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# The Socialist

To Organize the Slaves of Capital to Vote Their Own Emancipation

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## SOCIALISTS AND **ELECTION POLICY**

By F. W. Jowett, M. P.

(From "The Clarion," Oct., 2,1908) ing a by-election, where the I. L. P.
Let us cast our eye over the forces
which must co-operate if we are to
be successful. We wish to fight the
capitalist system—with votes. Where
are we to get them? Of the total
number of votes in use probably not capitalist system—with votes. Where are we to get them? Of the total number of votes in use probably not less than one-third may be reckned on as hostile because they are possessed by the master class, its hangers-on, and its dependents. Some few of the members of these generally hostile sections of the community have become possessed of the community have become possessed of the community have become possessed of the waterley and prominently—but taking them in the lump they are hostile, and will long remain so. Whilst welcoming all such service as is freely given by individual members of the properted classes, and offering their dependents particularly the right hand of fellowship, we cannot afford to be under any delusion as to the source of our strength. It must come from the labouring and artisan sections of the poopered classes, and offering their dependents particularly the right hand of fellowship, we cannot afford to be under any delusion as to the source of our strength. It must come from the labouring and artisan sections of the people—the workers in mine, field, and factory. The votes with which we hope to smite our oppressors must be drawn from the two-thirds. Indeed, we not strike effectively. How are we to see the sease is there any question of principle involved. It is purely a question of fishing actics in every one of them. Is hangers-on, and out of fishing actics in every one of them. Is hangers-on, and the dependent is purely and prominently—but taking the number of the two home after the next General Election two when the same plant one when the same plant one when the same sort of bewilderment that I fort sa smite our oppressors must be drawn from the two-thirds. Indeed, we must have the bulk of the two-thirds on our own side, or we cannot hope to strike effectively. How are we to get them? The difficulty of keeping a moving mass in step is notorious, even when the clans are assembled ready for the march, but we have not yet gathered the clans. We are collecting them steadily, but the work is not done yet. is not done yet.

At present we hold in alliance the bulk of the members of trade unions, and the unknown, but growing, body of convinced Socialists tatched and unattached. These are augmented from time to time during election contests by discontented but unconvinced wage workers, but the remainder of the population from which we must gain our fighting strength is still slavishly indifferent, on in a state of active or passive opposition. The ignorance against which we targin our fighting strength is still slavishly indifferent, on in a state of active or passive opposition. The ignorance against which we strive is largely the result of hopeless poverty, and it is fed by patronage exploited by vested interests, and no vested interest is so powerful as that of the brewers, which is so impudently attempting to make and unmake Governments. Simple, practical issues alone can touch this mass of men and women. It is a mass of men and women. It is a mass of the brewers which is so in it, and with it—not merely outside of the ranks of the English Socialist movement.

There is an easy way of dealing with Socialist movement.

There is an easy way of dealing with Socialist movement.

There is an easy way of dealing with Socialist movement.

There is an easy way of dealing with Socialist movement.

There is an easy way of dealing with Socialist movement.

There is an easy way of dealing with Socialist movement.

There is an easy way of dealing with Socialist movement.

The influence of English Socialist movement.

I have in mind three or four books which contain apparently authoritative statements of English Socialistic movement.

I have in mind three or four books had never met, so far as I sould make out, an actual English Socialist Just as curious is the gent part with the seasy way. But I am not of the number of the proposition of sucre and raise money to meet the number of the proposition of sucre and raise money to meet the seasy way. But I am not of the number.

There is an easy way of dealing mich with the raw and voverent.

I have At present we hold in alliance the that of the brewers, which is so impudently attempting to make and unmake Governments. Simple, practical issues alone can touch this mass of men and women. It is a mass composed of individuals who have not read Marx's "Theory of Values," or Gronlund's "Co-operative Commonwealth," and to whom the very name of Kautsky looks forbidding; association, fellowship for the more immediately obtainable things, they can understand, but the more remote obunderstand, but the more remote understand, but the more remote objective of Socialism scarcely affects
them. The give-and-take methods of
the present Socialist and trade union
illiance is admirably suited for bringing this element of the population
into the fighting line on our side,
and those who jeopardise it take a
serious responsibility upon themselves.

The trade unionists and Socialists together are but a minority among the two-thirds of whom I have spokspeaks vaguely and approvingly of alliances between Liberalism and Labour, when it well knows there are

trade union wing, and, on the whole, the forces have moved steadily and warily. The officers, democratically elected, have made few mistakes. Generally the points selected for at-tack have been well-chosen; the officers have shown good judgement, and in all cases acted within the

powers conferred upon them.

The policy hitherto pursued has been to offer battle only where there has been a reasonable prospect of gaining strength thereby. Where it gairing strength thereby. Where it has appeared likely that the result would be to shatter and weaken our own forces, the men appointed to plan the campaign have declined t sanction a contest. Also, they have endeavoured to exercise their influ-ence in the selection of candidates in best interests of the movem

as they have thought.

Then comes Colne Valley, Dundee Then comes Coine Valley, Dundee Pudsey—Newcastle. In the first named constituency a vacancy occur red before the National Council of the I. L. P. had agreed to endorse not the contest, but the candidate not the contest, but the candidate favoured by its branches in the constituency. Dundee raised the difficulty about double-member constituencies, of which there are twelve, and Labour holds one seat in each. In no one of the twelve is it possible for Labour, in the opinion of the Labour Party's executive, to win both seats, for the attempt to do so would result in the loss of both. In Dundee it was one of the affiliated unions which revolted against the decision of the National Executive. The same difficulty has now been raised by an affiliated branch of the I. L. P. at Newcastle. In the case of Pudser, an I. L. P. branch persisted in fight-

and favour of Liberal capitalists.

calling to it from the outside

## PARLIAMENT

Grayson, its only Socialist Member who fights for the Unemployed. Report from London "News."

The extraordainary scenes of disorder in which Mr. Victor Grayson figured took place on Thursday and Friday. At the close of questions Thursday, Oct. 15, Grayson said, "I rise to move that this House do impossible to the control of the two-thirds of whom I have spok Friday. At the close of questions Thursday, Oct. 15, Grayson said, "I rise to move that this House do immediately adjourn to consider a matter of urgent public importance, the enemies' forces for many a decade yet to come. But the Socialist and trade unionist workers, if in a mitority, are yet numerous enough to form an army of great strength. We have almost succeeded in organising this army, and we are constantly making additions to it. So big and so menacing has the Labour and Socialist host become that the propertied classes no longer ignore it. The Speaker said he was afraid the House was bound by the fight us bends all its efforts to drive a wedge between the Labour and Socialist forces. The Liberal Press speaks vaguely and approvingly of which prevailed and shouted: It is all very well to cry. 'Order,' you who when you go before them as Parlia-down.'') Mr. Grayson declined to sit down, and continued to discuss with the Speaker the latter's ruling.—The Speaker: Order, order. I have given the honorable member with, I think, trade union wing, and, on the whole, trade union wing, and, on the whole. every courtesy (loud cheers), an ex-planation of the circumstances which every courtesy (loud cheers), an explanation of the circumstances which prevent him raising the question at the present moment. I have pointed out that another occasion may arise, and I suggested that he should walt until that day arrives. (Cheers.)—Mr. Grayson: Yes, but in the intermediate period people are starving. (There was great disorder, loud cries of mons. One who comes to study its. period people are starving. (There was great disorder, loud cries of "Order," and relterated injunctions to "Order," and reiterated injunctions to sit down proceeding from all quarters.)—Amidst uproar the Speaker that the called upon Mr. Grayson to withdraw called upon Mr. Grayson to withdraw.

—M. Grayson: If you send your machinery of force to remove me I am willing to withdraw—The Speak. er: If the honorable member will not withdraw of his own accord, I must ask the sergean-tat-arms to re-move him. (Loud cheers.)—Mr. Graymust ask the sergeant at arms to remove him. (Loud cheers.)—Mr. Grayson: I am willing to leave, because I feel degraded (up roar). I have the unemployed mandate behind me. They are asking for some urgent legislaare asking for some urgent legisla-tion, and have been goaded into dis-order. I absolutely refuse to be bul-

Continued on Page Four

## THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY SOCIALISM AND THE AND AMERICAN SO-CIALISM

### By George D. Herron

visitors from King Edward's realm. A benevolent attitude toward the uni-verse in general does not constitute a man a Socialist in either intellectual anderstanding or spiritual courage. It is curious, in this connection, that most American visitors get their knowledge of English Socialism en-tirely outside of the ranks of the

class rooms and Democratic politi cians and then go home to report or social and industrial America with-out ever having come in touch with Socialists or the Socialist movement. IN UPROAR
I met one such just starting to
America, laden with letters of intro
duction from leaders of the British
Labor party to divers Americans of
more or less note, but not one of
these letters was to an American
Socialist

Socialist. Here was an English Socialist, o one bearing the Socialist name at least, crossing the Atlantic to learn about American Socialism, yet depending for information upon sources entirely outside of the Socialist move ment, most of them loftily either de-tached from it or hostile to it, and some of them about as far removed from Socialism as King Edward is re-moved from St. Francis of Assisi.

allst forces. The Liberal Press is vaguely and approvingly of aces between Liberalism and Lawhen it well knows there are and it is hugely delighted if each it is hugely delighted if each in consequence. The most remainly part of the Press is ready atter and fondle any trade union after and fondle any trade union after and fondle any trade union atter and fondle any trade union atter and fondle any trade union are well fed. (Loud cries of "Sit answer: "We say that labor party what his reply was that the party would not be ready for a program for twenty years. In answer to my next question, which prevailed and shouted: "It is all very well to cry, 'Order,' you who are well fed. (Loud cries of "Sit answer: "We say that labor ought to have a larger representation in legis-

mons. One who comes to study its

Exen the very much diluted So-

Whenever and wherever there is an actual Socialist standing for elec-tion to Parliament the Labor party order. I absolutely refuse to be bullied into silence.—Speaker: Sergeant at-Arms, will you kindly remove the honorable member?—Mr. Grayson: I leave the House with pleasure.—Turning to his fellow-Labor members, Mr. Grayson said: Traitors to their class, who refuse to stand by their class. (Loud laughter.)—The sergeant-at-arms advanced towards Mr. Grayson, who immediately left his seat and proceeded to leave the House. He halted at the bar, and, once again facing the Speaker and glancing down both sides of the House, shouted: "I leave this House house, shouted: Traitors to their class. (Loud laughter.)—The sergeant-at-arms advanced towards Mr. Grayson, who immediately left his seat and proceeded to leave the House, shouted: "I leave this House house, shouted: "I leave this House house, shouted: Traitors to their class. (Loud laughter.)—The sergeant-at-arms advanced towards Mr. Grayson, who immediately left his seat and proceeded to leave the House, who immediately left his socialist standing for election to Parliament the Labor party either holds ostentationsly aloof or temporary awaits the Socialist candidate's deat. To say nothing of the recent Labor party was rehemently considered for the recent carming the water of the Labor party was rehemently considered for the recent carming the socialist standing for election to Parliament the Labor party either holds ostentationsly aloof or temporary awaits the Socialist candidate's defeat. To say nothing of the recent Labor party was rehemently considered for the recent carming the laughter holds ostentationsly aloof or temporary awaits the Socialist candidate's defeat. To say nothing of the recent Labor party was rehemently considered for the laughter. To say nothing of the recent cardidate, or eagerly awaits the Socialist candidate's defeat. To say nothing of the recent cardidate's defeat. To say nothing of the recent cardidate's defeat. To say nothing of the r honors, who is anything but a Marx-ian doctrinaire, made his splendid Socialist campaign in the Haggerston district of London, only the Labor party held wholly aloof. Trade union-ists, women suffragists, social settle-

ment workers, Church of England with the Socialist movement of an elergymen, and all sorts of enthusias other. Yet it is important that we tic and unexpected effort, joined the American Socialists should know the truth about movements that are likely to influence us from abroad. No greater disaster could befall American Socialism than that it should be molded along the lines laid down by the Labor party of England. We can only be so influenced by ceasing to be Socialist. A continuous dilution of principle, a mixture of primitive Methodist pietism with middleclass political cunning, will not prepare labor or the Socialist movement to deal with the naked facts of the capital structure. That to influence us from abroad. comes about as near being a Socialist as Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, or Congressman Burton, of Ohio. Politically, he is merely the usual Liberal member of the House of Commons, with the addition of the conventional Social Settlement attitude toward labor. I think we fall into misunder standings of English Socialism through the patronage of other wind to meet, he seeing Hyndman and the old Socialist political cunning, will not prepare labor or the Socialist movement to days of deal with the naked facts of the capital world in which we live. That world may yet be plunged into an abysmal catastrophe; which catastrophe will be conrad Noel, all equally urgent portunity, providing there is a suffice of the socialism through the patronage of other winds. member of the House of Commons, with the addition of the conventional Social Settlement attitude toward for Burrows, and for the Socialist Itohink we fall into misunder-standings of English Socialism through the patronage of other distinguished from the East London sweat shops grapple with conditions of blood and mean. from the East London sweat shops grapple with conditions of blood and shent their nights in the same serious vice, and their earnings as well. It was one of the times when a Social not mean that we shall be lacking in list works with elation in his soul love, in that great day: it means that we had not mean that we shall be lacking in list works with elation in his soul love, in that great day: it means that when any one pretending to sympathize with the Socialist emancination of the worker should be held frover increusable for his absence is much a man as Burrows to match it that gives no hostages, that goes to the roots of the human struggle, nor Yet they of the Labor party, and they the roots of the human struggle, nor only, held critically aloof, contenting themselves with reference to the antiquity and futility of the Social is only such a Socialist spirit and Democratic appeal. I fear that at movement that shall know the meanless that the theory are to the Identification of the Social in get layer and fashion, the world for Democratic appeal. I fear that at movement that snail know the mean-least part of the Independent Labor ing of love, and fashion the world for party's Socialistic professions are for foreign consumption, and have to do with the party's standing with International Socialism rather than with any sincere or definite propations of the foramtion of 91 new Locals in Texas since February.

ganda at home. Of course, it is not the business of four precincts heard from, gave Debs a Socialist of one nation to interfere 389, Bryan 387, and Taft 383.

Saturday, Dec. 5th next, the men and women of Seattle are going to decide whether labor is going to be represented on the School Board. Or, to be more specific, Labor itself can say whether it is

LABOR'S OPPORTUNITY

going to be represented or not.

There is no doubt but that if the working men and women of Seattle do their full duty we can elect Mrs. Bessy Fiset and J. A. McCorkle to the School Board. This would be a greater victory than if we elected a couple of Councilmen to the City Council or if we elected twenty Members to the State Legislature. There are but five members on the Board of Directors and two strong personalities like the two nominated by the Socialist Party could exercise an enormous

Below is given the platform. If you believe this platform is an expression of your interests, of the interests of your children and your class, vote for it.

### Seattle Socialist School Platform

- 1. Enough school buildings to be built immediately to accommodate all. Ample playgrounds, baths, and gymnasiums. Free medical attendance. School buildings to be open for public assemblages when not otherwise in use not otherwise in use.
  - Fewer pupils to each teacher and more and better paid teachers. Teachers to be encouraged to organize along labor union lines. Teachers' tenure permanent during efficiency. Women teachers to be paid the same salary as men teachers
- for the same work.
- 6. Better salaries for janitors and other employes,
  7. Compulsory attendance of all children under fifteen.
  8. Free meals and free clothing, if needed, to keep children from necessity of work.
- Night schools in very ward to accommodate those deprived of
- Greatest attention to be paid to the lower grades. Free kindergartens for all children between three and six
- A gneral, scientific, industrial and physical education guar-
- anteed to every child.
- sed to every child.
  Such a general administration of the school system as will serve the interests of the Working Class.
  School buildings to be constructed by union labor.



J. A. McCORKLE

Is a prominent member of the Carpenters' Union and is well known among his associates as an aggressive but thoughtful and levelheaded man, one of the sor every one trusts. He has chil-dren of school age and would therefore take more than a gen-eral interest in the welfare of the school children.



MRS. BESSY FISET

Is the wife of a well known physician residing in the 14th Ward, has two children of school age, is recognized by all cultivated women as eminently fitted for the position of school director and is a staunch advocate of proletarian principles.

WHEN TO VOTE: Saturday, Dec. 5, between the hours of 12 m.

and 8 p. m.

WHERE TO VOTE: First Ward, South School, Lane St. and
19th Ave. S., also at South Seattle School, Maynard Ave. S. and
Oregon St. Second Ward, Rainier School, King St. and 23rd Ave. S.
Third Ward, Pacific School, 11th Ave. and E. Jefferson St., also at Third Ward, Pacific School, 11th Ave. and E. Jefferson St., also at T. T. Minor School, 17th Ave. and E. Pike St. Fourth Ward, Board of Education office, 7th Ave. and Marion St. Fifth Ward, Public Library, 4th Ave. and Madison St. Sixth Ward, Denny School, 5th Ave. and Battery St. Seventh Ward, Cascade School, Pontius Ave. and Thomas St., also at Broadway High School, Broadway and E. Pine St. Eighth Ward, Warren Ave. School, Warren Ave. and Republican St., also at Queen Anne School, Galer St. and 5th Ave. W. Ninth Ward, Dixon Real Estate office, 3416 Fremont Ave., also at Interbay School, 16th Ave. W. and Barrett St. Tenth Ward, University Station, 14th Ave. N. E. and E. 42nd St. Eleventh Ward, Green Lake School, Sunnyside Ave. and N. 65th St. also at T. P. Fay's office, Mountain View Station. Ave and N. 65th St., also at T. P. Fay's office, Mountain View Station. Twelfth Ward, Columbia City School, also South Park School. Thirteenth Ward, Ballard Central School, Tallman Ave. Fourteenth Ward, West Seattle School, California Ave. and W. Lander St.

# LABOUR ALLIANCE

### In Answer to F. W. Jowett, M. P., By Robert Blatchford

hope to win by votes; by getting their men into Parliament; while we Secialists hope more from the educa-tion of public opinion.

ed. We want elections fought on Social-We want elections fought on Socialist issues, and we have made it clear to the Labour Party that they must not expect to include us in any compromise they deem it expedient to make. We want to force a fight with the Liberals and Tories on one side and the Socialists on the other, and we have made it clear to the Liberals that an agreement with Labour Party will not ensure them against attack by the Socialists.

We want the message of Socialism carried to the people, and in New-carried to the people, and in New-carried to the people, and in New-carried to the people.

ring this election. We found our own candidate, found our own speakers, preached our own gospel, and paid our own expenses. gospel, and paid our own expenses.

But for our presence not a word would have been spoken for the unemployed, not a blow would have been struck against the system which makes the unemployed. We are not corrections of other unions. It is incredible the unions should not seize this opportunity to elect two-fifths of a School Board. McCorkle and Fiset are pledged to do

Jowett and some others regard me Socialism, and on national defence. see wherever I go indications that represent. my action in all these directions was wise and has been beneficial.

I claim that my heresies have not nurt, but have helped, democracy and Socialism. I find that educationists, religionists, students, teachers, politicians, authors, Socialists, thinkers, and leaders of all sects, classes, and parties are drawing nearer to my herestes, and not moving farther away from them. I find men who fought against me now fighting on fought against me now fighting on fought against me now fighting on the field, not from their friends." but from themselves, of and leaders of all sects, classes, and my side. I find support to liefs in books, in papers, in the speeches of divines and statesmen. speeches of divines and statesmen.
I find my iconoclasm and my optimism justified more and more every day. I find the great British heart sounder and sweeter than ever I dared to hope. Is it reasonable, then to expect me to wait upon the slowest pace of the most backward wing of the Labour Party?

The Unions can elect McCord easily and make Seattle capitally respect them and give them jobs.

Will they do it? of the Labour Party?

Jowett has a shrewd and level head. He is clever, honest, modest; and he believes the Labour Alliance to be the best thing possible for democracy. I do not agree with him. I grudge him and other good men to that policy. I feel that these men have weakened the cause by the Alliance. I feel that they have been processed to the complete the com Jowett has a shrewd and level that policy. I feel that these men Alliance. I feel that they have been personally injured by their new surroundings. I feel that they have lowered the idea and hauled down the Socialist Flag. I believe that if the best of them came out and

The article in last week's Clarian by F. W. Jowett is interesting, but does not carry us far.

Speaking as a Socialist outside the Labour Party, I have to say first of all that the difficulties between the leaders and the rank and file of the Labour Party are no affair of mine. The Executive and the branches may be left to settle matters without interference from outside.

threw themselves into the straight and glorious fight for Socialism, and against all our enemies, Liberal as Well as Tory, they would do more for the all our Alliance can ever do. Many of the best men and women are of the same belief, and the number is increasing. It is useless for the Labour leaders to attempt to ignore us. It is useless for them to attempt to ignore us.

The Executive and the branches may be left to settle matters without interference from outside.

What concerns me is the relations between the Labour Party and the Socialists outside the Labour Party. The common mistake of all the writers and speakers who discuss the present situation lies in the fact that they write and speak as if no Socialists that a strong and growing Party exists inside the Alliance, but that a strong and growing Party exists outside of it.

This Party is not composed of fractious dictionaries nor superior persons: it is composed of Socialists. As one of those Socialists, I wish o state that I decline to be controlled by the rulings or agreements of the Executive of the Labour Alliance.

Take Newcastle as an instance. At Newcastle the Alliance decided not to put up a Labour candidate. Jowett defends this action. I shall not assail it. But does Jowett expect that where the Labour Party have a tacit bargain with the Laborals the Socialists shall refrain fearenthing the fact that such as the same of the same of the unhappy and the point with you. We of the strength of the same of the unhappy and the light out of their same of the unhappy and the proposed of the unhappy and the light out of the unhappy and the proposed of the unhappy and the labour party have a tacit bargain with the Laborals the Socialists shall refrain the controlled by the rulings or agreements.

he expect that because the Labour Party have a tacit bargain with the Liberals the Socialists shall refrain from playing their own game?

If he expects that he imagines a vain thing. Here was a fight between a Liberal and a Tory, and not a word to be said for Socialism. A pretty idea.

Jowett and the others speak of Newcastle contest as though it were merely a revolt of a local when the speak of the Labour Party ever since they were merely a revolt of a local branch of the I. L. P. It was an advance of the Socialist Party. Had the local branch of the I. L. P. declined to help us we should have fought just the same. We do not wish to quarrel with the Labour Party; we have always helped, and are willing to help, them; but we will fight elections when and where we please.

Our Party is not their Party, our policy is not their policy. Jowett says the difference is one of policy; of course it is. Jowett is as good a man as we have got. I am not concerned to declare, here and now, that the policy he defends s not a good policy for ns.

In the return of Labour members to the House of Comomns. The purpose of the Socialist movement is to arouse the people, to uplift the souls of the people, to destroy the evil theories of Individualism and classpride, to convert the world to a new faith, to inspire it with a new hope, to weld the people into one human family.

And the difference lies in the oftrepeated circumstance that, as Jowett
says in his last article, the Alliance
hope to win by votes; by getting
their men into Parliament; while we
consider the people into one human family.

This can never be until the people
understand. You cannot make them
understand by silencing your prophets
in the interest of political expedience
Some of our comrades. machinery. It is not mere machinery we want; it is light and heat.

From Jowett's point of view Hartley's candidature was a blunder.

I see no sign of enthusiasm in the Labour Alliance. I find much enthusiasm amongst the Socialists. We will not damp our fires down to wait upon your slowness. We will attack any constituency where you leave us a straight fight with the Liberals and the Tories.

carried to the people, and in New-castle we have done a great work during this election.

Accorded to the people, and in New-castle we have done a great work during this election.

A committee was also appointed to secure the co-operation of other unions.

politicians; we are propagandists; everything in their power for the and the propaganda we did at New boneft of the Wage Class. They will benefit of the Wage Class. They will employ Union Labor on all building. They will urge the formation of a for my outspoken heresies on education, on religion, on Determinism, on which the Socialist candidates do not which the Socialist candidates do not

> If the two Capitalist Directors, Ronald and Shorrock, were to pledge a single one of these things, many Union men would fall over themselves to wake up the vote of Organized Labor and get it out to elect the "Friends

in the their very own class, they stand su-

pinely by. No wonder Capitalist politicians

The Unions can elect McCorkle easily and make Seattle capitalists Will they do it?

with the Carpenters' committee to

Now let's see if the Union men will

# LABOR IN FRANCE

Socialist Agree-

## Clear Account of Industrial and Political Conventions -- Organized Labor In Remarkable Four Hours' Speech by be ashamed," Varenne said in clos-Unions and In Politics.

Translated from Paris correspond-ence in "Social-Demokraten", Copen-in a larger hall in one of the suburbs.

#### By Arthur Jensen

Organized Labor in France last ing the Labor Exchange. The number month held its two annual conven-tions. The Trades Union Congress ganization increased from 2,435 to was in session in Marseilles from the 2,586 between July, 1906, and Septem-5th to the 10th day of October, while ben, 1908. The dues paying memberthe Socialist Party convention met in ship increased during the same time Toulouse from October 15th to 18th. from 203,270 to 294,398. Many or-

It is no accident that the two con- ganizations, however, have more memventions were held one right after the bers than the dues show, as they pay other. It was done to make it less dues to the central organization on difficult for the comrades from North- only a part of the membership. Acern France to partake in both meet-cording to the report the Railway

Such a consideration for one another tion, comprising 55,100 members on the part of the two arms of the Next follow the Building Workers with French Labor Movement is regarded 40,000, the Mine Workers with 30,000 as a good sign and as the correct and the Textile Workers with 20,000 answer to the brutality of the "radi- members. Metal Workers in France cal" government.

The radical cabinet under the lead- are organized. ership of Clemenceau has carried ou In proportion to the number of slightly in its voting strength and it the bloodiest regime of violence seen members the financial receipts are was therefore not possible to bid the this reason prevented from taking Total receipts were 24,719 francs part in the convention.

Under these conditions the working- francs. men have learned that they lack a The organ of Organized Labor, prevail between these two branches of yielded a small deficit. Organized Labor.

The sixteenth French Trades Union Congress was to be held in the Labor influence to have an international Exchange of Marseilles, but the Re-Trades Union Congress. publican Mayor issued in the last moment a ukase, stating the Labor Exchange could not be had unless the discussion on Anti-Militarism and the General Strike were stricken off the was the somewhat extraordinary quesregular order of business. As it was tion, "Anti-Militarism and Anti-Patriout of the question to change the pro- otism." In the discussion some very gram to conform to the wishes of a strong speeches were made against

#### PROFESSIONAL CARDS

CHIROPRACTIC-Is the only method which actually finds and as surely removes the cause of disease. I have often cured Rheumatism, constipution, Kidney and Liver diseases, Fe-one. A number of speakers constitution. and of these he recommended the last male disease, Pneumonia and Ty- ing a minority, considered the quesphoid Fever in two and three troatphold rever in two and three troat tion as one outside the jurisdiction of important question at Toulouse.

No matter what your all-the Trades Unions.

Two sets of resolutions were presented a resolution on the sented. The more moderate one limited the presented a resolution on the Sorensen, Rooms 208-209 Heussy Blk., 304 Pike Street. Hours 10-12 a.m.; 2-5, 7-8 p.m. ited itself to recommending agitation among the workers of all countries, with the end in view to provent do

DR. TITUS has resumed the practice of medicine. Rooms 313-314 Hues-sy Block, corner Third Avenue and Pike Street.

MAKER . GRANT—Dental Special-International ists. They do the High Class work that you have been looking for at a price that is reasonable. Office in Pantages Theatre Bidg., Second Avenue and Seneca Street.

PARKER & BROWN, Lawyers- Frac tice in all State and Federal Courts including the U. S. Supreme Court man race is divided into only two na-Offices: 30, 31, 32 Union Block, tions, the Working Class and the Capi-Phones Main 3928, Independent 1888 talist Class. The resolution reminded Seattle, Washington.

and Surgeon—Office hours 10-12 a.

m. 2-4 p. m., Sundays and evenings by appointment. Phones: Office L3696, Residence L367, Main 3649.

301-302 Washington Bidg., 705 First revolutionary General Strike.

This latter resolution was passed by Avenue, Seattle, Wash.

DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON STEWART, Physician and Surgeon—Residence 933 Twelfth Avenue S., Berson Hill. Office 634-635 Pioneer Block, Pioneer Place, Seattle, Wash.

Workers have the strongest organiza-

while cash on hand amounted to 3,804

After an extended debate it was de-

work of the International Labor Secre-

Anti-Patriotism

On the regular order of business

the present military regime in France

One speaker carefully analyzed what

should be done in case of war. He

said that there were but three possible

courses to take, namely, Desertion,

General Strike and open Rebellion,

tion as one outside the jurisdiction of

with the end in view to prevent de

clarations of war. It held that what-

ever should happen after a war is de-

clared is beyond the jurisdiction of

them disregard for geographical

boundary lines. It held that the hu-

workers.

Forced To Quit

Business

ordered to get out inside of thirty

days. Fifty thousand dollars worth of the finest clothing, furnishings and hats in America now being

Slaughtered for half and about

The

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near half price.

Store taken away from us and

The national convention of the So cialist Party of France, held in Toulouse last month, was looked forward to with great expectations. Jaures Fourteen hundred and two delegates said in a speech shortly before the were present, 1,118 representing the convention: "Our party is at present Unions and the remainder representa victim of internal struggles. The convention will help us to clearness." And it did. When the convention ganization increased from 2,435 to closed the Socialist Party of France was a united party as never before. The convention was held in an old

convent hall now used as a banquet hall. It is a magnificent hall, built in thousand years and an exciting past. It has now become a modern industrial city, where the Wage Working little influence in the convention. population is in overwhelming majority and where the Socialist Party for several years had a majority in the number 812,000, of which only 53,000 municipal council. At the last election the party, however, decreased

## 3800 Office Holders

324 delegates were present. From strong, solid organization, on the in- "Voix du Peuple" (The People's Voice) the report of the national Secretary, form brings another one with it and dustrial as well as on the political had a small gain during the two years, Dubreuilh, it was learned that the field, and that absolute harmony must increasing from 6,300 to 6,340. It party had increased during the past year a little over a thousand members. Somewhat incomplete statistics cided that the executive committee of the municipal elections showed Turned Out of Hall could in the future take part in the that there are about 3800 Socialist office holders in 500 French munitariat, and it was instructed to use its cipalities. The report also showed that the party organ "L'Humanite is now doing well. It was decided to pay the last installment of 3000 francs of the 75,000 which the party had pledged and through which it acquires the controlling interest in the paper.

## On Tactics

In France as in all other countries there is a variety of opinions on party tactics. All members of the International Social Democracy agree about the goal but as to the way to get there opinions differ. The question of tactics was therefore the all

significance of reforms in Socialist politics. Comrade Jaures, who in appearance resembles a German, has lately been vacillating between the Guesdists, the "Reformists" and the Socialist Party is being forced to other. strong anti-militaristic agitation take up the reform work in Parliaamong the young people, teaching the country.

one of the words of the International:

This latter resolution was passed by a vote of 681 to 421. Some Mine did not attend the congress but his mous that it was the mightlest and Workers to the number of 43 did not closest friends, Lafargue, Delary and most significant speech they had ever Rappaport presented a resolution in heard. The cheering did not seem which they among other things de to want to subside when the speaker clared that reform work which at finished and if Jaures had so desired Capitalism is of no value to the tion to pass anything he had wished Working Class. The only reform which has any real value is the reform in the property right and this Agreement at Last reform can be carried out only by the organized Socialist Working Class when it through revolutionary action conquers the powers of Government and proclaims the downfall of Capi-

To counteract this thoroughly revolutionary resolution the Possibiling of Jaures and Tanger on one ists, the wing most friendly to Reside and Lafargue and de la Porte ment was finally reached a reached, and Rouanet, introduced a sesolution which reads in part as collows: Inasmuch as reforms, whether they extend the political liberty of the Working Class or improve its material conditions, always bring new means of resistance in the struggle for emancipation, the congress resolves that the representatives of the party shall refuse in any way to compromise with the conservative is something for every taste, for the party shall refuse in any way to compromise with the conservative is something for every taste, for the Revolutionaries as well as the form led by the following members

nize the parliamentary work as the most important problem of the party, ment Reached something of which we need not to ing his argument.

### Herve in Prison

Herve's little anti-militarist group, which by the way has exercised con-siderable influence on Jaures during the struggle against Clemenceau and congress. Herve himself is at presin Paris as a result of his anti-militarist agitation.

Outside of the larger groups stands from their seats. a smaller group of "syndicalists," gothic style, and was decorated most They work for the Trade Union beautifully with great red banners movement and co-operative undertakand a multitude of living flowers and ings and regard all political activity having passed through at least two that the struggles for political offices can be used for anti-militaristic propaganda. But the group had but

### The Centre Group Wins

Lastly, must be mentioned the "Centrum" group which stands bein France for a long time, particularly very small. The regular dues for the delegates welcome in the hall, as tween the Guesdists and the Posagainst the Labor Unions. A couple last 25 months amounted to 22,237 had been planned. But the old consibilists and which under the Jeader-of the leaders of Organized Labor are francs. The receipts for the General vent hall was as good and beautiful ship of Jaures, Vaillant and Sembat now confined in prison and were for Strike fund amounted to 782 francs. hall as any convention could desire, came out victorious in the convention. This group, as Jaures developed in a four hours' speech, regards the reform work as the most the party. important because one political retends toward the great revolutionary transition to the Socialist form of tional Socialist Party has not alone society.

"We reproach the theoretical Guesdists," said Jaures, "with injecting did result of the congress in Toulouse suspicion and ill will into the minds may have a world importance. It is of the workers against all reform in any event a good step in the neasures, thus throwing themselves direction of the emancipation of the into the arms of the Radicals and Working Class. the Anarchists. But we must also reproach the Reformists that they place an altogether too great weight "WATCH TAon the parliamentary activity and that they have an altogether too great faith in the good will of the ourgeois "left" to carry out re forms." "It is a mistake that we should renounce the right to the General Strike an even rebellion" continued Jaures. "We can use all ing on with unabated vigor, since neans to reach the Socialist goal, the election. Three propaganda meet-But we emphasize that without a ings per week are being held. Be strongly organized Working Class a sides, Local Tacoma, through the General Strike or a rebellion can not Speakers' Committee and Organizer, lead to victory. Therefore the or- is assisting other parts of the country ganization of the Working Class and to keep things moving for Socialism not the parliamentary work shall not dominate everything else, nor should Collis organized a new Local with

## Magic Influence

Jaures' speech lasted, as above best Locals in the county. stated, for four hours. It was a new revolutionary group under the magnificent speech and exceedingly at last Sunday night's meeting; his leadership of the little Herve who regards the anti-militaristic agitation points first to one side and then to Socialism." Herman's expose of capat the all important part of the another. The attacks were sweet italist "morality" and his exposition Socialist propaganda. But now, since ened in a fine style and acute wit of the healthy morality of Socialism Resolution | Socialist propaganua. But now, since ened in a line style and acute with the Radicals have left the Working ticisms as only a Frenchman can say came up to his standard of clearness The more radical one recommended Class absolutely in the lurch, the them followed quickly upon one and and vigor. The various misconcep-

ment while it at the same time is the eloquence of Jaures. It seems what Socialism is and what it in carrying on the propaganda through incredible that this broad, quiet man tends to accomplish. can be of Roman decent. He speaks this. They do not deny that political he piles proof upon proof, views the younger propagandists, and will in all reforms can be carried out but con-question first from one side and then probability make an excellent agitator tend that just therein lies the danger. another and receives applause first and exponder of Socialism. The Worker has no country. Every tend that just therein lies the danger. another and receives applause first and exponder of Socialism.

The worker has no country. Every tend that just therein lies the danger. another and receives applause first from the Guesdists and then from the have started a Socialism. endurable and lead further away the most extreme reformists. And and Speakers Club, for the purpose when he, as he approaches a climax, of developing more comrades into ac Jules Guesde Sick stastic eloquence, a mighty wave of taken in these meetings. Jules Guesde himself is ill and audience. The opinion was unaniapplause resounds from the entire tempts to patch up the structure of he could have induced the conven-

A committee was selected on mo tion by Jaures to draw up a resolution which should form the expression of the reached and long desired unity. This committee sat for 24 hours but was unable to reach an agreement. A subcommittee consist-

to Reform, a little to the right of time it is also stated that the Social-Jaurès, but Varenne insisted at the congress that these tactics are fol-lowed daily even by those who dis-

well as the organization work.

The whole resolution comes nearest being what Herve ironically has called a "white nigger." But it has its significance as the first real expression of the united will of the French Socialist Party.

#### Storm of Cheers

When Jaures had finished the reading and closed with a few remarks "Radical" reactionist government, the audience burst forth in a storm was not very well represented in the of prolonged cheers. It was an endorsement of the reached unity and ent serving a sentence in a prison also expression of thanks to Jaures for his great services in reaching the attained results. Everybody arose

> Suddenly strains of music were heard. The Socialist orchestra marched into the hall playing the International. The delegates and visitors and marching out in military style. the whole delegation passed to the street and marched up to the court house square to announce the victory for unity at the magnificant "Capital."

The resolution came up for adoption in the evening session. votes were cast in its support and but one delegate refrained from voting. This fine result was again greeted with a storm of applause.

The chairman, Sembat, shouted with enthusiasm: "Today our unity has been sealed. But now it will our local organizations expressions of this so forcibly expressed will of

The greatest and most important problem of the convention was solved. The French section of the Internabecome one party. It has also acquired a united will. And this splen-

## COMA GROW"

Tacoma, Wn., Nov., 24 1908 The Socialist, Seattle, Wn.

Comrades: Agitation has been go The Local Organizer and Comrade eleven charter members at Alder last

Saturday night. This is the precinct in which the Socialist Party got more votes at the last election than all of Jaures the other parties combined. Local Alder bids fair to become one of the

Comrade Herman was the speaker tions of any who might have been There is something strange about suffering from muddleheadness as to

Comrade Ellis was the speaker

rises to the highest, most enthu- tive propagandists. Keen interest is With best wishes, I remain.

Yours in the Social Revolution. PAUL TURNER. Local Organizer

## THIS BOY KNOWS

Walla Walla, Nov. 16, 1908. R. Krueger, Tacoma.

Dear Sir: Enclosed find application Dear Sir: Enclosed find application for membership in the Socialist party. I am a boy of 14 years. I wish some men had sense enough to pull the wool off their eyes, and vote for Socialism; but no, they think Socialism means division of property. But I have told the boys a thing or two about the Socialists. I silenced them up on several issues up on several issues

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31.00; Vest, 70c; Overcoat, \$2.00.

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## The A B C of Socialism

## By Chas. H. Vail

We need to distinguish between Socialism as an ideal—a future state of society—and the Socialist movement, which is an effort to realize that ideal. As this effort must be carried on within the confines of the present class system, it possesses several characteristics which are well marked and of the utmost importance.

#### TWO CLASSES EXIST

The capitalist system presupposes the rending of society into class divisions—the propertied and non-propertied. The owning class, having possession of the means of itvelihood—lands, factories, railroads, mines, etc.—are able to keep the non-owning class in a condition of dependence and servitude. The laboring class is absolutely dependent upon the capitalist class for an opportunity to exist. Being unable to employ themselves, they must seek employment at the hands of others, selling their labor power for what it will bring in the competitive market. Their labor power is a commodity, like beets or cabbage, which must be sold upon the open market. The ideal of every laborer should be to achieve his emancipation from this condition of servitude. This can only be accomplished by freeing himself from capitalist dependence.

To secure this end he must himself become the owner of the tools necessary to his existence. But the tools today have become gigantic instruments of production, costing many thousands of dollars and operated only by the cembined labor of many. The days of homespun and individual production are forever gone. The individual laborer can no longer hope to own the instruments necessary to his livelihood. The change in the method of production has given rise to a special class—the capitalist or the owning class. The individual laborer could not acquire sufficient wealth in several lifetimes to begin to own these gigantic instruments. Not only does the cost prohibit his ownership, but the character of the tools themselves makes it impossible that all that use the tools should individually own them. The tools today are social; that is, they are co-operatively used. If one man owns these tools, even though he be a laborer, it would necessarily preclude the ownership upon the part of all others who must use the tools or starve. But the character of the instruments suggests the solution of the (problem and the way of labor emancipation. The tools being social in character, should be socially owned. Individual ownership was proper in the day of individual use. But when the method of operation is Socialized the ownership should also be socialized to correspond.

#### SOCIALISM OR SLAVERY.

Private ownership of social tools means the private appropriation of the product of social labor, and the dependence of man upon man for an opportunity to live. The great instruments of production are not operated by those who own them, or owned by those who use them. Modern industry has given to this possessing class the most perfect mechanism for wealth production that the world has ever seen. These owners allow the laborers use of these tools on condition that they (the workers) will give up to the idlers the lion's share of the product produced. Ownership is the secret of capitalist power—they own that which is necessary to the worker's existence. The inborers to be free must themselves own these requisites to life. While it is impossible and undestrable to destroy modern methods, reverse the wheels of progress and return to the days of small industry, and also impossible for the workers to own in dividually these great instruments, still these instruments can be made the collective property of all the people. This is the only way by which the laborers can secure control of their economic interest. It is Socialism or economic slavery.

We cannot expect those enjoying special privileges to willingly relinquish their advantage. They naturally desire to perpetuate a system that enables them to live in idleness off the labors of others. It is evident that if labor is emancipated it must emancipate itself. The Socialist movement, then, which stands for labor's emancipation, is based primarily upon the working class. It recognizes the great fact of the class struggle and seeks to enlighten the workers concerning their own interests; in other words, make them class conscious. This class consciousness means a consciousness of one's own interest as a member of a class, also a consciousness that his interests can only be subserved by advancing the interests of the class to which he belongs.

#### THE BALLOT IS THE KEY.

He also comes to realize that control of political power is necessary to any class which would permanently improve its economic condition. To solidarity in the economic field must be added solidarity in the political field. To unite in the industrial struggle and divide in the political is the height of absurdity. In fact, the ballot box is the key to the whole situation. The class that is supreme there is supreme everywhere. While the workers have the number to gain this supremacy, they have been deceived by the master class into voting themselves into continued subjection. Were the working class to unite into a class consolous political party, victory would at once be theirs. The hope of the capitalist class is to keep them divided and arrayed against each other. As long as the workers look to the masters for guidance, they will be led like sheep to the shambles. The Socialist Party, which is a party of the working class, proposes to master the public powers and administer them in the interest of the producing class. Just in proportion as this party gains supremacy will labor's condition improve. The complete triumph of this party means the abolition of all class rule and economic dependence.

Herein the coming revolution differs from all preceding changes. In the former revolutions class superseded class—the class below overthrowing the class above—but the continuance of private ownership resulted in establishing a new despotism. But the working class supremacy will completely abolish all dependence, because the tools of production now being social the working class cannot emancipate itself without socializing the instruments. When the instruments are collectively owned the cause of all dependence and servitude will disappear. Thus while as militant our cause is chiefly identified with class, as triumphant it is identified with humanity.

### SOCIALISM AND A SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

Here is the distinction mentioned in the beginning of this article, between Socialism and the Socialist movement. The Socialist movement is based upon the class struggle. Socialism triumphant will abolish the class struggle and make the interest of all identical. It will be the business of the Socialist Party, when in control of the state, to carry out to completeness the legislative task of transforming the privately owned tools into collective property. When this has been accomplished classes and class antagonisms will be abolished. In the new order there will be but one class—humanity, and the golden age so long dreamed of will be a realization on earth.

### VOTE FOR HUMAN FREEDOM.

All who desire a better social order and a higher state of civilization should cast their ballots in the coming election for the candidates of the Socialist Party. We propose the abolition of this cannibalistic system and the substitution therefor of the co-operative commonwealth. In the new order co-operation for existence will supplant the present barbaric struggle for existence and society as well as the individual would take on an unhampered development. Socialism would transform and ennoble humanity. It would furnish the only condition wherein the higher life of service and brotherhood can be realized. We ask all who believe in or desire the better way to join in its realization. Every-vote cast for Socialism brings nearer the day of human freedom.

## LABORER MUST OWN HIS TOOLS.

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As a result of the vigorous, aggressive campaign, the capitalist sheets are throwing various kinds of fits and issuing howls of warning against the Socialist candidates. They evidently know that what the Socialists will do on the Board of Education means between the socialists will do socialist.

are used to educate the children of the Working Class and his profit returns to him in the shape of young men and women morally and men. and University, third tally trained in such manner as will conduce to the well-being of his class

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The offer of \$6.00 a Thousand in bundles of Five Hundred or more is education for the children of the bundles of Five Hundred or more is effective. Many Locals are taking wage workers.

Specialty.

The offer of \$6.00 a Thousand in bundles of Five Hundred or more is education for the children of the children of the section for the children of the countribution was made toward Pour are from Missouri and you had better come around to the office of "The section for the children of the countribution was made toward Pour are from Missouri and you had better come around to the office of "The section for the children of the children of the children of the section for the countribution was made toward Pour are from Missouri and you had better contribution was made toward Pour are from Missouri and you had better contribution was made toward Pour are from Missouri and you had better contribution was made toward Pour are from Missouri a

tion under capitalism, is calculated to Socialist" and get an armful of cam reap a profit for and augment the paign literature for distribution power of the capitalist class.

Why is a Socialist who merely pays The capitalist pays the taxes which his dues like a hole in a doughnut? Because he helps to swell the body—but that is all. Are you a vacancy

> Four application cards were read at the last business meeting.

Three applications were recom-mended to membership by the mem-bership committee, but an objection was raised and the vote upon their To hell with such an education.

Let us educate the Working Class children to be class-conscious and imbued with Working Class Morality, and not merely machines and automatons to produce profit for a parastic class.

So, everybody boost. School elections are just as vital to the Working Class interests are just as much at stake.

Three applications were recommended to membership by the membership committee, but an objection was raised and the vote upon their week. Comrade Henry Dworschack was admitted to membership. The sidered at the next meeting.

Comrade E. J. Lewis, of Portland, who was expected to speak in Labor Temple last Sunday, found it necessity.

who was expected to speak in Labor Temple last Sunday, found it necessary to cancel his date. He will be also unable to spend next week in Seattle, as was expected. Notwith-standing the disappointment in his ness. By this provision no comrade failure to arrive last Sunday, a very

> Mr. Shorrock and Mr. Ronald, the opposing candidates for school di-rectors, have been invited to discuss the issues of this campaign on our platform next Sunday evening.



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### THE LABOR PARTY COMING?

"The Socialist" gives you this week a view of the English Labor Party, or, rather, three views of it.

This subject is timely in view of the plain prophecy contained in the Debates of the American Federation of Labor at Denver last week. The temper of the Delegates was evidently favorable to the independent action of Organized Labor along political lines in the future.

At the same time there was a great deal of enthusiasm for Gompers and antagonism to Socialists, including National Secretary Barnes who was a Delegate in attendance.

Fraternal Delegates were present from England who described the formation of the "Labour Party" there, boasted of their numerous representatives in Parliament and of their success in securing favorable leg-

Gompers himself was delegated to go to England for the purpose of investigating conditions and of reporting back to the Convention next year. No doubt the A. F. of L. will follow Gompers' recommendations and little doubt Gompers will recommend an American Labor Party mod-

eled after the English Party of that name. Therefore it is well for American Socialists to study the English sit-"The Socialist" is giving for this purpose, (1) the Independent Labor Party view by Jowett, Member of Parliament, (2) the straight So cialist view, by Robert Blatchford, Editor of "The Clarion," and (3) the American Socialist view by Geo. D. Herron.

It will be well to outline the English situation for the benefit of those

who have no knowledge of it. First, there is in England the "Labour Party." made up from Trades Unions directly. This was formerly known as the "L. R. C.," that is, the Labor Representation Committee, which was the first political expression of the Unions.

Nevt, there is the "I. L. P.," that is, the Independent Labor Party, several years old, claiming to be Socialist. - At the outset, the I. L. P. was about as Socialist as the Labor Party now is, but it has progressed constantly toward Revolutionary Socialism. The "Labour Leader" is its weekly organ.

Third, there is the Social Democratic Party, for many years known as the "S. D. F.," the Social Democratic Federation. This is straight Socialist. Its organ is "Justice," edited by Quelch and including Hyndman among its best known writers.

Victor Grayson, suspended last month from Parliament, is the only S. D. P. member in the House of Commons.

The I. L. P. has several "M. P.s", including Ramsay McDonald, Philip Snowden, Jowett and Keir Hardie.

The Labor Party has some 30 Members of Parliament and was re cently admitted to the International Socialist Bureau on the ground that its practical proposals are all proletarian. Yet it will be noted that its executive trades votes with the "Liberals" (same as our American "Democrats") in the two-membered constituencies, that Victor Grayson calls them""Traitors" and that Herron designates them as "essentially Middle Class." It is not unlikely that the Bureau's action will be reversed by the International Congress.

These three political aspects of Socialism occur in nearly all countries, representing differing degrees of education in Proletarian economics, differing degrees of emancipation from Capitalist methods, as well as differing types of individual temperament: Yet the Marxian Socialist always leads the rest. To his stand, all the others tend by force of economic necessity, because he alone has the intellectually correct analysis Witness the outlined in "The Socialist" this week.

A great practical problem is j st ahead of American Socialists, namely, how to win the Three Million Protetarians, organized industrially and represented by Samuel Gompers.

We have the knowledge. They have the interests. We have the theory. They have the practice. They can get nowhere without our knowl-We can get nowhere without their interests. And both can get nowhere without the millions of other wage slaves now outside both

Therefore the greatest tactics of all, which must be prosecuted these many years and unceasingly, is Education and Education and Education.

## CIVIL SERVICE SLAVES

Readers of "The Socialist" know how H. M. Wells, Postal Clerk in Seattle Postoffice, had his salary reduced One Hundred Dollars a year for presuming to preside at the Debs meeting and for daring to speak for the Socialist Party on the streets.

Wells was also active in organizing the Postal Clerks' Union in this city, and he is a delegate from that Union to the Central Labor Council.

The Central Labor Council of Seattle passed strong resolutions against the Civil Service regulations which discriminate against those government employees in the "Classified Service" and in favor of those in the "Unclassified Service" (except Common Laborers). These regulations permit Postmasters, for example, to preside at political meetings and be otherwise active in campaigns, but deny the same active participation to Postal Clerks and all others who obtain their positions by competitive examinations and whose tenure is permanent during good bheavior.

The Seattle Labor Council's Resolutions were sent to President Roose velt and by him referred to the Civil Service Commission at Washington, whose president is John C. Black of Illinois.

President Black has now sent to Secretary Harris, of the Seattle Labor Council, an elaborate reply to the Resolutions, covering twelve pages of type written letter sheets

The reply admits and defends the alleged discrimination by the Civil Service Regulations and quotes from Roosevelt, when he was Civil Service Commissioner himself, in support of the line of discrimination drawn in the Rules and Regulations. It is a long and long winded paper which we have no room to print. But there are just two arguments presented and only two, to justify the ruling that superior officials, appointed for political ons, like Postmasters, may freely participate in politics, only being careful to create no "scandal," while civil service officials, appointed for merit only and without regard to political affiliations, may engage in polities only so far as to vote and express their opinions "in private."

These two arguments are these: First. It has been found impractica-

## PARLIAMENT IN UPROAR

Continued from Page One

with the greatest pleasure." (Loud cries of "Order!")

"A House of Murderers."

Mr. Grayson again figured in an egregrious exhibition in the House on Friday, when the committee stage of the Licensing Bill was resumed. Immediately after the division on an amendment Mr. Grayson rose and wished to call attention to the fact that there were thou of people dying in the street they were trifling with this bill. (Loud cries of "Order.") "Personally," retorted the honorable member, "I retorted the honorage refuse go give order. I am only one in this House, but I defy it to silence "The chairman: Order! Order!" me."—The chairman: Order! Order!
—Mr. Grayson: I will not give order.
I have a large mandate behind me and I positively refuse to allow this House to proceed a moment longer whilst I am in it. (Uproar.) Shout and defiantly fused to give order. There was then a repetition of the argument in which voluntarily until the House has shown (Cheers.)-Mr. Grayson: Sir. Well, sir, I leave the

## ONE VIEW OF THE CAMPAIGN

**By Courtenay Lemon** 

(Written for simultaneous publication in New York "Evening Call," Chicago "Daily Socialist" and "The Socialist.")

Now that the campaign is over and so many reasons have been given why the Socialist Party did not receive a larger vote, I also wish to give my explanation of why we ought to feel glad that we got as large an increase as we did, and perhaps a bit relieved that we did not get the million and a half that some impatient comrades hoped for.

It may be replied that not having taken any active part in this campaign, I am not in a good position to criticize it. But if so, the persons who make this reply will probably be comrades who have themselves not been active in many previous campaigns when I was, for the very good reason that they were not then members of the party. And the very tendencies in our recent campaign that I am about to criticize are perhaps largely due to those same well meaning comrades, with insufficient revolutionary experience, or inadequate understanding of the nature and spirit of the movement, who have joined our ranks within the last two or three years.

If we had received a million and a half, or even a million, votes this whilst I am in it. (Droat.) Should ing above the din the honorable year it would necessarily have been a spongy, mushy, dangerous growth—a niember accused the House of calsort of fatty degeneration. For it would have been impossible for us to have so quickly given a real understanding of the Socialist movement to even the major portion of such a number-especially with such campaign Mr. Grayson had engaged the pre-wious day with the Speaker.—The everything else, quality should come before quantity. It is true that the methods as have been in vogue this year. In the Socialist vote, as in Revolution can be achieved only by force of numbers, but it is still more Revolution can be achieved only by force of numbers, but it is still more ed to obey my instructions wn, and I now ask him to true that at least a considerable portion of the numbers must underwithdraw from the House. (Cheers.) stand what they are doing and how to do it—else they will find themselves I refuse to withdraw deluded and their revolution abortive.

Therefore it is well enough-indeed, if we pursue proper methods of inclination to attend to this to question.—The Chairman: real education it is inevitable—that our growth though large and steady, Mr. Victor Grayson, I name should be gradual and solid. It is also well enough that our growth is disobeying the order of the evenly distributed instead of being concentrated in a way that would se-(Loud laugh, cure the election of single individuals to public office. There are perhaps a I will obstruct the procedure of few men, such as Morris Hillquit, of so much ability and experience that this House as long as it refuses to they could accomplish something for the movement if elected alone to a attend to this question. (Great uproar.)—The sitting was thereupon suspended, and the Speaker sent for.

Meanwhile a scene of disorder pretable M. Great upfalls that would confront a solitary Socialist in Congress or in any of the Grayson endeavoring to various legislatures. It is certainly absurd, from the standpoint of abstract address the members, who shouted justice that 600,000 Socialist voters have no representative in the governhim down. Upon the arrival of the Speaker the Prime Minister moved that Mr. Grayson be suspended.—The New York State have no representative in the Legislature. But on the motion was promptly carried.—Mr. other hand, in most cases at least, it is just as well that we do not elect Grayson (slowly making his way to a single Socialist legislator until we can elect a number of them at the the door! well, sir, a leave the same time, so that they can give each other mutual aid and counsel, present The honorable member is not en a sufficiently annoying force on the floor, and have behind him a sufficiently to address the House after he ciently large and determined constituency to enforce attention from the same time, so that they can give each other mutual aid and counsel, present has been suspended.—Mr. Grayson: gold-blind eyes and stone-deaf ears of capitalist "Speakers," pigeon-holing leave the House feeling that I gain House feeling that I gain doing so. (Laughter.) I committees, parliamentary switchmen, and all the other red tape, Black honorable members will Hand specialists who run things at Washington and Albany. Suppose, for leave it, too. It is a house of murderers. (Cries of "Oh," and "Order.")

—The honorable member passed through the doors and left the House.

meals" and "free clothing" and "free

medical attendance" and "better-paid

teachers and fewer children to the

teacher," and by all the other extrava-

.But Mrs. Fiset is especially repug-

club women, because she openly de

clares the present school curriculum

should be changed so as to teach

Scientific Sociology and Scientific His-

tory, in order that Proletarian chil-

dren may learn their class status in

modern society and how their parents

Chattel Slaves and Serf Slaves of

These are terrible things which the

There is nothing like Proletarian

Principles to drive the capitalist

ducks to their native water. All

these capitalist wives and mothers,

who play at serious things and dawdle

at Reforms, flock in clacking fright

back to their own beloved Property

again, whenever Revolution, the in-

variable harbinger of a new era, is

But Mrs. Frazier should consult the

founder of her W. C. T. U., the really

great Frances Willard who dared

For all these deliverances, Mrs.

counted "worthy" for such a high

re-

schools must not teach or the founda-

tions of society will be rocked.

gant propositions of the Socialists.

### tain Western localities where Socialism is new and Populism is old. Is it not well that we have not elected such men, however well meaning and

energetic they may be, until such time as we are able to elect with them, promising grasp of revolutionary principles?

ists, the Socialism that is impregnable in its convictions, uncompromising in its methods, unanswerable in its determination, unquenchable in its long, ar dent, enduring enthusiasm-this sort of Socialism is not produced by sensa tional campaigns, by the hypnotism of magnetic oratory, by the personalities of its spokesmen. No, this sort of Socialism-genuine, durable, understanding, dependable Socialism-is produced only by educational methods; by a laborious propaganda directed towards the end of making workingmen and their sympathizers understand the struggle of opposing classes throughout the social body-a struggle sometimes conscious, more often unconscious, but always present even in the remotest ramifications of life; by making them understand the class character of existing society and all its institutions, the mean, subtle, ignoble class character of government, law, politics, religion, existing educational systems-and the nobler, revolutionary working class character of the Socialist movement, the completely revolutionary spirit of the movement; and by making them understand the

underlying causes of social evolution, historic mission of the modern work

ing class, inspiring their whole souls with the new moral ideal of prole

tarian class-consciousness.

This sort of teaching makes Socialists who think, dream, eat and drink of the Revolution, who cannot be deceived, are never discouraged, can never be defeated. It is obvious that hip-hurrah campaign methods and appeals for votes fo. this or that individual candidate, however much attention they may attract to the movement, do not make this sort of Socialists And the recent campaign has proved that, however many articles they may provoke in magazines which few workingmen read, these methods do not even catch votes. If they did, such votes would be scarcely worth catching, for they would only deceive us as to our real strength and swamp our move ment in a sea of confusion, or would be carried away from us by the first new promise of "reform," or by the next demagogue who arose to play upon their enthusiastic gullibility.

This is, of course, not said as an argument against big meetings or campaign enthuslasm-such we must have, they are a necessary part of our growth. But it is a question of proportion, of emphasis, of how much importance we should attach to, and how much money and energy we should put into such methods as compared with that which we put into the serious work of lasting education. It must, first of all, be recognized that the spectacular campaigns merely serve to advertise the existence of the Socialist movement; that they are, in themselves, of little or no value in making real Socialists. They must be followed up by, they must ever be regarded as subordinate to more enduring methods.

The mere magnetism of campaign rhetoric may arouse temporary enthusiasm, but it does not implant permanent conviction; the personal record and ability of candidates may catch wandering votes, but it does not create lasting movements. I have seen many a mob-yes, even many a Socialist mob, it must be said-under the influence of campaign hysteria, applaud statements that were ridiculous and that in their sober senses they and possibly the speaker himself, would know to be ridiculous. That sort of mob hysteria is just as unintelligent as the hysteria that causes another mob in the South to lynch an innocent negro. It represents the same unintelligent force, moved by the same cheap methods, only under different conditions.

The point is in that the last year we have paid too much attention to meetings as compared with that which we have paid to our press, literature and educational lectures; that we have expected too much from campaign eloquence at the eleventh hour; that some of our speakers are beginning to show a tendency to talk too much about superficial issues or immediate election and too little about underlying principles; and that in some cases personality has been emphasized to the neglect of principles (the neglect more than the violation of principles-not so much that anything has been said that is against our principles as that, in many cases, nothing has been said about them).

As an illustration, a thing unimportant in itself, but of much significance as an outward symbol of a pernicious tendency, mark the wearing of buttons bearing the pictures of candidates, which has become so fashionable in the Socialist movement nowadays. A discussion of such things need not involve personalities. That Comrades Debs, Hillquit and Stokes are de voted, trustworthy, incorruptible and altogether admirable men, I am fully aware both from their records and from the intimate observation of personal association-but that is no reason why their faces should replace the party emblem. If Karl Marx were running for Congress and Jesus Christ for Assembly, I would not wear their faces on my coat. Such here wershipping symbols are altogether against the spirit of Socialism.

Such a view does not depreciate the importance of the individual-on the contrary, it is just those who run after and worship and wear buttons who depreciate individual worth, by demeaning the individual in themselves; when a number of individuals make themselves worshipfully subordinate to another individual, it is just then that individual worth is most depreciated. I am not foolish enough to speak against there being leaders in the Socialist movement; that we should have leaders is necessary and inevitable-indeed, in many places leaders of the right sort are very much needed. It is absurd to say that the Socialist movement, simply because it is a democratic movement, has no leaders. Democracy does not imply the absence of leaders; it only requires that the rank and file be intelligent and reflective and choose its own "leaders" and support them only so long as their ideas and conduct convince that rank and file and justify them-

There is, therefore, no danger of there ever being any bosses in the Socialits movement, but recently we have had some gods. These gods do not themselves wish to be gods, and if any of them ever attempted to become bosses they would not even remain gods-gods, here as elsewhere being (at least, per se, in their capacity as gods) rather powerless.

If too much of a personal campaign has been made for some of our candidates here in New York, it is more the fault of the comrades than of the candidates, and I believe that some of its phases have been distasteful to most of those candidates themselves. Comrade Stokes tells me that the personal campaign which some comrades made for him was very distasteful to him, and that he twice stopped the organization of bodies of sympathizers who proposed to work for his personal candidacy. I think Comrade Hillquit would also have done well to have squelched the College Men's Hiliquit League, unless it was willing to become a College Men's Socialist Party

It is true that our first successful candidates will probably be elected by the aid of split tickets. But to merely accept these inevitable split votes when they come is a very different thing from eagerly expecting them, or forcing their premature growth by permitting special appeals for them. To receive split votes while laying all the emphasis on Socialism as a whole instead of on the particular candidacy, may some time be useful. "come in handy," but to be anxious for split votes or to solicit them is inevitably to be gradually and subtly influenced by them.

And then the "Red Special." It was a fine, stirring thing-those flying talks to the curious, jostling thousands at depots. But how much more all that money would have accomplished if it had been put into literature and house to house canvasses! Ah, but so much money could not have been raised for that purpose. Very true, and just one more proof of the neces sity for thoroughgoing revolutionary education.

The substance of it all is that Socialists should think less of catching votes and more of educating the discontented into understanding revolutionists. Make one such revolutionist a revolutionist from top to bottom, who has a perfectly clear understanding of the source and nature of the Socialist movement, and he alone will ultimately make (not catch) more votes than the most successful campaign rally ever held.

In a majority of cases, the only thing that will make a man "throw his vote away" for a party that has no immediate chance to "win" is to imbne him with a revolutionary ideal, which makes him realize the necessity of building up a party to achieve it. The elusive citizen whose vote you try to catch without giving him the rudiments of a Socialist education, admits that "Socialism is a good thing"—and votes for what he thinks is the lesser of the two old evils that are equal. Whenever we try to "catch' votes we don't deserve them-and don't get them, either.

The satisfactory increase that we did get at this election is probably in large part the harvest of the solid educational work done before this campaign, and is therefore all the more trustworthy and encouraging.

or instead of them, candidates who have a more thorough and uncom Real Socialism, the Socialism that counts, the Socialism of the Social-

## INSULTS MRS. FISET

#### School Campaign in Seattle Exposes Club Women as True Bourgeois

A Mrs. Frazier, secretary of the posedly "broad" and "intelligent" in Seattle, as quoted in interviews in exist. the "P.-I." and "Times," says: "We would like to throw our vote for some erstwhile sisters is found in the So date.'

This is not quite so bad or it is as the "P.-I." reporter's statement: There will not be a woman candidate for a place on the Seattle School Woman's Clubs yesterday settled that

nant to Mrs. Frazier and Mrs. Jennings and the rest of these capitalist Woman's Christian Temperance Union "club women." She does not even

The secret of this sudden repugnance to a brilliant woman by her

worthy woman candidate," but "we cialist School Platform on which she do not endorse the Socialist candi- stands and in her own published interviews. It is a very contemptible as Wage Slaves correspond to the and sordid thing, this secret of these bourgeois ladies' sudden right-about other ages, on whose Unrequited Laworse, according to your viewpoint, face. It is the same reason which bor aristocracies built and build them makes the well-fed dog snap at the selves, and from whose subjection and hungry dog who hunts a biscuit or a exploitation Governments were mainbone in the Well-fed's back yard. Mrs. tained and are maintained. Board. The meeting of the Federated Fiset represents the Hungry Proletarian child-50,000 of him in Seattlequestion." This seems to imply that stretching out his lean hand for more a Socialist woman is not even a health, more purity, more opportunity. Mrs. Frazier represents the par-

Mrs. Fiset used to be considered a ents of the 20,000 well-fed children in remarkably fine woman, respected Seattle whose property interests would and courted, in her bourgeois days, be affected by the "enormous" exonly a short year ago. But now she penditures incident to the introduchas joined the Proletarians, she is tion of "kindergartens for all chilignored and insulted by these sup-dren between 3 and 6" and by "free

ble by years of experience, to prevent these superior officials from en- seen hovering on the horizon. gaging influentially in political affairs. Therefore, they are permitted, because they cannot successfully be forbidden. This undoubtedly is a good argument. It does not apply to "common laborers" who are also "unclassified," but who can be coerced into relinquishing their political rights.

things, and who was not afraid to see Second. The "Classified Service" consists of some Two Hundred Thou- and to say that Socialism, introducing sand persons, and will soon be much larger, thus making up such an army "Enough for all, all the time," and that they could control any election by massing themselves in favor of thus abolishing Poverty, would the party in power. move also Intemperance and Impurity

This is a very ancient argument, used Forty and Thirty years ago and the thousand other Monsters of by the advocates of Civil Service Reform. It was a good argument then Capital and Wage Labor. when civil service positions were political, not meritorious, and when appointments were made for definite terms instead of being fixed during Fiset and her fellow Socialists are good behavior. Then, Postmasters and Collectors of Revenue could coerce content to stand and are proud to be their employes to support the administration or be summarily dismissed at the close of their four years term. Then, there occurred the terrible mission. "clean sweep" whenever a new President was elected. Then, "to the victor belonged the spolls"

But now, when, under the Rules of the Reformed Civil Service, no man's politics or political activities are investigated and no man can be discharged for political reasons; now, when, consequently, the Service is composed of different political faiths, Republicans, Democrats, Socialists; now, when these men in the "Classified Service" would, if permitted, be politically active in the various parties and would never act as a unit for the party in power; now, this ancient reason has no force whatever. It is Victor Grayson Advises to Steal, Comabolished by the new conditions.

The Seattle Labor Council's Resolutions are therefore not at all an swered by Commissioner Black's elaborate letter.

Their charge that this Regulation serves as a gag on Free Speech and serves practically to remove the members of the "classified service" from political life, remains unanswered. The first reason quoted above, namely, that it is found impossible to

quell political activity among the superior officials, should now encourage the inferiors to determined opposition to the present rulings in their case They should also make it impossible to enforce the ruling which excludes them from personal freedom as citizens of a republic. The Postal Clerks should stand solid and Organized Labor should firmly sustain them in renewing their protest against unjustifiable discrimination

For consider what this will lead to when Public Ownership is extended to include Railroads and Telegraphs and other utilities, when the numbers in the "Classified Service" will reach millions. All these men will be for

Interested in promoting a Working Class political movement, the far see ing and far reaching character of this Rooseveltian Regulation is perceived. It is to the interest of the Unions, whose members are soon to engage in common political action, to fight for their rights to engage freely and

influentially in their own politics. The case of Wells should be made a test case. Commissioner Black's elaborate but fallacious reply should be replied to with still stronger Resolutions. The "Classified Service" will thus secure for itself the recog-

nition of personal liberty which their "superiors" have already won.

## **JOHN BURNS** AND THE KING

pare With Taft's Advice to Hungry Man-"God Knows."

London, Monday, Nov. 23 -- Victor Grayson, the Socialist M. P., addressing a meeting of 5,000 unemployed at St. Pancras, made a violent personal attack on the King.

According to a reporter he said: "I see the King has invited John Burns (groans and hisses) to some castle or other, to stay with him. John Burns and Edward Rex, both in the same smokeroom, discussing how they may not solve the unemployed problem!

"John Burns is in his proper posi-tion, flunky to a genteel, idle para-site. Fine company! And if there is any advantage it is on the side of the bidden to exercise their normal influence on public opinion as voiced in the has been an idle parasite elections.

Considering that these voters are all proletarians, living on very moderate wages and exploited in a purely capitalistic way, and therefore pleces of gold."

pleces of gold."
Proceeding Mr. Grayson remarked:
"I say tonight, with the utmost calm,
I am proud to tell the hungry man
that he is less than a man if he
starves while he can steal. I can
trust you not to steal it from the
needy man or woman. If you are
going to steal, steal it from those
who have it. They won't miss it.
All you will do is to save them from
indigestion."

New York, Nov. 15.

COURTENAY LEMON.