call? Duty to the State! Duty to the power which perpetuates your exploitation! Do you hear it, I say? What do you owe to the mailed fist which cowers you when you murmur against your employer? What do you owe to the State which displays its batons and its popguns when you demand from your employers something better than sow-belly and buggy shacks? What do you owe to the State which protects the robbers who fleece you of three-fourths of your product? What is your duty to

the State, which, if you are out of work and starving, slaps you into the coop as a vagrant, or if you have been a soldier, lets you sit enchanted in a workhouse?

Have you no duty to the State which, if accident befall you, allows your wife and innocent babes to eat the bread of charity or starve?

Come! think! Have you no duty to the State?

Yes! Mrs. Annie Besant, we have a duty to the State. It is very clear. It is very pleasant to perform. It is this: We are arousing our fellow-workers to the fact which you also have now discovered, that there is a class struggle. We agree with you that it is a deplorable condition of society. We are showing our comrades that this struggle has existed ever since there was class rule and that it cannot be abolished until class rule is abolished. The State is merely an instrument of coercion used by the ruling class, to legislate, tax, club and shoot the working class into submission. We do not wish to substitute the rule of the ignorant workers, as you call us, for the rule of the present profoundly intelligent bourgeoisie. When all are workers there will be no bottom dog to rule and club into its kennel, and therefore as that is the function of the State, the State will fizzle out, and in its place there will be an administration of things, an organization of production and distribution instead of a government of persons. And, moreover, when we get the bread and butter question in working order, we shall all then have leisure to develop that dignity, and grace, and love of beauty which you find is so much lacking to-day.

To accomplish this end, we are organizing our forces on the political field. We are helping our comrades to understand by a study of the evolution of society, and the robbery of the results of their labor under the guise of surplus value, the game that has been played upon them these many years. We are showing them the empty rattle of such party slogans as "Free Trade, and work for all," and "Reciprocity, and work for all." We are showing them that be they Liberals or Conservatives, be they Lords or Commons, *the master class is one*, and the class which works with its hands and its head

is another, and whichever party of the master class be in power, *their duty to the State is to subdue the workers.*

When the workers have cleared the cobwebs from their brains they will march with one accord to the polls and vote for their own class and thus by the class struggle, will the class struggle be ended. That is our duty to the State. But if the State attempts any chicanery to prevent the natural flow of the current of social evolution, then we wash our hands of all responsibility for the result, and God help the State.

GEORGE F. STIRLING.

OUT AGAIN.

Having at last recovered from an overdose of the tired feeling brought about by the excessive demands of prison skilly on the stomach, I am now feeling sufficiently recovered to indite this epistle.

All the boys are feeling good, having been benefited by the rest and fast cure. To his most gracious majesty, King Georgey, they tender their heartiest thanks for the excellent arrangements made for their comfort during the short time they had the pleasure of being his guests. Still, if it would not be overstepping the bounds of prudence, they would like to respectfully submit to his serene highness the necessity of dishing out a little sugar with the skilly.

To the slaves on the outside they send this message: "Never go hungry in times of crises, but try a few weeks of rest, mulligans and skilly at His Majesty's expense."

To those slaves in the "Pen" whose delightful rendering of that pathetic ballad, "We shall know each other better when the mists have rolled away," will ever be a delightful memory, they extend an hearty invitation to come to the Socialist meetings, where they will have a chance of knowing why those mists are here.

Yours ever,

"TIRED."

THE STRUGGLE IN LITHGOW, NEW SOUTH WALES.

By Dora B. Montefiore, ex-Executive Member of British S. D. P.

Have visited and spoken in the Rhondda Valley in Wales, where—as an example of what conditions Colliery Combines can force on the workers—the death rate of infants under a year old is over 200 in the 1,000—and I can safely affirm that, given time and opportunity to the capitalist, under a kindly and fostering Labor Government, Lithgow Valley in New South Wales will, in a few years time, make not a bad second to the Rhondda Valley. What saves it at present is its better climate, and the fact that industrialism is at Lithgow in its infancy, instead of looming, as it does in the Welsh valley, as a full grown giant. But capitalists of the Hoskins type (at whose blast furnace works a strike has just been broken) are spoon-feeding the tender industrial infant, and the Labor Government is adding to its girth and stature by completing the Small Arms Factory, commenced by the Wade Government, and which will shortly give employment to several hundred workers, who will thus become State slaves, and be owned economically by a capitalist Government, instead of themselves owning (as they might, if they were all class conscious) a Co-operative Commonwealth Administration. Lithgow is indeed a delightful object lesson in the ideals and inspirations of a Labor Government. This Small Arms Factory, which is rapidly approaching completion (although

public money for other objects, such as Education, is very "tight" when it is a question of more school teachers or better apparatus for teaching), stands on the slope of a hill about half a mile from the town. It is approached by a wide new road, pretentiously named "Ordnance Avenue"; and as I walked along it up to the main entrance, I pictured to myself how, in the future, a Labor Defence Minister would come swinging up it in his motor car to inspect the output of small arms, which would be needed to place in the hands of the recruits, who might at any moment have to be called out to quell a rising of industrial slaves, organized for social and economic revolution, but who, in the interests of sacred private property, which the Labor Ministers had taken an oath to defend, had to be quelled and dominated in traditional fashion by bullet and bayonet.

One of the side streets leading out of this flamboyant military avenue was named Factory Street! What a symbol of hope and beauty and ideal for the Government workers who were to inhabit it! But what was worse to my mind was the fact that between the town, and the new Government factory on the hill, was a stretch of low lying, water-logged clay land, which some speculative builder had bought up and laid out in building blocks for "homes for the workers." Plenty of sickness and trouble will be ahead there for the workers who live on that land; and their families will suffer in health because of the economic necessity of living on an undrained flat so that the breadwinner may be near his work. There is no drainage system in Lithgow with a population over 3 000. Another interesting fact in administration is, that though there is, in connection with the public schools, a small and rather neglected looking science building and laboratory, there is no science instructor; so that practically at present the building is useless.

A worthy bishop, who left Australia lately, told the people at home that Australia was the paradise of the working man. I hardly like to call his statement a terminological inexactitude, because it's his business to know more about paradise than I do; but, as a student of political economy, a traveler, and an observer of conditions on *this* planet, if such conditions

as I am describing in this article are a sample of the worthy bishop's paradise, why, then, I'm not having any. As a matter of fact, Mr. Hoskin's iron works and blast furnace struck me as a very good imitation of the classic hell of the dark ages, as I have seen it depicted by the good Buddhist monks on the walls of their temple at Kandy, and by the good Christian monks in missals, and on the walls of Christian churches. There were the agile, hefty demons stoking glowing furnaces, and wielding long pincers with which they seized and manipulated luminous masses of iron; there was the ladling out of molten metal, and the noise of the stamping, crushing and rotating of resistless machines. There were the dirt and the heat and the sweat, and the tear on the living throbbing nerves,—all pointing to the fact that, two hours of such exhausting work would, under an organized and co-operative system of industry, be the outside share of labor allotted to those who did the most strenuous work of the community. The conditions which Mr. Hoskins is able, under a Labor Government, to impose on his white wage-slaves is an eight-hour day at less than a shilling an hour; and the tragedy of the recent strike, to me, seems to lie in the fact that his men only came out for an extra three-pence an hour, and because they refused to work iron stone got by scab labor. Think of it! The pitiful smallness and humbleness of the demand! And yet two Labor Members and a Labor Minister advised and hustled the men to go back to work, and thus broke the strike.

Mr. Hoskins is credited with getting what he demands from the Government, namely, a bonus of 12/6 on every ton of pig iron made by his men; a further bonus of 12/6 on every ton of puddled iron; and a third bonus of 12/6 on every ton of the finished manufactured article. If this be really so, and, if the men who told me of this quite charming arrangement (for Hoskins) can prove their statement, it should give them another arm in their industrial struggle at the blast furnace—for thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just. Meanwhile, what are we to think of the two Labor Members, and the Labor Minister, who, after having been on the spot and seen the conditions of work, advised the men to go back to their—

paradise? I could not help wondering if they saw the scab hotel, hastily built and opened by Mr. Hoskins in honor of the recent strike. It stands inside the enclosure of the blast furnace, close to an open tank, where the water from the turbine engines is cooled. Its walls are not of sardonyx and opal, but of unlined galvanized iron; its floor is the bare damp, sooty earth; its bunks are like those in old emigrant ships; and its dining table and benches attached suggest the strictly practical and utilitarian methods which govern the feeding of animals, rather than the catering for free human beings. "Good enough for scabs," some may say. Yes, and it makes one realize Mr. Hoskins' true and unadulterated opinion about scabs if he dares to offer them such accommodation and charge them, as I was told, 10 shillings a week for it. Poor fellows, they are out of the line of evolution. They are, by their action, committing moral and economic suicide, for they are doing their little best to hinder the greatest and the most far-reaching revolution that the world has ever known. But they can only hinder, they cannot stop the march of the organized and triumphing workers of the world, whose mission is to found on the ruins of capitalism, a fair and free Co-operative Commonwealth.

"These things shall be: A loftier race
Than e'er the world has known, shall rise
With flower of freedom in their soul,
And light of science in their eyes."



The attention of the Locals is called to the fact that sufficient funds have not yet been contributed to make possible the publication of a Party Bulletin.

IS A REVOLUTION IMMINENT IN THE UNITED STATES?

A high-up detective agency man told a friend of the writer a few weeks back that conditions all over the country are so revolutionary that it only needs a spark to set it on fire from New York to San Francisco and from the Canadian border to the Caribbean Sea. In his long experience he had never seen everything so tangled and confused or men's minds so disturbed about the near future; and the newspapers, he said, dare not print the truth.

That the conditions prevailing all over the country are revolutionary no thinking man, certainly no Socialist, whether he belong to the revolutionary or evolutionary school, can doubt. All around are unmistakable evidences of unrest and dissatisfaction, but the American people appear to have lost the instinct of self-government, and having lost that their political power is passing into the hands of the class that understands the value and forces of combination. The press by a natural process has fallen under the control of that class, and its duty is to blind the masses of the people to the truth; to distort and misrepresent what cannot be concealed, and to build up a screen between the people and their "rulers," as it has become the fashion to call those elected to administer the affairs of the country.

Whether the mind of the American people is in a state that can be described as inflammable can only be determined by events, but it ought to be, for the ruling classes are giving it enough occasion to think if not to explode; and among the

ruling classes the money power is playing the most effective part. A recent example of the power wielded by it was the veto on American intervention in Mexico. It happened that American public opinion was also opposed to intervention, but Washington would have found means to override that had the money power demanded it. President Taft and his advisors were willing and ready to take the first step that would have turned Mexico into a protectorate of the United States, but their master was better advised and decided that there was more danger of loss than profit in taking that course. This is not to say that the aim has been abandoned; far from it, but another and more circuitous method has been adopted. Then the time for the presidential campaign is approaching and it is felt to be unwise to raise too many contentious issues before the election. In the meantime revolutions and troubles will be kept simmering in Cuba, Hayti and the Central American republics against the time when the completion of the Panama Canal will place the United States in a position to impose its will on all the territory lying between the canal and the American frontier.

There is another point to be considered in connection with the domination which the money power exercises at Washington. Just at this moment events are happening in Europe of much more immediate importance to it than the affairs of Mexico. The conflict going on among the European powers over the future of Persia, Turkey and Morocco, and the awakening of China require that all the forces at the disposal of that interest shall be well in hand at any given moment. Since the day when the United States government, under President McKinley, threw itself into the arena of world politics by taking possession of the Philippines, and by sending delegates to the Algeciras Conference and in other ways meddling in the affairs of other continents, the government at Washington has become one of the political and military assets of the money power, and as such has, in plain language, to obey orders. What the American people may think on the matter is of very little consequence, for if the dope which a prostitute and subservient press administers does not keep them in a state of sub-

mission, a turn of the financial screw can, as in 1907, bring on a money panic which would soon bring them to order.

Another thing that militates against anything like a general revolutionary movement, such as the detective agency man thought possible, is the intense individualism, the utter selfishness that exists in the American character. There appears to be no sense of civic duty or civic responsibility in the individuals or among the classes composing the great mass of American society, and the spirit of co-operation such as exists in some European countries is entirely wanting. A revolution undertaken by men lacking in these vital qualities would be doomed beforehand to failure, and reaction would triumph. What would follow is almost a mathematical certainty.

It has probably been forgotten by those who may have seen it in those papers that printed it, and never heard of by the rest of the American people, that soon after Mr. Taft's inauguration and Mr. Roosevelt's departure for this theatrical hunting tour in Africa, there appeared in New York papers paragraphs to the effect that there might be submitted to Congress what was called a "Continuation Act" providing for the retention in office of the actual president if, at the end of his term, the country were threatened with or engaged in a foreign war or internal disturbance, and his continuance in office until peace or order were restored. The sources of the inspiration of this extraordinary proposition never transpired, and for some reason best known to the newspaper offices the subject was allowed to pass without comment, but when one considers the influences dominating at Washington, it will be safe to say that the idea is not dead, but germinating, waiting only for the favorable conditions in which it can be put into execution. The stealthy march of militarism that began with President McKinley and was so diligently kept up under Mr. Roosevelt has not slackened, though Mr. Taft is posing as the Angel of Peace. The policy being pursued in China, for instance, of forcing loans on the Chinese government, and the attempt to force Russia, Japan and China to submit to the neutralization of Manchuria and the placing of it under the control of the great international financial ring are not peace measures, but

they are indications of the spirit that prevails at Washington, and they or the Mexican question or some revolution in South America or dispute with a European power could be made the basis of the action contemplated by the instigators of a presidential Continuation Act.

The inconveniences of a short-term presidency are continually being insisted on in the capitalistic press, and the advantages of a longer period, even to the extent of a life term, are frequently urged by the more audacious. There is, besides, the ambition of the millionaire class for social distinctions and titles to be reckoned with. They desire the establishment at Washington of a court at which they could display their wealth, and among the arguments in favor of it is the one that it would keep in the country for the benefit of the American working class the millions of dollars spent every year in Europe by Americans attracted to London, Berlin, Rome and other centers of imperialism and royalty. That this idea existed at Washington became known to the writer as far back as 1896 from a conversation with a relation of a candidate for the vice-presidency whom he met at a place in Canada during the summer of that year. The talk fell on the subject of the future of the United States in the event of Mr. Bryan being elected, and it was in the course of it that the idea of the American presidency merging into an American imperialism being in the minds of wealthy Americans was disclosed. The appearance of the Continuation Act suggestion in 1910 showed the progress the idea had made in fourteen years.

From the point of view of its advocates there is nothing inherently irrational or politically criminal in the idea of continuing a president in power if, at the end of his term, the country should be at war or on the verge of it or engaged in an internal revolutionary conflict. The interests of the possessing classes would demand it, and the American people have so allowed their liberties to be filched from them by corrupt legislatures, Federal and State, that at the critical moment they would be helpless before "the law" enforced with the physical power of the army, navy and police, supported by all the influence of a bought press, the courts and the churches, the latter

especially, for, as the historian Gibbon wrote in the opening chapter of his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," "In all ages the throne and the altar have been allied against the people." Mr. Taft also hopes that the reciprocity arrangement with Canada may be ratified and result in the cheapening of some of the necessities of life for the "common people" and so delude them into voting him a second term during which he will go on perfecting and consolidating the work his masters have set him to do. The money power will be more firmly entrenched by banking laws, and the legislature and executive at Washington will fall more and more into the position of its humble servant.

There is only one means by which a possible revolution such as the Detective Agency man foresaw can be averted. That is, a general rising of the American people at the polls at every election from now on until the last ballot is cast in November next year, and the turning out of office and power in every State and at the national capital of the men belonging to both of the old political parties. The differences between them are now so slight that they are, under pressure of the economic evolution, merging gradually into one party. This is the preliminary necessity to the advent of the imperialism so desired by the millionaire class and the money power, and for which the "rulers" at Washington are working. Has not Mr. Taft himself said on more than one occasion during tours through the country since his inauguration, "I am the President of all the American people?" And what is that but a variant of the title assumed by a one-time president of another republic, the last Napoleon when he assumed the title of "Napoleon III., Emperor of the French," and said, "L'Etat, c'est Moi—I am the State." History has sometimes strange ways of repeating itself.

AN EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST.

New York, August 11, 1911.

IT'S MORGAN'S.

I came to a mill by the river side,
A half-mile long and nearly as wide,
With a forest of stacks and an army of men
Toiling at furnace and shovel and pan.
"What a most magnificent plant," I cried,
And a man with a smudge on his face replied:
"It's Morgan's."

I entered a tram and rode all day
On a regal coach and a right-of-way
Which reached its arms all over the land
In a system too large to understand.
"A splendid property this," I cried,
And the man with a plate on his hat replied:
"It's Morgan's."

I sailed on a great ship, trim and true,
From pennant to keel and cabin to crew,
And the ship was one of a monster fleet;
A first-class navy could scarce compete.
"What a beautiful craft she is," I cried,
And a man with akimbo legs replied:
"It's Morgan's."

I dwelt in a nation filled with pride;
Her people were many, her lands were wide;
Her record in war and science and art

Proved greatness of muscle and mind and heart.
"What a grand old country it is," I cried.
And a man with his chest in the air replied:
"It's Morgan's."

I went to heaven. The jasper walls
Towered high and wide, and the golden halls
Shone bright beyond. But a strange new mark
Was over the gate, viz.: "Private Park."
"What, what is the meaning of this?" I cried,
And a saint iwth a livery on replied:
"It's Morgan's."

I went to the only place left. "I'll take
A chance in the boat on the brimstone lake,
Or perhaps I may be allowed to sit
On the griddled floor of the bottomless pit."
But a jeering tout with horns on his face
Cried as he forked me out of the place:
"It's Morgan's."

—Cleveland Press.

A BOOK ALL WORKERS SHOULD READ.

There has just been published, in Victoria, B.C., by "Richard Wolfenden, I.S.O., printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty," a little booklet that should be obtained and read by every worker, and particularly by all who wish to have the sham of patriotism and the hypocrisy of the capitalist morality exposed. The booklet in question is on the Canadian Navy, and the author is "Clive Phillips-Wooley." The author is the typical blood and thunder Imperialist, but, unfortunately for himself, is totally lacking in either a sense of humor or proportion. A few extracts may prove interesting. Like all typical English patriots, the Hon. Clive is a religious person. He goes one better than the most of his ilk, however, as the following noble effort will show:

Our Empire is of importance, I believe, *even in God's sight*, and its continued existence of first importance to the world at large.

This is pretty good, but the hon. person can beat even that. In another place he says:

I believe that God created the world; I believe that Christ came to teach the world, and I believe that the British Empire exists to spread Christ's doctrines and to illustrate them, even though imperfectly, by its practice, and here I lay the foundation of my plea on the behalf of the Navy League, whose work it is to secure the maintenance of that supremacy at sea upon which the continued power of the British Empire depends.

The foregoing is undoubtedly a frank and lucid statement. Ten or eleven years ago such were common; but lately they have gone out of vogue somewhat. As for the idea that

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the British Empire is of importance "even in God's sight," we will make no comment. None the less one may be pardoned for wondering if the British Empire was figuring or functioning as an "exponent of christianity" in forcing the opium traffic on the Chinese, who didn't want it? Also in the little matter of the enslaving of thousands of Kanaka laborers to work on the sugar plantations of Northern Australia; a traffic indulged in, to our personal knowledge, till a very short time ago.

There are several other little incidents, but we let them pass.

Later on in his book, however, the author talks quite differently. He says:

"Let me deal first with the importance of sea power. After all, and in spite of the talk of humanitarians and anti-militarists, the *Court of Might is still the last court of appeal upon earth*, and the might of Britain is on the seas and not on the land."

Now we are always glad to be able to agree with anyone; and we frankly admit that we couldn't have put the thing better ourselves. Here, at least, the truth is told. We have always held that *Might Is Right*, and are glad to have so striking a confirmation of our contention from such a high and honorable quarter. A most candid account of the making of the "Empire" is given in the following. The early British "adventurers" were remarkable for their habit "of finding new lands, and colonizing them, that is to say, EXPLOITING them for their own benefit, and, to a certain extent, of the good of those who dwelt in them." This also is about the way it always looked to us. As a general rule, if history can be believed at all, the exploiting of the lands took the shape of enslavement of the inhabitants thereof. Space forbids further comment, or to notice the apparently humorous side of the thing, but we would advise all reds to get a copy of the booklet and use it in their work. The full title is "The Canadian Naval Question. By Clive Phillips-Wooley."

HIBERNICUS.

GENERAL ELECTION 1911.

Manifesto of Socialist Party of Canada, Local Brantford.

Fellow Members of the Working Class: Soon you will be called upon (those of you who have votes) to elect men to represent you in Parliament. As this manifesto is intended to gain, not your vote, like the usual election appeals, but your understanding, you will realize that it is of the first importance to every member of the working class, regardless of age, sex, or nationality.

First we would ask you to take note of the slave position of our class today. We are the only useful class in human society. We produce the foodstuffs, we build the mansions, we operate the railways, telegraphs and telephones.

We build giant steamships and move the fruits of our labor around the globe. In short, the working class carries on the entire work of production.

On the other hand we see another economic class of humans, the capitalist class. These take no part in production. They hire members of our class to do all that is necessary in the work of operating and managing industries. They devote themselves entirely to the pursuit of finding new ways of spending the wealth which they have extracted from the working class—our class.

* The distinctions between the two classes, and the functions of each are too easily apparent to be ignored by any one. The function of the working class is to work, to produce the world's wealth, retaining only such portion of it as suffices to keep them in good working order, and provide for the reproduction of the species.

The function of the capitalist class is to live off and enjoy the surplus value which labor produced but which labor

did not get. In this country this surplus value is about four-fifths of the worker's entire product.

The dividing line between the two great classes is the line of exploitation. One class exploits, the other is exploited.

Hybrids do not disprove the existence of either economic class, just as hybrids in biology do not refute the self-evident fact of distinct species. What, then, is the position of our class in regard to the coming election?

"He who toils at the bidding of another, and for the benefit of another is a slave." The workers of to-day are slaves—wage slaves. We think the thoughts of slaves, we get a slave's portion. In every land where society is divided into the two great hostile camps of capitalist and wage-worker, we can plainly see what has been meted out to our fellow-workers when they have made any move to benefit their position. Everywhere we produce the finest viands, everywhere we eat the scrag-ends or go hungry. Everywhere we build and equip palaces and mansions, everywhere we live in cellars, garrets, slums and shacks. Everywhere we provide transportation facilities, the palace car on the railroad, the superb liner or yacht, the luxurious automobile. Everywhere we travel in the steerage, ride the bumpers or walk the ties.

Gathering together in craft and industrial organizations to try and increase the price of the commodity that we are offering for sale—our labor power, we are met by fellow slaves, who, from the very nature and necessity of the case, are forced to compete with us for the jobs that we seek to corner for our own benefit. Also the importation of slaves of another race who have a much lower standard of living, make any progress on this field almost impossible.

What, then, is to be done?

On the industrial field, as we have seen, our chief barrier to success is our own hunger and poverty. Where this is not sufficient, the capitalist class eagerly use the other powers that lie in their hands. The policeman's club, the thug's revolver, the rifle and bayonet of the militia and soldiery. Beaten to our knees on many a hard-fought battle-ground by the forces of government, overworked in the factories, mines and

fields, ignorant as to our own interests (having been taught only what was of value for slaves to know, how to work—to be content, etc.), we now turn and investigate the conditions which make for our enslavement. We pry into the science of economics, and find out all about the production and distribution of wealth. We see how it is that our rulers, the capitalists, can plunder us of what our labor calls into being.

We see exactly why the henchmen and apologists of the capitalist class in pulpit, press and school are so anxious to keep us from a knowledge of the science of Socialism. We realize that the masters enjoy the fruits of our labors because of their *ownership* of the means of production. We realize that this ownership is upheld by the State. That the State is, in fact, but the executive committee of the capitalist class, its "slugging" committee, so to speak. To capture that State becomes the object of the class-conscious worker in order to transfer the ownership of the socially-needed and socially-operated utilities to those who need and use them.

In order to do this, a work of education is necessary. The working class must be aroused to their slave position. They must be made aware of the fact that so long as their labor-power remains a commodity on the market like cheese, onions or pickled pigs' feet, so long will they get just what other commodities bring on the average—the cost of their production. With the ownership of the means of production, labor power ceases to be a commodity and enjoys the full products of its toil.

We see our class in protectionist countries, in free trade countries, many of us have lived and toiled in both and under many different flags. What is the difference to the working class? None! Neither the color of the flag nor the tariff arrangements cause the robbery and consequent degradation and slavery of our class, therefore we refuse to be side-tracked into fighting the battles of our masters.

Recognizing that upon the political field they are in a position of danger when we become aware of our position, our masters have made it more difficult for us to elect men of our class to Parliament by the deposit system, by which any-

body nominating a candidate for office must deposit \$200.00, which is forfeited to the State (the masters' "slugging" committee) if the candidate fails to poll one-third of the vote of the successful candidate. As we are not financially able to deposit the sum mentioned, not being run by the corporations and trusts, we must ask our fellow-workers to protest against the election of a member of the master class to Parliament (no matter what political tag he wears, as they are both the same to us). The only way we can do this is to write "For Socialism" on your ballot as it is much better to vote for what you want, and not get it, than to vote for what you don't want (poverty and slavery), and be sure of getting it!

W. D.

HABIT WELL TAUGHT.

That preposterous proposition of Descartes, "I think, therefore I am," has been reversed by certain scientific individuals to read, "I am, therefore I think."

I must confess utter failure to appreciate the advantage of the change and might even be induced upon compulsion to aver that the general correctness of the reverse proposition is as much open to question as the original. The mere fact of consciousness presupposing the faculty for thinking is a conclusion which the most exhaustive examination of the facts will fail to support. And if man were possessed with any ordinary degree of that so-called God-like faculty of reason he would not arrogate to himself exclusively an attribute which he denies to all other forms of life.

The "myself and God" attitude of mind is ridiculous enough even without expression in excellent satirical verse, when observed in an individual member of the voting specie. But when we observe almost all mankind parading the same offensive pompousness the result is almost paralyzing; and were it not that the absurd farce unfolds itself by degrees and never even to the most discerning mind presents the play in full, I verily believe those who do think would end their days in unseemly and uproarious laughter. Myself and God, we think; our actions are the result of premeditation; we first applied divine reason, and then we acted. We differ in this respect from the animals, who *instinctively* exercise their various functions.

"As the stars perform their shining and the sea its long moonsilvered roll."

From the animals; mark you that, not if you please, the other animals.

Myself and God are things apart and reason, divine reason, is the dividing line.

"Verily, verily: the gods must needs laugh could such things be to see their little manikins below."

Reason is instinctive, divine or otherwise; the fact is that mankind or ants, gods or little fishes are the veriest chances of habit, and the habits of God partake of essentially the same characteristics as do the men who worship him.

If there be any difference between the mental process which controls the actions of man and that which sets in motion the brute, it is not hidden in any metaphysical relationship to God, but rather lies unrevealed, because the brute does not wear clothes, does not speak, nor write nor yet, for which it should be truly thankful, does it vote.

The brute, therefore, being thus much secured from displaying its folly, displays to that extent so much more wisdom.

For in all these characteristics which are essentially man's, the human animal comports itself in such unbounded folly, that to my mind it is an open question whether they exalt him above the brute or contrariwise. To write at length on the follies of man would require more time and space than is at my disposal. And to select his greatest folly calls for a much more discriminating taste than the present writer can lay claim to, but, subject to correction from more nicely balanced minds, I beg leave to select one instance of what appears to me methodless madness.

There is abundant evidence at hand in any civilized country for the assumption that man is a reasoning animal. We have only to look abroad at the primitive stage of nature and then turn to where the hand of man has been active, and we are instantly impressed by the extraordinary change. By the side of a primeval forest, whose huge trees, towering hundreds of feet, and embracing with its far-reaching hosts acres of soil, a human creature will settle, and presently the entire face of nature undergoes a change. The forest disappears and street upon street appears, graded, bound in concrete,

electrically lighted, patrolled by brass-bound, blue-clothed policemen, and swarming with men, women and children. Examine this city more closely and you will find ingenious machinery in constant operation; you will find a swarm of men, women and children in constant command over this machinery; you will see a constant stream of boots, coats, vests, pants, beds, tables, chairs, dishes and utensils of all kinds, lumber and steel in every shape and form; but why try to enumerate the innumerable wealth of beauty and utility utility in superabundance comes from the conceited activity of this mighty army of producers, and you will feel impelled to say, here is the reasoner, here is one who can truly call himself the chosen of God.

But approach him and see what he knows about his activity or its causes, and everywhere we find habit. He was taught to do it that way. He was taught to speak, to walk, to swear, and not to swear; to operate these levers; to manipulate that tool; to fashion yonder instrument; to control that power; to calculate those dimensions, to harmonize conflicting forces, to neutralize dangerous elements, to eliminate disruptive factors; to keep the entire works in the most perfect order compatible with profit to his master; to order himself lowly and reverently before all his betters, teachers, pastors, and masters; and furthermore, to be tickled to death to remain in that station of hope to which it has pleased God to call him. He must admit his skill; we cannot fail to observe his tireless energy; and did we stop at his productive activity we could grant the habit and then feel inclined to credit the creature with something of the God.

But when we follow him home and observe his antics there; his Godlike vesture fades away, his divine reason vanishes, his ingenuity fails, and his entire attitude changes. In his miserable apology for a house he takes his rest, his recreation and his meals. Such rest, such recreation, and *such meals!* Where is all the wealth he has been producing? Did he bring any home? Not a particle. Approach him. Question him. Here is a contingency wherein we may hope to find an exercising of that divine reason. Why is his shelter

so inadequate, his food so unwholesome. Ask his wife, ask his father, ask his progenitors for all time and you will be amazed. Fire, the wheel, the marine compass, the telescope, steam, electrical energy, in fact all the greatest discoveries of all ages become the merest commonplace happenings compared with the superlative reasons he will advance to excuse his base and terrible existence. The reasons he has to wear poor clothes, eat poor food, forego the comforts of a modern, sanitary home and live so far from his place of employment, are because the Liberals are in power, or because they are not; because we have Free Trade, or because we have not; because we are sinful and God would punish us, or because he loves us and chasteneth whom he loves; because—in short, anything which can be expressed in language, except that they are damned fools, base slaves and unreasoning habit-controlled voting animals.

Here is, at least, one instance of the methodless madness I spoke of above. That man who produces so much, should have less of his product than will suffice to supply his immediate needs and should still find enough energy left to invent innumerable excuses for his slavery. If this be the act of a reasoning creature,, give me the instinct of an insect, which knows when a horde of parasites have outlived their usefulness and acts accordingly.

There remains one consolation, however: If this slave has been taught to hug his chains, he may be taught to break them. That is the mission of Socialism. That is every Socialist's task.

J. H.

WHICH?

Of the three political parties taking part in the present campaign, there is not one that does not depend for success on the working class vote. Each, therefore, claims that its programme is in the interests of the working class.

The Liberal party holds that its proposed Trade Agreement with the United States will provide cheaper commodities on this side of the line, and thus reduce the cost of living. The most that they can claim is that living will be as cheap here as it is in the United States.

What, therefore, the worker naturally asks, is the state of affairs in the other country? Is the wage-earner better off there? The railroads in that country have just laid off 80,000 men; this with the usual busy season approaching. A vast number of cotton and steel workers are idle. It is from there that the greatest protests come against the high cost of living. Wages on the average are not so high as here and are decreasing. Briefly, the worker in the United States is, if anything, in worse condition than the worker here, owing to greater industrial development.

The Conservative argument is, in short, that a high tariff protects Canadian industries and forces capital to invest in Canada, thus making more work and higher wages for the Canadian workman. Also that by keeping the channels of trade within the British Dominions, a mighty and impregnable Empire will be built up. The first proposition is the only one worth considering, the latter being mere political hodge-podge. Clearly, a great empire is of no use to anyone whose comfort and well-being are not ensured therein, and no worker has that security today.

The building of factories, the greater industrial development of Canada will not improve the general condition of the wage-workers. Where development is at its height we find the worst conditions. Wherever the demand for labor has grown greater than the supply, and wages tended to rise, the Conservatives have always assisted in bringing in surplus labor to force them down again.

Opposed to both these parties is the Socialist Party of Canada. It is the only party which bases its position *exclusively* on the interests of the Working Class.

The Socialist Party maintains that the man who works for wages, in whatever country, and under whatever tariff arrangement, can never secure any more than a more or less decent living as long as he keeps working, and nothing at all if he quits. If he is fortunate enough to always have employment, there is absolutely nothing ahead of him but work, until old age stops him.

This condition is absurd, but it is a fact. It is absurd because there is now labor-saving machinery enough to bring comfort, security and leisure to all; especially to Labor, which operates the machinery. Why is Labor left so far behind in the enjoyment of twentieth century advantages?

Because the present form of owning property, upheld by all governments, permits all wealth-producing industry to be owned by a certain class—the capitalists. This causes the existence of two classes: The working class, which operates all industry and performs all necessary labor, owning nothing, not even the product; and the capitalist class, which does nothing and owns everything.

Reciprocity is the result of large capital seeking expansion. Canada is a country of natural resources which American capital desires to exploit. You are asked to agree to this on the promise of cheaper living. When have you not been promised cheaper living? And all the time nothing has been getting cheaper but labor. Supposing that the opening up of Canadian resources did bring cheaper commodities and more work. Would it bring to you more of the product of your labor?

Do you suppose capital is going to pay you higher wages and sell you cheaper goods, when it can draw on a huge army of idle men in other countries? It is not so foolish.

Development or not, cheap goods or not, the workingman's position will remain the same or get worse, as long as the capitalist class owns the earth.

But, you ask, how is my vote going to help me? The title deeds to property exist only because the government backs them. Without the support of the working class, the government cannot exist.

The Socialist Party proposes to capture the government, reverse the form of ownership and place all industry in the hands of the workers. Then wealth will go to those who labor, and to no one else.

If you have any real desire to materially benefit yourself. If you wish to aid in securing permanent betterment for yourself and your class, begin by coming to a clear understanding of the Socialist position. There can then be no doubt that you will become a Socialist. When all intelligent workers are Socialists, the end of capitalism will come. At this election you can register an effective protest against your present position by voting for the Socialist candidate.



OTTAWA, ONT.

The Comrades of the Capital City will attack the legislative pile at close range. Comrade A. G. McCallum was chosen as their candidate, and from all indications will stir the slaves up considerably, as well as cut heavily into the orthodox vote.



CALGARY, ALTA.

The campaign is red hot in "Sunny Alberta." Comrade Arthur Masters is the candidate in Calgary. The greatest enthusiasm is being aroused at all Socialist meetings, and a tremendous amount of literature finds its way into the workers' hands. They prefer it undiluted, too. Socialism is the issue of the day, owing to the commendable activity of the Comrades.

THE BRITISH STRIKES.

If the recent strikes in Britain have shown nothing else, they have demonstrated the paramount importance of the workers in the scheme of things human. When they ceased, not even directly producing wealth, but merely partially transporting it, wholesale starvation faced even the wealthy. The very troops that were sent to repress the strikers went hungry.

True, as a remedy for the conditions which created the strikers, the strike is hopeless. The punishment it inflicts falls upon none so soon as upon the strikers and their kith and kin. Ever, of all society, among the nearest to starvation, starvation reaches them first. And even if the efforts born of their desperation be successful, ultimate failure treads hard upon the heels of their success. The fruits of victory turn to ashes almost as they grasp them. Society cannot afford them any but the very conditions against which they revolt. In fact, only their inevitable revolt retards the steady worsening of these conditions. But better they cannot be. The day of possible betterment is passed. Automatically they must grow worse. Until, becoming unbearable, they incite a last revolt that shall shatter the system out of which they arise.

The social system of the day exists but to create profit for its beneficiaries. All human activity is bent into those channels which will yield the greatest possible profit. The conditions meted out to the workers who produce the world's wealth are, as nearly as attainable, those conditions most conducive to their masters' profit. Those means and methods prevail. But amend these conditions to the workers' advantage and new means and methods to regain the lost foothold will

thrust themselves forward. Profit will not be denied. Let those working for barely a subsistence rise and by sheer endurance compel a shorter workday or a less meagre wage, and the machine, till then held in check by their very cheapness, now steps forth to take their places and crush them down to poverty more dire than even before. And so all along the line. Only to the profit of the master can the laborer live.

At any rate, if the workers of Britain are not getting wise they appear to be getting sore, and that is well. Their discontent, if not intelligent, is discontent. Their efforts to better their conditions, if ill directed, are growing greater, more desperate and, best of all, less placable and considerate of law, order, property and personages. As the present social order will not, can not, afford them relief, they will wittingly or unwittingly, overthrow it if they continue in their discontent. And they cannot but continue. There is nothing to restore content. So, while the good "British Public" heaves a grumbling sigh of relief, thinking it is all over, let us venture to predict that it is but begun.

EGGS.

We are told that reciprocity will make eggs much cheaper. This is important if true, and speaks well for the Laurier government. It is the mark of the highest statesmanship to be able, in the midst of wrestling with grave and weighty affairs of national and international scope, to devote time and attention to the kindly consideration of the homely interests of everyday life. We are also informed that the egg-ranchers have been assured that reciprocity will secure them a better market for eggs. That is no more than fair play. We shall enjoy our cheap eggs the more in the knowledge that we are not reaping the advantage at the expense of the industrious egg-rancher.

Heretofore, when we have been where eggs were cheap, we have somehow been ill able to afford them, and when where there was a good market for eggs we have found the egg-ranchers yet ragged and unprosperous. We were on the point of coming to the conclusion that, owing to some paradox inherent in eggs, and a few other comestibles, they were always too dear to eat and too cheap to raise; but we never had reciprocity before.

We have generally found egg-ranchers, and their kind, complaining that, despite their very best efforts year in and year out, all they have been able to do is to procure a bare living for themselves and their faithful hens, or pigs, or geese, or whatever domestic animals they were partners with. For ourself, we have no complaint to make, and we have found that the most of our tribe, high as the cost of living has been, have been able by working hard, when they had the chance,

been able to keep themselves in pretty fair working condition. With reciprocity, and cheaper eggs, we will doubtless do even better and save up enough to start an egg ranch somewhere where there is a reasonable prospect of a railroad coming through in course of time. We are not going to neglect our opportunities a second time. We missed it a dozen years ago when we might have homesteaded a deserted farm where the city of North Battleford now stands. We had ten dollars, too, though times were hard. But we had no reciprocity in sight then.



EDMONTON, ALTA.

At a convention held at the Socialist Hall on Kinistino avenue on the 14th inst., the Socialists of this burg decided to make their voice heard and to give the wage-plugs a chance to register a vote for themselves at the oncoming federal election. To this end Comrade A. Farmilo was nominated as candidate by acclamation.

The following were chosen as the campaign committee: Comrades J. Luft (chairman), J. Brereton (secretary), F. Blake (treasurer), S. Stewart, H. Gray and W. McQuoid, of the English speaking Local, and Comrades R. Kramer, J. Boychuck, J. Wrouka, J. Senuk and A. Kiriak of the Ukrainian Local. If there is any comrade or comrades who are blessed with a plentiful supply of the "root of all evil," the treasurer will be pleased to acknowledge all subscriptions forwarded either to the Local headquarters, 622 First street, or to 1332 Government avenue. We would like especially to call the attention of our comrade farmers in the Edmonton district to this notification.

Yours in revolt,

F. BLAKE,
H. GEARY.
Press Committee.

RED DEER, ALTA., CONVENTION.

At the suggestion of Comrade Welsh, a free discussion took place as to the advisability of placing a candidate in the field at the forthcoming election; and, as to preparation, financial and otherwise.

Innisfail Local: Comrade Welsh guaranteed \$25.00 toward election expenses.

Markerville Local: Comrade Merrifield guaranteed \$20.00 toward election expenses.

Olds Local: Comrade Woods guaranteed \$20.00 towards election expenses.

Resolved: On motion of Comrades Merrifield and Mcfield, "That a candidate be nominated to contest the Red Deer Riding in the forthcoming election." Carried.

Comrade Woods vacated the chair and nominated Comrade Welsh; seconded by Comrade McDermott.

Upon the motion being put, it was unanimously carried, "That Comrade Welsh be the candidate."

Resolved: On motion of Comrades Merrifield and McDermott, "That the delegates at this convention re-affirm their allegiance to the Platform and Pledge of the Socialist Party of Canada."

Resolved: On motion of Comrades Merrifield and McDermott, "That in the event of Comrade Welsh being elected, he shall immediately withdraw from his Local and become a member at large."

Resolved: On motion of Comrades Nelson and Merrifield, "That in the event of Comrade Welsh being elected, he shall act as traveling organizer for the period of at least three months in each year; it be left to his discretion as to which part of the year he acts."

Resolved: On motion of Comrades Gribble and Welsh, "That the delegates here assembled do hereby express their hearty appreciation of the hospitality extended by the Comrades Nelson." This motion was carried unanimously..

CHAS. WOODS, Chairman.
W. GRIBBLE, Secretary.



GLACE BAY, N. S.

We are carrying on a series of active open-air meetings in this part of the country at the present time. The old parties are as usual trying to stir up excitement over their usual stock in trade, trying to make the worker believe his existence is wrapped up in capitalist class tariffs, but with decreasing success. The workers, at least those in the industrial centres of this section of the country, are becoming very apathetic in regard to that kind of dope. They are being forced to realize by industrial conditions, even though only instinctively, that no matter what attitude either bunch of politicians take up, their condition is not changed but gradually getting worse.

The rival capitalist politicians are being forced by the changing economic life of the workers, from promising them any great advantage to confining themselves to trying to prove that the policies of each other would make the life of the worker worse. Our clear-cut revolutionary propaganda is the only thing which counts, and when we can break through their superstitions and the various side issues the workers follow, enough to get them interested, we make a hit.

At our convention held on the first instant, we again nominated Com. Alex. MacKinnon as candidate and we are digging around all we know how for that \$200 to pay the fine. We are circulating a manifesto dealing with this tariff question from a working class point of view, and the only way the working class can be, and must be, emancipated. This will be forwarded later.

Yours for the revolution,

ALFRED NASH, Secretary.

Socialist Party 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, 579 Homer-Richards Lane, Vancouver, B. C.

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday. D. G. McKenzie, Secretary,

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

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.

SASKATCHEWAN PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every first and third Saturday in the month, 8:00 p.m., at headquarters, Main Street, North Battleford. Secretary will answer any communications regarding the movement in this Province. A. Gildemeester, Secretary, Box 201, North Battleford, Sask.

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

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, Secretary, 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. Præmerle, Secretary.

LOCAL LADYSMITH NO. 10, S. P. of C. Business meetings every Saturday, 7 p.m., in headquarters on First Ave. Parker Williams, Sec., Ladysmith. B. C.

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

LOCAL MICHEL, B. C., NO. 16, S. P. of C., holds propoganda 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 MOYIE, B. C., NO 30, MEETS second Sunday, 7:30 p.m., in McGregor Hall (Miners' Hall). Thos. Roberts, Secretary.

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

LOCAL NEW WESTMINSTER, B. C., NO. 15, S. P. OF C.—Headquarters Room 3, Dupont Block, over Northern Crown Bank. Propaganda meeting every Sunday, Crystal Theatre, 8 p.m. Business meeting every Monday, 8 p.m. B. W. Sparke, Recording Secretary; H. Gilchrist, Organizer; J. C. Williams. Financial Secretary.

LOCAL PRINCE RUPERT, B. C., No. 53, S. P. of C., meets every Sunday in hall in Empress Theatre Block at 2:00 p.m. J. H. Gorham, Secretary.

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

LOCAL SANDON, B. C., NO. 36, S. P. OF C. Meets every Tuesday at 7:30 p.m. in the Sandon Miners' Union Hall. Communications to be addressed Drawer K, Sandon, B. C.

LOCAL SOUTH FORT GEORGE, B.C., No. 61, meets every Friday night at 8 p.m. in Public Library Room. John McInnis, Secretary; Andrew Allen, Organizer.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, B. C., NO. 1, S. P. of C. Business meetings every Tuesday evening at headquarters, 2237 Main Street. F. Perry, Secretary, 518 Hornby St.

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

LOCAL VERNON, B. C., NO. 38, S. P. of C. Meets every Tuesday, 8:00 p.m. sharp, at L. O. L. Hall, Tronson St. W. H. Gilmore, 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 EDMONTON, ALTA., NO. 1, S. P. of C. Headquarters 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 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. Geo. Rossiter, Secretary, Box 647.

LOCAL REGINA NO. 6, SASK., MEETS every Sunday, Trades Hall, 8 p.m. Business meeting, second Friday, 8 p.m., Trades Hall. B. Simmons, secretary, 1909 Garnet St., P.O. Box 1046.

LOCAL BRANDON, MAN., NO. 7, S. P. of C. Headquarters, No. 10 Nation Block, Rossar Ave. Propaganda meeting, Sunday at 8 p.m.; business meeting, second and fourth Mondays at 8 p.m.; economic class, Friday at 8 p.m. Secretary, T. Mellalieu, 229 First St., Brandon, Man.

LOCAL LETHBRIDGE, ALTA., NO. 13, S. P. of C. Meets first and third Sundays in the month, at 4 p.m., in Miners' Hall. Secretary, Chas. Peacock, Box 1983.

LOCAL MOOSEJAW, SASK., NO. 1, S. P. OF C.—Propaganda meetings every Sunday, 7:30 p. m., in the Trades Hall. Economic Class every Sunday, 3 p.m. W. Harrison, Sec.-Treas., General Delivery, Moosejaw; A. Stewart, Organizer, South Hill P. O., Sask. All slaves welcome.

LOCAL WINNIPEG, MAN., NO. 1, S. P. of C. Headquarters, 528 1/2 Main St., Room 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 St. Secretary, J. W. Hillings, 270 Young St.

LOCAL OTTAWA, No. 8, S. P. OF C. Business meetings first Sunday in month in open air, followed by a picnic during summer months. Propaganda meetings every Saturday night at 8 p. m., at the corner of McKenzie Avenue and Rideau Street. Callum, Secretary, 140 Augusta Street.

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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