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MARVELLOUS MISSION OF MANN

The Celebrated "Labor Leader" and Syndicalist Analyzed from a Revolutionist Point of View.

By J. A. McDonald.

I had often heard of the great Tom Mann. His wonderful hypnotic feats were known to me, as they must have been to all others who have watched his "illusions" career. Raising one hand, and one million and fifty thousand workers laid down their tools and till all their wrongs were righted, and then lifting the other hand, and a then similar number resumed their work under greatly changed conditions. Wonderful hands! It all seems like a page from the "Arabian Nights."

They went up with any other school or philosophy. As Tridon in his latest book, "The New Unionism" says, when referring to the new movement: "It has nothing to do with any other school, old or new, with Marxism, neo-Marxism, or Bergsonism. Not only have the unions nothing to do with the various philosophies whom the press is wont to characterize as 'prophets of Syndicalism,' but, in the majority of cases, the workers are totally unfamiliar with the works of these intellectual worthies. For the direction followed by an economic movement does not depend upon the mental attitude of passive observers, but on the activities of militants within the movement."

Oh! Members of the Proletariat! You whom Marx and Engels had supposed to be fairly started on the journey to emancipation—you have still a mile or two to travel! You still fall far short of the education necessary to unlock your chains of servitude, and refuse to accept the position of blind followers tramping at the heels of blind leaders.

The Consequences of Militarism.

(I. S.) The Austrian anti-Socialist press is raising a great hue and cry because of the ever increasing immigration of young men liable for military service; and this, in the face of "great call" for more and more soldiers. In the last year alone Austria lost 121,000 young men who should have presented themselves for service. Canada is said to have found a home for 90,000 of these. That these are lost for Austria for ever goes without saying, as not one returned from Canada at the time of the mobilization which took place as a consequence of the Balkan war. A sharper look out to prevent the migration of those pledged to military service is therefore demanded. Thoughts of reducing the increase in army expenditure of 100 million kronen, which has taken place during the last few years, in order that the populace might not be plundered, or of improving the social or economic conditions, have never entered the heads of the authorities. Rather would they see the land depopulated—for it is generally the youngest and healthiest who emigrate—and the economic conditions deteriorate, than budge from their feudalistic principles one iota.

Had Tom Been Able to Analyze

the capitalist system of production he might easily have come to the conclusion that while such a form of society exists the position of those who toil tends to become ever worse. But labor leaders don't study, they simply prophesy. Parliament is a hard thing to get into, even in England. Tom knows this by experience. But there are other methods of keeping before the public, and the softest place is in the industrial field. He describes with great pride the brilliant victory won by the English dockers in the strike of a few years ago. Of how by simply practicing solidarity and folding their hands, all their great demands were readily granted. The masters even pleaded with them to go to work then. The whole transportation industry was in the hands of the strikers. Why didn't they take full possession of the machinery of production when they had such an opportunity Tom didn't tell. Merely overlooked it, of course! Even why they didn't go out again in the two years that have since elapsed to secure more improvements, he never said. Likely they have all they require now.

In his slimy attempt to prove that the struggle is shifting from the political to the industrial field he even mentioned the Names of Marx and Engels.

Not as authorities, of course, merely as corroborators. These two Socialists, although avowed political actionists, had stated somewhere, at some time, that as soon as the workers began to organize in large numbers that governments would die out. So what's the use in expending energy to capture a dying thing?

Tom Doesn't Understand, of course, that the proletariat by taking possession of the modern state emancipate themselves, the last slave class, and the state, having no one to hold in subjection, naturally dies out as such.

While the present state of ignorance prevails in the workers' ranks leaders of the Mann type will always be sorely needed. They are a very natural product of existing conditions. But just as the wage-slave's knowledge increases so must the popularity of these would-be saviors continue to dwindle. The Syndicalist movement, to which Mann, as well as many other leading lights in the labor movement belong, repudiates any attempt to link

THE MINERS' LIBERATION LEAGUE HAS BEEN FORMED!

At a meeting held on Monday, Oct. 27, at the Vancouver headquarters of the I.W.W., attended by representatives of political and economic organizations, the above League was formed, and tentative plans discussed for the initiation of a systematic and energetic agitation for the release of the miners railroaded to jail in Nanaimo last week. The League will meet again on Monday, Nov. 3rd, at the Longhorsesmen's Union Hall, and all organizations in sympathy with the purpose of the League are requested to send delegates. The question of spreading the agitation all over the Dominion will have to be discussed. The first of a series of

MASS MEETINGS will be held in the DOMINION HALL, PENDER AND HOMER STS. on November 8th at 8 p.m.

MEMORABILIA

By "Wap."

Canadians, or those who have become such by adoption, are considered, especially by the wage-slaves of the older European countries, on account of the unequalled opportunities abounding in this land of magnificent distances, to be the most fortunate of the children of men. This idea becomes stronger concerning the wage-slave who pushes west and still further west, until there is none like the fortunate inhabitants of the farthest west province, and more especially the most westerly mainland town, Vancouver. Here, in the great Pacific metropolis, the Liverpool of the west, opportunities for the wage-slave to escape from the wage-earning class into the owning class, arise like mushrooms on a wet September night. Those, however, who do not care to be blinded by an exuberance of flag-waving, or who refuse to be hypnotized by the unwholesome verbosity of clap-trap politicians, know full well that here, as everywhere, the worker is compelled to sell his life force in return for the equivalent of food, clothing and shelter.

The daily press, a few days ago, gave an account of one poor victim of capitalism being pulled from the waters of False Creek, while the body of another was found in the thick brush of Stanley Park. In both cases there could be seen the marks of attempted respectability, both of these poor young devils having come here in the hope of dropping across the only thing that counts with a wage-slave—work. Weary and worn, without any prospect of gaining access to the bare necessities of life, which the wage-slave only obtains at the best of times, these human detritus found the easiest way out of their difficulties, in their estimation.

Every worker under capitalism is serving a life sentence. Few are paroled.

WHAT WORKERS OUGHT TO KNOW

The working man who understands his position in society and is able to explain the fundamental cause of the poverty and misery existing within the capitalist system, meets with great opposition among his fellow workers. For instance, after explaining the wage-slave's position, one of them comes back at you with this answer: "It's all right, but see how often the working class have been sold. If I vote for a Socialist how am I to know he won't do the same as other party politicians? I think the Socialist Party is just another bunch trying to graft on the workers."

To the intelligent wage worker these statements are an admission of ignorance. Why? Because to state that the workers are sold by any persons other than themselves is a mistake. Wealth is not made by selling the working class; it is just the reverse. It is through purchasing their life-force, or their power to labor, applying it to the natural resources, and by the aid of tools or machinery, enabling the worker to produce more than his own keep, so that after the master has paid the market price for their labor-power he has a surplus of wealth remaining.

So now we see that the development of labor-saving machinery throwing more slaves on the market, thereby causing greater competition for jobs, goes to prove that the Socialists are right when they state that as the worker's ability to produce becomes greater his portion of the product becomes less—as long as capitalism lasts. This is not because development is bad; it is because the workers don't know how to adapt themselves. They produce the wealth of all the world and their wages only enable them to buy back a very small portion of what they produce, leaving a large surplus to be consumed by the owners of that surplus wealth, who are the capitalist class.

We all know the capitalist class are a small portion of human society. They are the owners of the means of life because the majority of the workers recognize them as such. The proof is to be found in the action of the workers in a strike. They never yet showed any signs of disputing the master's right to own the tools of production. It has simply been a demand for something lost through their wages not keeping pace with the rise in prices, and at election time they demonstrate their love for their masters by handing over that weapon known as the state (which is in reality the public power of coercion, and used every time the workers don't do just exactly as their masters say).

Workers of the world, wake up and realize that this system of exploitation goes on so long as you sanction it. Realize your ridiculous position. You produce the wealth of the world, and the quicker you do it the sooner you are thrown out of a job, and a job is the key to your existence within this system. When you have filled up the warehouses and stores with the necessities and luxuries of life there you will find the greatest poverty and misery. It is in the large wealthy cities of the industrial world where we hear of large strikes, unemployed parades, soup kitchens, tuberculosis investigations, and million or billion dollar trusts.

They have accomplished everything in the production of wealth, but the very fact of their recognizing another class as owners of that wealth keeps their noses to the grindstone. What the workers want to do is to read literature written from a working-class point of view. Read the literature recommended by the Socialist Party of Canada, and subscribe to the Western Clarion. Get a good grasp of economics, and quit reading about adventures in treasure islands, or any such slop as is written by our so-called novelists and mental contortionists. The wealth of the world is a treasure which the workers can have for the taking.

SOME MIDDLE CLASS COWARDS

Salmo, B. C. "Respectables" Show Their Sentiments Towards the Strikers.

"All men are born free and equal." They may be "born" free and equal, but it doesn't last more than one minute afterwards.

"All men are equal before the law." They may be "before," but the usual question when a lawsuit is pending is not: "Do you think that so-and-so has his case just?" Oh no! "Who's he got for a lawyer?" is the more frequent query.

The miners working at the "Queen," Salmo, B. C., went on strike because the manager, E. N. Buckley, refused to pay the same wage scale as the other mines in the vicinity were paying.

C. S. McCormick, a member of Ymir union, acted as picket so that he might tell any man who was going out in the direction of the Queen that there was a strike on. This action did not suit some of the business element of Salmo. A citizens' association was formed.

This "Noble Army of Martyrs," with the pick instincts of the lion's provida, surrounded McCormick, threw him on the ground, then escorted him out of town, threatening dire results should he dare to return to Salmo—of which village he has been a resident for several years.

What an awful holier there would have been had a crowd of strikers treated a traitor to his class as these respectable (!) did McCormick! (Nanaimo, Ladysmith and Cumberland papers please note.)

Scare headlines would have been prominently displayed in the press of both the U. S. and Canada. The militia (those deluded tools of the master class) or special plug-uglies, would have been rushed to the scene of action. The mushy-mouthed sympathizers (?) of the working class, both in and out of the pulpit, would have preached about law and order—nothing of this kind took place.

A charge of intimidating with violence was laid on the 18th of July against the following motley crew of so-called Law-abiding, Respectable Members of Society.

Advertising pays, is the slogan of the little business man and the peanut politician. Agreed. (N.B.—This is free.)

TWELVE BUSINESS MEN ACQUITTED AT SALMO, B. C. Bell, George D., merchant. Crawley, Saml. P., road foreman (Govt.). Cleghorn, Fred M., teamster for Sallsbury. Fair, G. C., employee Kootenay Shingle Co. Feeney, John, farmer. Grutchfield, Wm., farmer. Kennington, George Arthur, J. P., blacksmith. Matthews, Gus, rancher. Lindow, Carl, postmaster and store-keeper. Mearn, James W., rancher. Sallsbury, Wm. R. (J. P.), liveryman. Weyerberg, Fred, "X" quantity.

"D. D." stands for Doctor of Divinity, likewise Dirty Dozen. There are no Doctors of Divinity among those catalogued.

Gus Matthews was fined \$1 and costs by the two J. P.'s, St. Denis and Wason at Nelson on July 21st. To prevent the possibility of the rest being let down so easy, and because it was felt that St. Denis and Wason were not unbiased, an appeal was made and argument presented to Chief Justice Murphy at Victoria, who denied the writ of prohibition asked for by Archie Johnson, counsel for the defence, and granted a change of venue.

When the preliminary hearing was had before A. E. Watts, J. P., of Watsburg, and A. Carney, J. P., of Kaslo, these two gentlemen decided that prima facie evidence had been established justifying the appearance before the Supreme Court to make answer, and bound them over in sureties of \$500 each.

The case came up before Justice W. A. Macdonald who, in his charge to the jury, informed them that a person could not be twice placed in jeopardy before the courts on the same charge, and if it believed the evidence of the two J. P.'s, Denis and Wason, it must reach the conclusion that the defendants had been autre fois acquit.

Or Previously Acquitted. The jury concurred and brought in a verdict accordingly. Not being a lawyer, must accept as correct, but from a commonsense standpoint it looks odd.

An Analysis of the Evidence. McCormick is committing neither an overt act nor a covert act; he is set upon by a gang of ruffians, driven out of town, and threatened if he comes back to his home. These are plain, simple facts.

Although in legal parlance they were "autre fois acquit" (i.e., previously acquitted) in a plain, ordinary common-sense view of things they did commit a breach that by a legal quibble has been condoned.

Such instances of this character must strike the layman that Humble's characterization of the law was not entirely erroneous.

Legal Elasticity is Often stretched to the breaking strain when the interests of the master class are either directly or indirectly involved, but how differently it is when the shoe is on the other foot, and workmen are haled before the judiciary.

The accusation is often hurled at the labor press that it "foment class hatred." This is a cliche. "By their acts shall ye know them." The ordinary mortal, free from the chloroform of court procedure, notes that when it is a question to be decided affecting the interests of the Two Classes the worker gets it "in the neck," and he then reaches his own conclusions without any outside suggestion.

Instances like this ought to be potent lessons to the working class that they must co-operate politically as well as industrially if they expect to control the machinery of state for their own protection.

"Let us talk about why we who produce nothing are rich, while those who produce everything are poor," said the Gentleman.

"It isn't true," said the Statistician. "Nor new," said the Historian. "Nor pleasant," said the Lady. "Nor permanent," said the Benevolent.

"Nor profitable," said the Clergyman. "Nor nothing," said the Politician. "It may foster discontent," said the President, "and alienate—ahem—support from our institution. Let us discuss a subject agreeable to us all—eh?—The Drink Evil Amongst the Lower Classes."—The (Scotland) Border Counties Young Liberal.

DUMP THE MASTERS OFF YOUR BACK! By The Rip-Saw Post. Tune: "Take It To The Lord In Prayer." Are you poor, forlorn and hungry? Are there lots of things you lack? Is your life made up of misery? Dump the masters off your back! Are your clothes all patched and tattered? Are you living in a shack? Would you have your troubles scattered? Dump the masters off your back!

Are you almost split asunder? Loaded like a long-eared jack? Boob, why don't you buck like a thunder? Dump the masters off your back! All the agonies you suffer. You can end with one good whack—Stiffen up, you ornery duffer—Dump the masters off your back!

Socialism has reached that stage where it can only be injured by its friends.—Er.

Thirty-nine Miners Sentenced

At Nanaimo, B. C., Oct. 23

TWO YEARS J. J. Taylor Paul Deconich Sam Guthrie John Morgan Wm. Simpson, Jr.

ONE YEAR, AND \$100 FINE (Or in default four months) John Ailsopp, Jr. J. H. Armstrong Chas. Axelson Wm. Bauld Geo. Bombers Sam Brightman Jas. Colly Robert Coscar Peter Galsusta H. H. Langdon Duncan McKenzie John McKenzie John Malra, Jr. Jas. Marshall Chas. Mortimer Steve Mrs Steve Puyanich Geo. Portray Wm. Stackhouse Martin Slegar Jas. Wallace Robert Walkinshaw Chas. Yoga

THREE MONTHS AND \$50 FINE (Or in default two months) Henry Dyer John Fisher Ernest James Alvar Kotilla Richard Morgan, Sr. Wm. Patterson Wm. Sterling John Scott Henry Taylor Richard Whisker Edward Williams

Some fanatics may still contend that political power is a myth, and government but a shadow, but workers whose brains have not been paralyzed by endless repetition of shibboleths will realize that it is political power in the hands of the capitalist class that has functioned, and will continue to function, in like manner until the workers seize and use it for their own purposes.

Propaganda Meeting EVERY SUNDAY EVENING IN THE EMPRESS THEATRE

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1913

LAW AND ITS FUNCTION

happenings on Vancouver Island and in the interior of B. C., when placed in juxtaposition, should form an illuminating and instructive study of those members of the working class (now, fortunately, not so numerous as formerly, due to the multiplication of similar examples) who have been in the habit of accepting as "gospel truth" the assertions of capitalism's prostituted press and human mouthpieces as to the purity of purpose and impartiality of Law, as made and administered. The falsity of the claim and its hypocrisy is so apparent in the instances referred to that no more than the barest mention is now allowed to appear in the capitalist press.

Nor are the object-lessons confined to this outpost of "Our Glorious Empire." The real nature and effect of the much lauded "impartial administration of the law under the protecting folds of the Union Jack" (to quote a stock phrase) are also being demonstrated with unconcealed vigor and brutality in the heart of the Empire, where all disputed interpretations of the law are finally settled.

There, members of the ruling class are perambulating the country advocating armed resistance to the government in the event of the passage of the Home Rule Bill, and arming and training thousands of their working class dupes with that end in view—and no law is invoked to prevent them. On the other hand, the transport workers of Dublin (a working class organization from top to bottom) go on strike to gain better terms, and the police forces of the government attack and mercilessly beat up men, women and children of the working class attending an absolutely peaceful and orderly meeting of the strikers—with fatal results.

On Vancouver Island the miners appeal to the government to compel the mine-owners to observe the laws enacted to protect life and limb in that dangerous industry, and their appeals are ignored. They strike, and their places are filled, as far as possible, with Orientals (a direct violation of the law) and armed thugs are employed by the mine-owners to intimidate the strikers engaged in the lawful process of peaceful picketing, and to provoke them into overt reprisals by insulting their women. When the resulting resentment takes tangible form, and the miners take steps to remove the disorderly element from their midst (a "duty" ignored by the government police) the majesty of the law is invoked—not against the capitalists who had provoked the outbreak by their defiance of the law, but against the strikers, whose every effort until then had been to keep within the law.

The Salmo incident, where a number of business men heroically beat up a single peaceful picketer, and escaped scot free, is another case in point.

With these, and numberless other multiplying instances, it is easy for the Socialist to illustrate the truth of the materialist conception of history, which lays down the axiom that the institutions of any society divided into classes reflect the ideas and conserve the interests of the dominant class in that society. In these days the capitalists form the dominant class, and the institution of the law-making power, with its interpreting and enforcing departments, was created and is maintained in the interest and for the defence of that class alone.

This being the case, who can say, that, in the incidents referred to above, the law has not been performing its proper function, i. e., protecting the interests of the capitalist class, which is the dominant class, as against the interests of the workers, who form the subject class.

The governments, in straining or ignoring the law to punish the revolting slaves of capital, have done their duty as the executive committee of the master class, to whom alone they owe allegiance. The law has performed its proper function, and if it had been exercised in a manner that would protect the slaves against their masters, those responsible would have been traitors to their salt. If it continues to function properly as vigorously in the future as in the past, the workers will rapidly realize the necessity of seizing the political power, which will enable them to formulate their own institutions, and administer their own conception of law. That involves the disappearance of warring classes, governments and governed, and the institution of a society based upon co-operation—Socialism.

THE SCAVENGERS

"Law and Order." With whatunction does the phrase fall from the lips of its devotees, the whole labor skinning fraternity, when it is invoked to drive back to the bastilles of exploitation those who have revolted against the inhuman conditions of their servitude? It is constantly the cry of those who are beneficiaries of the system, the scavengers, law-abiding and lawless alike, from the boss of the mine, down to the type of

social hyenas who exist only by sufferance of the more powerful beasts of prey, and whose delight it is to howl and yap in unison with the howlings of the larger carnivorous Lackeys, flunkies and lickspittles have the latter type been down through the ages, but it is more than doubtful if any previous society has produced such a contemptible type as capitalism exhibits in our small-time business fraternity. (Let those whom the cap fits, wear it). The fag-ends of surplus value fall to their share in dispensing to the productive slaves of capital the portion that has ever been the lot of slaves, the necessary modicum of commodities that are consumed in the process of reproducing the energy exhausted in mill, mine and factory. When the slaves throw down their tools and refuse to return to work until some of the most objectionable conditions of their servitude are eliminated, these cringing, fawning hucksters of wares, seeing sales diminishing and lean income disappearing, foam at the mouth like cadavers stricken with hydrophobia, and curse and revile where they previously crawled. Lying in a manner that would put an Ananias to shame, concerning the issues in dispute between the rebellious slaves and their exploiters, they circulate reports of dissension in the ranks of the strikers which are seized and scattered broadcast by the capitalist press in the effort of creating mutual distrust amongst them. In order that their crumbs of surplus value shall continue to fall from the table of the larger capitalists, all their efforts are directed to the end of driving the workers back to their slavery. If unsuccessful, desperation drives them to accounts of valor, as portrayed in the account of happenings in another column. True to the instincts of their scavenger ancestry, they will sustain up courage to hunt in packs in search of isolated members of the rebellious slaves, and with boot and blackjack proceed to convince him of the error of his ways.

If successful, they once more assume the role of hucksters, dissembling with smiles and smirks the hate that is born of fear.

Let the workers learn the lesson as rapidly as possible, that the middle class, as a class, is their most inveterate foe, and the most dangerous, because most cowardly, section of the master class. Let them remember their deeds in these industrial struggles for bread when their political mouthpieces come seeking votes for the "party of progress," whether they masquerade under the title of Liberal, Labor, Liberal-Labor, or perchance, Conservative.

Some two and a half years ago the authorities of Victoria, B. C., woke up (they do, occasionally) to the fact that Socialist propaganda was being vigorously carried on, and had been for the previous half-dozen years, at a corner in the city where many slaves were wont to congregate on a Saturday night and absorb the pernicious teachings. The privilege enjoyed by the Salvation Army of having the first innings on the corner served the useful purpose of assembling the slaves to listen to the gospel of heaven here and now, and the proper function of the army of the Lord was thus diverted, perverted, and subverted from the preaching of contentment, humility and patience to these slaves, to that of acting as a booster for the meeting to follow, at which they were exhorted to look into the reasons for the existence of such organizations as the aforesaid Army, to think for themselves, discard the trappings of slavery, and fight like men for an existence worthy of human beings. The reds were therefore notified that they would have to move down into the deserted wholesale district and talk to the moon and stars, leaving the Salvation Army to throw the terrors of a future hell into the slaves undisturbed. The resulting difference of opinion between the authorities and the Socialists as to the ability of the former to make this glaring discrimination stick was settled (for the time being) by a brutal display of the final argument, force. Mounted and unmounted bodies of "Victoria's finest" proceeded to cut up the Socialists and their audience into small pieces, driving them into stores, riding over the sidewalks, crushing women and children against the buildings, and generally behaving according to the best traditions of the service. One of the most conspicuous in this work, by the evident zest with which he performed his congenial task, was one Sydney J. Beckman, of the mounted contingent, whose utterly fearless heroism in braving the dangers to be expected from an unarmed and peaceful assembly of the most peaceful class in society, ought to go down in history with "The Deeds that Won the Empire."

AN ECHO

A recent press item from Victoria shows how it is possible for the mighty to fall. This same individual has just been sentenced by the very power by which he was employed on the occasion referred to to one month's imprisonment for obtaining money under false pretences, and—whisper it not in Gath—cried and blubbered like a baby in an attempt to gain the clemency of the court.

REBELLION IS NOT REVOLUTION

None knew better than Bebel that revolt and rebellion are not social revolution, nay, that they may easily be, and often are, mere waves of reaction stimulating an advance. The revolution for which German Social Democrats are preparing is a complete economic and ethical and social transformation from competition to co-operation, from domination to equality, from slavery to freedom. But this, incidentally, the greatest triumph that man ever achieved, can only be accomplished by a thorough and general and scientific comprehension of the causes which have brought society to the stage which it has reached, as well as of the inevitability of the great change that trained Socialists alone can handle to the advantage of all.—London Justice.

CRITICS

In nothing is the weakness of defense of capitalism more vividly portrayed than in the diatribes of adverse critics of Socialism. A common characteristic of the essays of these critics is to set up a straw man, label it "Socialism," and then proceed to demolish it. All the diatribes of the present system are the regular attributes of this apparatus; and if these are not sufficient for the purpose in hand, then all the personal weaknesses or shortcomings, real or apparent, of an individual who somewhere or sometime advocated Socialism, communism or anarchism, are conjured up as the regular and orthodox teachings and practices of all who oppose the established order. National platforms and official declarations that have received the formal sanction of the entire party and the standard and up-to-date authorities everywhere are passed by as matters of no moment. Somebody, somewhere, sometime, said so-and-so, and that settles the whole matter beyond dispute for the entire race of Socialists and for the system of industry and administration they propose to establish. When they are driven to such straits it is ample evidence that facts and

EDMONTON

Comrade—I am seeking through the medium of The Clarion enlightenment on a point which has been puzzling me more than a little, and considering myself the average man I must also consider that many others are in the same position and needing knowledge. I trust you will therefore lead yourselves to a little discussion on the question which, briefly stated, is this: "How do you reconcile the statement that all commodities exchange at their value on the average?" with the fact that the average American worker each day produces commodities which sell for ten dollars whilst only receiving two dollars in return. I am sure that facts explaining this contradiction from men who understand the socialist philosophy would be welcomed by the rank and file. Yours in revolt, T. SANDERS.

THE LABORER, HIS COMMODITY AND HIS PRODUCT

Our correspondent's difficulty will be removed by an understanding of the difference between the laborer's commodity—his labor-power—and the exercise of the labor-power, which is labor.

All commodities exchange, on the average, on the basis of the amount of socially necessary labor-time embodied or crystallized in the process of their production. This includes the commodity labor-power, the physical and mental energy of the worker. The socially necessary labor that is required for the production of that energy is embodied in the quantity of the requisite commodities that must be consumed by the laborer in order that he may continue to be the subject of exploitation by the capitalist—enough food, clothing, shelter, working class "luxuries" and amusements as may be called for by the prevalent standard of living in any community. The sum total of these necessary commodities of value collectively form the value of the labor-power, and expressed in money, form the laborer's wages. So, in selling his life-force for what it cost to produce it, the laborer receives its full value as a commodity which is subject to the same economic laws that govern the exchange of all others. Where does the exploitation come in?

For purposes of illustration we will assume that the average wage in Canada is \$2.00 per day, and the average amount of wealth produced per head of producers employed is \$10.00 per day.

The wage of \$2.00 per day would then represent that quantity of commodities that the average laborer needed to exist and function as a laborer. The \$10.00 includes the \$2.00 wages, and the average working day is 10 hours. By working for the capitalist two hours the laborer would have created for the former a value equivalent to the sum he would receive in wages for that day, and if the process stopped there, the transaction would be fair and equitable. But the working day is ten hours, and for the additional eight hours he works the laborer receives no equivalent, in any shape or form.

The value of the product of the day's work is \$10.00, and the laborer gets out of it only the value of the commodities he has consumed to produce the human energy he has expended, represented by \$2. That is his wage, the value of his labor-power, expressed in monetary terms. The value of the day's labor is represented by the value of the whole product—\$10.00. The capitalist has bought, and the laborer has sold, the commodity labor-power at its value. All the other commodities used up in the process of the day's work have also been bought at their value, and yet a surplus accrues to the capitalist. Why? Because the labor-power has the faculty possessed by no other commodity under the sun—that of creating a value greater than was embodied in its own production. All the other commodities but render up to the capitalist, by wear and tear, the value that is crystallized in them. That value is merely transferred to the commodities produced, without any excess or surplus. The laborer not only renders up the equivalent of the value of his labor-power in the first two hours, but continues to surrender an equal amount for every two hours he works, for the capitalist has bought his services for the whole day. He is not paid for his labor. Only the full equivalent of the wealth produced by him would pay for that. He is paid for his labor-power, his ability to work, which he has to sell as a commodity on account of the ownership of the means by which he must exist being vested in another. "It is this sort of exchange between capital and labor upon which capitalist production, or the wage system, is founded, and which must constantly result in reproducing the workingman as a workingman and the capitalist as a capitalist." (Value, Price and Profit, Marx.)

CRITICS

In nothing is the weakness of defense of capitalism more vividly portrayed than in the diatribes of adverse critics of Socialism. A common characteristic of the essays of these critics is to set up a straw man, label it "Socialism," and then proceed to demolish it. All the diatribes of the present system are the regular attributes of this apparatus; and if these are not sufficient for the purpose in hand, then all the personal weaknesses or shortcomings, real or apparent, of an individual who somewhere or sometime advocated Socialism, communism or anarchism, are conjured up as the regular and orthodox teachings and practices of all who oppose the established order. National platforms and official declarations that have received the formal sanction of the entire party and the standard and up-to-date authorities everywhere are passed by as matters of no moment. Somebody, somewhere, sometime, said so-and-so, and that settles the whole matter beyond dispute for the entire race of Socialists and for the system of industry and administration they propose to establish. When they are driven to such straits it is ample evidence that facts and

logic fall them. Their only available substitutes are misrepresentation and abuse.

For instance, Socialists are charged with desiring to take the property from the nation and divide it up among the people. The author would apologize for any reference to this absurdity. Socialists demand the collective ownership, the democratically opposite of any sort of partition of the concerns. Let us look a moment at some facts.

The entire real and personal property of the United States is valued at a hundred million dollars. The annual product of the nation's labor is valued at nearly forty billions. That constitutes capitalism. Capitalism divides as we have seen. The exploiters fatten on the division, but the producers don't. It is this division that Socialism will stop, and that is where it speaks death to capitalism. Socialists will divide that product among the producers of it, and on the basis of equal justice there will be nothing for the exploiter. (Richardson.)

SOCIALISM

Socialism is not a consequence of philosophic dreams, any more than is a certain type of plant or animal. It is a product of evolution in economic institutions. It is a child of necessity, not of speculative philosophy. It must come as a means of adaptation of industrial methods to industrial environment. It is that toward which the whole process of supplying the needs of the human race is irresistibly drifting. It is not a human invention; it is an historical discovery. It is not an ideal to be worked out in some isolated or non-isolated colony. It is a system of industry as world-wide as capitalism itself. It is not communism any more than capitalism or anarchism. Socialism may evolve into communism, but wholly that is a matter for the people of a Socialist world to determine. It is so concerned of our evolutionary processes move by steps, and despite the theory of sudden changes in life as advanced by the mutationists, we are not expected or justified in expecting these processes to jump the fence. Then says a critic: "Socialists are not consistent. Your co-operative commonwealth must come a step at a time, the ownership of water, street-lighting, ownership of railroads, telephones and so on to the end." Workingmen, get down and do some hard thinking on these lines. The sooner you get the revolution into your heads the sooner will come about your emancipation.

SOCIALIST

HAS ANYBODY HERE SEEN MR. POTTS?

First it was David Goldstein, then S. G. Shurtliff of Lewiston and finally John E. Potts, who posed as would-be Socialist killers. After the two earlier species of capitalist human tools disappeared from public observation without accepting the sallowy chance to a debate on Socialism, up comes this fierce and mighty John E. Potts, organizer Brotherhood of Carpenters. He bangs and raps Socialism right and left at a workmen's mass meeting in Portland. Four days later the Socialists of Portland challenged him to a debate. The challenge was sent to Mr. Potts and published in the Portland dailies. Soon it was discovered, however, that Mr. Potts had departed for foreign lands.

Comrade F. Hyatt of St. John advised that Mr. Potts was busy in his city, as he had been in Portland, organizing workmen. Comrade Hyatt had clipped the challenge of local Portland from a Portland paper and confronted Mr. Potts at a Socialist meeting with it. He was asked for an explanation and given the floor in a debate which proved the shining hour for Socialists in St. John.

Mr. Potts, who puts up an argument against Socialism that any 10-year-old boy would be ashamed of, was beaten to a frazzle by the comrades of St. John, and believe me, the Socialists of Portland are anxious to get his goat. At St. John he offered the excuse that he had stayed in Portland twelve weeks and that the Socialists there had wanted to challenge him until he had left town. But the people of Portland are on to his game, and evidently he realizes that it takes brains to know Socialism, for it was not until after twelve weeks of hard study that he finally decided to rely upon his stored-up knowledge of Socialism as a free love and dividing up movement.

A mass meeting of the carpenters and joiners was arranged and the bombardment took place. Many of the audience left the hall in disgust a long time before Mr. Potts had finished his wild aim at Socialism; others stuck it out to see what kind of capitalist variety this species of humanity belonged to.

The next morning when he came out of his dreams something happened without much delay. Mr. Potts left seeking other fields of narrow-mindedness. He landed way up in St. John. But to his surprise he found that the workmen there were prepared to give any man of his calibre a warm reception. Portland Socialists stand ready as ever at any time to receive Mr. Potts and give him a good time. He has been offered all kinds of inducements to come to Portland. His home is at Rosedale, a little ways outside of Boston, and his travelling expenses could easily be covered by sale of tickets or a collection. But Mr. Potts has not been heard from up to this date. It seems that he has taken to the woods like David Goldstein and Shurtliff.—The Issue, Portland, Me.

NELSON

Ed. Clarion: Please find herewith \$1 for renewal of Clarion sub. for one year. Attended comic opera at K. of C. Hall here last Monday evening. Donely starring. Quite laughable. Cheap at the price of free admission. One of the faithful when spoken to about it the next morning did not know whether Donely was for or against Socialism, and he was at the meeting too; how is that for human intelligence. Yours, A. W. HARROD. (This is presumably Father Donolly, the anti-Socialist.—Ed.)

Socialist Party Directory

- BOHEMIA RESERVE COMMITTEE: Socialist Party of Canada, meets every Friday, 9 p.m., at 516 Main St. J. H. Brurrough, Secretary.
BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Socialist Party of Canada meets same as above.
ALBERTA PROVINCIAL RESERVE COMMITTEE: Socialist Party of Canada, meets every alternate Tuesday, at 419 Eighth Ave. East. Surt E. Anderson, Secretary, Box 1194, Calgary.
SASKATCHEWAN PROVINCIAL RESERVE COMMITTEE: S. P. of C. in this province to communicate with them on organization matters. Address, D. McMillan, 9 Skipton Rd., So. Hill, Moose Jaw, Sask.
MANITOBA PROVINCIAL RESERVE COMMITTEE: Notice—This card is inserted for the purpose of getting "Y.O.I." 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, R. C. McCatherson, Room 4, 530 Main St., Winnipeg.
ONTARIO & QUEBEC PROVINCIAL SECRETARY: F. Baughman, Box 144, Station B, Montreal, P. Q. All Socialists desiring information on organization matters, or literature, should write to the above address, and will receive prompt attention.
NOVA SCOTIA PROVINCIAL RESERVE 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 Cochran, Secretary, Box 491, Glace Bay, N.S.
NEW BRUNSWICK PROVINCIAL SECRETARY: F. Hyatt, 184 Moore St., St. John, N. B. For party literature and information re organization matters, etc., write to above address.
LOCAL FREEBIE, S. P. of C. holds educational meetings in the Miners' Union Hall every Sunday at 7:30 p.m. Business meeting third Sunday in each month, 12:30 p.m. Economic class every Sunday afternoon at 2:30. W. L. Phillips, Secretary, Box 664.
LOCAL SOCIETY, S. P. of C. meets in Miners' Hall every Sunday at 7:30 p.m. E. Campbell, Organizer. Will Jones, Secretary, Box 125. Finlay branch meets in Finlay's Hall Sundays at 7:30 p.m. A. Sebbie, Secretary, Box 64, Roseland, B. C.
LOCAL SOCIETY, S. P. of C. holds propaganda meetings every day in the month, from 2 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. in Socialist Hall, opposite P.O. Economic classes every Tuesday and Friday, 7 p.m. Propaganda meeting every Sunday, 3 p.m. in Socialist Hall. Thos. Carney, Financial Sec. W. Walker, Correspondent.
LOCAL VANCOUVER No. 1, S. P. of C. Business meeting every Tuesday evening at headquarters, 215 Hastings St. East. H. Rahim, Secretary.
VANCOUVER LETTER LOCAL No. 2, S. P. of C.—Business meeting every second Sunday of the month and propaganda meeting every fourth Sunday. Open to everybody at Room 221, Labor Temple, at 2 p.m. Secretary, H. W. Cook, Box 1614.
LOCAL VANCOUVER, S. P. of C. No. 45 Finnish. Meets every second and fourth Wednesdays in the month at 2215 Pender St. East. Ovia Lind, Secretary.
LOCAL GIBSON'S LANE, S. P. of C. No. 49, S. P. C. Meets first and third Sundays of each month in Socialist

PLATFORM Socialist Party of Canada

We, the Socialist Party of Canada, in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to and support of the principles and programme of the revolutionary working class. Labor produces all wealth, and to the producers it should belong. The present economic system is based upon capitalist ownership of the means of production, consequently all the products of labor belong to the capitalist class. The capitalist is therefore master; the worker a slave. So long as the capitalist class remains in possession of the reins of government all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend their property rights in the means of wealth production and their control of the product of labor. The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits, and to the worker an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation. The interest of the working class lies in the direction of setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system, under which is cloaked the robbery of the working class at the point of production. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into collective or working-class property. The irrepressible conflict of interest between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the reins of government—the capitalist to hold, the worker to secure it by political action. This is the class struggle. Therefore, we call upon all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada, with the object of conquering the public powers for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic programme of the working class, as follows: 1. The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into the collective property of the working class and the workers. 2. The democratic organization and management of industry by use instead of production for profit. The Socialist Party when in office shall always and everywhere until the present system is abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: Will this legislation advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it will, the Socialist Party is for it; if it will not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it. In accordance with this principle the Socialist Party pledges itself to conduct all the public affairs placed in its hands in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class alone.

SOCIALISM AND THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST OF THE FITTEST (By J. Connell, author of "The Red Flag") THE WAY TO POWER. (By J. B. Osborne) Pamphlets NOW READY To Locals, \$2.75 per 100 35c per dozen REVISED PRICE (includes Expressage)

Rhymes of Revolt BY WILFRED GIBBLE Next little volume of verse 25c. Special price for quantities For Sale at the "Clarion" Office

A World Review of Socialism By the best writers in Europe and America will be found in THE NEW REVIEW at 5 p.m. in Miners' Hall, Nelson, B. C. I. A. Austin, Secretary. NEW REVIEW 120 Stearns St. New York City

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

This page is devoted to reports of Executive Committees, Locals, and General Party Matters. Address all communications to J. H. Burroughs, Secretary, 516 Main St., Vancouver, B. C.

B. C. PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Vancouver, Oct. 17, 1913. Convened at 516 Main St. at 8 p.m. Present: Reid, Sidaway, Pritchard, Rahm and secretary. Sidaway in the chair.

Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read. Correspondence from Locals Langley No. 73, Crawford Bay No. 72 (2), Fernie No. 17, Victoria No. 3 (3), Cumberland No. 70, Vancouver No. 45, R. Walker, Cumberland; J. B. Osborne, Victoria; J. Pilkington, Enderby; J. F. Johnson, Sec. Local Enderby No. 65; W. H. Ferguson, Riondel, and Paul Anderson, Websters Corners. Routine. Filed.

Secretary reported Com. Walker in town, and in view of the fact that the money for his fare from the Pass and Boundary locals had not arrived, asked for a warrant for \$40 for same, to be replaced as the contributions came in from the locals. Any excess received could be forwarded to Com. Walker for expense and wage account. Warrant ordered drawn.

Financial Report

Table with columns: Receipts, Expenses. Includes items like Local Langley No. 73, stamps, Local Cumberland No. 70, stamps, Expenses, To Organizer Walker, Office rent.

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Vancouver, Oct. 17, 1913. Convened as above. Sidaway in the chair. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

Correspondence from Locals St. Catharines No. 30, Langley No. 73, Regina No. 6, Red Deer No. 11, Moose Jaw No. 1, Sask. Exec. Committee, W. Gribble, Toronto; Wm. Searle, Sask.; O. Hammerton, Sask.; T. Mellalieu, Ft. William; Wm. Lewis, Calgary; W. H. Moore, Nanaimo; Moses Baritz, (2) Calgary; S. F. News Co.; C. M. O'Brien, Coleman (2); H. C. Besant, Red Deer, and F. Hyatt, St. John, N. B.

(Local Moose Jaw endorses the referendum 10 to 9; Red Deer votes against it 9 to 11, and Local Langley also by 4 to 3). Filed.

The proposition of appointing Com. F. Hyatt as Provincial Secretary for the Province of New Brunswick having been endorsed by Local St. John No. 1, the appointment was made, and secretary instructed to forward the necessary supplies.

Secretary was instructed to inform Com. Alex. Paterson, of Winnipeg, that having received endorsements of the proposal submitted by him to attend the next International Congress at Vienna as representative of the Socialist Party of Canada, the Executive appointed him as fraternal delegate, to report his impressions of the proceedings of the Congress for the information of the party membership.

Financial Report

Table with columns: Receipts, Expenses. Includes items like Clarion receipts, Clarion Fund, Expenses, Clarion No. 731, pgs. & mailing, Dodgers, P. O. stamps, Sec'y. wages, Sundries.

Adjournment

J. H. BURROUGHS, Secretary.

B. C. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Vancouver, Oct. 24, 1913. Convened at 516 Main St. at 8 p.m. Present: Sidaway, Rahm, Reid, Pritchard and secretary. Pritchard in the chair.

Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read. Correspondence from Locals Nakusp No. 74, Nelson No. 4, Enderby No. 65, Victoria No. 3 (2), Revelstoke No. 7, J. W. Bennett, Phoenix; M. J. B. Harper, Hardy Bay; F. Simpson, Victoria; Paul Anderson, Websters Corners; Fred Atkinson and A. Gill, Riondel. Routine. Filed.

Financial Report

Table with columns: Receipts, Expenses. Includes items like Local Enderby No. 65, stamps, Local Nakusp No. 74, Org. Fd., (for Com. Walker's expenses), Jas. Cuthbertson, dues, Expenses, Grant to Org. Cassidy, Sundries.

DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Vancouver, Oct. 24, 1913. Convened as above, Pritchard in the chair. Minutes of previous meeting adopted as read.

Correspondence from Locals Ottawa No. 3, South Fort George No. 61, St. Catharines No. 30, Regina No. 6, Canmore No. 53, Winnipeg No. 1, Cumberland No. 70, C. H. Lake, Stewart, B. C.; H. Martin, Berlin, Ont.; Geo. Rosseter, Toronto; J. D. Houston, Edmonton; Alex. Paterson, Winnipeg; C. G. Johnson, Carmi, B. C.; A. R. Pearson, Redcliffe, Alta.; A. A. Cronk, Dowling Lake, Alta.; W. Gribble, Orville, Ont.; Jas. Cuthbertson, Greenwood, B. C.; and Moses Baritz, Fernie, B. C. (Locals South Ft. George, Cumberland and Winnipeg endorse the referendum. In the minutes of the meeting of the Executive on the 17th inst., inadvertently omitted from the last issue, are acknowledgements of the action taken by Locals Moose Jaw No. 1, Red Deer No. 11 and Langley, B. C., No. 73, the first local endorsing, and the two latter rejecting it.)

AM correspondence filed. A resolution from Local Berlin, Ont.

No. 18 (S.D.P.) concerning the action of the B. C. government on Vancouver Island, was also ordered filed.

A discussion on the local political situation ensued, and the financial report was called for.

Financial Report

Table with columns: Receipts, Expenses. Includes items like Clarion receipts, Clarion fund, Literature sales, Expenses, Editing No. 732, Thompson Stacy Co., typewriter, E. T. Kingsley, on acc., P. O. stamps, Office rent, Local Van. No. 1, literature.

Adjournment. J. H. BURROUGHS, Secretary.

CLARION PUBLISHING ACCOUNT

No. 732

RECEIPTS

Table with columns: Subscriptions, Bundles, Directory, Ads.

EXPENSES

Table with columns: Grant from Maintenance Fd., Editing, Printing and mailing.

CLARION FUND (Maintenance)

Bal. on hand, Oct. 13, 1913, \$47.45

British Columbia: Lo. Langley No. 73, Ass't. \$1.20, Lo. Enderby No. 65, Ass't. .50, C. G. Johnson 7.50, C. H. Lake (per) 4.00, 13.20

Alberta: A. R. Pearson \$1.00, W. Lewis 1.00, 2.00

Saskatchewan: W. B. Bird \$2.25, Gunder Hovels 1.60, W. B. Downing 100.00, A. Friend 102.35

Ontario: Lo. St. Catharines No. 30, \$1.00, Lo. Ottawa No. 3, 1.25, H. Martin 70, 2.95

Manitoba: Lo. Winnipeg No. 1, Ass't. \$1.50, 1.50

Grant to Pub. Acc. 3.85

Bal. on Hand, Oct. 27, 1913, \$165.60

B. C. ORGANIZING FUND

Bal. on Hand, Oct. 13, 1913, \$3.65

Local Nakusp No. 74 (for Org. Walker's expenses) 10.00

Bal. on Hand, Oct. 25, 1913, \$13.65

SECRETARIAL

At the time of writing Com. Walker is in the Boundary country, and Com. W. L. Phillips, Box 504, Fernie, is arranging all the details. Locals and organizations wishing his services as an exponent of working class philosophy who have not already done so should communicate at once with Com. Phillips for a date. Com. Walker spoke in Vancouver on his way up, and earned the emphatic commendation of the local reds for the way in which he handled his subject. He is no orator, praise God; he simply talks like a worker to workers on subjects of vital concern to his class in a way that holds his audience without the aid of any fireworks or appeals to superficial enthusiasts. He is a typical product of the S.P.C.

The Provincial Executive advanced \$40 to Com. Walker for his initial expenses, which was calculated to make his way smooth as far as Nelson, and intimated to the locals that reimbursement would be appreciated, as the money was needed for the production of this number of the Clarion. As matters have turned out, the revenue since the last issue has been sufficient to meet the bill, but the money will still be acceptable for general organizing expenses, but it is not desired nor expected that the locals shall strain themselves to send it in. A glance at the Clarion Maintenance Fund account in this issue will explain the lack of insistence upon this point. Still, the running expenses of the Executive are heavy, and some large bills are still unpaid which it would be a relief to get out of the way. So, if it can be done without crippling local activity, please send in the money. Any excess received over and above the amount advanced to Com. Walker will be forwarded to him, to assist in paying his expenses and wages.

News has been received by the Dominion Executive from a source that is considered reliable that the Dominion election will come off next spring. So get ready, and the best thing you can do in preparation for the fray is to get as many slaves as possible to read this paper between now and then, so that they will be fit to utilize the ballot intelligently in their own interests when voting time comes around.

The activity of the comrades in Riondel, B. C., is mainly responsible for the fact that there is no deficit on the paper this week. Three of them have sent in a total of 39 yearly subs in the last few weeks. This is a quart-mining camp, and if the others in that district catch the infection there will be something doing in organization in the Boundary and Pass districts this winter. At present it is the only quart-mining camp in B. C. that has anything like a decent

sub list, although many of the unions are taking bundles.

Com. O'Brien (through whom the welcome donation to the party funds arrived) states that he is contemplating a tour, organizing and speaking, right through to the Atlantic, and back, staying a while with his family in Ontario. Locals along the line of route who wish his services should communicate at once with him at Box 58, Coleman, Alta.

Com. Gribble is now at his home on Parry Sound (Orville), where he intends staying for a month or so, in order that his father may get some increase from toll. Propaganda articles from his pen will soon be appearing in The Clarion.

Red Deer comrades recently had a visit from the indefatigable O'Brien, and got a full account of his speech in the local press, thus reaching an audience many times larger than that gathered in the hall. This is a method that can be copied with advantage where it is possible to get access to the columns of the press of our masters.

B. C. revolutionists are warned to clean their guns and keep their powder dry. There is a dandy scrap ahead.

THE REFERENDUM

The locals who have sent in their vote on the Referendum are as follows:

Enderby No. 65, B. C. Cumberland No. 70, B. C. South Fort George No. 61, B. C. Langley No. 73, B. C. Vancouver No. 1, B. C. Nakusp No. 74, B. C. Fernie No. 17, B. C. Victoria, No. 3, B. C. Winnipeg No. 1, Man. Red Deer No. 11, Alta. Delbourne No. 40, Alta. Edmonton No. 13, Alta. St. Catharines No. 30, Ont. Moose Jaw No. 1, Sask. St. John No. 1, N. B.

All locals have received the call to vote on this matter, and many yet have not replied. Local secretaries who have not already done so should bring the matter to the attention of their locals at once, and send in the returns immediately. Up to date the vote stands 95 ayes and 16 noes.

ENDERBY

October 19th, 1913.

Ed. Clarion—I am anxious to obtain some information as to the whereabouts of a comrade by the name of James Munro. This comrade last wrote to me from Victoria, B. C., about February last. He also wrote to his parents in Scotland about the same date, and in both letters signified his intention of going to the Island to take up land. He has not been heard from since, and his sister has written to me for information concerning him.

During last summer (1912) he worked as helper for some stone-masons in Vancouver. Later he went to the construction camps on the island, but finding conditions there intolerable he returned to Victoria. He attended the Socialist meetings every Sunday while in both cities, but whether he joined the local or not I am unable to say. However, he was an out-and-out red when he last wrote to me, so I concluded to request you to endeavor to locate him through the medium of The Clarion.

Description: Age—about 27 years. Weight—about 155 pounds. Height—about 5 ft. 8 in. Nationality—Scotch. Any expense incurred will be gladly borne by the writer.

Yours in the scrap, JACK PILKINGTON.

WALKER AT ENDERBY.

Com. Walker held a successful meeting here on Tuesday, October 21. We had an attendance of about 40 all told, producers all of them—with the exception of a real estate shark or two.

Com. Walker came fresh from the strike zone, and reviewed some of the happenings in that profit-ridden burg where the licensed butchers, sometimes called soldiers, are operating on the brains of the striking miners with batons and bayonets, and cleared some of the cobwebs from the brains of those who got all their information from the capitalist press.

Good seed was sown by Comrade Walker, which is sure to sprout when the class lines are drawn more clearly by economic conditions. The class-consciousness of the capitalist class and the ignorance of the working class was clearly pointed out, and it offended a few submissive slaves, who left the hall and made tracks for their bunks, so as to get more rest and store more energy for work in the morning. No doubt it was more soothing to their tired brains.

Comrade Walker gave an interesting talk on economics and held the crowds attention. The working class has been taught to hug the chains which bound them in slavery. The mission of the Socialist Party of Canada is to educate the workers as to their position in modern society. When we come to understand each other now blind us, but not before we educate ourselves will we ever accomplish anything for knowledge is power. Working Stiff! Read the Western Clarion and the literature published by the Socialist Party of Canada, and study what you read.

Your knowledge is preferable to your vote any time. If the Socialist Party came into office tomorrow without the intelligence of the workers behind it, it could do nothing, for the workers would not know what it was they wanted.

We don't ask any one for his vote. We ask every slave to do his own thinking. STEVE LELLMAN.

Think for yourselves lest you become a slave of other men's thoughts, and find yourself intellectually homeless as soon as your teachers and leaders happen to change their opinions.—Ed.

HERE AND NOW

Subs Received (A premium of \$1.00 worth of Socialist books is given for every \$10 worth of subs sent in. No time limit.)

Table with columns: Name, Amount. Includes Y. H. Q., A. Nicholson, Riondel, B. C., Fred Atkinson, Riondel, B. C., M. Baritz, Passburg, Alta., J. Pilkington, Enderby, B. C., J. E. McGregor, Crawford Bay, B. C., W. Davenport, Brantford, W. Sicuter, City, T. E. Moore, City, W. G. Dexton, Shelburne, E. W. Atkinson, Saskatoon, H. Adie, Calgary, C. M. O'Brien, Delburne, Alta., H. C. Besant, Red Deer, Local Victoria No. 3, D. Thomson, St. Catharines, W. B. Bird, Regina, M. L., Toronto.

Singles

Table with columns: Name, Amount. Includes 12 mos.—W. Lewis, A. W. Harrod, Paul Anderson, Thos. S. Hoar, J. A. S. Smith, Geo. A. Mitchell, J. Connor, W. M. McGraw, J. Cuthbertson, E. Simpson, Hugh Dixon, J. Rolfe, W. K. Bryce, Henry Host, W. Gribble, 6 mos.—Geo. Grazer, F. A. Johnston, H. Radford, 3 mos.—J. Watson.

The P. O. cannot deliver the paper to the following names for the reasons stated:

W. Haw, Box 60, City—no such box. Thos. Wight, Amyox, B. C.—unclaimed. Herschel Kaye, Rosedale, Alta.—removed. W. F. Scott, 304 Walter Scott Bldg., Moose Jaw—removed. S. N. Coates, 22 Omnica, Moose Jaw—removed, not called for. A. R. Anderson, 1537 11th Ave., City—removed.

Ninety-four new subs this week and nearly all yearlies. That is a little better, and if that average is kept up there will be no kick coming while this panic lasts, but we shall need more than this every week when spring arrives, for remember we are only publishing every two weeks, and we must have the weekly back before the Dominion elections are called. It will be a dandy scrap this time, with the probability of a Labor-Liberal-Democratic party in the field to entice the workers from the support of the only working class party in the country. We must get as many new readers, scattered over as large an area, as possible.

O'BRIEN REPORTS

Sept. 30th. Comrades—Since my brief visit to Montana, I have assisted the Alberta comrades with eight indoor and about thirty open-air meetings. I also addressed four open-air meetings at Biggar, Sask., while visiting my sisters.

I did not keep account of the collections; suffice to say there is not a surplus. Comrade Adie gave me five dollars to renew his subscription to the Western Clarion, and to use the balance in sending the Clarion to any who I thought wanted it and could not afford to pay. Comrade McKennie gave me one dollar, and some comrades in Edmonton, who had to leave before the meeting was over, gave Comrade Jas. A. Stuart Smith one dollar to give to me.

Considering that money is tight, the sales of literature have been very good. Next report will contain more details, as it will be on the form for that purpose. All the organizers and speakers should make use of the forms, so as to give detailed and accurate reports.

C. M. O'BRIEN.

THE INCREASED COST OF LIVING.

The United States Bureau of Labor reports a big rise in the cost of living within the past ten years as follows:

Table with columns: Item, Percent Increase. Includes Bacon, 128.8, Steak, 102.5, Hams, 76.3, Corn meal, 57.3, Butter, 43.3, Milk, 43.3, Lard, 66.5, Eggs, 40.8, Flour, 26.6.

This would seem to indicate greatly increased prosperity of the farmers, but in these ten years the number of tenant farmers has greatly increased and the number of farm owners decreased. People are still going to the cities from the rural district because the opportunity of owning farms is fast passing away. There is no place to emigrate; no new worlds to conquer, and Socialism is our only hope.—Party Builder.

AN ACTUAL OCCURRENCE.

Scene, Brandon, Man.—Free Born Citizen opening drain on Fulchers estate—"Yes, we had a fine time open in' parliament. Old Teddy was a fine chap."

Socialist—Opening parliament! Why don't you open a bank account? Oh! Oh! Say, boys, here is a slave who once opened parliament, and now he is opening a drain. (To the F. B. C.) What were you doing?

F. B. C.—Oh, I was helping to keep the crowd back. You know, I was in the Guards.

Soc.—And so you were a soldier, and in the Guards! Feel that in a fine regiment! Can you remember how well they fought at Tonypandy, Belfast and Featherstone? Why, they won each engagement!

F. B. C. (throwing out his chest)—Yes, the Guards have got a good record, and I am proud to have belonged to them.

Soc.—Yes, you bet! They are quite a dignified regiment, are the Guards. Say! Did you hear or know about that protest they sent in during the Boer war?

F. B. C.—No. What was it?

Soc.—Why, the Guards protested to the British government because the Boers had got rifles. They said they were not used to that kind of warfare.

F. B. C. (tumbling)—Oh, you are trying to make a fool of me. If I was you I would be ashamed. A big fellow like you should be in the army.

Soc.—Oh, yes! I tried to join once, but father put his hand on my head and said, "Geordie, my son, be a man, not a soldier." (The Free Born Citizen collapsed.)

THE WAY TO POWER

J. B. OSBORNE (Continued from last issue.)

The development of the working-class view-point will, in itself, within a very few years make war impossible between the great nations of the world, and thus we have arrived almost at that period when the power of the intellect is not only the great factor in conquering the forces of nature, but also in the bringing about of their utilization for the benefit of all mankind, without the necessity of bloodshed or social catastrophe.

CHAPTER VIII

POLITICAL POWER.

Political power is that power arising from the control of the legislative, executive, judicial and military forces of the State.

We have already shown how the intellectual development of the proletariat was made not only possible, but necessary, by the capitalist mode of production. Following in the wake of the intellectual development of the proletariat and the general diffusion of present-day knowledge came the extension of the franchise to the proletariat in the whole world of capitalism.

The development of the forces of capitalist production has prepared a material condition for the social ownership and democratic management of all the means of wealth production, and the intellectual development resulting therefrom has prepared a way, through the ballot box, for the peaceful transformation of capitalist property into collective wealth as a result of the widespread effect of the development of the Socialist view-point and the social concept.

That social concept which places the collective well-being above every other interest, together with the ever-increasing vote of the Socialist Party, has already had its effect on legislation by capitalist governments. In Germany, France, and nearly every other country in Europe, the governments have made many concessions to the working class, not only in the ever larger and larger increase of the suffrage, but in the economic conditions also. The recent legislative action in England, as well as in some of the American States, on the subject of the establishment of legal minimum wage and maximum hours, while voluntary, involves tremendous concessions on the part of the capitalist class.

Not that any immediate economic advantage can accrue to the working class as a result of such legislation. In California, for instance, a universal eight-hour law came within eleven votes of passing in the California legislature. Such a law is already passed in Australia and other countries, and such laws will be passed by various States with great rapidity in the near future. In California, two years ago, a law was passed establishing an eight-hour work day for women, and the present legislative session appointed a commission to investigate the wages paid to women with the view of enacting at the next session a minimum wage law for women.

Such legislation by a capitalist State is a plain admission of the power of the State to control capitalist property. In fact, such legislation is laying the foundation to undermine the power of the capitalist class, not only in the control, but even in the ownership of capitalist property. For if the State has power to say to the capitalist, "You shall only work your employees so many hours per week," and that "You shall pay your employees not less than so many dollars per week," it then logically follows that the power of the State can be legally extended to the point where it can say, in the interest of the social well-being, "What is now capitalist property shall be the collective wealth of all, in order that all may be able to appropriate their share of all the social progress of the past and present."

In taking note of the class struggles between different factions of the propertied classes in the past, it is evident that the wealth of one class has not been shifted to another class until the political power was first shifted, and the transformation of capitalist property into social wealth will take place by shifting the political power from the hands of the capitalist class to the hands of the working class.

For that reason the Socialist Party endeavors to constitute a working class political party separate and distinct from all parties of the capitalist class, finally getting complete control of the political power of the State and nation. "The irrepressible conflict of interests between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the reins of government—the capitalist to hold, the worker to secure it by political action. This is the class struggle."

The plane of power for working class organization is in the political field, and every extension of the franchise to the members of the working class assists them in the class struggle. Hence, the recent general strike in Belgium for the extension of the working class suffrage.

The workers go into the bowels of the earth and bring out the precious metals, but leave them all at the mine; they go into shoe factories and produce shoes, but do not take any of the shoes home with them; they go into watch factories and make watches, but do not take away a single watch with them. In fact, the workers produce all wealth, but do not own any part of their production. This is because the capitalists are organized not only industrially but politically, and this political organization and political power of the capitalist class enables them to maintain their ownership of the means of production, and the consequent power to appropriate the entire product of labor. If the workers at a mill, shop, mine or factory should start home with the production of their labor, they would be met with the political power of the capitalist class in the form of police, constabulary, militia, or the standing army. Knowing this, the working class quietly submits to its exploitation at the point of production, and knowing this, the working class has already begun the process of shifting the political power from the hands of the capitalist class to its own hands.

I was one time riding horse-back on a lonely and uninhabited trail through a prairie in western Texas. After riding all day long without seeing a living soul, late in the afternoon I sighted a horseman in the distance coming from the opposite direction. I decided that as soon as we met I would stop him, rest awhile, and have a little social chat. We finally met, but no sooner had we dismounted than he drew two six-shooters, and covering me said: "Throw up your hands." I looked at him and then at his six-shooters, and proceeded to throw up my hands, not because he had a wife and family at home dependent upon him, or for any other benevolent reason, but because his six-shooters were loaded and he meant business. He proceeded to take what I had that he wanted and rode leisurely off. There was no blood spilled, no ground torn up, nor was any wordy argument necessary. The argument was all on his side. The separation took place just as quietly as a funeral or a wedding ceremony might take place. Why was there no resistance on my part during the whole proceeding, so peaceful and quiet? Because that fellow was thoroughly organized, and counting his two six-shooters there were three of him to one of me. He was not only thoroughly organized, but organized on the plane of power.

When the working class has shifted the political power now in the hands of the economic masters into its own hands, the transformation of capitalist property into collective wealth can be legally and peaceably accomplished.

We have already pointed out that the political method is, by the very nature of things, the only method compatible with the intellectual development of modern times, for the very good reason that class antagonism in present society can only be ended when the material and intellectual development has prepared the way for the appearance of the higher social relations of a social democratic society, and the intellectual development necessary to make possible these higher social relations, in its process of preparation has produced the political method as the means to be used in social transformation.

To enter, then, into the concrete class struggle, organize on the basis of political class action—organize every precinct; that is the only way you can organize a city, a state, a province or a nation. As soon as the working class learns how to organize an efficient and powerful working class political party, based upon the fundamental tenets of social democracy, just so soon will it discover and travel the way to power.

(The End.)

A TRAGICAL FIGURE

"Modern life has no more tragical figure than the gaunt, hungry laborer wandering about the crowded centers of industry and wealth, begging in vain for permission to share in that industry and contribute to that wealth; asking, in return, not the comforts and luxuries of civilized life, but the rough food and shelter for himself and family which would be practically secured to him in the rudest form of savage society."—John Hobson.

Paternalism.

Croatia (I.S.)—Twenty families have been rendered homeless through a fire in a Croatian village. The government came to their rescue, and granted them a written permission to beg.

It is remarkable how easily some of the working class can be fooled. The price of living is raised 60 per cent, and the workers are given an increase of 15 per cent. Then they have the nerve to tell us they are getting a raise.—Ed.

THE IRON HEEL

BY JACK LONDON

Synopsis of Previous Chapters:
The story is supposed to be published about seven centuries hence, and copied from MSS. found in the heart of an old oak at Wake Robin Everhard, who lost his life in the first proletarian revolt in 1932. Ernest tells of the failure of this first uprising of the workers, which was suppressed by the thoroughly organized and merciless coercive forces of contemplation. This, too, proved to be a failure, and it is supposed to be at the time of this second suppression of the workers that the MSS. were deposited by the feeling Avis Everhard.

The story opens with the account of the first meeting between Avis and Ernest Everhard, which takes place in her father's home in the year 1912, when he is invited to a dinner at which the majority of those present are clerics. During the repast, Ernest in draws into the conversation of the persons, who rather look upon him with disdain. However, he shows himself more than able to hold his ground. Bishop Morehouse is the only one of the clerics who expresses his willingness to again meet the champion of the cause of labor. He is again present on the occasion of Everhard's second visit, when Avis accuses Ernest of teaching class hatred in a book which he has written. This he denies, and during the conversation defines the difference between "class-hatred" and "the class-struggle."

Finally he challenges the Bishop to follow him through the industrial hell, and to afterwards expose the conditions which he will find there, warning him that to do so will result in his discharge from the Church. Avis comes to the assistance of the Bishop, and Ernest calls her attention to the fact that she and her father are living off dividends derived from the Sierra Mills, and that the very clothes she wears are dripping with human blood.

During the break in the conversation caused by his remarks, there appears at the front of the house a large, poorly dressed man carrying a load of rotten and bamboo handiwork. Ernest points him out as Jackson, who previously worked in the Sierra Mills until he lost his arm in the machinery, and owing to the smart legal talent at the disposal of the mill-owners, and the concocted evidence of the mill foreman, etc. he was defeated in his attempt to gain compensation. Avis investigates the man on her own account, and receives more than sufficient proof of the villainous position of all the mill workers and the ruthlessness of Capital. Sick and shuddering from her experiences, her opinion of Everhard undergoes a change.

Everhard is invited to address the Philomaths, a club of the most wealthy and exclusive circles on the Pacific Coast, the expectation being that he will provide them with good sport. The expectation is not realized. Instead of being amused they are alarmed and stupefied at the spectacle of the coming revolution portrayed to them in Everhard's defiant address.

CHAPTER VIII

The Machine Breakers

It was just before Ernest ran for Congress, on the socialist ticket, that father gave what he privately called his "Profit and Loss" dinner. Ernest called it the dinner of the Machine Breakers. In point of fact, it was merely a dinner for business men—small business men, of course. I could if one of them was interested in any business the total capitalization of which exceeded a hundred thousand dollars. They were truly representative middle-class business men.

There was Owen, of Silverberg, Owen & Company—a large grocery firm with several branch stores. We bought our groceries from them. There were both partners of the big drug firm of Kowalt & Washburn, and Mr. Amunson, the owner of a large granite quarry in Contra Costa County. And there were many similar men, owners or part-owners in small factories, small businesses and small industries—small capitalists, in short.

They were shrewd-faced, interesting men, and they talked with simplicity and clearness. Their unanimous complaint was against the corporations and trusts. Their creed was, "Bust the trusts." All oppression originated in the trusts, and one and all told the same tale of woe. They advocated government ownership of such trusts as the railroads and telegraphs, and excessive income taxes, graduated with ferocity, to destroy large accumulations. Likewise they advocated, as a cure for local ill, municipal ownership of such public utilities as water pipes, telephones, and street railways.

Especially interesting was Mr. Amunson's narrative of his tribulations as a quarry owner. He confessed that he never made any profits out of his quarry, and this, in spite of the enormous volume of business that had been caused by the destruction of San Francisco by the big earthquake. For three years the rebuilding of San Francisco had been going on, and his business had quadrupled and octupled, and yet he was no better off.

"The railroad knows my business just a little bit better than I do," he said. "It knows my operating expenses to a cent, and it knows the terms of my contracts. How it knows these things I can only guess. It must have spies in my employ, and it must have access to the parties to all my contracts. For look you, when I place a big contract, the freight rate from my quarry is promptly raised. No explanation is made. The railroad pays my profit. Under such circumstances I have never succeeded in getting the railroad to reduce its rate. On the other hand, when there have been accidents, increased expenses of operating, or contracts with less profitable terms, I have always succeeded in getting the railroad to lower its rate. What is the result? Large or small, the railroad always gets my profit."

"What remains to you over and above?" Ernest interrupted to ask. "Would roughly be the equivalent of your salary as a manager, did the railroad own the quarry."

"The very thing," Mr. Amunson replied. "Only a short time ago I had my books gone through for the past ten years. I discovered that for those ten years my gain was just equivalent to a manager's salary. The railroad might just as well have owned my quarry and had me to run it."

"That with a difference," Ernest said. "The railroad would have had to assume all the risk which you so ably assumed for it."

"True," Mr. Amunson answered. "But let them have their say, Ernest, before asking questions right and left. He began with Mr. Owen.

"Owen opened a branch store here in Vancouver six or seven years ago."

"I noticed that," Mr. Amunson said. "I've noticed that your branch store here in Vancouver has gone up in value."

"Mr. Owen answered with a complacent smile, and no chance of a smile."

"Why?" Mr. Amunson asked. "With a branch store here in Vancouver, you are in a better position to do business."

"I have heard that," Mr. Owen said. "I have heard that you are in a better position to do business."

"I have heard that," Mr. Owen said. "I have heard that you are in a better position to do business."

"I have heard that," Mr. Owen said. "I have heard that you are in a better position to do business."

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"One of them, Mr. Haasfurth, has charge now of our prescription department," was the answer.

"And you absorbed the profits they had been making?"

"Surely. That is what we are in business for."

"And you?" Ernest said suddenly to Mr. Amunson. "You are disgraced because the railroad has absorbed your profits?"

Mr. Amunson nodded.

"And what you want is to make profits yourself?"

Again Mr. Amunson nodded.

"Out of others?"

There was no answer.

"Out of others?" Ernest insisted.

"That is the way profits are made," Mr. Amunson replied curtly.

"Then the business game is to make profits out of you. That's it, isn't it?"

Ernest had to repeat his question before Mr. Amunson gave answer, and then he said:

"Yes, that's it, except that we do not object to the others making profits so long as they are not extortionate."

"By extortionate you mean large; yet you do not object to making large profits yourself? . . . Surely not?"

And Mr. Amunson amiably confessed to the weakness. There was no other man who was quizzed by Ernest at this juncture, a Mr. Calvin, who had once been a great dairy-owner.

"Some time ago you were fighting the Milk Trust," Ernest said to him; "and now you are in Grange politics. How did it happen?"

"Oh, I haven't quit the fight," Mr. Calvin answered, and he looked belligerent enough. "I'm fighting the Trust on the only field where it is possible to fight—the political field. Let me show you. A few years ago we dairymen had everything our own way."

"But you competed among yourselves?" Ernest interrupted.

"Yes, that was what kept the profits down. We did try to organize, but independent dairymen always broke through us. Then came the Milk Trust."

"Financed by surplus capital from Standard Oil," Ernest said.

"Yes," Mr. Calvin acknowledged. "But we did not know it at the time. It's agents approached us with a club. 'Come in and be fat,' was their proposition, 'or stay out and starve.' Most of us came in. Those that didn't starved. Oh, it paid us . . . at first. Milk was raised a cent a quart. One-quarter of this cent came to us. Three-quarters of it went to the Trust. Then milk was raised another cent, only we didn't get any of that cent. Our complaints were useless. The Trust was in control. We discovered that we were pawns. Finally, the additional quarter of a cent was denied us. Then the Trust began to squeeze us out. What could we do? We were squeezed out. There were no dairymen, only a Milk Trust."

"But with milk two cents higher, I should think you could have competed," Ernest suggested slyly.

"So we thought. We tried it," Mr. Calvin passed a moment. "It broke us. The Trust could put milk upon the market more cheaply than we. It could sell still at a slight profit when we were selling at actual loss. I dropped fifty thousand dollars in that venture. Most of us went bankrupt. The dairymen were wiped out of existence."

"So the Trust took your profits away from you," Ernest said, "and you've gone into politics in order to legislate the Trust out of existence and get the profits back?"

Mr. Calvin's face lighted up. "That is precisely what I say in my speeches to the farmers. That's our whole idea in a nutshell."

"And yet the Trust produces milk more cheaply than could the independent dairymen?" Ernest queried.

"Why shouldn't it, with the splendid organization and new machinery its large capital makes possible?"

"There is no discussion," Ernest answered. "It certainly should, and furthermore, it does."

Mr. Calvin here launched out into a political speech in exposition of his views. He was warmly followed by a number of the others, and the cry of all was to destroy the trusts.

"Poor simple folk," Ernest said to me in an undertone. "They see clearly as far as they see, but they see only to the ends of their noses."

Little later in the floor again, and in his characteristic way, he would do it for the rest of the evening.

"I have listened carefully to all of you," he began, "and I see plainly that you play the business game in the orthodox fashion. Life same itself up to you in profits. You have a firm and getting better that you were created for the now purpose of making profits. Only there is a hitch. In the midst of your own profit-making along comes the trust and it takes your profits away from you. You are no more

that interferes somehow with the aim of creation, and the only way out, as it seems to you, is to destroy that which takes from you your profits.

"I have listened carefully, and there is only one name that will epitomize you. I shall call you that name. You are machine-breakers. Do you know what a machine-breaker is? Let me tell you. In the eighteenth century, in England, men and women wove cloth on hand-looms in their own cottages. It was a slow, clumsy, and costly way of weaving cloth, this cottage system of manufacture. Along came the steam engine and labor-saving machinery. A thousand looms assembled in a large factory, and driven by a central engine wove cloth vastly more cheaply than could the cottage weavers on their hand-looms. Here in the factory was combination, and before it competition faded away. The men and women who had worked the hand-looms for themselves now went into the factories and worked the machine-looms, not for themselves, but for the capitalist owners. Furthermore, little children went to work on the machine looms, at lower wages, and displaced the men. This made hard times for the men. Their standard of living fell. They starved. And they said it was all the fault of the machines. Therefore they proceeded to break the machines. They did not succeed, and they were very stupid.

"Yet you have not learned their lesson. Here are you, a century and a half later, trying to break machines. By your own confession the trust machines do the work more efficiently and more cheaply than you can. That is why you cannot compete with them. And yet you would break those machines. You are even more stupid than the stupid workmen of England. And while you mander about restoring competition, the trusts go on destroying you.

"One and all you tell the same story—the passing away of competition and the coming on of combination. You, Mr. Owen, destroyed competition here in Berkeley when your branch store drove the three small groceries out of business. Your combination was more effective. Yet you feel the pressure of other combinations on you, the trust combinations, and you cry out. It is because you are not a trust. If you were a grocery trust for the whole United States, you would be singing another song. And the song would be, 'Blessed are the trusts.' And yet again, not only is your small combination not a trust, but you are aware yourself of its lack of strength. You are beginning to divy your own end. You feel yourself and your branch stores a pawn in the game. You see the powerful interests rising and growing more powerful day by day; you feel their mailed hands descending upon your profits and taking a pinch here and a pinch there—the railroad trust, the oil trust, and you know that in the end they will destroy you, take away from you the last per cent. of your little profits.

"You, sir, are a poor gamester. When you squeezed out the three small groceries here in Berkeley by virtue of your superior combination, you swelled out your chest, talked about efficiency and enterprise, and sent your wife to Europe on the profits you had gained by eating up the three small groceries. It is dog eat dog, and you ate them up. But, on the other hand, you are being eaten up in turn by the bigger dogs, wherefore you squeal. And what I say to you is true of all of you at this table. You are all squealing. You are all playing the losing game, and you are all squealing about it.

"But when you squeal you don't state the situation aptly, as I have stated it. You don't say that you like to squeeze profits out of others, and that you are making all the row because others are squeezing your profits out of you. No, you are too cunning for that. You say something else. You make small-capitalist political speeches such as Mr. Calvin made. What did he say? Here are a few of his phrases I caught: 'Our original principles are all right.' 'What this country requires is a return to fundamental American methods—free opportunity for all.' 'The spirit of liberty in which this nation was born, let us return to the principles of our forefathers.'

"When he says 'free opportunity for all,' he means free opportunity to squeeze profits, which freedom of opportunity is now denied him by the great trusts. And the absurd thing about it is that you have repeated these phrases so often that you believe them. You want opportunity to plunder your fellow-men in your own small way, but you hypnotize yourselves into thinking you want freedom. You are piggyback and acquiescent, but the magic of your phrases leads you to believe that you are patriotic. Your desire for profits, which is sheer selfishness, you metamorphose into altruistic solicitude for suffering humanity. Come on now, right here amongst ourselves, and be honest for once. Look the matter in the face and state it in direct terms."

There were flushed and angry faces at the table, and with a measure of awe. They were a little frightened at this smooth-faced young fellow, and the swing and smash of his words, and his dreadful trait of calling a spade a spade. Mr. Calvin promptly replied.

"And why not?" he demanded.

"Why can we not return to the ways of our fathers when this republic was founded? You have spoken much truth, Mr. Everhard, unpalatable though it has been. But here amongst ourselves let us speak out. Let us throw off all disguise and accept the truth as Mr. Everhard has fairly stated it. It is true that the smaller capitalists are after profits, and that the trusts are taking our profits away from us. It is true that we want to destroy the trusts in order that our profits may remain to us. And why can we not do it? Why not? I say, why not?"

"Al, now we come to the gist of the matter," Ernest said with a pleased expression. "I'll try to tell you why not, though the telling will be rather hard. You see, you fellows have studied business, in a small way, but you have not studied social evolution at all. You are in the midst of a transition stage now in economic conditions, but you do not understand it, and that's what makes all the confusion. You are in the midst of a transition stage now. You are no more

make water run up hill than can you cause the tide of economic evolution to flow back in its channel along the way it came. Joshua made the sun stand still upon Gibeon, but you would outdo Joshua. You would make the sun go backward in the sky. You would have time retrace its steps from noon to morning.

"In the face of labor-saving machinery, of organized production, of the increased efficiency of combination, you would set the economic sun back a whole generation or so to the time when there were no great capitalists, no great machinery, no railroads—a time when a host of little capitalists warred with each other in economic anarchy, and when production was primitive, wasteful, unorganized and costly. Believe me, Joshua's task was easier, and he had Jehovah to help him. But God has forsaken you small capitalists. The sun of the small capitalists is setting. It will never rise again. Nor is it in your power even to make it stand still. You are perishing, and you are doomed to perish utterly from the face of society.

"This is the fat of evolution. It is the word of God. Combination is stronger than competition. Primitive man was a puny creature hiding in the crevices of the rocks. He combined and made war upon his carnivorous enemies. They were competitive beasts. Primitive man was a combative beast, and because of it he rose to primacy over all the animals. And man has been achieving greater and greater combinations ever since. It is combination versus competition, a thousand centuries long struggle, in which competition has always been worsted. Whoso enlists on the side of competition perishes."

(To be Continued.)

SHOOT THE CLERGYMEN!

"Shall we shoot old preachers?" Several aged ministers attending the Rock River conference at the First Methodist Church sat bolt upright in their seats when Rev. George P. Eckman, editor of the Christian Advocate of New York, asked the question. They blinked hard and in union when he repeated it: "Shall we shoot old preachers?"

A general sigh of relief was heard when he offered his explanation. "We might as well shoot them," he said, "as let them starve on the piteously small incomes which some of them have. Shooting them would be more humane. They have served long and useful lives. Why should their last days be spent in want and suffering?"

Rev. Mr. Eckman was the principal speaker at the anniversary of the Society for Superannuated Preachers. He dwelt at length on the increasing hardships that confront the preacher who has grown too old to perform active service.

Calls Upon Carnegie. "Why doesn't Carnegie, while he is building his libraries and pensioning college professors, endow superannuated preachers?" he asked. "During their active lives preachers receive less money than college professors and there are infinitely more demands upon their incomes for charities. Their lives are more strenuous; they wear out more quickly. When they stop preaching their meagre salaries stop altogether. They are much more deserving as a class than school teachers. If Carnegie hasn't the time to do it, Mr. Rockefeller would do just as well."

"Men of wealth should see that they owe their wealth to Christian preachers. Christianity is the only thing that keeps the great masses of poor people from assaulting the rich and tearing from them their riches. An endowment would not be a charity. It would be a small payment on a large debt."

Riling classes have used the organized church as side partners in the exploitation of the masses ever since the grey dawn of history. When Pharaoh took the land from the Egyptians he took good care not to molest the priests in the possession of their lands. He needed them in his business. And long before Pharaoh it was the "big chief" and the "medicine man," the "esauial king" and the "hoodoo doctor" that hornswoggled the dear people in partnership.

"Obey your king and master, the God anointed," chanted the priests when Kingcraft ruled. "Be meek and humble. Do not mind the miserable hovel you live in here below, for on the other side are many mansions. It is true you are too poor to wear a ragged cap on your sojourn through this vale of tears, but just keep your eyes on the golden crown awaiting you on yonder side. To slop around the mire of the cow lot may be somewhat disagreeable, but the more sloping the surer are your chances for sitting over the golden streets in the sweet by-and-by. Maybe you'd rather see your old lady sitting at the piano than standing over the washbasin, but my! won't you be proud some day seeing her sitting on a damp cloud, reeking 'Everybody's Doing It' on a golden haze." Thus runs the song.

Yes, it has been one of the missions of our ecclesiastical brethren to keep the masses contented and submissive below under a promise of eternal bliss above the clouds. For this work they have eaten at the tables of the mighty; they have dressed in purple and worn the boom companions of kings and princes. A chosen few are even today basking in the golden sun of ill-gotten wealth, associating with upper crust, living in palaces and riding in automobiles. But these are few—mighty few.

The ordinary run of preachers have indeed a hard lot. But cheer up, gentlemen, the worst is yet to come. As your influence over the masses is waning, so the crumbs from the table of Dives are diminishing. And it must be admitted that the old song of renunciation has lost its charm. The working people no longer believe that some men are created with boots and spurs, and others with saddles on their backs. They doubt that it is the will of God that those who toll the most shall have the least, while those who work the least shall have the most.

We no longer look upon the world as a vale of tears, but as a world full of roses, sunshine, song and love. A world of joy, of smiles and happiness, with plenty to eat, to drink and wear for all. But we want the good things of the world passed around. Wealth

is like manure, it's only good when spread out.

Therefore, I say unto you my deponent preacher, lay aside your sombre garb, your long coat and long face. Sing us a new song, a song of life, a song of heaven on earth. Sing us of spring lamb and green peas, of beefsteak and mushrooms, of roses and roasts.

Preach us a new sermon, a sermon of the miner toiling and dying down in the mine digging black diamonds to buy sparkling gems for my lady's white neck. Preach us a sermon of the child in the mill who gives the roses of her cheeks to fill the vases in an idler's hall. Preach to us of the mother in the cotton field, the water dolorosa of the Sunny South, dragging from dawn to dark her weary load through the endless snowy fleece to buy silk gowns for other men's wives. Teach us of labor unpaid, preach us of toilers underfed, preach us of the fear of want that haunts the jobless man in the city streets. Lend your voices to labor's cause. Become soldiers in the world-wide revolutionary war. Do your share in the struggle for the emancipation of the toiling masses. Serve the exploited as you have served the exploiters. Then when life's evening shadows fall, you shall not go begging at Carnegie's kitchen door. And we will not shoot you, but bless you and feed you with yellow-legged chickens until you lay your tired heads down to sleep.—Oscar Ameringer.

MAGNIFICENT PRAIRIES

Are Inhabited by People Materialistic in Their Tastes.

(From the Calgary Daily Herald.) When the plain truth is written, it must be stated that the magnificent prairies are inhabited in large measure by people who are very materialistic in their tastes and thinking. In the hurry and excitement of "making good" on the homestead, the finer sensibilities are frequently dulled, and many forget that worthy citizenship is not simply a matter of making a living, but of living a life. We need more frequently to be reminded that "man does not live by bread alone"—that we have other needs than the mere vulgar necessity of three meals a day, and a place to sleep at night.

The farmer and his wife who decide that so far as their house is concerned the aesthetic, the beautiful, the love of truth and innocent fun, the comradeship of worthy books, the gladness of music, the mirth of laughter, the mysterious awe which comes over those who take time to pry into Nature's wonderland—we say that the farmer and his wife who decide that these things are legitimate and desirable—such persons as these make no mistake.

There are many farm homes in which too great a premium is put upon that quality of character which is misnamed "industry." The father takes pride in the fact that his boys are everlastingly on the grindstone from dawn to dark, and that they have no time for "gadding." He prides himself that they are "hard workers." And yet his sons are mere drudges. They may hold the record for a big day's stocking, but they know nothing about books or flowers, or the relaxation of an idle day with a fishing rod. They pass by, unnoticed, the sunlit ripples and the cool, deep shadows of the farm brook; they never look up to behold the glory of the sunset; they know not the cunning ways of the bee, nor the wonderful world of plant life about their feet; they are just common drudges, working all day long in God's wonderful laboratory, but with eyes that are held that they may not see.

We make no plea for mere idling. Pure idleness is always a crime. And worse even than itself. But there is no idleness in an hour now and then with the children in gathering, naming and admiring the prairie flowers; in an effort to surround the house with trees and shrubs, and other things of beauty; and, in a word, to live in companionship with the farm, regarding it not merely for its mercenary value, but also for its delightful associations and constant round of interest and surprise.

There are some families who really own their farm and enjoy it; but there are other families who think they own a farm, but who, in reality are owned by it, and have become its slaves.—Nor-West Farmer.

LINCOLN, LABOR AND SLAVERY.

The above is the title of a splendid work by Herman Schleuter, and published by the Socialist Literature Co., 15 Spruce Street, New York City, (price one dollar, postage 15c). Comrade Schleuter, the brilliant editor of the great German Socialist paper, "The New York Volkszeitung," has in this scholarly work, added a chapter to the true history of our country, revealed in the clear white light of economic interpretation. The purpose of the work as stated by the author is "to throw light on the position taken by the working class and the international labor movement regarding chattel slavery; secondly, to indicate the attitude taken by Abraham Lincoln towards the labor question and the working class." Those who already have read Orestes' "Workers in American History," will find Comrade Schleuter's work a splendid continuation of the story of the development of the American working class. Orestes carries us from the discoveries of Columbus through the first part of the nineteenth century. Schleuter takes us through the thirty-year period of agitation and rebellion closing with the emancipation of the black slaves. "Lincoln, Labor and Slavery," contains a wealth of information for the student. Comrades everywhere should see that the local libraries secure copies at once.

Order from the publisher or from the Rip-Saw.

Capitalism owns the job of the workman; the workman has no job of his own; some of them imagine that they have, but they must surrender it to capitalism when it is called for.—Ez.

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