

The Paris Commune teaches

The Only Answer to Civilization

By George D. Herron

We must work while we wait, but I feel sure that the American Socialist movement will have to undergo a critical stage of waiting, and rather long labor-pains of a new birth. This is largely because of the development and psychology of the American nation. We Americans are a far more servile and ignorant people, and far more bigoted and provincial, than we are at all aware of, or than intelligent Europeans understand. In fact, we have most indignantly exaggerated opinions of our intellectual and political emancipation and progress. Europeans based upon, and are promulgated by, our ignorance. Out of that ignorance I think that the nation will go back into the melting-pot, with darkness and disappointment to founder through. Thereby comes the time when the Socialist movement may and must do its real educational work, and grow to stature and wisdom.

Nothing can prevent the forces which are typified by the Hearst movement from running their course and of which will be a vast and deep disorder, if not incalculable suffering, that must emerge the renewed Socialist movement, disciplined and rightly inspired for bringing a new nation out of the chaos.

Do not see a catastrophe, but I believe that the American nation is moving towards what will in some respects be the complete catastrophe of modern history. The issue therefore will be either a revolution, or else a dark age. Which it shall be depends entirely upon the quality of the Socialist movement during the next five or six years. When I see the seeming tendency everywhere to compromise, to make acknowledgements, to give hostages to the enemy, to make friends with the church, and all of the servility so inherently characteristic of us as a people—when I see all this, I confess that the immediate future sometimes looks terrible. I feel that the future will depend upon ourselves. It depends upon whether we are clear-sighted—do we have the courage to stand up for our principles, or do we prefer to see ourselves in the immediate advantage for our movement, or for ourselves. For myself, I am every day more deeply convinced of the necessity of a new era, and of the error of every shadow of opportunism. Even in Germany, with Babel and the rest, the Socialist movement has not been able to bring the fruits that it ought to show as a result of the power that it possesses.

We are living in a civilization that is no longer sincere in anything save its hypocrisy. There is no use in trying to make terms with such a civilization. It is good for nothing but the test of judgment, that the good in it may be taken and the evil, and be saved. But there is no answer to such a civilization save in the complete destruction of it, and the establishment of a world deliberately created by the collective man.

Feb. 23, 1906.

Heroes of the Revolution

By James Onal

No movement in history has ever given such exalted heroism and voluntary martyrdom as the revolutions linked with the proletarian cause. The heroes of the revolution, whose disciples were to die to beat in the Roman amphitheater or saturated with tar and used for torches to light Nero's gardens, were not the heroes of the revolution. With the overthrow of primitive communism came civilization, and with it the age of slaves and masters. The heroes of the revolution were the slaves and the master ever victorious. The heroes of the revolution were the slaves and the master ever victorious. The heroes of the revolution were the slaves and the master ever victorious.

The forms of wealth production that have succeeded primitive communism have made the antagonism between the masters and the slaves sharper than today, under capitalism, millions of workmen recognize it. Some of the slaves and some of the masters are recognized. It wherever they arose they were drowned in blood. Witness the servile rebellion of Spartacus before the Christian era, the Paris Commune of 1871, Bismarck, January 22, 1905.

Spartacus, a Roman gladiator, forty years before Christ, broke his chains and led to the mountains of Italy, gathering an army of 100,000 slaves, that devastated Italy for years and brought to Rome a new and more terrible slave. Some of the greatest armies ever mustered into service by any Roman emperor was required to suppress this revolt of slaves and to conquer the mountains of Italy. The great ruling class, forty thousand of these proletarian slaves were crucified on the cross.

And the Paris Commune! Will the patibular and Spartan heroism of that revolt for the communal autonomy of Paris ever be appreciated by the bourgeoisie? Will the "Paris Commune" will a brutal soldier beat him to death in the streets; Millere, executed by the bourgeoisie; the terrible massacre and wholesale slaughter of the communards by the forces of "order!"

And now the Russian Revolution. Secretly one year ago a mass of proletarian regarded with reverence an ideal car of their own imagination. Bloody Sunday destroyed the hopes of the Russian people. The hall of death from the imperial palace revealed the truth. The petition they carried was the last one. The Cossack had been named to the throne. The revolution was proclaimed by proclamation; bullets with bombs. The proletariat no longer had any hope. The revolution was proclaimed by proclamation; bullets with bombs. The proletariat no longer had any hope. The revolution was proclaimed by proclamation; bullets with bombs.

What a transformation a few years has wrought! Or is it a few years? What of that dreadful stream of the flower of Russian life that for years has marched in chains to exile in the frozen north? What of those heroes of the Revolution that have rotted of scurvy and dysentery in the pillars of St. Peter and St. Paul? What of those heroes of the Revolution? What of the heroes that have deserted? The lives and the lives of the peasants' grain and give their lives to teach to the streets. The streets of the Revolution are the streets of the Revolution.

How ever, we of today have no illusions as to the results of the revolution. The advance guard of the Revolution has no illusions regarding "liberty, equality and fraternity." They know that the revolution will be a struggle for the liberation of the proletariat. They know that the revolution will be a struggle for the liberation of the proletariat. They know that the revolution will be a struggle for the liberation of the proletariat.

other countries, let us not forget the class wars in "our" own country.

Let us not forget the capitalists that fell at Latimer on the highway and under the wheels of "Old Glory," the judicial murder of the Chicago "anarchists," who sleep the long sleep in Waldheim cemetery, the half-penned miser who was shot and killed, the American institutions, the hundred battlefields where numbers of our men and women have died, the American institutions, the hundred battlefields where numbers of our men and women have died, the American institutions, the hundred battlefields where numbers of our men and women have died.

It remains to be seen whether the labor movement in America is still in that mental stupor that will allow the flower of its vanguard to go to the gallows at the behest of traffickers in human merchandise, and not rouse their revolutionary energy at the pitiless outrage.

Such an act in France or Germany would be the signal calling for the erection of barricades in Paris and Verdun. Herin and Hamburg. The cry should rise from a million throats: "This crime shall not pass!"

Only an aroused, thinking and acting proletariat strikes terror in the heart of the exploiters. Arose, ye workers! The roll of martyrs is long enough!

To Hades with Vested Rights

By Robert Bandlow

So, once more we have arrived at the annual commemoration of the Paris Commune. The time has come when we must look over from the lessons of that memorable event? There are thousands who will reverently revere the memory of the heroes of that great proletarian revolution, and yet themselves over to the same lethargy that has been demonstrated on former occasions.

The trouble seems to be that the working class has been trained to believe that the working class is a class with capitalist mind, and that the working class is a class with capitalist mind, and that the working class is a class with capitalist mind.

Does not the lesson of the Commune teach us that the inherent honesty of the masses was so great that it did not for a moment occur to them to lay hands on the possessions of their exploiters? Does not the lesson of the Commune teach us that the inherent honesty of the masses was so great that it did not for a moment occur to them to lay hands on the possessions of their exploiters?

From Jack London

Dear Ellen, Sonoma, Cal., Feb. 16, 1906. Glad to hear from you. I have just arrived home, and have a moment to spare, so I will write you a few lines for me to think of writing the article you suggest. Forgive this run, I am in yours for the

JACK LONDON.

The School of Experience

By John M. Work

The Paris Commune was an experience. Among other things, it taught the lesson that in order to secure their rights the workers must control their own power.

Experience is a dear teacher. What, then, if we do not learn by one experience, but must have our lesson all over again, which ought to have awakened it to the situation, have been repeated again and again.

Why, the great railroad strike of 1877 alone, the first great battle in the class war in America, in which the power went against the working class, was not sufficient to have been sufficient to demonstrate to the workers of the United States that the exploiters control the political power, and that in order to emancipate themselves they must control their own hands and power, take the reins of government in their own hands, and strike off their own necks.

With this lesson in mind, what have the workmen of America been doing to profit by it during the past twenty years? The answer is humiliating. Throughout that entire time they have by their votes kept their enemies in power to rule over them, they have gone to the polls and given their votes to the exploiters, and have learned their lesson so, the teacher would have made them stand the corner.

And what is worse, the strike of 77 is but one of a myriad of experiences, taking the same lesson. We have had the Homestead and Pullman, and Wabash, and the Pullman and Croton Dam, and Cripple Creek, the great steel strike, and the Pullman and Wabash, and the Pullman and Croton Dam, and Cripple Creek, the great steel strike, and the Pullman and Wabash, and the Pullman and Croton Dam, and Cripple Creek, the great steel strike.

You walk up to the ballot box on election day and vote in one of the capitalist tickets, the republican or democratic ticket.

Therefore, the capitalists have control of all the public positions.

When they see these public positions against you, they shout: "You are a traitor!"

When a capitalist judge asks an injunction against labor, why do you growl? You voted to have him do it. When a capitalist president asks an injunction against the troops to shoot down workmen and help the capitalists to work, why do you swear at him? You voted to have him do it.

When your employer drops you from the pay roll, why do you growl? You voted to have him do it. You get what you vote for.

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On election day you march proudly up to the ballot box and vote for your enemies instead of against your own while the capitalist laughs gleefully and says, "What an unfeeling and accommodating damn fool labor is anyway!"

He takes the political power which you have freely extended to him by your ballot and uses it in his own interest and against yours. You cannot blame him for doing so because you voted to have him do so.

You vote to have him exploit you out of everything but a bare animal existence.

You vote to have women and children frozen to death. You vote for every case of penury and starvation that occurs.

You vote for insanity. You vote for suicide. You vote for overflowing penitentiaries.

You vote for child slavery. You are the cruel murderers of the children. Look at your hands and see the blood stains on them.

You vote to have yourself and your class exist on the frayed edge of starvation, always in imminent danger of becoming a beggar.

You vote for the periodical crashes which intensify the sufferings of the disinherited to an agonizing degree.

And you can read in the newspapers the reports of the class war, reports which teach the same old story over and over again, and which are part of the working class can solve the problem.

Why will you let it take you to learn the lesson? Why will you insist upon stopping your eyes and blinding your eyes until the over-development of capitalist plagues of the world are upon you until you have to learn the lesson or perish?

Or will you be wise and learn it now? You vote for yourself.

So long as you continue to vote for exploitation, bullets, and the rule of the capitalist, you will surely get them.

When you quit voting for your enemies' interests and begin to vote for your own interest by voting the Socialist ticket, all these outrages will dissolve like mist before the sun.

There is no other way.

The republican and democratic parties stand for the continuation of capitalism, and the consequent continuation of exploitation, military oppression, injunctions, blacklists, poverty, and the rest of the miserable routine of capitalism.

The Socialist Party stands for the abolition of capitalism, and the consequent abolition of exploitation, military oppression, injunctions, blacklists, child labor, crime, insanity, and the rest of the wretched routine of capitalism.

You are called to the cross of poverty, long hours of labor, and the possibility to avoid yourself of a higher type of life.

As Uncle Remus would say, you just took and jammed yourself on that cross. And every republican and democratic ballot you cast is an additional spike nailing you to it.

You will just have to hang there until you get sense enough to vote the Socialist ticket.

Commune Echoes In Modern France

By Franklin H. Wentworth

The other day a widow in one of the French provinces wrote to a friend in Paris to know if it would be possible to move into an apartment upon the Boulevard Haussmann.

There could hardly be a better exemplification of the dual position of the Socialist citizen.

The capitalists have succeeded in arming a real war scare in the country over the Morocco imbroglio, and that the proletariat are now being used as a political weapon.

There is a party in France that would make tribute in ease and comfort to the bourgeoisie and Germany would precipitate another conflict.

That the Socialists, knowing the underlying motive for the move to fling the bomb against the bourgeoisie, would play the old game of the system for ruin and destruction.

The intellectual in the anti-militarist trial held before a Paris court, the Socialist citizen.

These professional labor agitators and internationalists, writes a bourgeois correspondent, were more concerned with the "protection in recent politics."

They were all ruthlessly condemned by this bourgeois jury, compelling the soldier to refuse to take arms in case of war.

Of course, if the reserves should refuse to go out and fight, the capitalists would find war impossible. Slout through with Socialism as they are, it would not be so safe to leave them at home.

The danger is, of course, that their deliberate rousing of the old anti-German passion in the hearts of their middle class and working class dupes may roll up a vast sentiment which cannot be kept in check. They realize that this war feeling must be stirred and ready, if they are to do any success in their efforts to bring about a general strike.

But it must make them very sick to see how slavishly they are following the lead of the bourgeoisie.

The middle class Frenchman must have a "patriotic" interest at all in Morocco. He therefore has no interest in fighting for his country, he is patriotic only in the sense that it is the proverbial "querelle d'Allemand" (a German's quarrel with a Frenchman).

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a nation—first, by moderating her own internal dissensions, and then by keeping her up to the level of a great power by Europe, where she is never so useful as when she is needed for the persistence of good feeling in the world.

There will be recognized as the conventional capitalist national ethic.

But it may very possibly obtain that an entirely new development in the study of the history of the world will be the conflict of interests over the exploitation of Morocco on the door of the German Empire.

It gives the Socialists an argument to use among the petty bourgeoisie which will be a telling stroke for ultimate democracy. For the Socialist, who is already respected in France, can now say, "So the lives of the young men of France depend upon his vote, so the lives of the young men, do they? An Emperor! Don't you think that a government which would do monstrous things should care for an end?"

And there is not a man or a woman in Germany who has come under the barest Socialist influence who is not today thinking this same thought!

It is possible that the German capitalists force their puppet into the limelight as a cause of the war, and the war should be fought, the result might be the republic in Germany, in which the Socialists would at last get their proper representation.

It would seem almost one of those historic instances where a war might be a good thing. The dupes of capitalism in both nations would be reduced by fighting each other, leaving the political majesties at home to the Socialists, who could reconstruct both nations upon the Socialist principle.

But capitalism may be alert enough to see that a war is unlikely, and prevent upon the peace-making Mr. Roosevelt to do the deed—as Lombard has done in the case of Russia and Japan.

Capitalism had rather see a thousand Moroccos than to see the red flag of the Commune floating over the Tuilerie.

Why We Celebrate the Commune

By John Spargo

How memory, through the lapse of years, recalls the cause's name—

Brings back again the time so grandly dead; When Paris rose in Labor's name and the foeman batted, And scathed her fate with hecatombs of death.

"The glorious dead! They left their flag and will us to preserve it."

As dead as when from their dead hands it fell; To keep it free from spot and stain, and loyally to serve it, As they did 'gainst the powers of earth and hell!"

March 18th is the one hundred anniversary days observed by the whole international Socialist movement. Throughout the world, wherever Socialists gather on that day, they recall the story of the Revolution of Paris in 1871.

The story of the "Commune."

We should so faithfully and reverently celebrate the heroic victory of the workmen of Paris, especially since it is not in any sense a thing of the past.

The Paris Commune of 1871 had nothing to do with Socialism, with Communism, as many people suppose. The word "Commune" was first used in France for municipal government, and when we speak of the Paris Commune of 1871, we mean the government of the city of Paris.

The working class of a great city ruled it, and ruled it well. This great event occurred just after the disastrous Franco-German war. To the northeast of Paris were still to be seen the gleaming white tents of the conquering army. Bismarck's terms of peace were being dictated to Paris and Paris was stirred to resentment. The National Assembly, composed of landowners and capitalists, decided in favor of the acceptance of Bismarck's terms. The flag was torn by Paris withers, and the people of Paris ratified their withdrawal by popular referendum and acclaim.

It is not probable, however, that this act of the National Assembly alone would have caused an insurrection. More important than their humiliation and disgust was the fact that the peace terms of Bismarck were the deep-seated cause of the great mass of the people in Paris. The National Assembly was bent upon the destruction of the public and the creation of another empire. The empire of the great Napoleon III. The flag was torn by Paris withers, and the people of Paris ratified their withdrawal by popular referendum and acclaim.

There were still the royalist pretenders, the Orleansists the burden of debt, which the capitalists and landowners of Bismarck desired to impose upon the people. The evidences of the war were everywhere. The people were sick of the war, and they were sick of the war.

The war was the center of aggressive republican faith, and the autonomy of the Commune, or as we should say, municipal government, was the center of the people's faith, and the autonomy of the Commune, or as we should say, municipal government, was the center of the people's faith.

This attitude of the people, which was the center of the people's faith, and the autonomy of the Commune, or as we should say, municipal government, was the center of the people's faith.

Such were the events which led up to the insurrection of Paris. The morning of the 18th of March, 1871, the people of Paris raised above the Hotel de Ville; the people, under popularly chosen leaders, took up arms for their independence. For a time the Commune was triumphant. On the 26th of March the Commune was officially proclaimed, with a regularly elected government. Two short months it flourished, and then, on the 21st of May, the Versailles troops forced an entry into the city and began that fearful carnage of blood and lust and fire the record of which appalls us even today. Thousands of men, women and children perished at the shambles; never in history has the wanton slaughter of a defeated people been so vast or so terrible.

The government of the Commune was not Socialist. There were some Socialists, some reform socialists, some of the kind of Socialists who are to be found in every country. Men of all shades of political and social faith were united in one simple issue, the overthrow of the Commune.

Had it been otherwise—had there been only a few of the mental principles—who can say what the result would have been?

Never in the history of modern times has a government been so completely and so thoroughly destroyed by the government of the besieged city of Paris.

It is admitted that during that two months the city was governed more honestly and more justly than it has ever been before or since. Let those superior persons who sneer at the city could never be entrusted to it, the government of a great city could never be entrusted to it, the government of a great city could never be entrusted to it.

With an artisan, Theriot, at the head of the postoffice, working at ordinary artisan's wages, and a poor man, Camille, at the head of the postoffice, working at ordinary artisan's wages, and a poor man, Camille, at the head of the postoffice, working at ordinary artisan's wages.

There is nothing done for the workers which they could not do better for themselves. The importance of the Paris Commune, the reason for our interest in the history of the Paris Commune, is not its colossal martyrdom. We are interested in the Paris Commune, the reason for our interest in the history of the Paris Commune, is not its colossal martyrdom.

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Good Reliable Clothing, Hats and Furnishings--Largest Stock, Lowest Prices
435, 437, 439 SUMMIT ST.

FROM NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
The state convention of Alabama will be held at Bessemer, Ala. State Organizer Thomas M. Freeman has been elected for the year just under the direction of the State Committee.

OLYMPIC MARKET
Cheapest Place in the City to Buy Fresh Meats, Fish and Poultry.
RAINIER FUEL CO.
WOOD AND COAL
Phoness: Sunset, Union 29, Ind. R-1693. 2nd. Ave and Vine St.

B.R. BAKER & CO.
Good Reliable Clothing, Hats and Furnishings--Largest Stock, Lowest Prices
435, 437, 439 SUMMIT ST.

Good-bye to the Boosters.
It is with a profound sense of the great importance of the Socialist Press and with a hearty appreciation of how much can be accomplished by the earnest and concentrated effort of even a few hard workers, that I

THE HUB Clothing Co.
Get a Regal \$15 Suit at
On the Square, Opposite the Totem Pole, Seattle.
HOTEL GRAND
S. A. GINGROS, Proprietor.

NIAGARA HOTEL ROOMS 50c and 75c.
GOOD RESTAURANT IN CONNECTION.
Both Phones 195 Office 306 Summit Street

THE RELIABLE LAUNDRY
A. F. WUNDERLICH, Proprietor.
2144-46 Monroe St., Cor. 22d Phone 2288
Lime City Creamery Company
Velvet Brand Ice Cream
721 MICHIGAN STREET. HOME PHONE 2641.

ENTERPRISE HARDWARE CO.
409 PIKE STREET
Hardware, Plumbing, Tinning, Granite Ware, Tinware, Cutchery.
OUR SPECIALTY--'Good Goods and Careful Workmanship.
Phon. Independent, L. 2874. 1909 Seventh Ave.

THE RELIABLE LAUNDRY
A. F. WUNDERLICH, Proprietor.
2144-46 Monroe St., Cor. 22d Phone 2288

THE PLACE TO BUY IS
Where there's no juggling with prices and values.
Where there's the largest assortment.
Where everything sold is exactly as represented, and your money back.
Where there's the greatest facilities for your comfort and convenience.

DOUGLAS BAKERY ROUTE
Calls Daily at Your Door Seattle, Wash. Strictly Union Goods
Delivers Fresh Bread, Cakes, Pies and Pastry of All Kinds.

Henricks HOME PHONE 3789--BELL, MAIN 704K.
Regular Meals 25 Cents
723 AND 725 ADAMS ST., TOLEDO, OHIO.

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Geo. B. Helgesen GROCERY and MEAT MARKET
Importers of Norwegian and Swedish Specialties.
Wholesale Agent for "Norriska".
1925-29 First Ave., Cor. Virginia. Phoness: Sunset, Main 3428; Ind. 1284.

DAVIS COAL AND TRUCK LINE
1948 N. 12th St. Phone 1899
Do you wish to copy your French neighbor? Send him a copy of

DAVIS COAL AND TRUCK LINE
1948 N. 12th St. Phone 1899
Do you wish to copy your French neighbor? Send him a copy of

Brown's Dental Parlors - 713 First Avenue
Phone 1218. 1428 Second Ave., Seattle, Wash.

HEYMAN & KRAUS
Book and Job Printers
406-408 Jackson Ave. Home Phone 3720

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McCarthy & Middleton
MEDIUM PRICED TAILORS
807 THIRD AVENUE, 2 DOORS SOUTH OF COLUMBIA STREET.

HEYMAN & KRAUS
Book and Job Printers
406-408 Jackson Ave. Home Phone 3720

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WALLIN & NORDSTROM
DEALERS IN UP-TO-DATE FOOTWEAR.
Phone L 2818. 1428 Second Ave., Seattle, Wash.

HEYMAN & KRAUS
Book and Job Printers
406-408 Jackson Ave. Home Phone 3720

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Star Paint and Wall Paper Company
Latest and Most Popular Paper Hangings
Distributors of Sherwin Williams Celebrated Paints.
1308 SECOND AVENUE. SEATTLE, WASH.

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