

Class Warrior

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Class Warrior

THE SELECTED WORKS
OF E. T. KINGSLEY

E. T. KINGSLEY

Edited and introduced by
Benjamin Isitt and Ravi Malhotra



Canadian Committee
on Labour History

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Portrait of E. T. Kingsley courtesy of *British Columbia Federationist* (Vancouver), 1916.

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Eugene Thornton Kingsley (1856–1929)

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*I intend to live to see the flag of freedom
float o'er every country on top of this earth!*

—E. T. Kingsley,
speech in Vancouver City Hall,
24 December 1905

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FOREWORD

E. T. Kingsley

Canadian Marxism's "Old Man"

A little more than a century ago, on 2 February 1919, a packed Federated Labor Party (FLP) forum at Vancouver's Dominion Hall heard a socialist speaker address the challenges of the immediate post-First World War years. Monitored by burly constables and an ostentatiously decked-out military officer, the meeting opened with revolutionary song and a monetary collection for the cause. The chairman then rose and declared simply, "We'll let the old man get started." Eugene Thornton (E. T.) Kingsley was the "old man," and the designation was one of respect, even reverence. His talks—regarded by some as the most influential among the speechifying contingent of early twentieth-century Canadian Marxists—were a bracing and restorative stimulant. "It's as good as a tonic to hear Kingsley," reported one ardent revolutionary in 1903.¹

Times have changed. "Old men" of the left are not now always in particularly good odour. Those of Kingsley's implacable and acerbic stripe, if there are any of them still willing to speak their mind on the class struggle as he did, are not usually held in high regard. In today's progressive parlance, Kingsley would be written off as a "vulgar Marxist," insufficiently attentive to the nuances of identity and the discursiveness of power. A disabled worker, having lost significant portions of both legs in an 1890 railway accident, Kingsley was not one to personalize his political program; he seldom if ever alluded to how capitalism maimed *him*. Instead, he preferred to address

¹ "The Dominion Hall Instead of Rex Theatre," *British Columbia Federationist*, 7 Feb. 1919, 8; "E. T. Kingsley's Rousing Meetings," *Western Clarion*, 31 July 1903, 4; A. Ross McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899–1919* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), esp. 60–61.

how the working class, as a whole, “paid in their agony and pains for everything that was done” under capitalism.²

The “old man” addressed collective suffering and demanded collective action and class-struggle solutions. Against the acquisitive individualism of capitalism he counterposed, relentlessly, the possibility of far-reaching transformation arising out of mass mobilizations of the working class, and all of those “real democrats” and “progressive elements” committed to “bringing this crazy ruling-class civilization to its finish.” The resulting society would be one where each would be provided according to their needs, while expected to contribute according to their abilities. Exploitation exorcised, all oppressions would take their place in the proverbial dustbin of history. On the ruins of a dismantled capitalism would arise “a structure . . . based upon freedom, upon real democracy, upon the rights of all men and women to live upon this earth upon the production and the fruits of their own toil without paying tribute to any rulers and masters.”³

The issues, as posed by Kingsley, were vulgar. His approach was singularly uncompromising, demanding the necessity of ending capitalism. He used humour and wit effectively, but never in ways that were so clever as to sail over the heads of his largely proletarian audiences, instead speaking in the vernacular and readily understood allusions of the working class. If Kingsley’s words were often blunt, they never meandered into pretence and postured sophistication. Vulgarity, in a now dated meaning of the word, was the “old man’s” *métier*, in the sense that virtually everything he said was characteristic of and related to the masses.

Kingsley would have been indignant at the ways in which bourgeois politicians of the late twentieth century cynically declared their adherence to the axiom that “it’s the economy, stupid.” Yet it was the economic inequality of history, evident in so much anguish, hurt, violence, and death, that roused Kingsley to his denunciatory best. Capitalism was robbery. It relied on exploitation—a theft of significant portions of the productions of labouring men and women—to keep the vast majority of people in a condition

² “Working Men of British Columbia Need Only to Stand Fast to Have Control of the Government,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 1 Mar. 1919, 2. See also “Killed and Maimed in Peace as in War,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 9 June 1916, 1.

³ “Working Men of British Columbia.”

of thralldom. Kingsley, like Daniel De Leon, whom he followed for a time, repeatedly insisted that slavery defined human relations for centuries, from ancient Greece and Rome through feudalism in Europe and the plantation economies of the eighteenth-century Atlantic world to the profit system of waged employment.

Nor did Kingsley excuse the wage slaves, whom he pilloried for being complicit in their own subjugation and servitude. Even animals in their natural state, he suggested jocularly, played and gambolled and roamed about, never begging to be harnessed and put to work. "But the two-legged animal seems to insist" on being driven, demanding employment, Kingsley stated before a laughing crowd in New Westminster, British Columbia, in 1918:

The wage-working animal insists on a system of slavery and the penalty of slavery is work, work, work and keep on working. A mule will work only when he is driven to it by man and the two-legged slave and the mule make a fine team. This slavish condition has come down to us from the countless ages and most of us have not got the kick enough in us to get away from it.⁴

Kingsley's major published political statement, the 1916 pamphlet *The Genesis and Evolution of Slavery: Showing How the Chattel Slaves of Pagan Times Have Been Transformed into the Capitalist Property of To-day*, commenced with just this kind of critique, railing against chloroformed wage slaves "meekly submitting to . . . [the] continuation of their crucifixion upon the altar of ruling class plunder."⁵

Kingsley's suggestion that workers are too often chained to their subservience by a consciousness less than combative, false in its denial of basic self-interest, would raise the hackles of modern sensibilities, ever attuned to the validity of any and all subjectivity. His likening of workers to slaves would not be countenanced in today's political culture, where repudiation of class exploitation is muted and rightful rejection of racist oppression voiced

⁴ "Live Mass Meeting in Royal City on Saturday," *British Columbia Federationist*, 15 Mar. 1918, 1.3.

⁵ Kingsley, *The Genesis and Evolution of Slavery: Showing How the Chattel Slaves of Pagan Times Have Been Transformed into the Capitalist Property of To-day* (Vancouver: Federationist Publishing Company, 1916), 217.

loudly. To blur the lines between wage slavery and chattel slavery, at our present conjuncture, would be highly impolitic, understating a fundamental racialized differentiation and its manifold economic, social, political, and cultural consequences.⁶ On occasion, Kingsley could lapse into characterizations that modern leftists would find racist and chauvinistic. To the extent that Kingsley and the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC), with which he was associated, addressed the oppression of Indigenous peoples and women, they fell far short of adequate political formulations. On all manner of progressive stands associated with contemporary leftist concern with the special oppressions of race, gender, sexual orientation, and disability, Kingsley's views, not to mention his political and personal practice, no doubt seem antiquated at best, inadequate in a benign judgment, even at times downright reactionary, necessitating not only distancing but rejection.⁷

Of Kingsley's particular brand of revolutionary Marxism, designated in this volume the British Columbia school and long labelled "impossibilism," denigration has been commonplace. Kingsley was impossibilism's most vigorous advocate, revelling in its ultimatum dictates. No reforms could ever soften capitalism's destructive essence or alleviate the inequalities, brutalities, and unfairness constituting its essence. Trade unions, whatever their leadership and orientation, were but pathetic defensive, palliative institutions

⁶ Consider the discussion in David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 1991), although this reasoned discussion would probably not suffice in our current context.

⁷ For a fuller discussion, see Ravi Malhotra and Benjamin Isitt, *Able to Lead: Disablement, Radicalism, and the Political Life of E. T. Kingsley* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2021). For a present-minded jab at Kingsley and Indigeneity, see Ian McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise: Leftists and the People's Enlightenment in Canada, 1890–1920* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2008), 393. There were outliers in the Socialist Party of Canada who did address First Nations peoples sensitively; see Wendy Wickwire, *At the Bridge: James Teit and an Anthropology of Belonging* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019); Peter Campbell, "Not as a White Man, Not as a Sojourner": James A. Teit and the Fight for Native Rights in British Columbia, 1884–1922," *left history* 2 (Fall 1994): 37–57. On the ways in which addressing women's oppression proved controversial within the SPC, see Linda Kealey, *Enlisting Women for the Cause: Women, Labour, and the Left in Canada, 1890–1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

destined to remain rooted in their capitalist confinements, always falling short of the *only* way of liberating their wage-dependent memberships, the laying low of capitalism itself. “Even the trade union organizations were part and parcel of this system of slavery,” Kingsley maintained; “when the system goes down, they would go down too. By their very constitution, ‘they can’t draw a revolutionary breath; I don’t care whether they call themselves trades unionists simple or O.B.U.’” Kingsley was even known to proclaim, “When I find a great mass of workers asking a handful of masters for favors, I get right down on my marrow-bones and pray they won’t get ‘em.” Neither collective bargaining nor radical one big unionism, according to Kingsley, would alter the simple reality that, under capitalism, “the other fellow still owns the shop, the factory, the mill, and the mine—and beyond that, he owns you.”⁸

Yet, as the compilers of this collection of reports and summaries of E. T. Kingsley’s talks and instances of his writings argue, to simply quote the “old man” only to dismiss his seemingly doctrinaire views misses much. These reports routinely convey that Kingsley’s audaciously dismissive barbs, flung repeatedly at audiences he castigated as docile and uncomprehending, were actually warmly appreciated by those listening. They responded with laughter, an acknowledgement that there was something to Kingsley’s sardonic platform manner.

For all of the undialectical substance of Kingsley’s dismissals of trade unions, SPC militants whom he influenced were never, in the midst of struggle, entirely able to either walk away from established labour organizations or write them off categorically as a waste of time. They grasped that even as Kingsley had a point about the limitations of trade unions under capitalism, workers needed these defensive institutions to protect their economic well-being, however precarious, until such time as the political toppling of capitalism took place.

Not surprisingly, the Socialist Party of Canada, even at the height of Kingsley’s impossibilist influence, contained many trade union members; one estimate suggested anywhere from 60 to 90 percent. Working-class SPC locals in mining labour strongholds like Revelstoke were not always so enamoured of the “old man” that they would not unload on his more

⁸ “It Is Beyond Redemption,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 28 Nov. 1919, 3; “Kingsley on Capitalism,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 6 June 1919, 8.

seemingly outrageous attacks on unions. It was not unheard of for comrades to call for Kingsley to be stripped of his post as a party organizer. As early as 1907 one commentator (albeit from a rival socialist organization) noted that Kingsley's impossiblism rallied only a "few ranters . . . lip revolutionists but utterly incapable of any organized activity." Even in strongholds of Kingsleyism like Vancouver, SPC figure R. Parmater Pettipiece pursued a policy of "permeation," with revolutionaries working in the Trades and Labor Council managing to secure an endorsement for the *Western Clarion*, which Kingsley edited and published for a number of years. Among second-generation SPC members, like longshoreman Jack Kavanagh—whose membership in the party overlapped with but outlasted Kingsley, being an SPC organizer *and* a president of the British Columbia Federation of Labor—posed no contradiction.⁹

In the complicated programmatic tussle of impossiblism and the pragmatics of class organization and struggle, what emerges is an intriguing moment in the history of socialism when revolutionaries confronted the realities of capitalist social relations *and* the undeniable constraints that they imposed on the transition, recognized as a process of rupture, to an entirely new social formation. Kingsley, with his accent on trade union limitations in the grand unfolding of the political struggle of the working class for power, addressed one side of this equation. SPC figures like Pettipiece and many counterparts, among them J. W. Hawthornthwaite and Charles O'Brien, elected to provincial legislatures as firm advocates of law-making that would benefit workers and trade unions, took their stands on another. So too did SPC executive members of the United Mine Workers of America in the Crowsnest Pass, such as Frank Sherman and Clem Stubbs. Such revolutionary socialists were not so much hostile to trade unions as they were advocates of the fundamental Marxist position that, in the final instance, capitalism would only be displaced by the conscious act of political revolution. In this pre-Leninist moment, then, it was possible for a revolutionary socialist organization like the SPC, which had little conception of democratic

⁹ The above paragraphs draw upon the still useful discussion in McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries*, esp. 31, 61, with the "ranters" quote from Kealey, *Enlisting Women*, 116. On Kavanagh, see David Akers, "Rebel or Revolutionary? Jack Kavanagh and the Early Years of the Communist Movement in Vancouver, 1920–1925," *Labour/Le Travail* 30 (Fall 1992), 9–44.

centralism, to contain all of those committed to overthrowing the reign of capital and its servile state. This, they could agree, would be accomplished through the political mobilization of the working class, but it was possible that within this shared perspective there might be different perspectives and practices on offer toward working-class institutions like labour unions.

Kingsley's politics were forged in the United States-based Daniel De Leon-led Socialist Labor Party (SLP), an organization he eventually departed in discontent. But Kingsley retained the red impossibilist stamp of the De Leonist milieu, which exercised an unmistakable, unrivalled influence on pre-First World War revolutionary socialists in English-speaking North America. Often said to have read Marx's *Capital* during his hospitalized recovery from the railroad accident that left him a double amputee, Kingsley—in his speeches and what has been recovered of his writing—betrays little in the way of indication that the “old man” was indeed immersed in the intricacies of this long and complex text, of which few English-language editions were available in 1890, none of which circulated widely among the radicals of the era.¹⁰ Far more available in De Leonist circles, and more easily identifiable as influences on Kingsley's thought, were Marx's shorter didactic pamphlets, *Value, Price, and Profit* and *Wage Labour and Capital*, both of which were published in accessible editions by the SLP and the radical publishing house Charles H. Kerr.¹¹ Certainly Kingsley's

¹⁰ It is possible that Kingsley read the edition of *Capital*, reproducing the text of the two-volume 1887 British edition, published by Swan Sonnenschein, for sale in the United States by Julius Bordollo's *Labor News Agency*, but at seven dollars this was an expensive book at the time. More costly still was the commercial version, a one-volume Appleton edition that appeared in 1889. A Humboldt edition of *Capital* also existed, as did a multi-part serialized Humboldt Library of Science version published between September 1890 and April 1891, in double issues of the cheap monthly magazine numbering 135 through 138 that cost thirty cents per issue.

¹¹ James P. Cannon, the founding chair of the Workers' Party—the original version of the Communist Party USA—later to be expelled for Trotskyism, recalled attending Sunday-evening SLP-led Socialist Education Society forums while still a young member of the Industrial Workers of the World, receiving his educational baptism in Marxist economics through Marx's pamphlets in the pre-First World War years. Bryan Palmer, *James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left, 1890–1928* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 55.

1903 Labour Day address in Phoenix, British Columbia, is congruent with this Marxist pedagogy.¹²

His break from the De Leonist SLP notwithstanding, Kingsley continued to bear the stamp of its doctrinaire revolutionary inclinations and training. He ended up parting ways with the SPC, to which he had contributed so much to bring into being and sustain. Aligning himself with the FLP and its propaganda organ, the *British Columbia Federationist*, Kingsley wholeheartedly embraced the Bolshevik Revolution. He declared in a December 1917 issue of the paper, where he quoted Leon Trotsky,

The dawn of a new dispensation is breaking. The sun of social revolution is piercing with its beneficent and life-giving rays the dark cloud of ignorance and reaction that has so long engulfed the world in the black night of slavery, superstition and human misery. The hour for human liberty has struck. All hail the Russian revolutionists who by their gallant actions have given cheer to their comrades of other lands and struck terror to the hearts of rulers and robbers of every clime.¹³

But Kingsley never joined the party of the Communist International, and he played no role in the Communist Party of Canada. In this he was not unlike many of his former comrades in the SLP and SPC, who remained, in Peter Campbell's words, "Marxists of the Third Way," reluctant to cast their lot decisively with the emerging international communist movement.¹⁴

In Kingsley's case this may have been simply a matter of age and geographical distance from the centre of Canada's Communist International-affiliated forces, concentrated as they originally were in central Canada and in the immigrant, foreign-language sections of distant cities like Winnipeg. Perhaps the difficulties of travel for a double amputee, which he had once willingly taken on, were more of a burden for Kingsley in 1919 than a few years earlier, when he relocated to Canada at the request of Vancouver

¹² "Wages, Profit and Capital Analyzed by Organizer Kingsley at Phoenix," *Western Clarion*, 24 Sept. 1903, 1.

¹³ "The Wolf in Capitalist Sheepfold," *British Columbia Federationist*, 14 Dec. 1917, 6.

¹⁴ Peter Campbell, *Canadian Marxists and the Search for a Third Way* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).

Island's revolutionary miners in 1902, or embarked on an arduous 1908 SPC agitational tour that took him as far east as Montreal, with stops throughout the prairies and Ontario.

By 1917 to 1921, when the issue of revolutionaries aligning with the Bolsheviks and the Communist parties they spawned throughout the world was perhaps the key question confronting Marxists, Kingsley was over sixty years of age. He had grappled with the rigours of disability for decades and was undoubtedly inclined to continue to till his revolutionary garden in British Columbia, as he saw fit. Somewhat irascible, and very much used to being a dominant figure, Kingsley, the "old man" of Canadian revolutionary socialism, would have been decidedly out of place among the twenty-two delegates attending the May 1921 clandestine meeting in a Guelph barn that led to the founding of the Communist Party of Canada. The SPC that Kingsley broke from eight years earlier sent two unofficial representatives to the gathering, Toronto's William Moriarty being the main figure. Like most others constituting the underground communist gathering, he was almost thirty-five years Kingsley's junior. Maurice Spector, a budding revolutionary Marxist intellectual, was a mere twenty-four years of age, compared with Kingsley's sixty-five. Tim Buck, although not present at the Guelph summit, would go on to be the dominant figure in Canadian Communism in the 1920s and for decades after; he was born in 1891, again, roughly thirty-five years later than Kingsley. Canadian Bolshevism, in its first years, was an endeavour of the relatively young, with most leading figures being between the ages of thirty and forty. The senior woman among Canadian Communists, Florence Custance, and the leading proletarian with a background in the SPC, Vancouver's Jack Kavanagh, were born in 1881 and 1879, respectively.¹⁵

Kingsley, the "old man" of Canada's Marxists, had perhaps too many miles on his beleaguered body to take up the new metaphorical travels that an invigorated post-1917 Communism demanded. He would still traverse the

¹⁵ Of the nineteen leading Communist Party of Canada figures addressed by William Rodney in a collective biographical note, three could be ascertained to have been born between 1869 and 1879, six between 1880 and 1890, and seven between 1890 and 1900. None were born, like Kingsley, in the 1850s. Rodney, *Soldiers of the International: A History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1919–1929* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 161–70.

province of British Columbia on behalf of the FLP in the years immediately following the Bolshevik Revolution, even venturing into Alberta's mining camps and addressing a Calgary audience in 1919. But by the time Canada's Communists were coalescing in 1921, Kingsley's public speaking days were essentially over, reduced to a few talks in Nanaimo and Vancouver.

Recruits to the new Bolshevism who ventured into Kingsley's Vancouver in the early 1920s often clashed with the old SPCers. The founding chair of the American Workers (Communist) Party, James P. Cannon, visited Vancouver in 1923 as part of a propaganda tour. He ran into opposition from the old impossibilists who first introduced him to the fundamentals of Marxist economics a decade earlier, during his days as a young Wobbly in Kansas City. Cannon relished crossing political swords with the Kingsleyites, writing to a friend, "I make a speciality of dealing with these 'Scientific Socialists.'"¹⁶

Kingsley's 1920s would not be a comfortable decade. In many ways, he had been left behind in the revolutionary movement, just as he has been left behind in all manner of ways by contemporary scholarship. Without a party, and with his platform seemingly exhausted, Kingsley went reluctantly to his retirement, mounting one last electoral campaign in 1926, no doubt beating the drums of capitalism's evils with wit and withering critique but doing this, more so than at any point in his life, as a freelance figure, a Marxist maverick. His impossibilism had many critics, even at the height of his influence in the SPC, and it has not worn well over the decades. With the Bolshevik Revolution and the embrace of Leninism by a new generation of revolutionary socialists, Kingsley could be relegated to the antiquated ranks of those embracing all manner of left-wing disorders, perhaps unfairly so. A new era of disciplined party building, animated by appreciations of the necessity of united front activities and boring from within the established defensive institutions of the working class, had arrived. In order to take the class struggle to higher levels of possibility in the protracted war waged to defeat capitalism, the Communists of the 1920s challenged the Marxism of the late nineteenth century within which Kingsley came of age as an agitator.¹⁷ When the intransigent impossibilist died, in December 1929, the collapse of

¹⁶ Palmer, *James P. Cannon*, 169.

¹⁷ See, for instance, John Manley, "'Moscow Rules'? 'Red Unionism' and 'Class against Class' in Britain, Canada, and the United States," *Labour/Le Travail* 56 (Fall 2005): 9–50.

capitalism during the Great Depression was imminent. Kingsley's powerful voice, relentless in its attack on the profit system in the years between 1900 and 1920, would be heard only faintly, echoing in the reminiscences of other old men and a few stalwart women, most of whom were outside of the Communist Party that would be regarded as hegemonic on the far left.

Benjamin Isitt and Ravi Malhotra, buttressed by a team of researchers, have done much to bring this intrepid voice back to us. Their deeply researched political biography of Kingsley, *Able to Lead: Disablement, Radicalism, and the Political Life of E. T. Kingsley*, is now complemented by this collection—a partial but nonetheless extensive compilation of the “old man” of Canadian Marxism's writings and reports on his speeches. It reveals a politics of uncompromising anti-capitalism that, for all its deficiencies and blind spots, is an invaluable reminder that socialism's making is necessarily about capitalism's undoing. Kingsley's entire political life turned on this fundamental insight, and when he died, aged seventy-three and essentially alone and largely forgotten, he had lived his life as a working-class revolutionary. His legacy to us is his insistent insight that capitalism was, by the turn of the twentieth century, long past its best-before date.

Kingsley's *refusal* to countenance any thought that capitalism should continue must echo in our own refusals more than a century later. In a speech delivered in Victoria in 1919, entitled simply “The Machine,” Kingsley spoke words that resonate with us still. “The hour is drawing nigh when calamity will be upon us,” he thundered, “and all of you will be well advised to make all possible preparation to meet the situation. If you do not make a move, the horror which I dread so much will descend upon us without intelligent preparation. I see nothing but disorder, bloodshed, misery, suffering, and starvation awaiting.”¹⁸ How different are things today?

Bryan D. Palmer

¹⁸ “Federated Labor Party,” *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, 8 May 1919, 1.

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INTRODUCTION

Re-evaluating the British Columbia School of Socialism

E. T. Kingsley, Disablement, and the “Impossibilist” Challenge to Industrial Capitalism in Western Canada

Largely forgotten today but once a household name on Canada’s Pacific Coast, Eugene Thornton Kingsley (1856–1929) was one of the most influential physically disabled intellectuals of the left in North American history—the leading theoretician of the political tendency that historian Ross McCormack described as the “British Columbia school” of socialism during the turbulent period leading up to the First World War.¹ While his contribution to socialist theory may have been more modest than that of international luminaries of his era, such as Rosa Luxemburg and Vladimir Lenin, Kingsley’s contribution to the development of socialist thought and socialist organization in western Canada was significant and influenced the political trajectory of the country over the century that followed.

The story of this American-born radical and double amputee who mobilized socialist forces along the Pacific Coast reveals a distinct and compelling contribution to the political life of Canada and the United States during the era of capitalist consolidation at the turn of the twentieth century. Various described by socialist comrades as the “Old Man” or the “Old War Horse,” by the bourgeois press as “the legless wonder of Social Economics,” by Canada’s chief wartime press censor as “an out-and-out red Bolshevik Socialist of

¹ Please note that we use the term “disabled people” rather than “people with disabilities” throughout this book as a reflection of our commitment to disability rights. McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries*, 70.

pronounced literary capacity and unquestionably one of the most dangerous men in Canada,” and by the Winnipeg labour press as “the best exponent of scientific Socialism on the American continent,” Kingsley described himself in the frontispiece to his magnum opus, *The Genesis and Evolution of Slavery* (1916) (reproduced in Part Three of this anthology), as “an uncompromising enemy of class rule and class robbery.”²

Bill Pritchard, the lead defendant in the Winnipeg General Strike trials and a comrade of Kingsley’s who met the “Old Man” the day he arrived in Vancouver from England in May 1911, described Kingsley’s oratorical approach: “He was very forceful—a very forceful fellow. That was his line—simple propaganda laced with these similes of his. They’d come out quick, right in the middle of things. There’d always be a good crowd when he spoke in those early days.”³ Another comrade, Dorothy Gretchen Steeves (whose political activism began just after Kingsley’s death), noted, “There was the old maestro, E. T. Kingsley, a man who had had both legs amputated in a railway accident, who delighted his hearers as he analysed capitalism with biting, excoriating acid on his tongue.”⁴ As a correspondent to the *Western Clarion* suggested in a letter in 1910, defending Kingsley against attacks from his critics, “The movement today in Canada is the result of one man’s interpretation of Marx. He nursed a child that has grown independent of any man or set of men.”⁵ Another correspondent, writing in the final days of the First World War after attending one of Kingsley’s speeches, suggested that Kingsley “said more in one hour than all the so-called statesmen of Canada did since the days of Confederation.”⁶

² “Political Notes of Interest,” *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 24 Sept. 1903, 6; Colonel Ernest J. Chambers (Chief Press Censor) to A. A. MacLean (Comptroller, RNWMP), 2 Apr. 1919, file 279–1, “The Red Flag / The Soviet,” vol. 602, Office of the Chief Press Censor Files, Record Group 6, Department of the Secretary of State Fonds, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter cited as RG 6, Secretary of State fonds, LAC); “Socialism,” *The Voice* (Winnipeg), 22 May 1908, 3; Kingsley, *Genesis and Evolution of Slavery*.

³ W. A. Pritchard, interview by A. Ross McCormack, 16 Aug. 1971, Vancouver, acc. no. T0225, tape “No. 1, Track No. 1,” BC Archives.

⁴ Dorothy G. Steeves, *The Compassionate Rebel: Ernest Winch and the Growth of Socialism in Western Canada* (Vancouver: Boag Foundation, 1977), 14.

⁵ “Kingsley, McKenzie and Co.,” *Western Clarion*, 11 June 1910, 2.

⁶ Jack Dennis, “Letter to the Editor,” *Federationist*, 1 Nov. 1918, 6.

Born in antebellum upstate New York in 1856, Kingsley became radicalized while recovering from a railway accident in Spring Gulch, Montana, in 1890 that resulted in the loss of his legs. Newly divorced and now a soapbox speaker for the notoriously doctrinaire Daniel De Leon's Socialist Labor Party (SLP) in San Francisco, Kingsley embarked on a thirty-year political odyssey that would see him run for the US House of Representatives twice, in 1896 and 1898, break with De Leon while maintaining much of the socialist teachings he learned there, and eventually co-found the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC) in British Columbia in 1904. His level of political activism only increased after he crossed to "this side of the line" in 1902. Originally recruited on a temporary propaganda assignment by Vancouver Island coal miners, Kingsley ended up staying in Canada permanently. He ran three times for the British Columbia legislature and another three times for the Canadian House of Commons. In October 1914, after a decade at the helm of the SPC, Kingsley had an abrupt falling out with the party, after publishing an editorial titled "The Affirmation of 'German Culture'" in the *Western Clarion*. His socialist comrades viewed Kingsley's column as succumbing to the same national chauvinism that had caused the Second International to implode at the outbreak of the First World War. Notwithstanding this break from the party he had founded, nurtured, and led, Kingsley remained politically active in the years that followed, attracting the attention of Canada's chief press censor and the nascent Royal Canadian Mounted Police by the end of the war.

Throughout this frenetic level of activity, Kingsley articulated a distinctive writing style that never pulled punches in denouncing the exploitation of wage slaves by the capitalist class in the most polemical terms possible. Equally importantly, Kingsley founded and led the British Columbia school of socialism, which stressed the impossibility of uplifting the working class through incremental reforms. In contrast to modern-day social democrats, this impossibilist perspective viewed capitalism as a system that could not be reformed. Elections were intended primarily as a means to educate the public about the evils of capitalist wage exploitation.

A century later, as the limitations of the capitalist structuring of human relations continues to be exposed in the twenty-first century—in the context of the climate and ecological crises, the ongoing scourge of poverty and insecurity for billions in the midst of fabulous wealth for a few, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the rising spectre of fascism

in Canada and other lands—we believe there is value in revisiting and resuscitating the intellectual contribution of E. T. Kingsley and the British Columbia school.

E. T. Kingsley: A Biographical Sketch

On 15 October 1890, Eugene T. Kingsley's life changed dramatically and irrevocably. The political trajectory of the North American working class would change as well, even if Kingsley was not cognizant of his destiny. He was working as a brakeman on the Northern Pacific's remote Spring Gulch railway line in rural Montana, which had just been admitted to the Union as a state in November 1889.⁷ This was sparsely populated frontier country, and the Northern Pacific transcontinental line had only been completed through Helena in 1883.⁸ Kingsley, nearly thirty-four and a married father of two young boys, was injured when he fell between two moving cars. He had set the brake after being directed to ride upon flat cars to slow them down. Unfortunately, a defective draw bar caused the train cars to separate by about five feet. As it was night, Kingsley did not realize the cars had separated until it was too late and he was run over by the train after falling between the cars, causing severe injury to his legs.⁹ He was rushed to the Northern Pacific Railroad hospital in Missoula, Montana, where his left leg

⁷ On the struggle of achieving statehood, see Dave Walter, "The Right Kind of Nail: Reactions to J. K. Toole's Montana Statehood Speech," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 37, no. 4 (Autumn 1987): 46–57.

⁸ William L. Lang, "Corporate Point Men and the Creation of the Montana Central Railroad, 1882–87," *Great Plains Quarterly* 10 (Summer 1990): 152. Pockets of Montana would eventually embrace the reform socialism advocated by the Socialist Party of America. On growth of the Socialist Party in Anaconda, Montana, after 1902, see Jerry Calvert, "The Rise and Fall of Socialism in a Company Town, 1902–1905," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 36, no. 4 (Autumn 1986): 2–13.

⁹ "Heavy Damages Demanded for Serious Injury," *St. Paul Daily Globe*, 9 Sept. 1891, 8; "Eugene T. Kingsley," *Manitoba Daily Free Press* (Winnipeg), 11 Sept. 1891, 6. Thanks also to Professor Mark Aldrich of Smith College for his technical insight on drawbars. Aldrich, personal correspondence with Malhotra, 24 May 2013.

had to be amputated between the knee and hip and the right leg between the ankle and knee.¹⁰

During his recuperation in the Missoula hospital, Kingsley began to read Karl Marx. Parallels between his own life circumstances and the dangers of capitalism may have propelled the man toward the left, but evidence to illuminate details of his political awakening is unfortunately scarce. What we do know is that Kingsley soon became an active member of the SLP, led by Curacao-born immigrant Daniel De Leon.¹¹ Known for their rigid “impossiblist” politics and relentless opposition to the capitalist system, the De Leonists had a pronounced influence on Kingsley’s political outlook and conceptual universe. Kingsley was soon engaged in public speaking on the street corners of San Francisco, where he had migrated after growing estranged from his family. In due course, he became a party organizer and ran for the US House of Representatives on the SLP ticket in 1896 and 1898. His meandering personal and political path would take him first to Seattle, where he became active in the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), then Vancouver Island in 1902, and finally Vancouver, where he became a founder and leader of the Socialist Party of Canada, running three times for the federal House of Commons and three times for the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia. One of the most prominent socialist intellectuals and organizers of his day, Kingsley’s life story merits scholarly attention beyond the fleeting glimpses it has been accorded to date.

We hope that this collection of Kingsley’s writings and speeches serves to rectify this omission, illuminating the contribution of Kingsley and the British Columbia school of socialism as well as the tenacious capacity of disabled people to rise above adversity and demonstrate an ability to lead. We acknowledge and appreciate the financial contribution of the Social Sciences

¹⁰ “Eugene T. Kingsley,” *Manitoba Daily Free Press*, 11 Sept. 1891, 6; “Eugene Kingsley,” *Little Falls Transcript*, 10 Apr. 1891, 3. Thus, Malhotra was wrong to state in an earlier article on Kingsley that his hospitalization was in Oakland, California. See Ravi Malhotra, “Electioneering and Activism at the Turn of the Century and the Politics of Disablement: The Legacy of E. T. Kingsley (1856–1929),” *Review of Disability Studies* 7, no. 3–4 (2011): 34.

¹¹ For a biographical study of De Leon, see L. Glen Seretan, *Daniel De Leon: The Odyssey of an American Marxist* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979).

and Humanities Research Council of Canada, as well as the contributions made to the project by a number of research assistants and archivists.

Kingsley's Intellectual and Political Universe

How might one situate Kingsley's ideas within the constellation of early twentieth-century socialist thought? Prior to 1917, the ontological categories of what constituted socialism did not have the same valences as the commonly understood distinctions between social democracy and Stalinism. The political program that Kingsley championed is uncompromisingly radical. While historians have largely ignored or caricatured the legacy of the SPC, the hitherto lost writings and speeches in this volume portray a political position situated to the left of the social democratic current embodied in the Second International prior to the First World War. In many ways, Kingsley's views and those of the British Columbia school were more closely aligned with Marx's First International than they were with later socialist formations. One might argue that the SPC's politics, of which Kingsley was a leading exponent, signalled an early attempt to grapple with the contradiction identified by the legendary socialist Rosa Luxemburg. On the one hand, political demands raised by trade unions and social democratic parties are seen as preparing working-class people to take power and control their own destiny. A failure to intervene in the day-to-day class struggle could isolate a socialist movement that ignored this tactical arsenal on grounds of revolutionary orthodoxy. On the other hand, the political impact of successfully winning reforms such as minimum wages, hospital insurance, or workers' compensation is often that of dampening the class struggle and increasing the hegemonic power of the bourgeoisie and its state.¹²

This conundrum was later addressed by revolutionary militants such as Leon Trotsky, who formulated the Transitional Program that posed a series of demands that deepen the class struggle and make socialist organization and its challenge to the state more viable.¹³ Paul Le Blanc usefully notes that the Transitional Program encompasses three types of demands:

¹² Duncan Hallas, "Do We Support Reformist Demands?" *International Socialism* 1st ser., 56 (Jan. 1973), accessed 16 June 2021, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/hallas/works/1973/01/reform.htm>.

¹³ Hallas, "Reformist Demands."

(1) immediate demands concerned with defending living standards and working conditions; (2) democratic demands relating to freedom of expression, legal equality, and the right to self-determination; and (3) transitional demands that have support among the working classes but cannot be implemented without seriously disrupting capitalist accumulation.¹⁴ Due to Kingsley's emphasis on educating workers to fight to destroy capitalism in one fell swoop, the notion of transitional demands is unlikely to have appealed to him. Nonetheless, while seen as overly simplistic today, Kingsley's thought contains an earnest desire for uncompromising social transformation that is admirable. To probe this further requires an examination of Kingsley's political antecedents.

American socialist Daniel De Leon was undoubtedly a major theoretical influence on Kingsley. This should come as no surprise, as Kingsley was the California State Organizer for the De Leonist SLP in the 1890s. De Leon, in an 1896 address at Boston's Wells' Memorial Hall, outlined his understanding of socialism. He argued that a central distinction between reformist socialism and the revolutionary socialism to which he ascribed was the centrality of organization. He stated that individual freedom goes hand in hand with collective freedom and that socialist organization was key to realizing this objective.¹⁵ This line of socialist thought helps to explain Kingsley's lifelong commitment to building a centralized, organized political party, rather than adhering to more spontaneous formations such as the One Big Union movement, which galvanized Canadian workers in the aftermath of the First World War. De Leon also placed importance on fostering a militant minority capable of carrying forward the struggle of the masses.¹⁶ Finally, as Frank Girard and Ben Perry note, De Leon grew increasingly skeptical of unions, which he saw as reformist organizations that distracted workers from the goal of overthrowing capitalism and creating a socialist commonwealth.¹⁷

¹⁴ Paul Le Blanc, *From Marx to Gramsci: A Reader in Revolutionary Marxist Politics* (Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 1996), 73–74.

¹⁵ Daniel De Leon, "Reform or Revolution?" (address delivered at Wells' Memorial Hall, Boston, 26 Jan. 1896), accessed 16 June 2021, <http://www.deleonism.org/ror.htm>.

¹⁶ De Leon, "Reform or Revolution?"

¹⁷ Frank Girard and Ben Perry, *The Socialist Labor Party 1876–1991: A Short History* (Philadelphia: Livra Books, 1993), 19–20.

Kingsley's unusually dismissive attitude regarding the futility of trade unions may be attributed to some degree to his tutelage at the feet of De Leon. Other impossibilist political formations influenced by De Leon—including the doctrinaire Socialist Party of Great Britain, whose origins may be traced back to 1904 when it set out its Object and Declaration of Principles—have espoused similar ideas to this very day.¹⁸ Ultimately, Kingsley's SPC pursued a dual approach, using elections to create publicity for the party while also emphasizing the importance of workers' struggles on the ground.

In contrast, Lenin famously criticized impossibilism in his noted work *"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, which set out to consider the international relevance of the successful Bolshevik Revolution. Writing in 1920, Lenin argued that participation in parliamentary bodies was vital given the state of class consciousness and that socialists had to consider the overall state of working-class consciousness, not simply the ideas held by the most militant workers.¹⁹ With respect to the particular situation in Britain, Lenin convinced many De Leonists in the SLP and other socialist parties active in Britain to ultimately join what became the Communist Party and to engage in contestation in Parliament. Where the British De Leonists lacked a strategic approach and tended to improvise tactics on a case-by-case basis, Lenin offered a more dynamic approach for socialists to emulate based on the Russian experience.²⁰ Despite Kingsley's own personal trajectory to the Federated Labor Party (FLP), this was also the path followed by many members of the SPC into the Communist Party of Canada, suggesting that there were in fact certain key affinities between Leninism and impossibilism, such as a focus on militancy and a dismissal of reformism.²¹

¹⁸ See Stephen Coleman, "Impossibilism," in *Non-Market Socialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Maximilien Rubel and John Crump (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1987), 83–103.

¹⁹ V. I. Lenin, "Should We Participate in Bourgeois Parliaments?," in *"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder* (1920), accessed 16 June 2021, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/lwc/cho7.htm>.

²⁰ Lenin, "Should We Participate"; Edwin A. Roberts, *The Anglo-Marxists: A Study in Ideology and Culture* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997), 42–44.

²¹ Roberts, *Anglo-Marxists*, 40.

Interrogating Kingsley's "Impossiblism"

E. T. Kingsley was the most prominent figure in the formative phase of the Socialist Party of Canada and the prewar Canadian left—the party's "real founder" and leader of "the British Columbia school" of socialism, according to Ross McCormack.²² His ideas extended beyond the western hemisphere, as evidenced in dozens of articles in the Australian labour press between the 1910s and 1940s expounding his Marxian perspective (a portion of which are reproduced in this volume).²³ But Kingsley's contribution has hitherto been

²² McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise*, 518; McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries*, 60, 70. See also Ian McKay, *Rebels, Reds, Radicals: Rethinking Canada's Left History* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2005).

²³ Most of the dozens of references to Kingsley's work in the Australian labour press consist of excerpts and quotations from *The Genesis and Evolution of Slavery* (1916) and articles from the *Labor Star* in 1919. However, Australian labour newspapers also published complete articles by Kingsley, for example, "How Capitalism Gets Rich Quick," *Australian Worker*, 26 Dec. 1918, 17; "The Pleasing Hallucinations of Wealth," *Australian Worker*, 30 Jan. 1919, 15; "Gold—The Sacred Icon of Payment," *Australian Worker*, 13 Feb. 1919, 15; "An International Madhouse," *Australian Worker*, 22 May 1919, 15; "Capitalist Civilization," *Australian Worker*, 24 July 1919, 21; "The Financial Problem," *Australian Worker*, 24 Apr. 1919, 5. There were also reports reproduced from Kingsley's speeches as originally published in the *Federationist*, for example, Kingsley's talk of 21 March 1920 in Vancouver on the Paris Commune; see "Paris Commune," *Worker* (Brisbane), 22 July 1920, 22, originally published as "Kingsley on the Commune," *Federationist*, 26 Mar. 1920, 4. A number of references in the Australian labour press appear to have originated from excerpts from *The Genesis and Evolution of Slavery* published in the *Sydney International Socialist* in 1917, subsequently reproduced in abbreviated form in the *Adelaide Daily Herald* in 1918, and then printed in the *Darwin Northern Standard* in the late 1920s and the *Brisbane Worker* in nine issues between 1927 and 1943. The following quotation was also reproduced in the Adelaide, Darwin, and Brisbane newspapers: "Slavery, which consists of serving masters for masters' profits, exists just as truly to-day as it did in the old times of the chattel slaves, and every war, from the earliest to the present, has arisen from quarrels between masters over plunder accruing from the robbing of slaves." See "The Evolution of the Slave," *Sydney International Socialist*, 14 July 1917, 1; "Socialist Shots," *Adelaide Daily Herald*, 8 Feb. 1918, 5; *Brisbane Worker*, 5 Jan. 1927, 5 Sept. 1928, 31 Aug. 1932, 20 Dec. 1933, 12 Feb. 1935, 9 Feb. 1937, 19 July 1938, 5 Nov. 1940, 15 Feb. 1943; *Darwin*

touched on only in passing, never explored at length. When he is mentioned in the scholarly literature at all, he usually appears briefly in caricature form, his name cited abruptly and dismissively as a synonym for, and personification of, the “impossibilist” strain of BC socialism—the commitment to “one-plank” Marxism, “abolition of the wage system,” and strident opposition to “palliative measures,” reforms that would pacify workers and prolong capitalism’s inevitable collapse, postponing the transition to socialism. There is frequently a heavy tone of derision in the prevailing scholarly treatment of Kingsley (with a few exceptions, such as in the work of Dorothy Steeves and Ross McCormack), dismissing impossibilism as hopelessly naïve, elitist, and otherworldly.²⁴ Political scientist Paul Fox, for example, takes issue with unnamed members of the SPC “who conducted its affairs as if it were a semi-private club of Marxist philosophers,” identifying a “puritanical

Northern Standard, 27 Nov. 1928, 14 Dec. 1928. For additional excerpts and quotes from *The Genesis and Evolution of Slavery* (1916) and other works, see “Wayside Notes,” *Labor Call* (Melbourne), 20 Sept. 1917, 8; “Here and There,” *Brisbane Daily Standard*, 29 Sept. 1917, 6; “Slaves,” *All Grades Advocate* (Sydney), 15 Nov. 1917, 3; Untitled, *Westralian Worker* (Perth), 15 Feb. 1918, 8; “The Perplexing Problem of Wealth,” *Australian Worker*, 17 Apr. 1919, 6; “Faced with Disaster,” *Australian Worker*, 17 Apr. 1919, 16; “Freedom’s Dawn,” *Australian Worker*, 17 Apr. 1919, 17; “The Financial Problem,” *Australian Worker*, 24 Apr. 1919, 5; “Faced with Disaster,” *Brisbane Daily Standard*, 1 May 1919, 3; “The Collapse of Capitalism,” *Australian Worker* (Sydney), 8 May 1919, 15; “Labor Alone Produces,” *Australian Worker*, 23 July 1924, 17; Untitled excerpt, *Labor Call* (Melbourne), 4 Oct. 1928, 5; Untitled, *The Advocate* (Burnie, Tasmania), 12 Mar. 1930, 8; “Labor Alone,” *Sydney Labor Daily*, 22 Mar. 1930, 8; “Points for Propagandists,” *Brisbane Worker*, 27 May 1931, 1; Untitled excerpt, *Sydney Labor Daily*, 8 Oct. 1932, 9; Untitled excerpt, *Brisbane Worker*, 14 Dec. 1942, 3; “Labor Alone,” *Australian Worker* (Sydney), 23 Feb. 1944, 7.

²⁴ See Steeves, *Compassionate Rebel*, 14; McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries*, 26–34, 60–61, 70; A. Ross McCormack, “The Emergence of the Socialist Movement in British Columbia,” *BC Studies*, no. 21 (Spring 1974): 15–27; see also Sunit Sarvraj Singh, “Echoes of Freedom: Radical Indian Thought and International Socialism, 1905–1920” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2018), 172, 175–76. For the more typical scholarly treatment of Kingsley, see Carlos A. Schwantes, *Radical Heritage: Labor, Socialism and Reform in Washington and British Columbia, 1885–1917* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 110–11, 180.

obsession” and “a distinct element of intellectual snobbishness and arrogance amongst the brilliant leaders” who had no interest in forming a mass party (an outcome they achieved, according to Fox, by imposing an examination on scientific socialism on applicants for membership).²⁵ The SPC’s decision to not affiliate with the Second International, on grounds that it was too heavily influenced by reformism, is also cited as exemplifying the party’s doctrinaire, otherworldly character. Other developments that Fox highlights include the expulsion of MLA Parker Williams and the suspension of founding member Ernest Burns, the catalyst for the 1907 split that resulted in the formation of the Social Democratic Party of Canada (SDPC).²⁶

The scholarly focus on Kingsley’s “impossiblism” and dogmatism certainly has an evidentiary foundation in his speeches, published writings, and record of activism within the SPC and other left parties. Indeed, Kingsley’s contemporary and comrade D. G. McKenzie observed half-jokingly that “since Marx died nobody was capable of throwing light on [economic] matters except the editor of the *Clarion*, whoever we may happen to be.”²⁷ A key factor that previous scholars appear to have missed, however, is the centrality of irony, humour, sarcasm, and hyperbole in Kingsley’s rhetorical and polemical style. This style was central to his public speeches and published writings and would become a defining element in his persona within the party and among the broader public in British Columbia and Canada. His style included outlandish barbs against audience members (whom he frequently referred to as “slaves”), cutting similes that would leave opponents

²⁵ Fox, “Early Socialism in Canada,” 95. For a familiarly fleeting and dismissive treatment of “doctrinaire socialists,” see also George R. Taft, “Socialism in North America: The Case of British Columbia and Washington State, 1900–1960” (PhD diss., Simon Fraser University, 1983), 315–17, 331–32, 397, 402, and references to Kingsley at 373 and 375; Notes of interviews with John Harrington and Wallace Lefeaux, c. 1961, by Paul Fox, in “Herrington [sic] Vancouver—1 Notes,” folder 37, and “Lefeaux Notes—1,” folder 43, box 10A, “Transcripts of taped interviews for CBC broadcast: Socialism in Canada, 1961,” Woodsworth Memorial Collection, University of Toronto Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library.

²⁶ Fox, “Early Socialism in Canada,” 96. See also McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise*, 161–64.

²⁷ *Western Clarion*, 20 Feb. 1909, as cited in McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries*, 70.

speechless, and self-deprecating humour relating to his baldness and other qualities (though, importantly, never relating to his impairment as a double amputee). Kingsley himself acknowledged this rhetorical style, admitting at a socialist meeting in Nelson, BC, in 1906 that he had been accused of having a “nasty tongue,” conceding that “the charge was true” while explaining that “he had acquired it while working for wages and he intended to keep on using it as long as the wage system lasts.”²⁸ A socialist in Fernie, BC, looked forward to being reacquainted with that “cheery old grouser” Kingsley prior to a 1908 convention.²⁹

Working-class audiences in prewar British Columbia and Canada, familiar with Kingsley’s style, would have taken his words with a proverbially healthy grain of salt, looking to the underlying meanings of the issues he was raising while appreciating the lightheartedness, audacity, and fun he brought to the examination of serious social questions, which likely seemed patently absurd. “Kingsley yet stirs in his hearers the very emotions he affects to condemn,” a correspondent noted after hearing Kingsley speak in Vancouver in 1903. “Shame, anger, self-contempt and sudden hope, chase each other around the diaphragms of the men who listen to his scathing words, and a rising sense of conscious power makes them long to get their hands on the ballot.”³⁰ This connection between Kingsley’s rhetorical wit and the intellectual depth of his political analysis was recognized by contemporaries who did not share his uncompromising beliefs. Grace MacInnis, daughter of Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) founder J. S. Woodsworth and hardly a member of the Marxian left in British Columbia, recalled a half century later (on the eve of her re-election as the lone woman in the House of Commons in 1968) that Kingsley had been a “particular idol” of her deceased husband, former CCF MP Angus MacInnis, “because of his incisive wit and his intellectual abilities.”³¹

An example of Kingsley’s supposed intellectual arrogance, emblematic of the attitude of a layer of SPC leaders, is cited by Ian McKay in his work on the

²⁸ “Socialists Meet,” *Daily Canadian* (Nelson), 8 Oct. 1906, 1.

²⁹ “Socialists Meet in Fernie,” *Fernie District Ledger*, 2 May 1908, 6.

³⁰ “E. T. Kingsley’s Rousing Meetings,” *Western Clarion*, 31 July 1903, 4.

³¹ Grace MacInnis, interview (presumably by Richard Stuart), 9 Jan. 1968, as cited in Richard G. Stuart, “The Early Political Career of Angus MacInnis” (MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1967), 233, 14.

early Canadian left, *Reasoning Otherwise* (2008). Writing in the *Clarion* in August 1908, on his way home from a propaganda tour across the continent, Kingsley declared, “Along the north shore of Lake Superior it is rock and muskeg, a combination shunned by every animal in the category, except that brilliant specimen, the wage-slave, who would cheerfully go to hell itself if its brimstone deposits could be used as a means of squeezing a little profit out of his foul carcass for his capitalist masters.”³² A literal reading of this passage leads McKay to conclude, like many other scholars before him, that the SPC “sheltered a number of hard-core individualists, self-made mavericks who prided themselves on their freedom to decide on a whole spectrum of issues. They were possessed not only of themselves but also of a substantial cultural capital attesting to their individual attainments. The SPC thus mirrored basic elements of the liberal order it was sworn to critique.”³³

We do not reject the proposition that the SPC—like socialist groups the world over—probably included a disproportionate share of individualists and mavericks, being as it was a primary locus for dissent in the prewar era. We also accept that these qualities of individualism, which Kingsley possessed, were part of the cultural fabric of an order that he was pledged to destroy. However, we believe that a more nuanced approach is warranted, both to properly illuminate Kingsley’s life and contribution and to provide for an accurate understanding of the dynamics, motivations, and development of the early Canadian left.

The scholarly trend toward derision and caricature of Kingsley impedes, in our view, a rigorous analysis and critical appreciation of his approach to the complex issues that he and other Socialists confronted in the opening decades of the twentieth century. We therefore aim to avoid the common approach of conflating Kingsley’s entire contribution into a simplistic “impossiblist” and “doctrinaire” box, favouring instead a more nuanced look at his speeches, writings, and activism around specific issues—without ignoring patterns that potentially emerge in his words and deeds.

Another aspect of Kingsley’s political thought is worthy of mention. Fox and others have characterized Kingsley’s “impossiblism” as being hopelessly unrealistic, even elitist and unhelpful, by undermining efforts to improve

³² “Notes by the Way,” *Western Clarion*, 15 Aug. 1908, cited in McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise*, 162.

³³ McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise*, 164.

conditions for workers in the near term either through trade union bargaining or through legislative changes and state programs. But we would put forward an alternate interpretation. Kingsley's unwavering focus on the "one-plank" Marxist demand of overthrowing the capitalist system can be interpreted as extraordinarily hopeful and optimistic. In the face of sharp opposition within every organization to which he belonged, from the Great Panic of the 1890s in the western United States to the period of "capitalist consolidation" in the 1920s in British Columbia, Kingsley refused to accept that capitalism was the natural order of human relations. He displayed an enduring, unwavering optimism in the capacity of working-class people to transform their social relations of life and work by ending the economic and political primacy of private property. The political objective of "conquering the public powers, for the purpose of setting up, and enforcing the economic program of the working class"—which traced its lineage to the revolutionary turn of American socialists at the 1901 convention that gave birth to the Socialist Party of America—would be incorporated under Kingsley's leadership into the political platforms of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Canada (RSPC), the Socialist Party of British Columbia (SPBC), and the Socialist Party of Canada.³⁴ Kingsley's fundamental hope in the possibility of the socialist transformation of human society was evident in his first speech in Vancouver after the bloody suppression of the Winnipeg General Strike and police raids against his comrades that ended sympathetic strikes in Vancouver and other cities: "Nothing except temporary gains . . . had ever been won by the workers in a fight for better conditions," Kingsley declared, asserting that the only lasting solution available to the working class was "[p]olitical action . . . to strip the ruling class of power."³⁵

³⁴ See "Platform of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Canada" and "A New Socialist Party," *Seattle Socialist*, 18 May 1902, 4; "Second Annual Convention of the BC Socialist Party," *Western Socialist*, 11 Oct. 1902, 1; "Socialist Platform," *Phoenix Pioneer*, 25 Oct. 1902, 2; "BC Socialist Party Platform," *Western Socialist*, 17 Jan. 1903, 4; "Platform of the Socialist Party of BC," *Western Clarion*, 11 Sept. 1903, 3; "Report of the Proceedings," *Western Clarion*, 28 Jan. 1905, 2–4; "Socialism Spreading," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 5 Jan. 1905, 5; "Platform—Socialist Party of Canada," *Western Clarion*, 20 Feb. 1909, 4.

³⁵ "Kingsley Makes Good Points," *Federationist*, 18 July 1919, 2.

The transition from the “humane sentimentalism” of earlier socialist groups to the “aggressive materialism” of the SPC was examined in a retrospective article in the *Western Clarion* a decade earlier, in the midst of the 1907 provincial election campaign. Foreshadowing political realignments that would occur in British Columbia a half century later—and that persist to the present day—the *Clarion* observed, “Signs are not lacking upon the horizon to show that the old Liberal and Conservative gangs of capitalist political humbugs will be forced in the near future, especially in British Columbia, to throw aside their pretense of enmity and unite against the advancing host.”³⁶ While Kingsley’s SPC never approached political power, its concentrated electoral base in mining districts and its sustained propaganda efforts more broadly throughout the province would have a lasting impact on the political culture of the working class in British Columbia and beyond. As his comrade John Sidaway noted in an obituary of Kingsley following his death in Vancouver in 1929, “His influence as a leader of the Marxian group in Western Canada was to infect most Labor organizations to a greater or lesser degree with the class viewpoint. His favorite theme was the struggle of the slaves through the ages. The Paris Commune of 1871 was a subject which saw him at his best.”³⁷

³⁶ “Brief Historical Review,” *Western Clarion*, 12 Jan. 1907, 3.

³⁷ John Sidaway, “Kingsley Led Vanguard in Fight for Workers,” *Labor Statesman* (Vancouver), 27 Dec. 1929, 5. For some of Kingsley’s speeches on the Paris Commune, see “Brief Local Times,” *Vancouver Daily Province*, 19 Mar. 1904, 16; “Commune Anniversary,” *Western Clarion*, 24 Mar. 1906, 4; “News and Views,” *Western Clarion*, 9 Mar. 1907, 4; “Last Sunday’s Meeting,” *Western Clarion*, 16 Mar. 1907, 4; “Local Items,” *Vancouver Daily Province*, 16 Mar. 1909, 20; “E. T. Kingsley Lectures,” *Federationist*, 27 Mar. 1914, 6; “The Paris Commune and the Bolsheviks,” *Federationist*, 15 Mar. 1919, 8; “Rulers Would Do Same Thing Again,” *Vancouver Daily Sun*, 18 Mar. 1918, 2; “Kingsley on Paris Commune,” *Federationist*, 19 Mar. 1920; “Kingsley on the Commune,” *Federationist*, 26 Mar. 1920. For an unsigned editorial in the *Clarion* on the subject, see “The Eighteenth of March,” *Western Clarion*, 19 Mar. 1910, 2.

Kingsley's Disablement and Class Location

Kingsley's approach to socialism, variously described in previous studies as "extreme," "doctrinaire," and "impossibilist," reflected his life circumstances as a double amputee, as well as his class location removed from the material relations and conditions of the wage-earning working class. There is no record of Kingsley being employed in what could be described as "ordinary" wage labour following his fateful service with the Northern Pacific Railroad Company up to 1890, beyond an elusive reference to his occupation as "librarian" in the 1900 US Census for San Jose, California (which could have referred to employment in a library operated by the SLP).³⁸ In his work as an organizer for the SLP, and in his later work with the Nanaimo Socialist Club, the SPBC, the SPC, and the FLP, Kingsley earned income, but from entities that to various extents he led, frequently as a member of the organization's governing committee. As a result, his material relations of life and work—and his relationship to the means of production—were distinct from those of a wage-earning worker employed in a capitalist industry. This has led McKay to remark that these "SPC cadres might be described as self-employed men," while Mark Leier defines Kingsley and other SPC intellectuals as petit bourgeois rather than proletarian, having exercised a large degree of control over their own labour power. "Collective bargaining and reforms to ease relations between employers and employees [were] equally irrelevant to them," Leier suggests.³⁹

Yet it may well be that Kingsley sought out a role as a proprietor as an innovative form of self-accommodation for his impairments in a British Columbia that restricted employment opportunities for disabled men. This seems a common thread from his publishing work in the San Francisco SLP branch to his fishmonger business in Nanaimo and finally his successful

³⁸ United States, "Twelfth Census of the United States, Schedule No. 1—Population," San Jose Ward 2, Santa Clara County, California, 1 June 1900, 1, enumeration district 66, FHL microfilm1240111, in *1900 United States Federal Census online database*, Ancestry.com, accessed 3 Sept. 2019.

³⁹ McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise*, 157; Mark Leier, "Workers and Intellectuals: The Theory of the New Class and Early Canadian Socialism," in *Making Western Canada: Essays on European Colonization and Settlement*, ed. Catherine Cavanaugh and Jeremy Mouat (Toronto: Garamond, 1996), 144; originally published in *Journal of History and Politics* 10 (1992): 98.

printing business in Vancouver. As the manager dispensing work assignments and overseeing sales and relations with customers, Kingsley would not have faced the kind of physical pressures that wage labourers experienced to meet daily Taylorist production standards and that he likely would not have been able to achieve.⁴⁰ In a patriarchal world where dignity and self-respect for men was closely tied to remunerated wage labour, Kingsley may have turned to entrepreneurship as a way of levelling the field in a structurally ableist world.⁴¹ While one cannot retrospectively say that Kingsley was consciously articulating entrepreneurship as an explicit strategy to craft accommodations, he nevertheless clearly was a highly talented man who wanted to make a contribution. Kingsley's involvement in private enterprise and his distance from the wage-earning working class was a matter for conjecture when the Victoria Board of Trade met after the First World War to discuss potential responses to a fiery lecture that Kingsley had delivered defending the Russian Bolsheviks. Potential responses ranged from the suppression of radical meetings to deportation. During that meeting, a member of the Board of Trade indicated that he had known Kingsley personally when he was based in Nanaimo two decades earlier and that Kingsley ran his business "along the most capitalistic lines." According to the businessman, Kingsley "went over to the bigger field in Vancouver" and for a long time "had not done a stroke of real work, although he claimed to be spokesman for the workingman."⁴²

Regarding his disablement and physical appearance, Kingsley appears to have passed at times as able-bodied through the use of prosthetic limbs and a cane. For example, a detailed description of his personal characteristics by a Vancouver *Daily Province* reporter in 1908 gave no hint of Kingsley's disablement:

⁴⁰ Sarah F. Rose, "'Crippled' Hands: Disability in Labor and Working-Class History," *Labor* 2, no. 1 (2005): 51. See also Dustin Galer, "Disabled Capitalists: Exploring the Intersections of Disability and Identity Formation in the World of Work," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (2012), <http://dsq-sds.org/article/view/3277/3122>.

⁴¹ Galer, "Disabled Capitalists."

⁴² "Aroused by Speeches Defending Red Guard," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 29 Jan. 1919, 11.

He is a typical American, whose fifteen [*sic*] years' residence in Canada has not spoilt his accent. He speaks in short sentences, and drives them at his audience with sharp forward jerks of his head. But the most curious of his mannerisms is the way, when wishing to make a point, he licks his first finger, for all the world like a baseball pitcher preparing the famous spit ball. Tall, and inclined to be stout, with keen small eyes, that seem to be continually raking his audience for possible hecklers, he is a good speaker with a forceful manner.⁴³

However, Kingsley's disablement also appears to have been common knowledge among many of his Socialist comrades as well as sections of the press and the public in British Columbia, as evidenced by his description in the *Victoria Colonist* in 1903 as "the legless wonder of Social Economics."⁴⁴ Ronald Grantham, writing a graduate thesis less than fifteen years after Kingsley's passing, described him as "a crippled printer."⁴⁵ In an article and radio address three decades after Kingsley's death, former SPC member Roy Devore described his physical appearance: "Due to a railway accident in his young days Kingsley was minus both feet. But he was a big man, a 250 pounder and his rugged physique coupled with an indomitable will kept him going. He was a masterly lecturer and deadly debater."⁴⁶

An important side note is Kingsley's apparent silence on issues relating to workplace safety, injury, disablement, and compensation. While British Columbia's labour unions and socialist parties would advocate consistently in the first two decades of the twentieth century for laws and programs to improve safety for workers and provide security for those who had been injured on the job, Kingsley's name was never associated with these efforts in the hundreds of documents we have consulted. For example, in a speakers' series hosted by the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council (VTLC) toward the end of the First World War, it was VTLC president James

⁴³ "If Necessary Let Them Use Clubs," *Vancouver Daily Province*, 1 Oct. 1908, 2.

⁴⁴ "Political Notes of Interest," *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 24 Sept. 1903, 6.

⁴⁵ Ronald Grantham, "Some Aspects of the Socialist Movement in British Columbia, 1898–1933" (MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1942), 16.

⁴⁶ "Politicians Out of the Past," *Western Socialist* (Vancouver) 26, no. 7 (1959): 9–11, accessed 18 Nov. 2012, <http://www.worldsocialism.org/canada/politicians.out.of.the.past.1959.v26n211.htm>.

McVety, rather than Kingsley, who spoke to the topic “Industrial Accidents and Workmen’s Compensation.” Kingsley adhered to more familiar ground, in an address on “Capital, Labor, and the State.”⁴⁷ Of course, this may have related to Kingsley’s strident adherence to “one-plank” Marxism, rejecting advocacy for workplace safety laws and compensation programs as “palliative” measures that would only prolong capitalism’s demise. However, given his personal experience of workplace injury and disablement, it is notable that Kingsley—the foremost orator and propagandist of British Columbia’s working-class movement in this era—shunned any association with issues so immediately connected to his personal experience. This suggests that he strenuously sought to avoid drawing attention to his disablement, avoiding advocating on issues that would draw the attention of comrades, the public, and opponents to his lived reality as a double amputee.⁴⁸

While Kingsley himself never advocated publicly for workplace safety measures or programs to help workers who had been injured or disabled on the job, these themes figured prominently in the *Clarion*. Especially during Kingsley’s term as its editor, the paper frequently reported on industrial accidents in Canada and the United States. Many of these reports included some sardonic remark about the fact that no capitalists were injured and suggested that mine explosions, railway accidents, and all manner of other hazards were inherent to the capitalist system, in which workers’ lives are expendable.⁴⁹ When twenty-three coal miners were killed in an explosion in West Virginia in 1905, an unsigned article in the newspaper commented that the cause of the explosion “was, of course, not due to any negligence of the company. Such affairs never are as capitalist concerns are proverbially more zealous in providing for the safety of employes [*sic*] than in making

⁴⁷ “Will Discuss Labor Topics,” *Federationist*, 23 Nov. 1917, 5; “Snapshots of the City,” *Vancouver World*, 13 Mar. 1918, 9; “Defines Capital—Control of Labor,” *Vancouver Daily Sun*, 15 Mar. 1918, 14; “Capital, Labor and State,” *Vancouver World*, 15 Mar. 1918, 11.

⁴⁸ For further elaboration of the ableism Kingsley faced, see Malhotra and Isitt, *Able to Lead*, 69.

⁴⁹ See “Prisoners and Labourers,” *Western Clarion*, 4 Mar. 1904, 1; Untitled article, *Western Clarion*, 17 Nov. 1906, 2; Untitled article, *Western Clarion*, 8 Dec. 1906, 4; Untitled article, *Western Clarion*, 11 May 1907, 3; “Labor,” *Western Clarion*, 1 June 1907, 4; “The Horrors of Peace,” *Western Clarion*, 6 Jan. 1912, 1; “Capitalism’s Toll,” *Western Clarion*, 15 June 1912, 1.

profit.”⁵⁰ In discussing statistics on the deaths of rail workers involved in the coupling and uncoupling of cars (a task with which Kingsley was intimately familiar), another article—also unsigned—noted that the “property loss was the same” regardless of how many workers died, “as fortunately none of the cars or engines were injured.”⁵¹ When Canada’s Department of Labour released figures for industrial accidents in August 1906, showing that 111 workers had been killed and 280 seriously injured, the *Clarion* commented bitterly on “Canada’s slave market,” where “lives [were] cheaper than safety appliances.”⁵² “The list of capitalists killed and injured has been omitted, probably through an oversight,” the paper noted sarcastically.⁵³

The *Clarion* under Kingsley’s editorship regularly took aim at state officials’ disregard for workers’ well-being—as, for example, when two miners were killed in an explosion at the Sullivan Mine near Cranbrook, BC. “The coroner decided that no inquest was necessary,” the paper reported, adding, “Of course not. Only two working-men killed, anyway.”⁵⁴ Workplace safety was also an important legislative preoccupation for prewar Socialists in the province, with MLAs James Hawthornthwaite and Parker Williams forging the Workmen’s Compensation Act and revising the Coal Mines Regulation Act. This likely had more to do with the hazards facing coal miners in Hawthornthwaite’s and Williams’s Vancouver Island districts, however, than any personal intervention on the part of Kingsley.

The *Clarion* also contained occasional references to disability and dismemberment, though none was authored by Kingsley openly. In 1905, the newspaper carried a report on the death of a Winnipeg worker who had previously been disabled on account of having his feet frozen. Connecting a critical analysis of disability to capitalism and organized religion, the

⁵⁰ “Another Mine Explosion,” *Western Clarion*, 4 Mar. 1905, 1. See also “Gas, Coal Dust and the Law,” *Western Clarion*, 16 July 1904, 1; Untitled article, *Western Clarion*, 13 May 1905, 1.

⁵¹ Untitled article, *Western Clarion*, 4 Aug. 1906, 2.

⁵² “Outcropping of Canada’s Slave Market,” *Western Clarion*, 13 Oct. 1906, 4. See also “Safety Appliances Cost Much Money,” *Western Clarion*, 16 Mar. 1907, 4.

⁵³ Untitled article, *Western Clarion*, 8 Dec. 1906, 4. See also “Covering Up the Tracks,” *Western Clarion*, 4 Sept. 1909, 1.

⁵⁴ Untitled article, *Western Clarion*, 11 May 1907, 3

newspaper commented that “[a]ble-bodied men are walking the streets of Winnipeg by the score, unable to obtain a job; among these the poor cripple had no chance. It is these conditions that the church helps to perpetuate. The church must go.”⁵⁵ Years later, in February 1919, in an article in the short-lived *Labor Star*, which he edited, Kingsley provided the one published reference we have found under his byline that explicitly relates to disability. In an article titled “Reconstruction,” Kingsley made the sharp observation that “pensions for disabled soldiers, homes and sustenance for cripples . . . will settle nothing, will change nothing. . . . The slaves will still be slaves, and the masters will still be masters, in spite of all the ‘reconstruction’ that stops short of revolution. . . . Though that may smack of ‘Bolshevism’ it may nevertheless be true.”⁵⁶

We know little about Kingsley’s personal life during the quarter century that he lived in Vancouver. He appears to have been missed by the enumerators for the 1911 and 1921 federal censuses, perhaps because he was out of town on organizing tours for the socialist cause, perhaps because he avoided the watchful eye of the bourgeois state. City directories beginning in 1906 list his place of residence at a series of rooming houses in downtown Vancouver—on West Cordova, Richards, Seymour, Water, and West Pender Streets, clustered around the offices of the *Clarion*, the *Federationist*, and his printing plant at the Flack Building and the Dunsmuir Street Labour Temple.⁵⁷ Mirroring the earlier pattern in San Francisco and San Jose,

⁵⁵ “One Thing and Another,” *Western Clarion*, 20 May 1905, 3. See also the *Federationist* for a June 1914 report on a lecture delivered by J. B. Osborne, “the blind orator,” in Vancouver. “Blind Orator to Give Address on Unionism,” *Federationist*, 12 June 1914, 1.

⁵⁶ “Reconstruction,” *Labor Star*, 27 Feb. 1919, 1.

⁵⁷ From 1906 until 1913, Kingsley’s residence is identified in the Vancouver city directories as a room (#10) at 309 Cordova Street West. Earlier, he appeared in the 1903 and 1904 directories for Nanaimo as the proprietor of the Nanaimo Fish Market, with his residence as a boarder at “Dunsmuir” (presumably, the information for the 1904 Nanaimo directory was gathered in 1903 prior to Kingsley’s move to Vancouver that autumn). Kingsley is not listed in the 1904 or 1905 Vancouver city directories. The listings for Kingsley for 1906 through 1911 provide the Cordova Street residence as well as his place of work, in the Flack Block, 163 Hastings Street West. He is missing from the 1912 directory but the 1913 directory lists him as continuing to live

Kingsley usually lived within one or two blocks of his workplace—suggesting a rational adaptation to life as an double amputee by limiting daily travel distances (as well as hills and stairs). Until 1908, he appears to have ambulated on wooden legs, before acquiring a pair of more modern prosthetic limbs.⁵⁸ He is recorded as being retired in the 1928 city directory and he died on

at 309 Cordova West, while the location of his printing business moves to 311 [*sic*; it was 411] Dunsmuir Street. The 1914 directory lists only his workplace, in the printshop at the Labour Temple, 411 Dunsmuir St. In 1915, he is recorded as living in a room at 307 West Pender Street, while his business listing no longer appears; the Labour Temple at 411 Dunsmuir is now occupied by Cowan & Brookhouse (who purchased the business from Kingsley to merge with their own operation). There is no record of a business address for Kingsley after that date. He is not listed in the 1916 and 1917 directories. In 1918 Kingsley is identified as “editor B C Federationist” and living in a room at 748 Richards Street, with the Federationist offices in the Labour Temple at 405 Dunsmuir. Henderson’s 1919 directory shows him living in a room at 647 Seymour Avenue, three and a half blocks from the Dunsmuir Street Labour Temple—the farthest location from the socialist and labour offices of all the residences we are aware of during his time in Vancouver. Kingsley is not listed in the 1920 and 1921 city directories published by either Henderson’s or Wrigley’s (which would merge in 1924). In 1922, he is listed as a resident at 537 Richards Street. From 1923 until shortly before his death in 1929, he lived in a room at 110 Water Street, before moving for a final time to 309 West Pender Street, where he died in December 1929. Beginning in 1928, Kingsley is identified as “retired.” See *Henderson’s British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory* (Victoria: Henderson Publishing Company, 1903–4); *Henderson’s City of Vancouver Directory, 1906* (Vancouver: Henderson Publishing Company, 1906–9); *Henderson’s City of Vancouver and North Vancouver Directory* (Vancouver: Henderson Publishing Company, 1910); *Henderson’s Greater Vancouver, New Westminster and Fraser Valley Directory* (Vancouver: Henderson Publishing Company, 1911); *Henderson’s Greater Vancouver City Directory* (Vancouver: Henderson Publishing Company, 1913–15, 1918–19); *Henderson’s Greater Vancouver Directory* (Vancouver: Henderson Publishing Company, 1922–23); *Wrigley Henderson Amalgamated British Columbia Directory* (Vancouver: Wrigley Directories Limited, 1924–25); *Wrigley’s British Columbia Directory* (Vancouver: Wrigley Directories Limited, 1926–29).

⁵⁸ See “Socialists Explain Their Principles,” *San Francisco Examiner*, 17 Aug. 1896, 4; George Weston Wrigley, “How Working-Class Leaders Travel,” *Western Clarion*, 12 Sept. 1908, 1.

his own in December 1929 in his apartment at 309 West Pender Street—one block from the *Clarion's* long-standing headquarters.⁵⁹ There is no record of any romantic relationship of any sort following his divorce from his wife in the early 1890s, and he appears to have had little contact with his two sons, with the exception of a possible 1913 visit with Percy.⁶⁰ Kingsley appears to have devoted his life to the socialist cause he had advanced since at least 1894, apparently forging close friendships with several comrades including socialist lawyer Wallace Lefeaux, who is recorded as the personal contact on Kingsley's death certificate, and Richard Parmater "Parm" Pettipiece, with whom he established a long-standing publishing relationship in relation to the *Clarion* and, later, the *Federationist* and *Labor Star*.⁶¹ Kingsley also appears to have had an affinity with Hawthornthwaite, the long-time SPC MLA for Nanaimo. We can make further inferences about his personal network from the identity of his business associates, for example, in a Port Alberni timber venture.⁶²

The Collected Works of E. T. Kingsley

This volume contains the only official published version of Kingsley's political thought, including a booklet that he published with Ontario-born typographer Parm Pettipiece and the Federationist Publishing Company in 1916 entitled *The Genesis and Evolution of Slavery: Showing How the Chattel Slaves of Pagan Times Have Been Transformed into the Capitalist Property of To-day*.⁶³ Originating as an essay in a special Labour Day issue of the

⁵⁹ "Certification of Registration of Death—Eugene Thomas [sic] Kingsley," 13 Dec. 1929, record 23286, vol. 417, GR-2952, BC Archives; *Wrigley's British Columbia Directory, 1928*, 1178. "Labor Pioneer Dies," *Organized Labor* (San Francisco), 18 Jan. 1930, 6.

⁶⁰ While Linda Kealey suggests that Kingsley's wife "occasionally took part in organizing activities in the party," we have not found evidence that she lived in British Columbia or maintained contact with Kingsley after the early 1890s. See Linda Kealey, "Canadian Socialism and the Woman Question, 1900–14," *Labour/Le Travail* 13 (Spring 1984): 88n22.

⁶¹ "Certification of Registration of Death—Eugene Thomas [sic] Kingsley."

⁶² "Petition No. 23—John McLarty," 16 Feb. 1909, and Attorney General's Statement in Reply (Victoria: King's Printer, 1909), BC Archives.

⁶³ Kingsley, *Genesis and Evolution of Slavery*. See also Advertisement, *Federationist*, 23 Feb. 1917, 4.

British Columbia Federationist newspaper in September 1916, it was subsequently published in booklet form “in response to widespread demand.”⁶⁴ Even Kingsley’s erstwhile comrades in the SPC (which he had left following publication of the editorial “The Affirmation of ‘German Culture,’” reproduced in Part I of the present volume) acknowledged the value of the work. Bill Pritchard described *Genesis* as “short, pungent, very good.”⁶⁵ The *Winnipeg Voice* newspaper suggested the pamphlet cleared up “much that has long confused, not only the workers themselves, but many others who have given thought to the vexations and anomalies of modern civilization.”⁶⁶ To George B. Casey, a worker in Prince Rupert, BC, who wrote a letter to the *Federationist* lauding the pamphlet, it was “truly the best pamphlet that has yet found its way to my hands, and in my opinion you cannot push this work too strongly.” Casey had already “sold 100 to date,” during two evenings selling “the pamphlets around town,” and he expected to order an additional batch and “try and cover about a thousand square miles of this country with them.”⁶⁷ The miners’ union in Phoenix, BC, in the southern interior ordered five hundred copies, while a writer from Berkeley, California, described the booklet as “a classic of proletarian philosophy,” emerging as society halted between “despotism or democracy,” and pledged to distribute one hundred copies.⁶⁸

In *Genesis*, Kingsley issues a ringing call to political action—locating the wartime crisis of capitalism in ten thousand years of human history—and the basic structural conflict between slaves and masters. In the preface, he offers stinging commentary on the war effort, as well as on the apparent docility of workers, claiming, “The rulers of the world have frequently been siezed [*sic*] with fits of blood madness, that nothing could quell but a plentiful spilling of blood upon the part of their slaves. The slaves have always

⁶⁴ See “The Genesis and Evolution of Slavery,” *Federationist*, 8 Sept. 1916, 5–15; Advertisement, “Just Off the Press,” *Federationist*, 6 Oct. 1916, 4; “A Crackerjack Pamphlet,” *Federationist*, 13 Oct. 1916, 1.

⁶⁵ W. A. Pritchard, interview by A. Ross McCormack, 17 Aug. 1971, Vancouver, tape 3, acc. no. 225, t-225, BC Archives.

⁶⁶ “A Crackerjack Pamphlet,” *The Voice* (Winnipeg), 3 Nov. 1916, 2.

⁶⁷ “The Work That Counts,” *Federationist*, 10 Nov. 1916, 4.

⁶⁸ “Men ‘Who Pay the Printer,’” *Federationist*, 20 Oct. 1916, 4; John L. Martin, “Letters to the Fed.,” *Federationist*, 20 Oct. 1916, 4.

loyally come through with the goods when called upon.” He then shifts to the solution for resolving the war crisis and the larger structural crisis of capitalism: “the working class is the only factor in human society that has either the numerical strength or the justification to bring order out of chaos, by the abolition of its own slavery and the placing of the affairs of human society upon a basis that will make it possible for all people to live in fraternal peace, plenty and decency, in the common enjoyment of the fruits of their common labor.”⁶⁹

Harking back to the Marxist doctrine that the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself, Kingsley declares that “[t]he requisite knowledge to enable the workers to act intelligently in the coming crisis in human affairs, which ruling class madness and ambition is forcing upon us, must be gathered by the workers themselves against all of the intellectual forces marshaled in the service of the ruling class.”⁷⁰ It was to this intellectual battle—the battle of ideas to advance the interests of workers and the ideal of working-class emancipation against the intellectual armour and apparatus of capitalist exploitation—that Kingsley devoted his life’s work from the time of his disablement in 1890 to his death on the eve of the economic crisis in 1929. The application of this approach could be discerned shortly after Kingsley’s arrival in British Columbia, in a retrospective article in the *Clarion* describing the support of Nanaimo coal miners for Socialist candidate Parker Williams in a 1902 by-election: “the battering-ram effects of sound economic teachings were speedily felt by the master class in this campaign. The roar of the revolutionary artillery of the proletariat was unmistakable in the result of the poll.”⁷¹

Kingsley’s sixty-page pamphlet walks the reader through the labour theory of value (the classically Marxist notion that human labour is the source of all wealth and capitalist property), from hunter-gatherer societies through the slave societies of antiquity and the serfs of feudal times to the capitalist wage labour of the industrial age. The work culminates in a ringing

⁶⁹ Kingsley, *Genesis and Evolution of Slavery*, 8.

⁷⁰ Kingsley, *Genesis and Evolution of Slavery*, 8. See also Marx and Engels to Bebel, Liebknecht, Fritzsche, Geiser, Hasenclever, and Bracke, 17–18 Sept. 1879, Marxist Internet Archive, accessed 5 Aug. 2019, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1879/09/17.htm>.

⁷¹ “Brief Historical Review,” *Western Clarion*, 12 Jan. 1907, 2.

call for workers to focus the class struggle against their masters on “destroying the right of those masters to rule and rob,” by attacking their “property rights in the means of production,” suggesting that the only approach was a political one:

The class struggle is purely a political struggle. To gain control of the capitalist state is the goal aimed at, so that its guns, which are now trained upon the working class, may be spiked, as against that class. The state, with its terrific repressive powers, is the sole instrument upon which the capitalists rely for the continuation of their golden regime.⁷²

Reflecting the contradictory tensions inherent in impossibilist ideas between campaigning for reforms and struggling against the state, Kingsley commented that in those countries where workers had attained the franchise, such as Canada and the United States, “they have the legal right to conquer the state for their own purposes.” In countries without the franchise “or where there are such restrictions placed upon it as to nullify their superiority of numbers,” workers are “justified in exercising their political power in any manner they choose,” Kingsley asserted—opening the door for extraparliamentary methods.⁷³ The only barrier standing between the working class in Canada and their own emancipation was the docility of workers, he claimed, a characteristic common to slaves, which manifested itself politically in workers’ ability to discern their master’s interests and their corresponding blindness to their own interests.⁷⁴ In a familiar swipe at what he perceived to be the distractionary character of reformism, Kingsley railed against labour’s “long struggle to obtain an amelioration of its conditions under slavery,” insisting that labour’s victory in the class struggle against capitalist exploitation would not be achieved through “petty squabbles over the amount of rations that shall be measured out to the slaves, or the length of time they shall tug in harness for their stipend.”⁷⁵ Connecting “ten thousand years” of human slavery (which he described as a “hideous nightmare to the

⁷² Kingsley, *Genesis and Evolution of Slavery*, 54.

⁷³ Kingsley, *Genesis and Evolution of Slavery*, 55.

⁷⁴ Kingsley, *Genesis and Evolution of Slavery*, 55.

⁷⁵ Kingsley, *Genesis and Evolution of Slavery*, 56.

working class”) with present-day suffering by “millions . . . now being ground ruthlessly and recklessly into profit in the industrial torture chambers of modern slavery in order that a few already hog-fat capitalists may still further increase their fat,” Kingsley concluded with an expression of hope: “The only rainbow of promise on the social horizon presaging the coming of a better day is seen in the slowly but surely awakening of consciousness of the workers to the hideous wrongs that slavery has heaped upon them; and their stubborn determination to wipe it out.”⁷⁶

In addition to *The Genesis and Evolution of Slavery*, this volume includes selected articles and speeches by Kingsley, highlighting themes and events of interest to the working-class movement at the time he lived—including the legacy of the Paris Commune, a favourite topic of Kingsley’s, the Spanish-American War of 1898, the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917, the *Komagata Maru* incident, the First World War, and the Winnipeg General Strike and One Big Union. Concepts including property, wages, profits, capital, political action, class struggle, machinery, and civilization are also interrogated at length. Kingsley’s 1906 *Clarion* article “A Question of Power” is emblematic of his political commitments and orthodoxy, showcasing both the eloquence of his critique and his unrelenting dogmatism. In discussing the controversial arrest of Western Federation of Miners (WFM) leaders William “Big Bill” Haywood, Charles H. Moyer, and George A. Pettibone on false charges relating to the murder of former Idaho governor Frank Steunenberg, Kingsley denounces the rule of law.⁷⁷ Employing his characteristic style and wit, he points out that the “entire affair has not been one of established legal procedure, but merely an instance of the brutal and conscienceless exercise of power.”⁷⁸ Mincing no words, he states unequivocally,

⁷⁶ Kingsley, *Genesis and Evolution of Slavery*, 59–60.

⁷⁷ This conforms to Marx’s famous comment on the conflict between labourers and capitalists: “between equal rights, force decides.” Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1 (London: Penguin Books, 1976), 344. See also China Mieville, *Between Equal Rights: A Marxist Theory of International Law* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2004). For a comprehensive account of the murder of Steunenberg, see J. Anthony Lukas, *Big Trouble: A Murder in a Small Western Town Sets Off a Struggle for the Soul of America* (New York: Touchstone, 1997).

⁷⁸ E. T. Kingsley, “A Question of Power,” *Western Clarion*, 31 Mar. 1906, 3.

“Law is a grotesque farce, valuable only as a means of gulling those easily gullible ones upon whom human vultures prey.”⁷⁹ This is not some mild postmodern deconstruction of the law. Rather, Kingsley vividly makes clear the class nature of legal regulation and the power that resides only in the working class to challenge the rule of law. As Kingsley remarks, the leaders of the WFM were “held by the power represented by the executive machinery of the State, with its ruffianly police, sheriffs, military and other cutthroats.”⁸⁰

Some of the themes addressed in these articles and speeches include capitalism as systematic theft, the nature of wage slavery and its perpetuity in modern times, capitalism and the state, the relationship between capitalism and war, the nature of trade unions, and the importance of internationalism. The theme of political revolution can be seen as a red thread connecting the pieces throughout this volume. Works of Kingsley’s that were reprinted in the Australian press in the aftermath of the First World War, such as “Gold—The Sacred Ikon of Payment” and “The Pleasing Hallucinations of Wealth,” particularly highlight the nature of capitalism as theft of the labour produced by the working classes.⁸¹ The nature of wage slavery is discussed in articles that appeared in the *Western Clarion* during Kingsley’s 1908 cross-Canada tour (“In the Firing Line” and “Notes by the Way”) and pragmatic organizing speeches such as his 1903 remarks in Cumberland, BC, aimed at educating miners and ranchers in Vancouver Island’s Comox Valley about the class nature of society and the need for a revolutionary transformation of capitalism.⁸²

⁷⁹ Kingsley, “Question of Power,” 3.

⁸⁰ Kingsley, “Question of Power,” 3. For a more modern and nuanced treatment of the relationship between working-class politics and the rule of law, see the classic history of the English working class by E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963).

⁸¹ Kingsley, “Gold—The Sacred Ikon of Payment,” *Australian Worker*, 13 Feb. 1919, 15; Kingsley, “The Pleasing Hallucinations of Wealth,” *Australian Worker* (Sydney), 30 Jan. 1919, 15.

⁸² Kingsley, “On the Firing Line,” *Western Clarion*, 4 July 1908, 1, 4; Kingsley, “Notes by the Way,” *Western Clarion*, 15 Aug. 1908, 1; David M. Halliday, “Organizer Kingsley in Cumberland,” *Western Clarion*, 26 June 1903, 1.

In “The Worker’s Awakening,” Kingsley describes the state as the “sole bulwark of capitalist property.”⁸³ He repeats this theme in “The Capitalist State,” written in 1911, in which he articulates his critique of the capitalist state as “the instrument or means whereby capitalist property maintains its sway and enforces its scheme of rapine and robbery upon its working class victims.”⁸⁴ While modern Marxist theories of the state may be more subtle in light of the rise of the administrative state and the panoply of associated bureaucracy, Kingsley’s politics have the advantage of clarity and directness in proposing whose interests are reflected by the state and the need for class struggle. He painstakingly documents this principle through the history of the persecution of the WFM.⁸⁵

With respect to war, Kingsley anticipated global developments in a prescient piece he authored in 1909. In “War Is Hell, for Workers,” he comments on the likelihood of a war between Britain and Germany and stresses that wage slaves have no interest in serving as cannon fodder in their rulers’ wars.⁸⁶ He notes that modern wars have been wars of conquest and the workers should not allow themselves to support such an inglorious cause. A much more controversial piece is Kingsley’s 1914 editorial “The Affirmation of ‘German Culture,’” which led to his departure from the *Western Clarion*.⁸⁷ In that piece, he denounces the militaristic culture of Germany and sides with the Western powers. An anomaly in his principled legacy of supporting internationalist working-class emancipation, it may reflect his contempt for German intervention during the Paris Commune in 1871. In “Killed and Maimed in Peace as in War,” written during the First World War, Kingsley returns to form, condemning the carnage imposed by industrial accidents

⁸³ E. T. Kingsley, “The Worker’s Awakening,” *Western Clarion*, 29 Apr. 1911, 1.

⁸⁴ E. T. Kingsley, “The Capitalist State,” *Western Clarion*, 2 Dec. 1911, 1.

⁸⁵ Kingsley, “Capitalist State,” 1.

⁸⁶ E. T. Kingsley, “War Is Hell, for Workers,” *Western Clarion*, 1 May 1909, 1.

⁸⁷ E. T. Kingsley, “The Affirmation of ‘German Culture,’” *Western Clarion*, 24 Oct. 1914, 2. To be fair, Kingsley does repeat the necessity of winning the war in later pieces, possibly to deflect the attention of war censors, but his consistent anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist rhetoric returns. See, for example, E. T. Kingsley, “Win the War,” *The Critic* (Vancouver), c. Aug. 1917, 3–4, in file 279–15, vol. 608, RG 6, Secretary of State fonds, LAC (reprinted in this volume as “On the War Effort”).

and capitalist war.⁸⁸ In “Fighting Now and Paying Later,” he illustrates how the ruling class makes workers pay the costs of its wars.⁸⁹ Kingsley also gave speeches opposing conscription and calling for workers to go on strike to prevent it until a referendum could be held on the matter.⁹⁰

On the question of trade unions, Kingsley’s defiant stance, grounded in an appreciation of the fundamental contradiction between capital and labour, is consistent throughout his writings over the years. In an unsigned 1903 editorial clearly reflecting Kingsley’s distinct writing style, “A Small Flutter,” Kingsley indicates the reformist nature of trade unionism and his principled opposition to compromise. For him, trade unionism and working-class self-activity were fundamentally different ontologies.⁹¹ In “Hunting with the Hounds,” a piece appearing in Kingsley’s short-lived publication *Labor Star* in 1919, he sharply criticizes the president of the Trades and Labor Congress, Tom Moore, for his reformist betrayals of the working class including his attendance at a banquet with manufacturers held at the Ritz-Carlton.⁹²

Internationalism is a consistent theme in Kingsley’s writings. Apart from his opposition to war, Kingsley also wrote about the Russian Revolution. In his 1917 article “The Wolf in the Capitalist Sheepfold,” he favourably quotes Trotsky and defends the Bolshevik Revolution and its conquest of political power over the propertied classes.⁹³ With his characteristic style and wit, he lambastes the craven capitalist class for sapping the “life blood of the producing class.”⁹⁴ Similarly, in a 1919 speech at Nanaimo’s Dominion Hall, Kingsley defends the creation of soviets and the provision of new agricultural

⁸⁸ E. T. Kingsley, “Killed and Maimed in Peace as in War,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 9 June 1916, 1.

⁸⁹ E. T. Kingsley, “Fighting Now and Paying Later,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 31 Aug. 1917, 23.

⁹⁰ See, for example, “Empress Theatre Meeting of June 13,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 15 June 1917, 7.

⁹¹ E. T. Kingsley, “A Small Flutter,” *Western Clarion*, 26 Dec. 1903, 2.

⁹² E. T. Kingsley, “Hunting with the Hounds,” *Labor Star* (Vancouver), 6 Mar. 1919, 1, 5.

⁹³ E. T. Kingsley, “What Capitalism Fears in Russia,” *Australian Worker* (Sydney) 14 Feb. 1918, 17; originally published as “The Wolf in the Capitalist Sheepfold,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 14 Dec. 1917, 6.

⁹⁴ Kingsley “What Capitalism Fears in Russia,” 17.

policies designed to diminish the distinction between urban centres and rural areas.⁹⁵ Another insightful example is his short remarks regarding the Belfast General Strike of 1919, demonstrating solidarity of workers across continents.⁹⁶

To be sure, there is a degree of repetition in Kingsley's writings and speeches, given his sustained focus on a class-struggle perspective and a *longue durée* approach tracing class struggle across the ages from the Spartan revolts against the Roman Empire to the working-class struggle against capitalism at the time he was writing and speaking. We have endeavoured to be discerning in our selection of writings and speeches in this anthology, aiming to include works that highlight fresh themes or subject matter or that intersect with key moments in the political history of the working class in Canada, the United States, and beyond. We hope that readers will be generous in tolerating a degree of repetition in the interests of capturing original insights from Kingsley's words that would otherwise be lost through the omission of these speeches and writings from this collection.

There is some indication that Kingsley intended in the late 1910s to compile his writings into a collected work, but the final product does not appear to have materialized.⁹⁷ This may reflect the time pressures of the flurry of organizing and propaganda work that Kingsley undertook on behalf of the socialist movement between 1918 and 1920, as president and organizer of the FLP of British Columbia, extending the message of constitutional Marxism to a wide spectrum of working people angered by the war and the constraints imposed by the postwar consolidation of capitalism. In those years, as Kingsley surpassed sixty years of age, he undertook dozens of lectures from Vancouver Island to the interior of British Columbia and Alberta—a remarkable feat in light of his physical impairment, one that mirrored a previous extended speaking tour from the Crowsnest Pass to Quebec in

⁹⁵ "E. T. Kingsley Speaks on Bolshevik Regime," *Nanaimo Daily News*, 3 Mar. 1919, 1.

⁹⁶ "The Dominion Hall Instead of Rex Theatre," *British Columbia Federationist*, 7 Feb. 1919, 8.

⁹⁷ See E. T. Kingsley, "A Size-Up of the World Situation—The Result of the War," *Labor Star* (Vancouver), 6 Feb. 1919, 6, 7; E. T. Kingsley, "Interpretation of the World Situation," *Labor Star*, 13 Feb. 1919, 2, 3, 5.

1908.⁹⁸ We have provided a partial inventory of Kingsley's public speeches and lectures from his first political involvement with the SLP in San Francisco in the mid-1890s until his final confirmed public speeches during his campaign to be Member of Parliament for Vancouver in 1926. We hope that this information conveys the breadth of Kingsley's political reach, as well as the impressive efforts of a double amputee to convey his ideas to a wide audience in support of a cause to which he was fervently committed.

Does E. T. Kingsley's theoretical and rhetorical contribution merit resuscitation, or should it remain buried for posterity? While we acknowledge limitations in Kingsley's ideological and political lens, we believe that a proper, rigorous, and thorough appreciation of his ideas is beneficial from the standpoint of scholarship as well as in light of political considerations. An appreciation of Kingsley's intellectual contribution can shine a powerful interpretive light on the response of a layer of working-class people and left-wing organizations to industrialism and capitalism in turn-of-the-century Canada and the United States. Resuscitating Kingsley's ideas and those of the British Columbia school can also provide a fresh perspective to respond to current and future challenges—informing analysis and social movement responses to ongoing limitations of the capitalist structuring of human and social relations in the twenty-first century. It is our view that this process of resuscitation is timely and overdue.

⁹⁸ Wrigley, "How Working-Class Leaders Travel," 1.

Part I

**Selected Writings
of E. T. Kingsley**

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On Washington State's Primary Law

1900

Letter by Kingsley to *The Socialist* newspaper (Seattle), discussing the proposed adoption of the Minnesota electoral primary law in Washington State, December 1900.

Republican Tyranny

The Primary Election Law Criticized from the Standpoint of the Weaker Parties—P. I. Makes a Trivial and Ignorant Defense.

The following letter by a Socialist E. T. Kingsley appeared in the P. I. [*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*] Dec 12. It reiterates the three points made by this paper last week and utters indignant protest against this capitalist attack upon the sacredness of the ballot.

Seattle, Wash. Dec 10 1900

To the Editor: Expression of opinion having been invited in your columns as to the merits or otherwise of the Minnesota primary law, which it is proposed by some to adopt in this state, I have the following to offer:

This law imposes an intolerable hardship upon numerically weak political movements in three distinct ways:

First—By requiring each candidate to pay into the public treasury the sum of \$10.

Second—By requiring ten per cent of either vote or signatures to obtain official standing.

Third—By providing a means whereby a numerically strong political movement could, by capturing the nominations of a weaker, thwart its purpose and smother its expression at the polls.

The essence of the law is to restrict the franchise. It is strictly in line with the disfranchising of the negro in certain Southern states: the introduction of property qualifications in various state constitutions and city charters, and the efforts being made in some states to lengthen the period between elections for legislative offices. The object of all this is to accomplish covertly and by stealth that which those responsible for it dare not attempt in the open, i. e., the disenfranchising of the working class. As our republic is cornerstoned upon the right of the citizen to freely and frequently express himself at the ballot box, any attempt to thwart such expression is a blow aimed at our liberties, and must be frowned down by every decent citizen. If these encroachments are to lie unchallenged, all liberty will be lost.

The arguments offered in favor of this precious law are worse than weak. It will not tend to do away with the corruption in politics, as some would claim, but on the contrary its passage would be but additional evidence (if that were needed) of that very corruption. The members of the legislature were not elected upon any such issue. If they proceed to enact such an infamous measure, it will be proof positive that they are being used by some unseen influence. This would savor of corruption, to say the least, if there be corruption in politics, and who can doubt it when so many aver the fault is in political parties, and that from which they spring. It is no fault of the election laws of the state of Washington. The election laws of this state in so far as they pertain to the nomination of candidates for public office are the best that obtain in any state in the Union of which the writer has any knowledge. They could scarcely be improved upon.

For the state to interfere with the nomination of candidates for public office is an unwarranted assumption of authority that should not be tolerated. It comes distinctly within the province of free citizens through their various political parties. A political party capable of formulating lines of party policy and incapable of nominating candidates for office without calling upon the state for assistance, must be a queer conglomeration of strength and weakness.

Those who are responsible for this primary law, and other schemes of its kind, ought to know that the standard of intelligence of today and the means of still further extending it are altogether too ample

to admit of popular liberty being successfully smothered by petty schemes of still more petty legislatures.

Well for them and those who stand behind them and whose tools they are, if they refrain from attempting to stifle the free expression of the popular will in the settlement of the mighty economic problems which are forcing themselves upon us and demanding a solution.

E. T. Kingsley

—E. T. Kingsley, “Republican Tyranny: The Primary Election Law Criticized from the Standpoint of the Weaker Parties,” *The Socialist* (Seattle), 16 Dec. 1900, 1.

On Political Action

1903

This letter by Kingsley published in the *Western Clarion* on the eve of the 1903 BC provincial election campaign appealed to workers to contribute funds to ensure the financial sustainability of the newspaper—a message Kingsley would repeat regularly over the ensuing decade as he drew deeply from his personal finances to subsidize the newspaper's operations.

Time for Action

Editor Western Clarion:

Though not much given to letter writing, there is one matter upon which I feel a word or two needs to be said.

We are on the eve of the most important political campaign thus far fought in British Columbia. I say important for the reason of its being the first time a ticket of the revolutionary proletariat will have appeared on the ballot at a general election. There has been sufficient nosing around by royal inquisitions and other agencies to warrant us in believing that a vigorous and unscrupulous warfare will be waged against us during this campaign by the present ruling class of the province. This should prompt us to at once burnish up our weapons and prepare for aggressive action. One of our most effective weapons is the press. I am informed that the Western Socialist Publishing Co., Ltd., is hampered by an indebtedness of something like \$1,200. This has been incurred in purchase of plant. No paper can be strong and effective if continually forced to gasp for breath. If this paltry amount were cleared off the way would be easy towards making the *Western Clarion* a powerful and effective means of spreading our propaganda.

I believe there are enough *Clarion* readers able to assist in clearing this matter off, and would each one do his little share no one would

feel it. I for one would feel a deep sense of shame were I to remain indifferent and apathetic while a few comrades were staggering under a burden which I should assist in carrying.

Other Island comrades and myself have already subscribed for considerable stock in the W. S. Pub. Co. I hereby subscribe for additional stock to the amount of \$5, and with the object in view of placing the Western Clarion and plant absolutely under the control of the Socialist Party of B.C., I request of the W. S. Pub. Co that when such stock is issued it be turned over to our Provincial Executive, to be voted and controlled by that body in the interest of our Party. This to include all stock taken or subscribed for by me up to the present time.

I am inclined to think the comrades in some instances at least have not taken proper interest in this and perhaps other matters. It is time we woke up. We must fight our own battle and carry our own burden. If we are too apathetic to do so we might well be likened to soldiers upon the "firing line" who are too shiftless to load a gun.

Get in line comrades.

Time is pressing,
Yours for action,

E. T. Kingsley
Nanaimo, BC, June 15, 1903.

—E. T. Kingsley, "Time for Action," *Western Clarion*, 19 June 1903, 2.

On Reformism and Electoral “Fusion”

1903

Response to a controversy over the appearance of pamphlets for “fusion” candidates in the 1903 BC provincial election, and criticism of the SPC in the *Seattle Socialist* newspaper for failing to support these candidates, on grounds that they were associated with the Liberal Party.

Organizer Kingsley’s Letter

Vancouver, B. C.
Oct. 27, 1903

Editor “Socialist”:

I note in your issue of October 25 a communication from Alex. Lang, referring to an alleged fusion dodger printed and distributed in this city on election day; also your comments thereon.

The manager of the “Western Clarion” assures me that the dodger in question was not printed in the “Clarion” office as you state. However, this has nothing to do with the matter, as the “Clarion” office is a job office and no doubt prints much stuff that would fail to pass muster before an “International Censor” did one exist.

Was the dodger in question in any way authorized by the Socialist Party of British Columbia? From all the evidence obtainable it would appear it is not. If some simple and misguided member did willfully and maliciously distribute said treasonable document, I would humbly suggest that this would be a matter for the Party here to deal with, rather than a matter involving international complications.

However, as you opened the matter up, you certainly will not object if we see it through. Coming from an author and critic of world-wide reputation like yourself, your comment on Mr. Lang’s letter is particularly rich. You need not be disturbed about Mr. Lang’s preference for a Capitalist

Labor Party. He expressed no such preference other than that determined by the fact that the I. L. Ps were decent and clean in their campaign, refraining from indulging in lying and abuse and were at all times inclined to listen to reason and argument while the S. L. P. Griffiths was quite the opposite.

Such preference speaks well for Mr. Lang's judgment and good taste, and by no means indicates any treasonable proclivities upon the part of that gentleman towards the Socialist movement.

You say "to support unionism on its own field, the industrial field, is Socialist policy."

To support unionism in its own or any other field is not Socialist policy, but the policy of those who are ignorant of the economics of the movement they so loudly profess.

The continued attempt to make such ridiculous folly the policy of the Socialist Party of the United States is responsible for much of the confusion so widely in evidence in California and other places.

The trades union movement never rises above the matter of wages, the price of labor power. Better conditions through higher wages is its cry.

As the labor market is always over stocked it is forced to accept within its ranks only a portion of the workers and the struggle soon develops into one between union men and non-union, the latter forced by their necessities to get work somehow, the former trying to maintain their wages and their monopoly of the jobs. The trades union movement never rising above, or looking beyond the question of wages, never threatens the existence of the capitalist system, but on the contrary tends to prolong its existence. Its tendency is therefore to prolong the misery of the working class as a class. It is therefore essentially reactionary in character.

Reaction is at no stage of the game Socialist policy. The policy of Socialism is revolutionary. It is not the policy of Socialism to bolster up or prolong the wage system, but to overthrow it.

"To support unionism when it leaves its own field and enters politics on a capitalist basis is treason to Socialism."

When unionism enters politics it must of necessity do so upon a capitalist basis, and it by no means leaves it own field in doing so. The premises upon which unionism builds are the premises of capitalism. The economics of unionism is the economics of capitalism. Unionism views everything from the wages standpoint: it sees nothing but wages,

and it remains within its own field, and is strictly logical in its action when it casts its political lot with that party which promises the best wages.

To support unionism either in the industrial or political field is treason to Socialism.

In your judgment “every Socialist in Vancouver should have voted for Mortimer, Stebbings and Griffiths.” If your judgment be sound then the position of the S. L. P. is correct. If so what excuse can you offer for the existence of the S. P., your own party? The S. L. P. was in existence for some time prior to the birth of the S. P. If the S. L. P. position is correct enough to warrant the following of your advice in the matter of voting for Griffiths, it would seem to be rank imprudence upon the part of the S. P. in having been born.

When you condemn fusion with one party and recommend it with another, you seem to be like unto that person whose “consistency had lost its jewelry.”

For heaven’s sake don’t refer to those S. L. P.s as “Socialists on a Socialist platform.” They are ignorant fanatics upon a platform almost as meaningless as that of the S. P. of the United States.

The movement in this Province is equipped with “Seven League Boots,” because it caters not to trade unionism or any other ism by teaching unsound or shady economics. It considers the workers as class only, and recognizes the class struggle to be a political struggle for supremacy, betwixt the working class and the capitalist class.

Less censorship and faultfinding and a more thorough spreading of sound economics will speed the revolution.

You of the United States have much to do, and before you go abroad to remove the “moat” from your neighbor’s eye, be sure you get the “beam” out of your own.

E. T. Kinglsey
Org. S. P. of B. C.

—E. T. Kingsley, “Organizer Kingsley’s Letter,” *The Socialist* (Seattle), 15 Nov. 1903, 2.

On Trade Unions

1903

The following editorial in the *Western Clarion*, unsigned but infused with Kingsley's voice, literary style, and political perspective, was published in the midst of a firestorm in the Socialist Party of British Columbia, as Revelstoke Local No. 7 issued a strongly worded resolution questioning Kingsley's appointment as editor of the newspaper and condemning the *Clarion's* stance, threatening to discontinue support. The episode revealed sharp debates over the trade union question and has come to exemplify Kingsley's opposition to trade union activity, which he distinguishes from political action by workers.

A Small Flutter

The above was handed in by the Provincial Executive committee, for publication, and is hereby offered by the *Clarion* as confirmatory evidence of the truth of the old saying that "it is a hit bird that flutters." As a careful perusal shows no argument offered which would in any manner tend to point out wherein the criticism contained in the offending article was unsound, the absence of such must be taken as an acknowledgement of its soundness. The fact that the *Clarion* editor was appointed by the Board of Directors of W. S. Publishing Company, Ltd., and not by the Socialist Party Executive is of minor importance, but the charge that he "does not recognize any difference between the present working class movement and the Co-operative Commonwealth," is quite the most humorous thing that has reached this office for a long time. Presumably, by the "present working class movement," is meant trade unionism. Of this the *Clarion* editor has been able to acquire some slight knowledge through observation, but as to the Co-operative Commonwealth he professes no knowledge whatever. It is true he has read the dreamy productions of numerous co-operative commonwealth builders, from Plato down to Bellamy, and such ideas as he might possess along this

line must of necessity be hazy having been gathered from such hazy sources. At the best it could be offered as hearsay evidence only.

The stock in trade of the present working class movement is "Capital and Labor are brothers," "Capital has rights as well as Labor," "A fair day's pay for a fair day's work," "All we demand is justice," "The Right to Organize," "Collective Bargaining," "Demand the Union Label," etc. Its stage paraphernalia consists of the strike accompanied with the privilege of getting licked, the boycott under which the commodity labor power can strut the stage and bawl out other offending commodities, the "scab" as heavy villain up to whom is to be passed "brick bats" and other loose arguments with "specific gravity," walking delegates and pickets to go around and stick their nose into other people's affairs, even to the extent of interfering with the burial of the dead, and a heterogenous conglomeration of craft and trade organizations, from the complacent and haughty aristocrat at the top who oftentimes draws down the munificent sum of dollars and odd cents per diem, down to the sad eyed dishwasher, the somber visage grave digger, and the melancholy undertaker's assistant. As all Co-operative Commonwealth builders so far, have left out of their plans and specifications any accommodation for all of this truck the inference is that the present working class movement would find no habitation there. The difference between the two ought to be easily recognized. An editor need know only enough to "hold his job," his sense of touch need be developed only to the point of enabling him to so touch the public pulse as to bring shekels to his paper, and his vision keen enough to enable him to see that he draws his salary, and such perquisites as may come within reasonable distance. With only such modest qualifications necessary for the "Whereasers" to imply that the Clarion editor does not recognize any difference between two such glaring contradictions as "the present working class movement and the co-operative commonwealth," is to cast serious reflections upon his qualifications for the responsible position he holds, or play upon him a huge joke; a joke so bubbling over with humor that it would throw a presbyterian church deacon into a fit on Sunday. As he who could not see the difference wouldn't know enough to draw his breath, let alone his salary, and the present editor can prove that he knows enough to draw both, the evidence is overwhelming in favor of the joke.

The Socialist Party cannot depend on the support of members of trade unions unless they are to go back on union principle. The principles of unionism and socialism are opposite [and] therefore antagonistic. To support one

is to deny the other. No man can serve two masters. The fundamental or root difference between Unionism and Socialism is recognized by nearly every penny-a-liner in the Capitalist press. It is time it likewise became known to those who profess to be Socialists, and it is to be hoped such knowledge will in due time reach Revelstoke.

If the Socialist Party of the United States or any other country commits folly through ignorance, that is no reason why the party in British Columbia should do likewise.

When the "Whereas"ers become Resoluters they show their hand. The Clarion must be gagged. There being nothing in the numerous Whereases in any way showing the criticism in the article complained of to be incorrect, or any statements therein untrue, the Clarion is to be gagged for being correct in its criticism and truthful in its statements. Otherwise support is to be withdrawn. In the absence of definite information as to the extent of that support, measured in dollars and cents, the Clarion declines to accept the "gag."

As this remarkable production was moved by Gaymon, seconded by Bell, carried unanimously, and is signed by Bennett, it is fair to presume that all three were present. In the event of Bennett's absence however there would have been enough present to move, second and carry unanimously.

—E. T. Kingsley, "A Small Flutter," *Western Clarion*, 26 Dec. 1903, 2.

On the Single Tax

1905

Article by Kingsley following his participation in debates on the topic of the single tax versus socialism, with John Z. White of Chicago, in Nanaimo on 31 July 1905 and in Victoria on 4 August 1905.

Sincere Repentance

The Editor of the *Western Clarion* pleads guilty to the charge of having travelled across the gulf to the City of Nanaimo on July 31, 1905, and there upon that date engaged in an alleged debate with one, John Z. White, of Chicago, Illinois, a person afflicted with a form of mental aberration, now happily exceeding [*sic*] rare, known as single-tax on the brain. The aforesaid editor pleads guilty to the further charge of having repeated the offense by again engaging in most ridiculous controversy with the afflicted White in the City of Victoria on the 4th day of the present month.

One of the most pronounced evidences of freakish tendencies is an inordinate appetite for debating, or in common parlance “chewing the rag.” The aforesaid editorial person is, as a rule, the very embodiment of sedate, dignified and sombre wisdom, that could not well be expected to unbend to the extent of even inviting adverse criticism. The only excuse the guilty wretch can now offer for having descended to the level of “chewing the rag,” just like a common ordinary every-day freak, is that he was in the hands of his friends, and they immolated him upon the altar of spectacular public discussion, for the amusement of the unwashed mob that usually foregathers when there is promise of anything like cheap sport to be had.

There is little to be said of the debate, for in fact there was none worth mentioning, as the Chicago gent with the single-tax wart on his brain had neither argument to offer nor point to make.

Some chunks of single-tax wisdom relating to matters economic, were thrown out by Mr. White as follows:

“It is not the capitalist that absorbs the product of labor, but the landlord.”

“There is no such thing as social labor.”

“It is the consumer and not the producer that puts value into commodities.”

“Working men do not sell their labor power. They sell the things they produce.”

“There has been no slavery on this Western continent since Abraham Lincoln freed the blacks.”

“He who is forced to work for another is [*sic*—not] a slave.”

In the face of such clinchers, it may be readily seen there was little room for argument by the opposition.

Mr. White, with much artistic merit erected numerous “straw men,” such as socialism would destroy “individual liberty,” and it wouldn’t work because everybody would want the best jobs, and so on, ad lib, ad nob, and then very neatly tore them to tatters.

Take it all in all and Mr. White’s put-up was about the clumsiest effort ever made to draw a “red herring across the trail,” in order to confuse the scent of capitalist game that the proletarians are now getting fixed in their nostrils.

Of all the ridiculous schemes set forth for the purpose of conjuring away the rising spectre of Revolution, that is frightening the ruling class of the world into cataleptic fits, the single-tax scheme is the most ludicrous. Time is worse than wasted in bothering with any scheme that is so devoid of a foundation upon which to build that after a half century of effort it can command neither a following nor a hearing.

It is to be hoped the Clarion editor will, in the future refrain from allowing his freakish tendencies to get the upper hand to the extent of indulging in the unseemly spectacle of “rag chewing” over nothing, with nothing and about nothing. It is time for repentance, and it should be sincere.

—“Sincere Repentance,” *Western Clarion*, 12 Aug. 1905, 3. See also “Interesting Debate,” *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 6 Aug. 1905, 5.

On a Journey to Seattle

1905

A colourful account by Kingsley of a trip he took from Vancouver, British Columbia, to Seattle, Washington, in September 1905 to deliver two lectures to the Socialist Party of America's Seattle Local.

A Trip to Seattle

Having been booked by Local Seattle, to speak at two public meetings in that city on Sunday, Sept. 24th, I boarded the C. P. R. steamer Princess Victoria, Saturday, September 23, at 1 o'clock, p.m., for the purpose of keeping the engagement. Both gulf and sound were as placid as a mill-pond, and the weather being pleasant, the trip proved a delightful one. While passing the mouth of the Fraser River, the scene was enlivened by the jumping of innumerable salmon, and the lazy but graceful antics of a school of whales as they would come to the surface to "blow," before again sinking to the depths below.

The steamer stopped at Victoria one hour and forty-five minutes, which was taken advantage of by a hasty visit to Comrades Mr. and Mrs. Stott, late of Winnipeg, Man., but who have recently pitched their tent in the Capital City. Leaving Victoria at 6:15 p.m., the lights of Seattle were sighted shortly before 11 o'clock, and soon after, the steamer was fast to her dock. The brilliant illumination of leading hotels, and other prominent buildings of Seattle affords a pleasing sight when viewed from an approaching vessel.

Upon landing, I was fortunate securing a pilot in the person of Comrade J. N. Boulton, recently of Vancouver, who succeeded in piloting me through as noisy a band of bedlamites as it ever was my bad fortune to encounter, who with lust lung extended to the wayfarer the freedom of the city and vociferously besought him to partake of her bounties as offered for his delectation by the various hostelries for which they respectively raised their infernal din. Successfully escaping their good-will offerings, however, I at last cast anchor in a humble First Avenue joint, where for the paltry sum of one

dollar I secured a fair sized and reasonably furnished room for the night. The proprietor kindly allowed me the privilege of fighting mosquitoes until breakfast time the next morning without extra charge. During my occupancy of these quarters, I truly led the "strenuous life." When daylight flooded my boudoir, it showed the premises well littered with the mortal remains of defunct "skeeters," and the bed linen looked as though it might have served as bandages at the Battle of Mukden.¹ The exposed parts of my anatomy especially the top of my head where I wear my hair short, was as covered with red blotches as though I was suffering from hog cholera.

Seattle is a good town to strike on Sunday and other dry times. The way-farer with parched and rusty throat will find no Lord's Day Alliance barring his approach to the soothing flood for which his gullet hankereth. If he desires to fumigate his person, and circumjacent space, with the fumes of the fragrant weed, he can provide himself with the necessary equipment without being compelled to purchase a meal. All of which is quite a relief to one who has lived for any length of time among the God-fearing and hypocritical humbugs that rule Vancouver.

I found the Seattle Comrades comfortably quartered in a commodious headquarters and reading room at 406 Pine Street. The reading room is on the ground floor of the building and therefore easy to locate. It appeared to be well patronized by an earnest and well-balanced lot of workingmen.

The propaganda meetings are held in a commodious, well-lighted and well-ventilated hall in the second storey of the same building. The afternoon meeting was attended by about 200 people and the evening meeting by fully 450. Close attention was given to the arguments offered, and the general tone and trend of the questions put to the speaker showed the audience to have been composed largely of persons familiar with the phenomena of capitalism, and by no means unacquainted with the revolutionary impulse that is impelling the workers to break the chains of wage-bondage. While an occasional feedable wail is heard from some poor unfortunate grievously infected

¹ The Battle of Mukden was the most decisive land battle of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5) and the largest land battle in world history up to that point in time, marking a decisive turning point in the conflict that culminated in Japan's victory and Russia's humiliating defeat to a non-European power. The battle occurred in February and March 1905, several months before Kingsley's speaking trip to Seattle.

with the “industrial microbe,” the movement in Seattle in the main appears to be forging ahead upon sound and clean-cut lines. It seems to be in the hands of the proletarian element, the “intellectual would-be’s” and their baneful influences relegated to the back-ground. The program made during the last few years, towards clearing away confusion, and establishing the movement along sound lines, is particularly noticeable in Seattle. The comrades are to be congratulated upon the good work done. It will be unnecessary to urge them to continue, as in the make-up of the Socialist no provision has been made for stopping his machinery. It is bound to keep on going.

Carrying with me the fraternal greetings of the Seattle comrades to those of British Columbia, I boarded the steamer at midnight for the return trip, and once more cast anchor for the daily grind in the Clarion office at 11 a.m. on Monday the 25th, fully conscious, not only of having had an enjoyable trip, but that the movement of the proletariat along the pathway leading to labor’s emancipation is forging ahead in other lands as well as British Columbia.

E. T. Kingsley

—“A Trip to Seattle,” *Western Clarion* (Vancouver), 30 Sept. 1905, 4.

On the Arrest of US Labour Leaders and State Power

1906

Editorial presumably by Kingsley following the arrest in 1906 of Western Federation of Miners leaders William D. "Big Bill" Haywood, Charles H. Moyer, and George A. Pettibone, on trumped-up murder charges in relation to the killing of former Idaho governor Frank Steunenberg.

A Question of Power

If any further proof was necessary to sustain the contention of the Socialist that in the last analysis all law is purely a question of power, that proof has been furnished by action of the Colorado and Idaho officials in the seizure and kidnapping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. Counsel for the prosecution has admitted in open court that there was no legal means that could have been used to bring the accused men into the State of Idaho, and that as in the opinion of the prosecution, law was in this particular [instance] defective, kidnapping was resorted to in order to further the ends of justice. There being no legal means of bringing the accused men within the clutch of the Idaho authorities, the officials of the two States did not for a moment hesitate to engage in a conspiracy to effect their purpose, and they did it with as little compunction of conscience and with as much zest as a gang of footpads might plan a hold-up. The entire affair has not been one of established legal procedure, but merely an instance of the brutal and conscienceless exercise of power that has always been displayed by those who have been foisted in to the position of rulers of men. Law is a grotesque farce, valuable only as a means of gulling those easily gullible ones upon whom human vultures prey. The superstitious reverence for it, and the abiding faith in its potency and power to shield him from harm are among the most absurd hallucinations that ever lodged in the mind of man. This superstition and abiding faith must be broken in the minds of the working class before it can

ever attain to the dignity of a class of free men. The officials of Colorado and Idaho and their ilk elsewhere, are doing all that lies in their power to destroy that superstition and shatter that faith. Whether intentional or not their work is excellent in this respect.

Much adverse comment has been indulged in, even by the Socialist press, of the famous declaration of independence uttered by the notorious military strut and swashbuckler, General Sherman Bell of Colorado fame. When that gallant hero of the Rooseveltian brand said "to hell with the constitution, we'll give them postmortems instead," he was as correct in stating the true position of a class in power as he was blunt and to the point in phraseology. Acting as the tool of a class in human society, he was perfectly justified in relegating to perdition any ridiculous laws or musty parchments flaunted in his face to frighten him from his purpose. There was evidently no superstitious reverence for grotesque concoctions and contraptions in the make-up of this valiant warrior.

It is not the law that holds Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone in custody, nor is it the law that can effect their release. They are held by the power represented by the executive machinery of the State, with its ruffianly police, sheriffs, military and other cutthroats. If these men escape with their lives it will be through fear, upon the part of the rulers and their ruffianly tools, of stirring to action a mightier power than even that of the State in its present hands. Were there no more fear of a working class uprising now, than there was when the so-called Chicago anarchists were murdered by the ruling class some 20 years ago, Moyer and his comrades would without doubt be likewise dealt with. The undisguised contempt for law displayed by the present rulers and their ruffianly tools should go far towards cultivating a similar contempt in the minds of the working class both for the law and its makers. True it is that so long as the power to enforce it remains in the hands of the master class, the workers will be compelled to bow in submission to capitalist law. Once the working class has conquered the power to enforce its will such law will be as unceremoniously brushed aside when found to stand in the way, as it now is by its capitalist sponsors. The power to enforce that which at a given moment will conserve a propertied interest, and not what may have been previously written upon parchment in regard to the matter, is the keynote. Hence power to do, is the only law that cuts any figure in the case. This power to-day rests in the hands of that class who would hang every workingman of the type of Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone, etc., were

they not held back by the fear that an aroused working-class might strip this power from their hands. Until the working-class does take the powers of the State from the hands of the present rulers, and uses those powers to chase the whole thieving gang out of their control of industry, the infamies practiced upon the workers and those who lift their voices in their behalf will continue. And to tell the truth they should continue. The class that has the power to feed, clothe and shelter all people, must of necessity possess the power to determine what shall be done with the product. Place no faith in the law, you workingmen, unless it be the law of your class, and with all of the power of your class behind it to enforce it.

Above everything else workingmen should remember that the production and disposition of the material things of life are not determined by sentiment, love, justice, law or religion, but by power. The power to grow is the law of growth. The power to live is the law of life. The power to rule is the law of rule. The power to be free is the law of freedom, and none of these are man-made laws. Workingmen, if you would be free, you must seize the powers of the State in order to break your economic chains. It is purely a question of power.

—“A Question of Power,” *Western Clarion*, 31 Mar. 1906, 2.

On the Socialist Movement and Travels across Canada

1908

Two articles by Kingsley published in the *Western Clarion* during his 1908 trip across Canada, where he participated in dozens of propaganda and organizing meetings on behalf the Socialist Party of Canada between the Rocky Mountains and Montreal.

On the Firing Line

Dear Comrade:

More than a month has elapsed since I was banished from the Pacific slope by the Dominion Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Canada and bade go forth and deliver the “glad tidings of great joy” to the “weary and heavy laden,” who wander aimlessly in the capitalist jungle afar to the eastward of that seat of learning in matters economic and political known as the *Western Clarion* office, Vancouver, B. C. The month has been filled with many happy surprises; it has been replete with most satisfactory experiences, for it has disclosed to me the fact that those workers of the eastern and middle provinces who, from our lofty British Columbia pinnacle, we have fancied to be wandering aimlessly in the jungle of capitalist confusion, have not been working at that particular trade with anything like the diligence we imagined. Go where you will among them and you will discover the same pronounced resentment against the present regime; the same rapidly developing spirit of revolt against class rule and class exploitation that is so strongly in evidence along the Pacific Coast. They are being rapidly taught the revolutionary doctrine that can alone arm them for successful battle against their despotic economic masters,

the capitalist class. They are being taught by the same force, economic pressure, and in the only school in which man ever learns anything, the school of experience. The curriculum is much the same in the east as in the west. It is modified in case of the east by the fact that the economic sub-soil is more largely agricultural and, therefore, conservative, thus affording a prolific crop of patriotism, religious bigotry and other similar noxious growths. These needs are particularly noticeable here in Ontario. In making the distinction between the east and west, I am using the rocky mountains as the dividing line.

As far as I have been able to judge from observation, the manufacturing concerns throughout this part of Canada are small, in comparison with those of the United States. In consequence the social contrasts are not so pronounced. The class lines are not so sharply drawn, so glaringly apparent. The noxious growths above mentioned tend to still further obscure them. But in spite of it all the slaves are waking up. They are opening their eyes to the facts that confront them and their ears to the sound of the coming storm. One thing I have particularly noticed is that they respond only to the revolutionary note. To platitudes and other soft stuff they are indifferent. Touch the revolutionary chord and they respond with a vigor that is unmistakable.

At Calgary we had a splendid meeting. About 1000 people were present. It was a working class audience and one typical of the financial status of that class in the glorious Christian times. The collection was less than one-half the hall rent alone, to say nothing about other unavoidable expenses.

At Winnipeg, as already stated by one of your correspondents, many could not find seats in the hall. The interest manifested in both places was good. The comrades of Calgary and Winnipeg have evidently already planted much seed and planted it well.

The banner meeting of the trip so far was at Port Arthur. About 2,000 were present. The ground here has already been ploughed up by Comrade L. T. English, who has been located at Port Arthur for some time

There is also a strong Finnish Local at Port Arthur which has been doing valiant work for the cause. The Finnish choir took part in the meeting by singing the Marseillaise and the International. It was

magnificent and greatly appreciated by the big audience. The President of the Fort William Trades Council and officers of the Port Arthur Trades Council briefly addressed the meeting and their words have the true ring. I look forward to good meetings at both places on my return west.

The first Sunday I was in Toronto the meeting was held in Labor Hall in the afternoon. Neath a glass roof under a broiling June sun 600 people sat for over two hours and drank in every word that fell from the lips of the various speakers, with evidently no thoughts of the discomforts arising from the sweltering heat. Only those who were wrapped up in a great cause could or would have stood it. But, as we all know, revolutionists are made only of good stuff. Having been tried in the crucible of capitalist exploitation and not found wanting in manly fibre and courage, something more terrible than a June sun is required to rout them.

Montreal, Cobalt, Allandale, Hamilton, Berlin, Galt, Guelph and other places have been visited and meetings held, most of them have been out-of-door meetings, but the interest manifested has been most satisfactory. In each of the places visited there is a valiant band of comrades tireless in their efforts to push the work along. Many good speakers are being developed and the material thus made available to carry the propaganda and organisation into places as yet untouched. Though there is a large field to be covered and an enormous work to be done ere [*sic*] the exploited and tortured slaves of capital shall rid themselves of their chains. The men to carry forward the work to a successful conclusion are coming forth from the ranks of the slaves in ever increasing numbers. With a zeal that shrinks at no obstacles and knows no defeat, this ever increasing host is pushing forward to the ultimate and speedy triumph of the exploited slaves of capital against their unscrupulous and rapacious masters. Many of these masters even now see the handwriting upon the wall.

A meeting here to-night.

E. T. K.
Lindsay, Ont.

Notes by the Way²

I last wrote from Lindsay, Ont. It is a far cry from that place to this Alberta metropolis. A good part of the distance is across about as worthless a region as can be found on the map. Along the north shore of Lake Superior it is rock and muskeg, a combination shunned by about every animal in the category, except that brilliant specimen, the wage-slave, who would cheerfully go to hell itself if its brimstone deposits could be used as a means of squeezing a little profit out of his foul carcass for his capitalist masters. Out of the arid, wind-swept alkali plains of southern Saskatchewan also cometh the wage-slave's twin, the horny-handed agriculturist and the stagger that he is making at accumulating wealth from its worthless soil is pitiful in the extreme. Where he has succeeded in rooting up a little patch and planting it to wheat the crop looks that sickly and pitiful that one can readily imagine what the agriculturist himself will look like after the crop has been harvested and turned over to the owners, the allied brigands known as the capitalist class.

If the crop of this glorious northwest is to be estimated by what can be seen along the C.P.R. from Winnipeg to here it will prove to be a slim one. Much of it along the road appears to be scarce worth harvesting. All the blow and bombast about the potentiality of this glorious Canadian northwest can safely be discounted about 75 per cent, and then some, and still remain an exaggeration.

The Socialist movement in Ontario is coming rapidly to the front. A rigorous band of agitators and speakers is already in evidence and its numbers are being constantly increased. The industrial depression is severely felt throughout the province owing to the large number of industrial establishments affected by it. The pressure thus brought to bear upon the workers tends to put them in a mood receptive to the revolutionary doctrine of their class. The growth of the movement is thus hastened by the pressure of hard times.

The movement in Manitoba seems to be as yet practically confined to Winnipeg, but here it is well advanced and revolutionary to the core.

² E. T. Kingsley, "Notes by the Way," *Western Clarion*, 15 Aug. 1908, 1.

In fact the workers everywhere seem to have gotten past the stage of belief in palliative and reform measures. They will only respond when the revolutionary chord is struck.

The meetings in Winnipeg were well attended and a splendid interest manifested. In Comrade John Houston the workingmen of Winnipeg have a candidate for the Ottawa house that they cannot afford to see defeated. He is a sterling character of that type that at once commands confidence and respect, and besides this he is unmistakably proletarian. The vote he will poll will make the capitalist bunch sit up and take notice.

Comrade Houston tells of an interview he had with a cook who had been employed at one of the G. T. P. [Grand Trunk Pacific] construction camps. When he took the job he found the storehouse filled with an excellent stock of provisions. Upon making inquiry of the contractor as to how he wanted the men fed, he was told to "feed them well, because men cannot work unless they have plenty of good food." This being such a remarkable way for a contractor to view things, the cook took occasion to mention that though he had cooked in camp for a good many years he had never received such orders before. "That is all right," replied the contractor. "You will see what is in the storehouse. Go ahead and feed the men. Feed them well, for that is all they are going to get." He evidently had wages down to the irreducible minimum.

I also note that the G. T. P. construction has solved the liquor problem. A Winnipeg paper recently made note of the fact that workers on this construction work were strictly sober. In fact they had become teetotalers for the reason that owing to the industrial depression, wages had fallen so low that after board, etc., was paid, there was nothing left with which to purchase booze and that even to pay their board, etc., they had to work a little overtime. The booze joints along the line had to go out of business. Now that this happy solution of the drink evil has been discovered, our prohibition friends may take a well-earned rest from their arduous labors in striving to have the liquor business knocked out by law. The G. T. P. "hath shown us the better way."

It is to be hoped this lead will be followed up by such further reduction of wages as will result in wearing the workingman from such other expensive and injurious habits as he may still possess. For instance, his

tobacco could be cut off with physical profit to himself and pecuniary profit to his employer. And then there are other things, but what's the one? A splendid field of speculation opens before us but it must be left to another time. The anguish caused by a realization of the awful wrong that has been perpetrated upon the employers all of these years because the wage-slave has drawn sufficient wages to enable him to indulge in booze and other sinful things is almost overwhelming. I would be tempted to drown that anguish in the "flowing bowl" only that I haven't the price. This again shows that the lack of cash is a great moral uplift. It should be encouraged in every way.

Good meeting here last night. I go to Bankhead and Canmore to-morrow, to Edmonton on Saturday next and thence south and into B.C.

The Alberta Provincial Executive Committee held its first meeting last night. It will soon get down to systematic and effective work.

E. T. K.

Calgary, Alta., Aug 3, 1908.

—E. T. Kingsley, "On the Firing Line," *Western Clarion*, 4 July 1908, 1, 4.

On War

1909

Editorial by Kingsley in the *Western Clarion* in 1909 discussing war and international relations from a class standpoint—five years prior to the outbreak of the First World War.

War Is Hell, for Workers

If we are to believe even half we hear through the jingo press and from patriotic spouters of bombast, war is imminent between Great Britain and Germany. These thimble-riggers would lead us to expect to hear the tocsin of war sounded at any moment by that spectacular accident known as “Kaiser Bill,” or the “war lord” of Germany. But before the working people of either country allow themselves to be carried off their feet by the reckless and worthless benchmen of the ruling class they should ascertain what logical reason exists why they should fly at one another’s throats like savage beasts on slaughter bent.

The British ruling class has ground the workers into profits by the wage process for the past half dozen centuries. So complete and thorough has been their exploitation that millions of them have been reduced to a level even below that of galley-slaves. Untold millions of wealth has been coined from their blood and sweat under the lash of capitalist rule. This wealth has been spread to the four corners of the earth in the shape of further investments for the benefit of the conscienceless and merciless bunch of capitalist pirates and bandits at whose instigation the present war scare is being engineered. What may be said of the British ruling class in this respect may also be said of the German ruling class, and with equal truth.

Between British and German capitalists there may exist a conflict of interest that could result in nothing short of open hostilities. That this conflict of interest is of no concern to the working class or either Britain or Germany may be easily seen by enquiry into the facts bearing upon the matter. In order to dispose of the surplus wealth accruing to British capitalists by virtue of

the merciless exploitation of their workingmen, it becomes necessary to find additional or new markets into which this wealth may be thrown and thus transformed into new capital. With the German capitalists the case is the same. Neither gang of pirates can successfully pursue their buccaneering enterprises unless a continually enlarging market be at hand. As that portion of the earth's surface available for the purpose of this delightful game is limited, a clash is bound to occur sooner or later from the fact that each gang of pirates will be forced to struggle for the same territory in which to dispose of their stolen wares.

If victory perches upon the side of British capital and the coveted markets be held for British trade, German industry will, of necessity, be crippled in its operations, and vice versa. Whichever way it goes the slaves of the particular gang of capitalists which is getting the worst of it will be laid off or discharged outright and thus afford a prolific source from which the victorious capitalist gang may draw goodly supplies of cheap labor wherewith to beat down the wage of its own workmen and thus keep them in that condition of meekness and humility so vitally necessary to the proper observance of the scriptural injunction: "Servants, obey your masters."

No matter which way the fortunes of trade may flow, the workers get the worst of the deal. Let a given country forge to the front by conquering new territories (markets) for its capitalist class and the tendency of labor to flow in that direction is soon manifest. This will continue until labor conditions in the favored country have been brought down to the normal level under the rule of capital; and that level is the line of subsistence even at the best. In times of general depression it sinks below that level as millions of workers can, at the present, truthfully testify.

When the capitalists of any country fancy their interests can be advanced by war with some other country they endeavor to stir the passion and prejudice of their slaves to the point of going forth to battle. And when the fool slaves have been wrought up to the pitch of wallowing in gore at their masters' request, the aforesaid masters will be found snugly ensconced behind their ledgers busily figuring up how much profit they stand to make out of the murderous business.

Whenever an attempt to stir up a war scare is made by the ruling class through its reptile press, loud-mouthed toadies and hypocritical lickspittles, it is safe to assume that some ulterior motive lies behind the scheme. Some capitalist interest is to be conserved either by a conquest of further territory

or a more complete riveting of the chains upon the limbs of slaves already in leash. And the prince of all fools is the slave who will voluntarily bear arms in the cause that holds him in chains and sucks his blood.

Every war of modern times has been a war of conquest. Should a war break out between any two nations of the earth today, it would bear the same ear-marks. The workers of the world are interested in no war of conquest, except it be to conquer their freedom from wage slavery. If the masters of one country desire war with those of another land, let them have it and to their hearts' content, but let no workingmen shed the blood of his fellow in such an inglorious cause.

The interests of the workingmen of all lands lie in the direction of the overthrow of capital and the ending of its baneful rule, so that peace may dwell upon the earth and fraternity and good fellowship become the order of the day. Out upon this warfare business. It is fostered by business for the purpose of inducing fools to shed their blood in the interest of our bargain counter capitalists, the most vulgar ruling class that ever fastened itself, like vermin, upon mankind.

E. T. K.

—E. T. Kingsley, "War Is Hell, for Workers," *Western Clarion*, 1 May 1909, 1.

On the Vancouver Free Speech Fight

1909

Article by Kingsley in the midst of the Vancouver Free Speech Fight of 1909, a clash between leftists and municipal authorities over the use of public streets for political speech.

Propaganda Zeal of City Officials

Realizing the Ineffectiveness of Purely Academic and Theoretical Discussion City Officials of Vancouver Take to Clinch the Arguments of Socialist Street Speakers by "Propaganda of the Deed"

Everyone who has had experience along the line of arousing the workers to a realization of the slavish position they occupy in capitalist society and stirring them to action in defence of their own class interests, knows how difficult it is to attain results in any manner encouraging, through mere academic or theoretical discussion. Like the man from "Missouri," the average workingman must be shown. He must have some concrete expression of a truth before he will accept it. Though speakers and writers galore may explain to him that government from top to bottom is a means whereby the ruling class enforces its domination and ownership of the working class, it must be demonstrated to him in such a manner that he can feel it before he will believe it. A few cracks over the head by a policeman's baton, or a term in the "chaingang," will afford more convincing argument than the combined verbosity and erudition of all the soapboxers that ever sawed the air.

Carrall street, in this city, around the vicinity of Hastings and Cordova has long been dedicated to the use of street speakers, street fakers and Salvation Army vaudeville. Peddlers of ointment for the body or balm for the soul, have been free to dispose of their wares, and he who fancied himself possessed of a message to be delivered to his fellows, either relating to mundane or heavenly matters, has been at liberty to get it off his chest at this favored

spot. As far as we know, the only person who has felt particularly aggrieved over the doings around this particular locality is the master of the infernal regions, whom report hath it is much annoyed because of the raucous noises produced from the instruments manipulated by the S. A. vaudeville artists.

Evidently realizing the inefficiency of the Socialist propaganda carried on at this point, the city officials have recently taken the necessary measures to make it properly effective. In other words, they have suddenly become zealous and active in such "propaganda of the deed," as will clinch the arguments of the soapbox orator and drive his truths home in the mind of the wage animal whose hide has hitherto been impervious to the shafts of argument and reason. Not long since six workingmen who were addressing the workers at the corner of Carrall and Hastings street were ordered to disperse themselves into circumjacent space. Refusing to do so, their names were taken by the cop delegated to open up the new propaganda. The next day they were summoned before the "beak." One was fined five dollars. The others were dismissed for the reason that the magistrate was not sure of having made a correct guess as to the innocence or guilt of the first one. The matter was then passed up to the Supreme Court, where a similar guess was made to that of the police court. The five dollar fine was then paid. Also the costs of making both guesses.

The next individual with the gall to get up on that comer to speak to the workers was hauled into court and soaked \$100. This time it being no guess but a sure thing, the chance was too good to be lost.

The next culprit was a Comrade who, after some other speakers had finished addressing a crowd, took occasion to seize the opportunity to announce a meeting the following Sunday night at the Cameraphone theatre. One of the city's propagandists, a big, fat policeman, was promptly on hand and took the Comrade's name. Rumor hath it that a summons is even now wandering around town in search of the culprit.

These arbitrary acts of the police authorities, coupled with a number of outrageous decisions relating particularly to juvenile offenders, dragged into the police court within recent months, resulted in the calling of a public meeting at the City Hall on Monday evening, May 17, for the purpose of calling attention to these matters. The hall was packed to the doors. A number of city "sleuths" were on hand to size up the proceedings, presumably for the purpose of reporting to the officials as to the success of the new propaganda.

From the temper of the meeting, it would seem quite certain that their most sanguine expectations must have been realized.

At this meeting Comrade L. T. English announced that he would address a meeting on the street at the old corner on the following evening, either with or without the consent of the police. This announcement was greeted with an enthusiasm that portended that all hands would be there.

The meeting was held as promised. At least 1000 persons were present. A sergeant and four policemen made their appearance, and the speaker was ordered to stop speaking. This he refused to do. His name was then demanded. He promptly told the sergeant it was none of his business. The five of them thereupon waddled solemnly up the street like a flock of fat ducks. The meeting then went on without further interruption.

Whether the wise city officials will continue in their zeal to further the good work of showing to the workingmen of this city that they are merely the agents of the master class and kept for the sole purpose of holding the workers in subjection, we know not. But whatever they may in their wisdom see fit to do to further the good cause of educating the workers along the lines necessary to their deliverance from capitalist bondage, we shall welcome as worthy effort generously contributed to a good cause. If they push forward the "propaganda of the deed" as earnestly and zealously as we shall push forward the propaganda of the written and spoken word, that capitalist class that owns both city official and "wage plug" will speedily be put "hors de combat."

Let the good work go on.

E. T. K.

—"Propaganda Zeal of City Officials," *Western Clarion*, 22 May 1909, 1, 4.

On Property

1911

A further elucidation of Kingsley's views on property, published in the *Western Clarion* in 1911.

Property

Otherwise Than It Appears at First Sight

A conception of property that is quite common is that, at least in many instances, it is something that once created is handed down from generation to generation. This may in a sense be true, but a careful scrutiny of the case will show the value supposed to be attached to property in natural resources, and machinery of production, to be located in quite a different place, and these forms of property being merely the means of obtaining control or possession of it.

Landed property may be handed down from generation to generation. Land, however, of itself possesses no exchange value, no matter how richly stored with natural resources. It is the presence of a working population that gives to land its exchange value. The exchange value of land taken as a general proposition, is determined by the amount of surplus value the owner may be able to extract from the workers who carry on industry by converting its resources into usable, or at least, saleable things. Land, therefore, without exchange value itself, becomes an instrument by means of which the owner is enabled to transfer the exchange values produced by working people into his own possession, without anything in return. Land which the owner set aside for individual use does not so figure, because it is not a part of the means of production in the capitalist sense, while so used. Capitalist property in the instruments of wealth production, factories, mills, railroads, etc., is purely the product of labor. It is continually undergoing the process of reproduction, even the more durable portion of it being entirely replaced by new at least every few years. The life-time of the more durable parts of it is only prolonged even these few years at the expense of new labor expended upon it continually in the shape of repairs.

The vast property in the shape of food, clothing, etc. the things of daily consumption, is produced and re-produced each year, and much of it several times during that period.

Capitalist property is purely an instrument for the purpose of controlling labor, the only force that creates wealth from the earth's resources, and transferring the wealth so created into the possession of capitalists without cost to them. The value or capitalization of any capitalist concern is determined by the amount of labor it can command, and the magnitude of the surplus value it can pilfer from it.

The bonds, stocks, title deeds and other evidences or certificates of capitalist property that are transferred from hand to hand, or passed downwards from generation to generation, are merely title deeds to Labor. In the factories, mills and sweatshops of the capitalist inferno these deeds are put on record in the sweat and blood of slaves.

Once capitalist property is stripped of all sham and pretense, and its hideous nakedness exposed to the working people, its victims, the superstitious reverence for it will of necessity speedily vanish. They will be only too willing to abolish it, and substitute the Socialist system of property under which labor shall be free. Then will property become what it should be, a means of securing the comforts and protection of those who create it.

The function of capitalist government is to defend the present system of property regardless of its terrible consequences to mankind. In so doing they act without scruple and without conscience. In fact, scruple and conscience are not attributes of material interest. Let no one be disturbed over the question of whether it be right or wrong for the present system to continue, or another take its place. It is purely a question of power, egged on by material class interest. So long as the capitalist class interest can marshal to its support the control of the legislative, executive and judicial powers of government, it will demonstrate its system of property to be right, against all who may dispute the claim.

When the working class aroused to its material interest shall, through the exercise of its political rights, have marshalled these powers in its behalf, it will, in equally convincing manner, demonstrate the capitalist system of property to be wrong and relegate it to the oblivion which it is so eminently qualified to adorn.

E. T. K.

—“Property,” *Western Clarion*, 14 Jan. 1911, 1.

On the Workers' Awakening

1911

An article by Kingsley published in the *Western Clarion* in 1911 examining working-class consciousness and political action in the context of capitalist exploitation.

The Worker's Awakening

For centuries the workers of the world have bowed their necks to the yoke of slavery in one form or another. They have plodded wearily along the pathway of existence bearing the burdens of civilization upon their slavish backs and always subject to the masters' lash if, perchance, they faltered in the task. Usually their submission has been of the stupid, sullen kind that will not allow of its victim rising above the level of the horse or ass that balks in harness when the burden becomes unbearable, instead of dumping the load and kicking the driver to smithereens. Evidence, however, is by no means lacking to show that a change is coming over the spirit of the workingman's dream. He is evidently awakening to at least some sort of a comprehension of the wrongs perpetrated upon him by those who have set themselves, in authority to rule over him. He is beyond question cultivating a healthy determination to do something more drastic than merely to balk in harness and patiently submit to the lash being applied to his quivering flesh.

It is particularly noticeable that in the event of a strike, at least of any proportions, there is an ever-increasing sentiment finding expression for something entirely outside of and away from the mere matter of an increase in wages or more tolerable conditions of slavery in general. The determination to end the wage system by the complete overthrow of the rule of capital each day finds a more clear expression. Even the careless observer of passing events can scarce fail to notice it.

Time was, and not many years since, when it was almost as much as one's life was worth to apply the term slaves to a bunch of workingmen. It is now quite the common thing for them so to designate themselves. This realization

of their status under capitalist civilization is one of the most cheering signs of the times. It affords most convincing evidence of an awakening of labor that portends no end of trouble for the sleek, well-fed pirates and swashbucklers that constitute the present ruling class. At least no end of trouble until the sceptre of power has been stripped from their bloody hands and the reign of capital brought to an inglorious finish.

Everywhere the workers are turning their attention more and more to the conquest of the capitalist state. They are recognizing the state to be the sole bulwark of capitalist property. They see in it, and correctly, too, the instrument by means of which the capitalists maintain their title of ownership in the means of production and their consequent power to rule and rob the working class.

The determination of the workers to conquer the state and use its organized powers for the purpose of striking the fetters of wage slavery from their limbs by the abolition of capitalist property, marks the awakening of labor. Fully aroused to the necessity of action in its own behalf the working class will speedily solve the problem of what to do with the resources of the earth and the instruments of production so as to admit of human society moving forward to a saner and more decent civilization.

Capitalist civilization is today rotten to the core. The chronicle of daily events is but a disgusting story of vice, crime, corruption, graft, chicanery, pollution and fraud unspeakable. A slave civilization, it cannot rise above the level of that from which it springs. It is up to the slave to break his chains and by so doing relegate to oblivion the most hypocritical and vulgar ruling class that has ever cursed the earth with its presence.

The proletarian battalions are marshalling for the fray. Labor is awakening to the task in hand. In the conquest of the state by the proletariat and the use of its powers to abolish capital and the wage slavery from which it sucks its sustenance, lies the hope of the future.

And the proletariat is awakening. Speed the day of its triumph.

K.

—“The Worker’s Awakening,” *Western Clarion*, 29 Apr. 1911, 1.

On Economic Organization

1911

An article by Kingsley published in the *Western Clarion* in 1911 examining the topic of economic organization of society and of the working class, responding to the rising current of industrial unionism among British Columbia workers with the formation and growth of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), which provided an alternate pole of attraction for working-class sympathies and activism to Kingsley's SPC.

Economic Organization

The reading of the history of mankind from the materialist standpoint shows the trend of industrial evolution to have continually been in the direction of a more perfect, complete and powerful organization of the powers of wealth production, i. e., more efficient economic organization. The purpose lying behind this development, and in obedience to the irresistible force of which it has been pushed forward, is, evidently, that of enabling mankind to supply itself with the material requisites for its comfort and well-being with the least possible expenditure of human energy. Men, either as individuals or aggregations of individuals, have been but instruments in the hands of the underlying forces that have pushed humanity along the pathway of material progress. That they have turned things to their own advantage in many cases, and away from the really proper and beneficent purpose of the general well-being, is undoubtedly true, but that the ultimate outcome of all of the turmoil, agony and travail of past and present times will be the eventual uplift of the race to a greater degree of comfort, happiness and general well-being, would seem to be equally beyond question.

The organization of the powers of wealth production, i. e., the economic organization of human society, is rapidly approaching that degree of perfection where it can no longer be held in subjection and subservience to the whim or caprice of anything less than the whole people acting together in the common interest. In fact it can no longer be kept from performing its

proper function of providing human society, even down to its humblest unit, with the material requisites to a full, fair and healthful existence, in return for services rendered in the interest of the commonweal.

There is evidence upon every hand to show the near approach of the collapse of the present or capitalist control of the economic organization and its assumption by human society as a whole for the common good. That this impending change will be effected by the action of the working class does not in the least alter the facts in the case. The victory of the working class in the impending conflict with the capitalist class merely signifies the application of the benefits arising from the highly developed and powerful economic organization, to all of the members of human society, instead of to a favored few as at present.

To effect this change, so imperatively demanded by the needs of the hour, necessitates the conquest, by the working class, of that sole point of vantage from which the ownership—and therefore control—of economic organization and power can be dictated and enforced. This point of vantage is government, the organized power of the state. It is this power alone which today withholds, from all but a favored few, any participation in the benefits arising from the powerful modern economic organization. It is the power that holds intact the present or capitalist form of property in the means of wealth production, and thus preserves to the capitalists the control of economic power and the absorption of the wealth arising from its exercise. It is the power that holds the working class in its present condition of economic bondage, or wage-servitude. It is the power that must be broken before the present economic organization of human society, the product of centuries of development, can be put to its proper use of lightening the burden of toil upon the shoulders of the individual man.

Individual zealots, who are carried off their feet by sudden waves of enthusiasm brought on by Utopian visions of glorious prospects opened to their admiring gaze by the magic wand of their own conceit, would build what they term “economic organization” in which the workers are to be “drilled” for the task of “taking over and successfully operating” the industries, when capitalism shall, by some mysterious process, have been overthrown. These worthies, however, overlook the fact that the only possible, or even thinkable, economic organization already exists and the workers have grown up with it; have been drilled into its operation, and today are operating it with all the measure of success possible under its present form of

ownership and control. That these workers have little or no participation in the accruing benefits, does not arise from their lack of ability to operate, but in the capitalists' power to apply these benefits to other purposes. The action by the working class that is necessary in order to deprive the capitalists of the power to thus appropriate the fruits of industry to their own purposes, has already been mentioned and needs no further elaboration. It is so palpably self-evident that it could not well escape the notice of any one with his eyes open.

E. T. Kingsley

—"Economic Organization," *Western Clarion*, July 1911, 18–20.

On the Capitalist State

1911

Article by Kingsley in the *Western Clarion* in 1911 examining the capitalist state and considerations relating to the working-class seizure of power in Canada and the United States.

The Capitalist State

The Sole Instrument by Means of Which the Present Ruling Class Maintains Its Economic Dominion Over the Working Class and Gathers Rich Profits From Its Exploitation

In their struggles against the exactions of their employers, many workingmen are prone to overlook one point of vantage possessed by employers, the possession of which renders their position invulnerable against all attacks made upon them in the field of industry. This point of vantage is the State. True it is that the State had its inception in the needs of a ruling class. It was born and has grown to its present maturity, as the instrument whereby a ruling class could hold in subjection those over whom it desired to exercise authority. It is a means of representation and subjugation. It is an Institution inconceivable except in a society based upon slavery in some form or other.

The present State is essentially the instrument or means whereby capitalist property maintains its sway and enforces its scheme of rapine and robbery upon its working class victims. It is only by and through the State that the enslavement of labor can be maintained and enforced. So long as the State remains in control of the capitalists, it stands to reason that it will be used solely for the purpose of conserving the interests of that class in human society, by holding the workers in subjection to that exploitation from which all profits arise.

The State is not, as so many suppose, an impartial something that stands between warring individuals as classes in human society for the purpose of preventing them from cutting each other's throats. It is merely an expression

of organized force to be used by the individual or class that may be in possession of it in such manner as may best conserve his or their interests. Every act of the State is determined by the economic interests of he or they who are, for the time being, in control of its machinery and powers. An excellent illustration of this was afforded a few years since in the persecution of the officials of the Western Federation of Miners. All the powers of the State were used to effect the murder of men who had dared to expend their energy along the lines of a labor movement that seriously threatened the right of Capital to rule and rob. Long established forms of law and methods of procedure were thrown to the winds and brute force brazenly resorted to for the accomplishment of the end in view. That the contemplated murder was not carried out was undoubtedly due to the fact that the interests behind the scheme were held back through fear of such uprising of labor as might sweep the rule of Capital into oblivion. Another equally splendid illustration of the vicious class character of the modern State is afforded in the seizure and imprisonment of the McNamara Brothers. That this is but another attempt to effect the legal murder of men in the Labor movement whose activities are along lines considered dangerous by ruling class interest, must be patent to any one who cares to follow the proceedings of the case. The same brazen disregard of all constitutional rights and previous established procedure; and the same coarse and brutal determination to accomplish the murder of the accused men is evidenced in the case of the McNamara's as in that of the W. F. M. officials in 1907. The only thing that will prevent its consummation will be such an expression of working class solidarity as will make such a consummation too threateningly dangerous.

Be that as it may, however, the fact remains that so long as the capitalists retain undisturbed possession of the machinery of the State, the workers will be clubbed, beaten or shot into subjection whenever they dare to seriously threaten the right of their masters to exploit them to the last drop of juice in their bones.

Determined and persistent assault upon the political entrenchment of capital, i.e. the State by the working class will soon force its surrender. With this instrument in its possession the working class can turn its powers to its own purpose by relegating to the lumber room of history that form of property (capitalist) that today curses the earth by grinding the men, women and children of toll into profit for capitalists. It might even be considered a sort of just retribution were a victorious working class to deal out to the

capitalists themselves some of the State medicine that these ruling class pirates now so lavishly bestow upon their enslaved and exploited victims.

The conquest of the capitalist State by the working class will open the gateway for the transformation of capitalist property into the collective, or common, property of the working class. This will mean the ending of the wage slave system, the last and most merciless and brutal slavery the world has ever known.

With the ending of the rule of capital, “the State will die out,” as Marx and Engels have said. With no longer a ruling class and a class to be ruled it would no longer have a function to perform. It would become obsolete.

In the struggle against the exactions of their masters the workers should never forget that the domination of industry by those masters is due solely to their control of the State. By means of that control they are always in a position whereby they can make and enforce all the rules of the industrial game. This is what is commonly termed the “Law.” That is why capitalists are masters and workers are slaves. Also that is why the slaves always get the worst of it in their struggles for better wages, hours and treatment in general.

But as the workers are many and capitalists few, it would seem that a word to the wise would be quite sufficient. But it is not.

E. T. K.

—“The Capitalist State,” *Western Clarion*, 2 Dec. 1911, 1.

On the Causes of the First World War

1914

This unsigned editorial by Kingsley in the *Western Clarion* in October 1914 resulted in the permanent end to his participation in the newspaper. It was viewed as a betrayal of working-class internationalism and a retreat into “national chauvinism” by many of his comrades in the Socialist Party of Canada.

The Affirmation of “German Culture”

The European war has now been on for a matter of two and a half months. Several hundred thousand men have been put out of commission, either permanently or temporarily. Cities, villages and hamlets have been destroyed and fields laid waste, over vast territories and yet all that has thus far occurred is but the prelude to that which is to follow. The performance thus far has been merely a sort of curtain raiser to the unfolding of the most stupendous and glorious drama of Christian blood and slaughter that has ever edified a cultured, cultivated and God-fearing people.

It is not necessary at this time to refer to any humbug or canting pretense indulged in by any of the Allies in this struggle. Whatever motives, either sordid or altruistic, may be responsible for their actions in the matter, will no doubt be uncovered in course of final settlement. He, however, who is possessed of sporting proclivities may safely offer extremely long odds on the sordid end of the proposition.

We are told that the terrific struggle now going on is that of “German civilization and culture” against the semi-Asiatic barbarism of Russia. At least that seems to be the German version of the affair. Granted that such is the case then we are in a position to be able to judge of the merit of that type or brand of “culture” which the Germans have been so emphatically affirming in Belgium for the last couple of months.

In order to strike a blow at Russian barbarism, “German culture” deemed it necessary to smite France. The French border being heavily fortified it

would be no easy matter to invade France from that quarter, so the effort was made to get into France without cost, by crossing the territory of Belgium, and German "culture" was thus affirmed. The attempt was a coward's trick. It was the effort of a cowardly bully to effect by bluff and bluster something that he had not the courage to attempt by open-handed means. And the attempt failed of its purpose because the Belgians called the bluff and stood up manfully in defense against this cowardly invasion of their territory.

Thus thwarted of their purpose the Germans proceeded to wreak vengeance upon those who had thwarted them. In all the history of savage warfare nothing is recorded more brutal, wanton and cruel than the German occupation and devastation of Belgium. A land laid waste, cities, villages and farmhouses destroyed, non-combatants, peasants, men, women and children murdered or mutilated, these are the tales that come to us and from so many hands and through so many channels that we cannot disbelieve them all, showing how completely and magnificently German "culture" has affirmed itself.

The levying of tribute upon captured towns used to be resorted to by the pirates and buccaneers of the Spanish main. It was by this gentle, refined and courteous method that pirate "culture" affirmed itself in those barbaric and uncivilized days. German "culture" has not only revived the practice, but greatly enlarged it in scope and efficiency.

Some canting hypocrites while condemning the brutal and atrocious conduct of German "culture" in precipitating and carrying on this war attempt to gloss over and excuse the conduct of the German people in connection therewith. They say, "we have no quarrel with the German people; it is German militarism that we condemn." They forget that German militarism cannot exist except by and with the approval of the German people. As far as we have been able to learn, not a single German in the whole lot refused to fight. Apparently they approved of the war and took up arms, at the Kaiser's bidding, solid to a man. The Socialist members of the Reichstag voted the war credits thus assuming their share of the responsibility for the subsequent slaughter and devastation. And Socialist members also went abroad on behalf of the Kaiser's government to induce the workers of other lands to take sides with it in the glorious crusade of blood and butchery on behalf of German "culture."

German militarism is, undoubtedly, the normal and healthy expression of the German people and that, too, in spite of the noisy pretence upon the

part of some four millions of them in being Socialists. They are just as earnestly and zealously engaged in killing the workmen of other lands as though they had never heard of Socialism. They have shown themselves traitors to the international working class and must and should be exterminated the same as any other enemy. Like our Italian comrades, we hope "that those who instigated this war will be crushed by it." Those who aided and abetted it, and still are doing so, are included among the instigation.

Our comrades of Belgium and France are justified in fighting, as they are fighting in self-defence and against "traitor workmen." The triumph of German "culture" would mean for France and Belgium a sinking to the reactionary level of Germany with its workers so obsessed with militarism as to make them traitors to the international working class. There is probably much yet to be desired in the way of democracy in Western Europe, but, even so, political conditions there are preferable to those of any military crazy house like Germany. We hope the Allies succeed in crushing Germany speedily and effectively and that when this is accomplished may they all be so completely broke financially that they will be compelled to forego the continued luxury of those huge military and naval establishments alongside of which "peace" is an impossibility and "good will" a pipe dream.

While German "culture" sits enthroned at Brussels with Belgium prostrate and helpless, not a neutral either hound or pup in the international dog kennel has sand enough in its "innards" to bark out a protest against this brutal outrage upon a fellow neutral. Perhaps it is not so much a lack of sand as a lack of decency. Even now it is not too late for the neutral nations to notify the apostles of German "culture" to vacate the Belgian premises and make good the damage, as far as it can be made good, by payment. A demand of this sort accompanied by a gentle intimation that non-compliance therewith would necessitate the sending of armed forces to aid the Allies in enforcing the demand would in no way tend to prolong the war and its attendant horrors.

It is useless, however, to speculate on such unlikely happenings. There is probably not a neutral in the lot that is actuated by any loftier motive than trying to extract trade chestnuts from the fire without burning its own sordid fingers.

—"The Affirmation of 'German Culture,'" *Western Clarion*, 24 Oct. 1914, 2.

On Carnage

1916

This article by Kingsley was published in the *British Columbia Federationist* in June 1916, tracing parallels between the carnage of war and industrial accidents that threaten the lives and well-being of workers on a day-to-day basis under capitalism.

Killed and Maimed in Peace as in War

Annual Toll on Industrial Battlefield Is Simply Astounding: Profit, Pomp, and Power the Underlying Motive of Industry

Figures recently made public by the Interstate Commerce commission at Washington, show that 2531 persons were killed and 43,518 injured by railroad accidents during the three months ending September 30, 1915. It must be remembered that this did not happen “somewhere in France” during times of war, but in the United States during times of peace. And this killing and maiming has been a result of railway operation alone. Just what the grand total of killed and crippled would be if all other branches of industry had made returns, is not known, but it would certainly have attained no inconsiderable proportions, and might have even given the toll of Mars a close run for supremacy as a quarterly report of blood and butchery.

Industrial Casualties

The terrific loss of life and the crippling and maiming incidental to the boasted industrial processes of today, is truly appalling. The magnitude of it is quite sufficient to prompt us to pause and consider whether the achievements of modern industry are worth the terrible price the workers have to pay for its operation. Not only do they pay with their sweat and agony, but with their very lives as well, and all they get out of it is, at the most, but a

bare and meagre existence, even if they are fortunate enough to escape being maimed, or killed outright.

There is upon this western continent something like 250,000 miles of railway, equipped with hundreds of thousands of locomotives and millions of cars and the other necessary paraphernalia for the handling of traffic. Outside of the railways the industrial machinery of the continent is the most gigantic and powerful on earth.

Is Worker Any Better Off?

The amount of wealth turned out and poured into the world's market is almost beyond computation. And yet we may well ask if the average working man is any better off than his ancestor of two centuries ago? Can the worker make his living any easier than his forebear could back in those days when the production of wealth was still a hand process? Does the enormous volume of wealth now turned out by means of this complicated and powerful industrial establishment, conserve any genuine and healthy human purpose? Does the toting of millions of human beings and countless tons of wealth up and down the length and breadth of the earth, really tend to satisfy any legitimate and worthy human need? Does it in any manner lighten the burden of toil upon human shoulders? Does it increase the well-being of the toilers and widen their opportunities to live, to know and to enjoy? Does all of the world's industrial and transportation power conserve any other purpose than that of gratifying the ambition of rulers and ruling classes to hold the sway of empire over the world's toilers and revel in the fat that is ground out of their blood and sweat?

And All for "Profit"

Ruling class pomp, power and aggrandizement is the underlying motive of modern industry, and it is for the conservation of such vulgarity that this monstrously brutal and bloody industrial mechanism of capitalist production exists. We know of no other excuse to offer in its defence. That is [*sic*] conserves any legitimate and healthy human purpose we deny. That a multitude of healthy human beings are sacrificed upon its bloody altar, in order that a savior may arise unto the nostrils of the ruling class God, capital is shown, not only in the record of railway and other industrial accidents, but

also in the glorious carnage now going on “somewhere” in various places, in the name of liberty and “an enduring peace.” But that is as it should be, for are we not living under the rule of property, and is not the toiler still brother to the “ex?”

E. T. K.

—Kingsley, “Killed and Maimed in Peace as in War,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 9 June 1916, 1.

On Slavery and War

1917

Slavery, which consists of serving masters for masters' profits, exists just as truly to-day as it did in the old times of the chattel slaves, and every war, from the earliest to the present, has arisen from quarrels between masters over plunder accruing from the robbing of slaves.

E. T. Kingsley

The following article by Kingsley appeared in the *Sydney International Socialist* in the midst of the First World War, one of many articles by Kingsley published in the Australian labour press during and after the war. The Australian labour press also regularly published the above quote from Kingsley, which is taken from a speech he delivered in Vancouver in 1917. Excerpts from that speech later appeared in part in the *Adelaide Daily Herald* in 1918, in the *Darwin Northern Standard* in the late 1920s, and in nine issues of the *Brisbane Worker* between 1927 and 1943.

The Evolution of the Slave

Exactly how slavery originated it is impossible to know. It came into being so long before the age of inscribed records that not even a tradition of its origin exists.

But, while we are in the dark as to how it originated, why it did so we may very easily surmise by merely examining into the motives that would impel one individual to enslave others. When we do this we immediately perceive that the one incentive to enslavement in the first place would be that the slave should provide or aid in providing for the wants of the masters. This is, of course, subject to the condition that the labor of the slave should produce more than sufficient to feed, clothe and shelter the slave himself. For so long as the labor of any individual did not produce any more than the keep of that individual there would be nothing left for the master, and there would therefore be no material advantage to enslaving him.

It was also necessary that the master should be in a position to compel the slave to work for him, and to surrender into his hands the products of his toil. Probably, in the most primitive stages enslavement was achieved by mere brute force, and the slaves prevented from escaping by means of armed guards, shackles, etc. Later, as society became more closely knit and slavery had become a regular institution, law, custom, and religion were invoked in aid of the masters. The slave was taught to accept servitude as his lot, and an attempt to escape became not only a crime, punishable in the world, but sin, involving sure and certain retribution in the next. Further, the ever widening monopolization of the earth and its resources by the masters, made ever more difficult the avoidance of slavery by the masses, who were held in subjection by means of the powers of government resting always in the hands of the masters, and by them ruthlessly used to crush any revolt.

The next step in the evolution of the slave was from the state of chattel slavery to that of serfdom, when he, from being the private property of a direct owner became indirectly but no less actually, the property of a land-owner by being attached to the land as a part and parcel of the domain. Here the condition of his servitude was that he was allotted a parcel of land to cultivate for his own use on condition that he cultivated also an adjoining parcel for the use of his lord. Escape in the majority of cases was out of the question, for there was no-whither to escape. This system of serfdom continued and flourished so long as agriculture remained the chief industry though, towards the last, serious inroads upon its predominance were made by the growing activity of manufacture. It was given its death blow by the application of steam-power, which opened the way to the factory system. Industry after industry, such as spinning and weaving, was transferred from the farm to the factory, the farm industry being incapable of surviving the competition of the more economical factory. Despite the hostile legislation of the land owners, who yet held the reins of power, the laborers followed the industry, and finally the rule of the lords was broken and the serfs emancipated from the soil, in order that the over-growing demand of the factories for labor might be met.

But this emancipation was one of form rather than of fact. The slave was released from his master, and was free—to go and find one. A master he must have or die. Into the hands of that master he must, as of yore, surrender the product of his toil. Escape for him is more impossible than ever. Ownership

now, not only of the earth and its resources, but of all the means of production, is monopolized by the master class. For them he must toil.

He is no longer sold bodily as a chattel, or with the land as an attachment to the soil. But he must now himself sell his labor power, his physical energy, for what it will fetch. To the product of his toil he has no more claim than had his forbears. Like them he receives but his keep. Worse than that, he receives it only when he can find a master; they were moderately sure of it for life.

As of old the powers of government rest in the hands of his masters and are, as of old, ruthlessly used against him.

E. T. Kingsley

—“The Evolution of the Slave,” *Sydney International Socialist*, 14 July 1917, 1. See also reprinted excerpts: “Socialist Shots,” *Adelaide Daily Herald*, 8 Feb. 1918, 5; *Brisbane Worker*, 5 Jan. 1927, 5 Sept. 1928, 31 Aug. 1932, 20 Dec. 1933, 12 Feb. 1935, 9 Feb. 1937, 19 July 1938, 5 Nov. 1940, 15 Feb. 1943; *Darwin Northern Standard*, 27 Nov. 1928, 14 Dec. 1928.

On War Finance

1917

This article by Kingsley, published in the *British Columbia Federationist* in August 1917, discusses aspects of war finance and taxation in Canada and the United States.

Fighting Now and Payment Later: Mythology Up-to-Date

The United States is financing itself in this war by loans and taxes. It obtains funds from the people, some by taxation and some by the sale of bonds, and then it goes into the markets and buys from the people what it needs. The people supply the government with money and the government with this money buys from the people what it needs for the war.

There are three sources from which the United States can draw the sinews of war. First is the fixed property of the nation. This represents our farms, factories, mines, railways, and all other property including accumulated savings. From the corpus or body of none of these, except the accumulated savings, will the government obtain war funds, and even from the accumulated savings it will draw a relatively small portion. These accumulated savings are invested in industries and business which are necessary to the country's welfare and prosperity and it is only that portion of these savings which are seeking investment that the government will receive in exchange for bonds.

The second and the great source from which the government is to derive its war fund is the wealth produced during the war. Part of this it will obtain by taxation and part in exchange for bonds. The annual production of the United States, from its farms, mines, factories, and other sources, amounts to fifty billion dollars a year and out of this fifty billion dollars will come the funds, part from taxes and part from sale of bonds, with which the United States will finance itself during this war.

By taxation this generation will pay its portion of the cost of the war. By the sale of bonds the next generation is called upon to pay its portion, and this last portion will be paid from the wealth production after the war.

By this method the capital of the country, its sources of income and wealth, are unimpaired. It is only the yearly increment of this property that is called upon to bear a portion of the cost of the war. What the government receives it receives from the people without impairing the sources of wealth of the country, and passes it back to the people in exchange for the productions of the country. It is in a way only a shifting of credits.

The government collects the current taxes and by means of bonds anticipates taxes of the years to come, and all the money thus acquired passes back into the hands of the taxpayers. This is why governments which follow sound economic methods not only are not impoverished by wars but sometimes emerge the stronger as England did after the Napoleonic wars and the United States after the Civil War.

If sound information is required about a shoemaker it would be well to consult a shoemaker; if about house-building a carpenter; if about drugs a druggist, and if about finance a financier, no doubt. The Federationist is in more ways than one interested in matters of finance and whenever any apparent valuable information comes within reach, touching upon the art of financial jugglery and legerdemain, it is eagerly seized upon by this office and put to immediate use in the daily battle of attempting to make a theoretical penny perform a task that has evidently been cut out for a million dollars of real money. The above illuminating treatise on finance is clipped from the U.S. Official Bulletin, published daily at the City of Washington D.C. The matter appeared as an editorial in the Bulletin of August 16 and bears earmarks of being the production of the secretary of the treasury, Mr. McAdoo—who, by the way, is a son-in-law of President Wilson. We know of no better authority on finance than one whose qualifications to speak are predicated upon these two important facts.

* * *

But there is something extremely perplexing about this matter of finance. The more lucid the explanation the greater the perplexity. The more it is explained by those who by either birth, training or marriage are well qualified to do so, the more involved and confused it all becomes, until the lay mind is almost driven to distraction in attempting to grasp it. McAdoo's explanation is, however, so lucid and easily understandable as to bring it easily within range of the assimilative mental powers of the dullest Henry Dubb in the

land.¹ The government merely taxes or borrows money from the “people” and with that money “buys from the people what it needs for the war.” Could anything be simpler than that? Of course some captious and ill-mannered critic might suggest that what the government has borrowed was nothing but evidences of credit which had been given for things that had been previously produced by labor and for which labor had received nothing in return, and which the despoilers of labor could only dispose of on credit for the simple reason that there was nothing either on earth or in the waters under the earth with which payment could be made. This, however, is scarce worth making a note of, for it is not for a moment to be supposed that great authorities on finance would so far forget the duty they owe to the greatest flimflam of the ages, as to belittle themselves and their sacred calling by wasting time over such senseless and petty objections.

* * *

Coming down to brass tacks, however, we can not get away from the fact that the only payment that is or that can be made, is that which is made daily by the wealth producers, and that payment is made solely in the energy they expend in the processes of either capitalist industry or capitalist war and slaughter. In fact, these are but one and the same thing, for war itself is but a part, and a logical part at that, of ruling class industry. And the cost of both is paid and paid in full by those slaves of industry and of war. There is no payment that can be sloughed off upon the future for the lives that are ground up into profit and aggrandizement for masters in days of peace and into profit and glory for those masters in time of war. All that is or can be passed on to the future for payment is the misery of unending and unpaid labor in times of peace, and the agony and horrors of war added thereto in times of war. But future generations will pay for their own miseries and agonies that are being visited upon those who are now living. They will pay for their own enslavement and torture, even as the present generation is paying in blood, gore and untold agony for its stupid tolerance of class rule and dull submission to its horrors and atrocities. That is all that enslaved

¹ Henry Dubb was a cartoon character, an American worker portrayed by his socialist creator as victimized by capitalism. See Ryan Walker, *New Adventures of Henry Dubb: Cartoons* (Chicago: Socialist Party, 1915).

labor ever did pay for, and it must continue to pay so long as it will remain enslaved. And all of the twaddle of financiers will not alter the fact.

* * *

Now as to the “three sources from which the United States can draw the sinews of war.” First comes the “fixed property of the nation.” This is referred to as “our farms, factories, mines, railways and all other property, including accumulated savings.” There is no property, either fixed or loose, outside of the wealth producers of the country. The producers of the food, clothing, shelter and other things requisite to human comfort and sustenance, constitute all there is or ever was to property. All values in exchange are brought forth by these workers alone. There is nothing else that enters into exchange value. All articles that go forth upon their mission as commodities carrying exchange value into the market, carry only that with which they have been endowed by their creator, the labor of human hands. They could not otherwise exist. That which calls them forth and endows them with the precious virtue and value in exchange, being the creator of all such value, must be the only thing on earth that can possess the peculiar attribute of property, in the sense that property means a something that can and does ring to its possessor the comforts of life, the things necessary to his existence and welfare, without expenditure or effort upon his part. And there is no other test of property, in the modern acceptance of the term, than that it can and does bring to its owner something for nothing. As the labor of enslaved workers is the only power on earth that can and does do that, it logically follows that such laborers constitute all the property there is.

The control of resources and means of production enables those who hold such control to exercise the rights and powers of ownership over the laborers themselves. That is all there is to ruling class property, the type of property that rules the world today and which is worshipped like unto a golden calf by the ruling pagans of our time. That is all there is to the “fixed property” of nations. And the slaves appear to be more sublimely and completely oblivious of it than any one else.

* * *

“Accumulated savings!” That’s a real joke. As though there could be any such a thing when it comes down to real wealth. One would think from the way the phrase is mouthed that food, clothing and other useful things were

in some miraculous manner saved up as against the rainy day that is sure to come. But the contrary is the fact. Everything in the line of necessary and useful things, besides many things that are neither, is produced and reproduced each day and year with ceaseless regularity. And in the same manner and with the same persistence it is used up with the same certainty and regularity. Credit tokens and other paper evidences of debt are accumulated, and the rapidity of the accumulation is increased from day to day in ratio corresponding to the increase of the productivity of labor owing to the improvement of the mechanism and technique of industry. In other words, just as the power to produce wealth is increased by the development and higher perfection of the tools of industry, so is the sum total of the debt of the world likewise increased. The wider the margin between the amount paid to the workers as their wages and the amount of wealth brought into existence by their labor, the greater the amount of such wealth that must be disposed of on credit and the greater the sum of world indebtedness becomes. Borrowing or taxing does not wipe it out. It only transfers credits to other hands, for the time being. If the government borrows credit from certain of the people and utilizes that credit to make purchases from those same people, or from others who in turn must purchase from them, it is easy to be seen that not only has no debt been wiped out, but an addition has been made to the total by the amount thus borrowed, and for which new securities (bonds) have been issued. If it is taxed out of the people it does not in any manner alter the case, because that which is taken by taxes must be taken from those who own property, and it will flow back to their coffers by the same process that brought it there in the first instance. It is like a dog chasing its own tail, no matter from what point you view it.

* * *

According to our authority, the sale of bonds is to place upon the next generation the burden of paying "its portion" of the war's cost, and such "portion will be paid from the wealth production after the war." It seems almost an unnecessary reflection upon human intelligence to be called upon to suggest that no payment for the things produced by the labor of human hands could be paid for except payment be made in kind; i.e. in the products of human hands. If these products are at any time to be sold upon credit, and they are always so sold as if they are sold at all, how in the name of commonsense could payment therefor ever be made, except by the incurring of a debt of

similar magnitude in order to obtain the means of payment? And it is manifest that no payment would result. As products must first be taken from the workers without payment, before they become available for the delectation of the trading fraternity, no payment can be considered in our calculations unless it covers the case of the workers from whom this wealth has been taken, without payment therefor. Whatever deals may subsequently take place between individual buyers and sellers, has nothing to do with the case, for in them is to be found nothing of a financial character except a transfer of credits, and there is nothing in the nature of final payment in that. No part of the cost of this war can be paid by after-the-war production. It can only be paid for now, and it is being paid for, as it is fought, by the useful class in human society; the ignorant working class. Blissfully ignorant of everything except how to produce wealth and allow the ruling class to get away with it.

* * *

Nations are neither richer nor poorer as a result of war. Rulers still rule and rob after the smoke of battle clears away, just as they did before. Slaves (property) still sweats profit for masters and get nothing better than a narrow and meagre existence for themselves, and an extremely uncertain one at that. While individual masters may here and there have lost their all by war, just as is often the case even in times of peace, others come into possession of the property the losers formerly held and the sum total of the world's paper wealth has not been diminished. It has even been greatly increased as a result of the intensified speeding up of industry to meet war requirements. True, some property has been killed or damaged, but it is the sort of property that happily costs its owners nothing, so no loss has really occurred. If loss has occurred, however, it will be recouped, through the breeding propensities of the slaves, in due course of time, and without cost to the masters and owners. The slaves are neither richer nor poorer after the war than before. They had nothing before and they have it still. Though a considerable number of them may have been sooner hustled over the "great divide" than would have perhaps been the case had peace not been broken, they have possibly been the gainers by thus having their lives of misery shortened. If enough of them have been killed to sufficiently deplete the supply of labor in the market, those who have escaped may get a few more cents per month wages pending the time when the conditions of the labor market are again brought to the normal by means of the birth rate of slaves. The government

expert sums the whole thing up by saying, of this war financing business: "It is in a way only a shifting of credits." There are ten-year-old schoolboys in Vancouver who know that "a shifting of credits" has nothing to do with payment. It is merely a game of "passing the buck." The Federationist opines that the entire financial scheme is one of pure and unadulterated bunk, not only mathematically impossible but so childishly ridiculous as to be calculated to befool only those who really belong in the home for the feeble-minded.

E. T. Kingsley

—"Fighting Now and Paying Later," *British Columbia Federationist*, 31 Aug. 1917, 23.

On the War Effort

1917

This article by Kingsley was published in the inaugural issue of *The Critic*, a newspaper launched by publisher and long-standing Vancouver Mayor L. D. Taylor in the summer of 1917. The article captured the attention of Canada's immigration inspector for British Columbia, Malcolm J. Reid, who forwarded a copy to the chief press censor, Colonel Ernest J. Chambers. The article further illuminates Kingsley's views on the war crisis.¹

“Win the War”

Never since the beginning of the present war have I for a moment doubted the final victory of the Entente Allies. I fully believe that there are good reasons why they should win, and equally good reason why they will. Some of them I shall endeavor to set forth. But before doing so it may well be well to offer some suggestions as to why a certain government measure now under consideration, known as the Military Service Bill, should not meet with the approval of any person in Canada who does not wish to see democracy destroyed and liberty mocked.

The reasons why every wealth producer, either farmer or wage worker, should be opposed to conscript military service may be set forth in few words. No worker can be driven to charges and scandals; to the Hughes-Borden dispute; and to the evidence of all the parliamentary commissions. They were at last so humiliated that they were in a temper to condemn someone. They had seen enthusiasm killed; and graft growing great, and profiteering shameless. And their patience was exhausted. And they showed it all at the provincial polls. Therefore, said the Tory campaign manager—that natural impatience and that patriotic indignation must either be stopped or given vent. Ah! If it

¹ “Win the War,” *The Critic* (Vancouver), c. Aug. 1917, 3–4, in file 279–15, vol. 608, RG 6, Secretary of State fonds, LAC.

could only be turned against one political party instead of against the government. If all the provinces of Canada which in their discontent had all ceased enlisting could only have that anger turned against the one province—which had merely ceased a little earlier; and against the one man whose high character and pure record and distinguished talents made him the most dangerous and redoubtable adversary to all false patriots and demagogues.

The Plan

Well, it might be done. It should at least be tried. And so, for a year past the effort has been in preparation through press and platform. The people, at all cost, must be given a false scent. And sent upon a paper-chase. And the great Canadian Conservative *Mot-de ordre* was to be—“Down with the French!” And drive the old mother province out of confederation. Nothing less. That is the fine, statesmanlike inspiring cry. Not that anyone has really rebelled against any law enacted. Though they might be goaded to it. Not that peaceful agitation against any proposed enactment is ever illegal or unconstitutional. No! But “down with Quebec!” Death to Sir Wilfrid, and to millions of other good Canadians who dare ask of a moribund parliament for a popular vote before enforcing one of its own expiring enactments. No. Let us read the Liberals out of confederation. This is to be a war of loyal Tories only. All others must be subdued or absorbed, or ostracized. And thus, in a desert of peace and harmony they propose to “win the war.”

Revolution

There is a sane and sensible socialism to which all right thinking men are tending; and to which most of us can subscribe. There is a peaceful and constitutional revolution which is coming, in our affairs, and which alone can prevent the other, and the violent one. Call it what you may. It means—radical reforms. The present, rotten system of this Rogers campaign shows that we are ripe for it. And the call for that reform, and the need for it today; must be heard and felt, I am sure, in every corner and constituency in Canada, by every right thinking man and good citizen of his country.

Impudence

Sir James Lougheed tells us, with all the impudence of the parvenu, that they are the cowards and the slackers who are to decide this election. The electors of Canada will thank the Tory leader of the senate very much for this complimentary qualification, at the very first opportunity.

Of course there are some. And they vote both ways.

The Temper of the People

I think I know my Canada fairly well, from sea to sea. And what this country is capable of, in men and in resources, if they are properly mobilized, and honestly led and seriously administered. I think I know something of the fine audacity of Canadians; and what any great prime minister could have done with them, at the very outbreak of this war, in every province, without exception.

And I am convinced that there lingers still in the breasts of every son of this free soil of ours, of every province, and of both races and tongues, some sparks of that fire which burned in the hearts of the heroes who fought for our freedom and [illegible—gave?] us their fame. [text missing] service in industry without sooner or later realizing that he is not a free man. The power that drives him to work is also the power which he produced by his labor. This logically follows. There is no getting away from it. No individual or combination of individuals, could have any other motive for driving others to labor, except that of profiting thereby. Therefore, whether workers are either coaxed or driven to produce wealth for others, and [word missing] not get a full equivalent for that which they are thus forced to produce, they experience all that ever lay behind human slavery. It does not matter whether that slavery was the open and above board chattel slavery of the olden time, the semi-hidden slavery of the feudal age termed serfdom, or the wage slavery of today, that is so completely disguised 'neath the garb of apparent freedom, that millions of slaves never realize that they are such.

A slavery under which the slave is exempt from service at the repugnant business of human slaughter and devastation, except he sees fit to voluntarily offer himself for such employment, is eminently preferable to one under which he may be ruthlessly driven to the brutal business at the word of

command by his masters and rulers. Under the former he enjoys the privilege that is of inestimable value to him, as it exempts him from a service that must be exceedingly repugnant to a really civilized being. If, however, occasion should arise when it becomes necessary to resort to arms and violence in order to defend himself and his fellows against those would take their lives or dispossess them of their privileges and liberties, there is nothing to prevent him from so doing. In such event it is beyond question that the average man will respond to the requirements of the case and do all that is humanly possible without solicitation, threat or compulsion. Any cause worth fighting for, and of such a nature as to clearly disclose its worth to those who should support it, will find no lack of supporters when the hour strikes for its defence. Any cause compelled to resort to compulsion in order to find defenders, is a cause of very doubtful virtue indeed.

Up to now Canadians have been exempt from military service against their will. That is a privilege that perhaps many have failed to assess at its true value. There may be some among us still who will thoughtlessly surrender it under the influence of sophistry and smooth talk peddled by those who are employed for the purpose. Later they may wake up to the sad fact that it is far easier to give than to get. If we are wise we will do all in our power to hold whatever privileges we now possess and under no circumstances, surrender anything without a desperate struggle.

Industrially the workers of Canada, as of the rest of the world, are slaves. Politically they are at least theoretically free, because they possess the franchise upon a supposed equality with their industrial overlords. As workers they may quit their employment whenever they choose. Once they have been brought under the ignominy of enforced military servitude it is but a short step to enforced industrial servitude and from which they can not escape except at the expense of perhaps more terrible and bloody struggles than marked the journey of their forebears from the status of abject slavery to that of political freedom.

The pretence that the surrender of liberties now possessed is necessary in order that the war may be brought to a victorious conclusion is too ridiculous to be worthy of a moment's consideration. The further pretence that liberties or privileges now surrendered will be restored after the war is concluded, should carry no weight except with those who are not familiar with the intrinsic value of ruling class promises. The value of such promises may be easily estimated if one only realizes that the very basis of all rule is

the robbery of those over whom such rule is held. The trade itself affords an excellent and reliable photograph of the probity of those who work at it, and the confidence that may safely be placed in their promises.

It is inconceivable that the surrender of any rights and privileges now possessed by the Canadian people can in any manner strengthen the Entente Allies in their struggle with the enemy. There is nothing to show that they are short of men or are likely to become so. On the contrary there is much to show that the shortages of men is the least of their troubles. Out of nearly 450,000 men enlisted in Canada, and of which Borden stated no longer since than last May, 350,000 are said to be now on the firing line and the total casualties are given as approximately 110,000 to date. This should still leave a balance of something like 290,000 to be accounted for, and the enlistments still continue at the rate of about 6,000 per month. And it has been openly charged in the House of Commons recently and has not been convincingly denied, that every imaginable effort short of downright prohibition has been made by the Borden government to so discourage recruiting as to make it appear that voluntary enlistment was a failure. If this be true and still there are volunteers to the number of some thousand per month, it may reasonably be assumed that had recruiting been properly and wisely encouraged, the number of men enlisted would have been much greater. These matters and figures should be pondered well by Canadians before they allow themselves to be carried off their feet by glib-tongued scare-mongers who may be actuated by motives doubtful if not positively ulterior.

Lloyd George recently stated that Britain had raised and equipped "the greatest army the world ever saw," amounting to nearly 7,000,000 men. It has recently been stated in the House of Commons at Ottawa, that Britain still has over 3,000,000 men under arms at home that have never yet been out of the country. The 7,000,000 referred to does not include the Colonial troops. Now, there is something in these figures that may well give that part of the Canadian people that is too decent to deserve to get stung and has sense enough to exercise due caution in guarding against such a possibility, food for serious and careful reflection. With these facts staring us in the face, we are justified in asking, from whence comes this alarming cry about a shortage of men to maintain our fighting strength at the front? What is the real motive lying behind it? With this vast body of men under arms already, with the millions of other allies, and the prospective millions of the United States yet to come, and on top of all this the wealth of the world outside the

“iron ring” to draw upon for sustenance and fighting strength—and that is the boast—why all of this zeal upon the part of the government to rivet the chains of Prussian militarism upon the limbs of the wealth producers of Canada and thereby strike down and destroy the few privileges of democracy and freedom they now possess?

The statements made and the questions asked can not be satisfactorily disposed of by silly accusations of “pro-Germanism,” “sedition” or loudly shouting “I. W. W.” The war must be fought to a finish and it ought to be. It can not stop until the cause from which it sprung has been removed by the crushing defeat of that semi-feudal survival from the middle ages, that autocratic rule that still holds sway in the Teuton Empires of Central Europe. The struggle is to the death between that feudal survival of autocracy and absolutism, and the capitalism of today, with its ruling class political democracy. The two sides to the conflict are politically some centuries apart. The political concept of the former is that of the 14th century. Its sway is measured by territory. No other conquest can fit in with the autocratic concept of rule. The political concept of the latter is that of government by a class democracy, a democracy of industrial and financial lords. Its domain is not so much territorial as it is trade and market. Its conquests are the conquests of trade and commerce. Its weapons are cheap goods, long credits, the cash book and the ledger. It can not tolerate autocracy and its impudent interference with industry and sequestration of its fruits to the swashbuckling military display of the rattling sabre, the mailed fist and the shining armor.

The skinning of slaves and trading in their hides all over the earth is altogether too prosaic and simple a purpose to make any effective appeal to the autocratic spirit. The ledger and cash book can afford no satisfaction to the autocratic ambition, nor bring the flesh of pride and conquest to the autocratic ego? But out of the loins of that feudal absolutism, with its “divine right of kings” as a political philosophy, came forth modern capitalism with its potent ledger and cash book and its class democracy. But this birth of a new order did not take place without the accompaniment of “labor pains.” The birth means death to the mother from whom it was delivered. That is just now being finished off upon the bloody fields of Europe. If the child is to live the mother must die. If the mother survives the child must perish. The child will not perish.

But narrow though the capitalist conception of democracy may be confined as it is to mere political lines, it is a step forward along the path of

social evolution and progress. It is an advantage gained to the working class because it blazes the trail leading to industrial democracy and capitalist production creates and drills the proletarian army that will be forced by the sheer pressure of circumstances to follow that trail. Industrial democracy placed upon the production of the things requisite to human existence, by a free people and for their own use instead of for the profit of others, is the haven of hope to the exploited victims of the capitalist civilization of today. That even the poor boon of political democracy has come to the workers as a privilege bestowed upon them by their capitalist overlords, rather than as a result of their own conscious efforts, in no manner detracts from the words, and afford no reason why they should supinely relinquish it at the request or behest of those who assume the authority to do so.

Let the war be fought out to a sweeping and conclusive victory of the side whose political and economic development is abreast of the times, and which at least measures an advance step along the pathway of human progress away from the brutal tyrannies of the narrow political autocracy of the bloody feudal age. Whatever aid may be given to the Entente Allies, from those western shores should be given as the voluntary contribution of those who would be free, to a cause that in their judgment makes in the direction of that freedom they so ardently desire. Let neither jot nor tittle of the poor privileges now be possessed be surrendered under any pretence whatsoever. Let it not be made possible for the future to say of us: "They fought the good fight in order to destroy military autocracy and 'make the world safe for democracy,' only to find themselves in the hour of their supposed victory stripped of all democracy and liberty and hopelessly enmeshed in the coils of that autocratic military curse which they had fought to destroy." Let the war be won, but let it be won by and for the forces that make for human progress, for democracy and a better and higher civilization, and not by those forces that make for reaction, the destruction of democracy, the death of liberty and the triumph of "Prussian kultur," with its shackles of autocratic damnation in the way of military servitude riveted upon us.

E. T. Kingsley

—"Win the War," *The Critic* (Vancouver), c. Aug. 1917, 3–4, in file 279–15, vol. 608, RG 6, Secretary of State fonds, LAC.

On the Bolshevik Revolution

1918

This article by Kingsley examining the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia was published in the *Australian Worker* newspaper in Sydney in February 1918, demonstrating the international reach of his ideas and writings. The original article had appeared as an unsigned editorial in the *British Columbia Federationist*. More than three dozen articles with Kingsley's writings appeared in the Australian labour press between the 1910s and 1940s.

What Capitalism Fears in Russia

One needs but give ear to the alarm of cry ascending to high heaven from the servile throats of the paid henchmen of capitalism, in their references to the Russian situation and especially to the outstanding influence of the Bolsheviki in shaping the affairs of that country, to realize the rulers of all lands are becoming thoroughly frightened over the way things are going. The frenzied denunciation being heaped upon the Bolsheviki by the lick-spittles and sycophants of class rule is all that should be required to convince intelligent persons that ruling class interests must be gravely threatened by the policy of the Russian revolutionaries and, therefore, the interests of the producing class must be in the ascendant. For it may be readily understood that no squawk of distress would issue from the lips of capitalists and their servile tools, if capitalist interests were not being threatened. Whatever may be condemned by the agencies of capitalism may safely be accepted as in the interest of the producing class, and that which receives approval at the hands of such agencies should be shunned as a pestilence by the wealth producers. And by the same yardstick may the worth or otherwise of all who profess to be disciples and defenders of labor be determined. Those who receive praise at the hands of those interests in human society which sap the life blood of the producing class may unmistakably be set down as traitors to the class they so volubly profess to serve. And those who are condemned and vilified

by the tools and agencies of the master class may safely be avouched as true and loyal to the cause they champion and serve.

That noble of champion of truth and righteousness, the daily press, uses column after column in vilification and abuse of the Russian revolutionaries. Just as it heaps falsehood and slander upon the real Labor Movement of all other countries, so especially does it vent its spleen upon the Russian Bolsheviks by the most scurrilous lying that can be coined from chronic moral turpitude. Every effort is being put forth to lead the world to believe the Bolsheviks is capable of nothing and bent upon nothing but destruction. While it is quite true that the Russian revolutionaries are bent upon destruction, it is only that destruction of that rule and robbery that has for a hundred centuries made life a miserable burden and a long drawn out torture for the enslaved victims of class rule and class robbery throughout the earth. And that they are bent upon the destruction of that accounts for the affrighted squawks of that delectable gang of ruling class pirates that still have their foul clutches upon the throats of the wealth producers of all the earth. And their affrighted squawks are as sweet music to the ears of all decent and honest persons everywhere, because it brings hope to the hearts of all who long for liberty and a decent civilization.

The Maximalists, the Social Revolutionaries of the Left, and the Minimalist internationalists have arrived at an agreement concerning the political organization of Russia. The lands and industries of Russia are to be dedicated solely to the purpose of providing the Russian people with the requisites to a free and satisfactory existence. Production for profit is to be discarded, and great is the howl of distress coming up from the camp of tyrants, despots and plunderers of the earth thereat. The glorious era of plunder, trade and profit that has filled the hearts of rulers and thieves with exceeding great joy and has so intoxicated their sordid souls with the wine of pomp, glory and bloody magnificence as to make of them objects incapable of exciting anything other than disgust in the minds of all decent people, is to be brought to an end, as far as Russia is concerned. And that this will sooner or later be followed by the workers of all countries is a foregone conclusion. Right well do the rulers and robbers of the earth know it. That is the reason lying behind the frantic squawks of alarm now issuing from their craven throats.

As Leon Trotsky, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, said recently, "The Russian revolution has placed its heel on all the propertied classes of Europe." The swift and new alignment of political and economic forces is

now shaping itself in all countries of the earth. The slaves of production are setting their faces against their masters and their thieving schemes of world rule and world robbery. The dawn of a new dispensation is breaking. The sun of social revolution is piercing with its beneficent and life-giving rays the dark cloud of ignorance and reaction that has so long engulfed the world in the black night of slavery, superstition and human misery. The hour for human liberty has struck. All hail to the Russian revolutionists who by their gallant actions have given cheer to their comrades of other lands and struck terror to the hearts of rulers and robbers of every clime. And indeed they may be proud of having made their appearance in the sheepfold of the ruling class, and to have frightened the shepherds out of their poor wits and set them to squawking raucously.

E. T. Kingsley

—Kingsley, “What Capitalism Fears in Russia,” 17.

On Capitalism Getting Rich Quick

1918

This article by Kingsley on wealth published in the *Australian Worker* in December 1918 demonstrates the international reach of his ideas.

How Capitalism Gets Rich Quick

The workers generally have an extremely hazy idea of that most elusive subject—finance. And yet a little consideration will show that the system of figure-juggling is not at all mystifying. The following article is one of the best from the pen of Mr. E. T. Kingsley—the noted Canadian Socialist—and shows how easy the capitalists accumulate figurative wealth, and convince the workers it is the genuine article.

It is generally understood that it is impossible for a man to lift himself over a fence by his bootstraps. The freak who comes along with weird ideas of some mechanical contrivance that of its own volition will run perpetually, thus upsetting all old and long established facts in regard to the law of gravitation and the generation of power, is usually laughed at for his simplicity and his pains. A great number of people are quite firmly convinced that something cannot be gotten for nothing except somebody suffers a corresponding loss. But all of these fixed convictions and facts are completely upset once we enter the realm of trade, commerce, finance and wealth accumulation. Herein we find that something can be gotten for nothing and without anybody suffering any loss whatsoever; a nation can lift itself over a financial fence by its financial bootstraps (credit) and oftener it does so the wealthier it becomes, and that too without there being any more wealth in existence than there was before, and service and other things can be paid for although it can be clearly shown that there is nothing and can be nothing either in the heavens or the earth wherewith to make such payment.

The Marxian Theory

“The wealth of the world appears to us as an accumulation of commodities,” says Marx. Now it so happens that all of these commodities are brought into existence solely by the labor of human beings. There is nothing else that enters into them. If they who produce them are to be separated from them, it must be done without any payment being made in return, for the very manifest fact that there is nothing outside of these commodities themselves that possess any exchange value. And surely nothing can be utilized for the purpose of making payment unless it does possess exchange value equally great in volume to the things or service for which payment is to be made. As labor produces all exchange value and that value is appropriated by the master class, which, by the way, never produces anything but trouble for others, it stands to reason that such appropriation can only be effected by force, inasmuch as there is no other way to bring it about. And that is the way it has always been done in the past. It is also the way it is done now.

Whatever the slaves get in the way of food, clothing, shelter and other creature comforts they do not get as payment for what they have done, any more than a horse or ox gets paid for what they do when their owner and master measures out to them the oats and hay requisite to their continued existence. The wages of slaves cannot be termed payment for anything. If slaves could work without anything to eat, drink, or wear they would undoubtedly be compelled to do so and there is every reason to believe that they would be fully as zealous in hanging to their jobs as they are at present, for above everything else the real slave is happy only when working. But as they cannot continue to work unless they are fed it becomes necessary for the masters to dole out to them such sustenance as may be actually needed to keep them in working condition. And that is all there is to wages, even at the best.

Money—The Sacred Ikon

The master does not measure out grub to his human slave as he measures out oats to his horse or bones to his dog. He gives the slave money instead. Money is merely a promise to pay. As payment is impossible, for the reason already set forth, the only thing the slave can do with the promise is to swap it off with somebody who will give him a bite to eat or some other useful

thing in exchange for it. This thing called money, therefore, really becomes merely an order against the stock of commodities that have already been produced and not yet consumed, or such as may be produced in the future.

As this money passes from the hands of the slave who has received it from his master into the hands of some merchant or holder of some of the swag created by workers and stolen from them by their rulers and masters, the slave proceeds to consume that which he gets and the promise (money) continues upon its merry way as a thing endowed with immortality; a promise to pay that cannot be redeemed because there is nothing with which to effect that redemption. It remains as a perpetual charge against the future; a means of shifting the plunder taken from slaves from hand to hand in the glorious process of satisfying the hunger and feeding fat the ambition of the ruling class and its precious array of parasitical pimps, sycophants, boosters, sleuths, cut-throats and hangers-on.

As all that the slaves bring forth by their labor is consumed as rapidly as it is produced, there can be no lasting accumulation of wealth in the form of commodities. The food production of each year is consumed during the succeeding twelve months. The same is true of all other thing brought forth, even the most durable lasting but a comparatively short time. Enormous quantities of certain products, especially in times of most glorious war, are instantaneously consumed as soon as brought forth, for the delectable purpose of mutilating the landscape and daubing and smearing it with the blood and guts of human chattels that an all-wise providence evidently created for that specific purpose.

Accumulated Wealth—The Plunder of the Past

But though there is neither an accumulation of wealth in the form of commodities, or an accumulation in the form of slaves, for, as already stated, both of these forms of wealth are eaten up, worn out, or shot to oblivion as the case may be, there is a constant accumulation of what is termed money. But as money is nothing but a promise that cannot be kept, an order that cannot be redeemed, a credit that cannot be liquidated, a debt that cannot be paid, it may be readily seen that its accumulation is solely an accumulation of figures representing an impossibility. Stripped of all camouflage, these figures represent only the amount of the plunder taken from slaves during the past and placed to the credit of the thieves who took it.

The amount held by any given person or concern merely indicates the magnitude of the debt, which the future owes to such person or concern and cannot pay, for wealth that has been stolen from the slaves of the past by their brutal and thieving rulers and masters. All investments, bonds, stocks, deeds, mortgages, debentures, bank accounts, currency and other paper evidences of so-called wealth belong in the same category. The sum total of all this camouflage constitutes all the records the world has of the plunder that has accrued to the ruling and robbing class since that precious family of rogues founded their empire upon earth by placing the shackles upon the limbs of slaves. It now runs up into the hundreds of billions of dollars, which of course is but a mere bagatelle in comparison to what the actual total should be. But these few hundreds of billions are all the figures the world now has. The balance, a few hundred trillions more or less, no doubt, has been lost through carelessness or bankruptcy. And the most interesting part of this whole business is that it is only by repudiation that this precious debt can be gotten rid of.

Were it not for the repudiation of the past—bankruptcy is repudiation, don't forget that—the world's wealth would no doubt now be at least as many trillions as the present billions of which our rulers so loudly and patriotically boast. And these impossible figures, representing but a part of that which has been stolen from slaves and consumed during the past constitute all there is to the world's wealth or capital, as it is commonly termed. And around this absurd fiction is daily being woven the most grotesque fancies and weird hallucinations that have ever thrust their roots deep down into the empty noodles of masters and the semi-empty stomachs of their work-infatuated slaves. This getting rich by adding up figures is quite a simple matter, and eminently quite a simple matter, and eminently satisfying withal. Figurative wealth is far easier to accumulate than the real article. It is also easier to get rid of. A wet sponge will do the job.

—“How Capitalism Gets Rich Quick,” *Australian Worker* (Sydney), 26 Dec. 1918, 17.

On Control of the State by the Working Class

1919

This article by Kingsley was published in the inaugural issue of his short-lived *Labor Star* newspaper in January 1919, during a period when he occupied a leadership role in the Federated Labor Party of British Columbia. While wide sections of the British Columbian and Canadian working class were gravitating toward syndicalism and the revolutionary industrial unionism that would be embodied in the One Big Union movement later that year, Kingsley remained steadfast in his orientation toward working-class political action as the only appropriate strategy for workers to defeat capitalist exploitation.

Control of State through Political Action Must Be Secured by Forces of United Labor If Certain Victory Is to Be Achieved

The sole motive of modern industry is the exploitation of enslaved human labor and the turning of the results of such exploitation to the benefit, aggrandizement and enrichment of the ruling class. Since the first slave was shackled and the institution of slavery became the cornerstone of civilization, everything that has been incorporated into the mechanism of that civilization, whether principle, theory or fact, has been so incorporated solely because it furthered, buttressed, bulwarked and made perfect the efficiency of the means of turning the proceeds of exploitation to the upbuilding and strengthening of the ruling class empire of pomp, magnificence and power. Ruling class industry, with its complicated and powerful machinery, represents the achievement of the ages in the production of ruling class requirements and all that is embodied in the superstructure of this vulgar and brutal civilization. The grand climax of that achievement has been indelibly written in letters of fire and blood during the last four

years. And this grand climax has all but wrecked the ruling class and its civilization of horror and rapine.

From the aftermath of the blood debauch of the last four years that civilization can never recover. Intellectual, moral and material bankruptcy of the ruling class of the world is manifest in every act of the ruffianly rulers and their tools, in every utterance of their statesmen and diplomats, and in every fact that figuratively stands forth upon the pages of their day books and ledgers. And the long ages of slavery and torture have at last conjured forth the Nemesis, in the shape of an awakening proletariat, that will swiftly sweep this rotten ruling class civilization and its kindred crimes from the pathway of the human race and make it possible for men and women to live upon this earth without being ruled and robbed for the glory and vulgar aggrandizement of slave masters and drivers.

* * *

There has never yet been discovered but one means whereby slaves can be held in bondage and ruled, robbed and tortured by their owners and masters. That means is commonly termed government. The modern state is the instrument of the ruling class. It is the instrument designed, developed and brought to its present high state of efficiency, solely for the purpose of holding slaves in subjection to their masters and owners and rendering them docile and tame to the exactions and schemes of their rulers. Government is unthinkable except for such a purpose. And it has thus far proven itself amply efficient for that purpose. So long as it can bamboozle or cajole the slaves into docility and quiet under the lash of exploitation, it cheerfully does so, no doubt because that is the cheaper way, but whenever that method becomes no longer effective, the lash, the knout, the club, the gun, the bayonet, the jail and the gibbet are used with equal cheerfulness and aplomb, for, no matter what the cost in brutality and blood, the property rights in human flesh must be held intact to the owners and masters and the game of profitably ruling and robbing slaves must not be broken up. Never was such gigantic plunder gathered from the slaves of the earth year by year as is the case at the present time. The magnificence and wealth of the ancient empires of Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, Greece and Rome, pale into significance alongside of that of the vulgar capitalist empires of this enlightened age. All the vast power of the chattel slavery and feudalism of the past was unequal to the task of staging such a stupendous and magnificent exhibition of ruling class efficiency and splendor, as that pulled off to the music

of capitalist class machinery during the four years. And let none overlook the fact that governments alone called the tune to which millions of slaves danced to their death in the glorious spectacle and millions more crippled and maimed themselves in the gallant attempt. Let it not be forgotten that the common people, the useful people of no land had anything to say; either one way or another, in regard to staging the delectable performance. Rulers, ruffians, governments, attended to all of that, and they are now busily but ludicrously endeavoring to save themselves from the ruins of their own show.

* * *

Happily we are democrats, hereon this western continent. In fact we are now democrats all over the earth, since wicked autocracy has been so sweepingly defeated by the self-sanctified nations of the earth and the pure in heart. Well, in democracies we are told that the people rule themselves. That is what Lincoln termed "a government of the people; by the people and for the people." Granted that this be so, although it be a something absolutely unthinkable and Mr. Lincoln did not know what he was talking about, then it is up to the people of these alleged democracies to take steps to see that their precious governments let up on the club, the gun, the bayonet, the bomb, the jail and the gibbet, and arrange for at least a more decent and tolerable state of affairs than that which has prevailed in the past and which is even now promising to become far worse. If the people really govern here in Canada and in other equally enlightened democracies, then it is time that the ruling and robbing of the producers by the masters of industry, trade and commerce was brought to an end. It is high time that the intelligent people (may God forgive us) took a hand in their own affairs to the end that poverty and misery in a land and age of plenty might be brought to an end.

* * *

It is time that governments were forced to spend less of their time in aiding and abetting the schemes of exploiters and commercial brigands to gather their profits at the expense of the producers of wealth, and more of it for the purpose of relieving the pressure upon the producers and breaking the stranglehold of rulers upon their lives and fortunes. And wherever the people of a country possess the franchise they have it in their power to legally deprive their governments of the power to continue as the instruments of class tyranny, rapine and eventual slaughter. Having the franchise

and outnumbering the masters many to one, the workers and farmers of Canada can take possession of the reins and powers of government at any election that may occur, except under a "War Time Election Act," and turn those powers to any purpose they see fit. Those powers can be used to stop the present exploitation and impoverishment of the wealth producers, just as effectively as they are now used to further the exploitation and make that impoverishment inevitable.

Of course, where a "War Time Election Act" is in force, it is somewhat different for under such an infamy the last vestige of even the alleged democracy of our day is destroyed, and purposely so. But with even the limited rights of franchise that prevailed at the outbreak of the war, there is no reason why a ruling class government should continue in power, except that of a lack of intelligence upon the part of the working class electorate. So long as the farmers and city workers draw all of their political and economic inspiration from ruling class sources, however, their very ignorance will cause them to use their franchise wherewith to cut their own economic and political throats. That is what they have been doing in the past, but there is no longer any excuse for such folly. A true understanding of their position in present day society is now easily obtainable, unless they are too mentally lazy to grasp it. A voluminous literature explaining it all is now afloat and it is increasing tremendously in volume. Meetings are being held almost everywhere and the attendance is rapidly increasing. The very atmosphere is even now surcharged with the electricity of revolutionary change. The decades immediately to come will mark the most stupendous changes in social and industrial institutions the world has ever seen. The day of freedom for the toilers of the earth is about to dawn.

* * *

For the workers, both rural and urban; for the progressive thinkers; for those who earnestly look forward to a better order, a more decent arrangement of the social and economic affairs of men; for all who have had enough of slavery, of competition, of brutality and war, the time has come for an alignment of forces for the conquest of the public powers for the common good and welfare of all. If all who really believe in democracy were to move in solid political phalanx against the common foe of all progress and human liberty, the citadel of ruling class power would crumble to ruins and that baneful and sinister instrument of class tyranny and rapine—government—would be shorn of its power for evil, and with its teeth pulled and its claws trimmed might be turned into a

useful and beneficent administrative instrument wherewith to peacefully and decently carry out the requirements of a civilization not based upon slavery and slaughter. It is the mission of this publication to do all within its power to rouse the workers, the useful, the thoughtful, the progressive people of the land, to the necessity of united and emphatic action along political lines for the purpose of wresting from the brutal and conscienceless ruling class of this dominion and of the world, control of that government instrument of oppression and repression whereby the wealth producers are held in the torture of exploitation and robbery in times of peace, and driven ruthlessly into the shambles of ruling class bloodlust and slaughter, in times when rulers and robbers fall out and quarrel over the division of the plunder. United political action by all workers and progressives generally, against the robber class of this and all other lands, is the first consideration, and where these have the franchise there it would be folly to advocate or advise resort to any other means. We still have the franchise in Canada and the United States. Let us use that franchise in our own behalf and that of our class. When we have been deprived of that franchise it will then be time to consider the advisability of using some other equally legal weapon wherewith to effect the deliverance of our class from its age long bondage. In such case even the club would be legal, as any legal gentleman will cheerfully admit, that is if he be paid for the admission. The tactics and methods forced upon the workers and peasants of Russia are not yet necessary here. Let us hope they never will be necessary, but let us also hope, and also solemnly affirm, that whenever it does become necessary to do as the Russian workers have done, that we will not be so lacking in manly courage as to lay down on the job. But the conquest of the public powers by and for the working class, and that too by the use of whatever means may be determined by the ruling class itself, is the first task in hand. It is up to that class whether the change that is coming shall come peacefully, or come "in full panoply of war, with wild dishevelled locks and shod in iron sandals."

E. T. Kingsley

—"Control of State through Political Action Must Be Secured by Forces of United Labor If Certain Victory Is to be Achieved," *Labor Star* (Vancouver), 16 Jan. 1919, 1–2.

On Reconstruction

1919

This article by Kingsley on postwar reconstruction was published in his short-lived *Labor Star* newspaper in February 1919.

“Reconstruction”—And Other Things

Reconstruction is a very popular word these days. It is mouthed with great frequency by statesmen big and statesmen small; “reconstruction” committees and organizations galore are springing up throughout the land; preachers preach about it and platform acrobats unctuously orate of the splendid possibilities behind it that will no doubt blossom in due course, but about all the satisfaction to be derived as yet from all this talk may be found in the tacit admission made by its sponsors and advocates that there is a necessity for it. That is an admission that would have been unthinkable five years ago.

In the opinion of the noisy gang now so lustily prating about “reconstruction,” everything was all right to the breaking out of the war, but for some inscrutable reason they have evidently changed their minds. Something has happened that has altered their view of things and impressed upon them the necessity of what they term “reconstruction.” Just what that something is is difficult to determine.

Things are now just the same as they were before the war, only more so. Being more so it should be apparent that nothing in the shape of “reconstruction” will save this civilization that has already been plunged over the precipice of its own destruction. And besides that there is no logical reason why it should be saved. It is a slave civilization at best and it has not yet been recorded in history that any civilization or empire based upon that infamy ever was saved from eventually dying by its own hand. Babylon, Carthage, Egypt, Greece, Rome all travelled the same route and met the same fate. The present empire of rule and robbery differs from its equally

worthy predecessors only in the fact of being of greater territorial extent and correspondingly more terrible in its brutality and infamy.

What plan has yet been suggested by our disciples of “reconstruction” that would in any manner alter the relationship existing between employer and employee, capitalist and laborer, master and slave? What has yet been offered that will do away with, or in any degree lessen the power of the master to rob and torture the slave? Can any “reconstruction” be suggested that will tend to remove from the slaves the stigma of being property and the ignominy of being compelled to produce wealth for nothing for their owners?

The fact is that all this pretence of “reconstruction” is pure buncombe. It is right in line with that startling innovation, the establishment of government employment offices for the purpose of aiding slaves to find jobs that do not exist. And all such reform and “reconstruction” schemes are equally as silly and futile attempts to stem the rising tide of revolution as was the memorable attempt of Mrs. Partington to sweep back the tide with her broom.¹

Within the camp of organized labor are to be found some ardent “reconstructionists.” Doughty champions of reaction like Gompers loudly proclaim the necessity of labor obtaining a voice in the management and conduct of industry. Very pleasing pictures are shown of typical specimens of the working tribe, quite appropriately clad in overalls and dignity, sitting at the council table along with the capitalist directors of industry and right nobly sharing in the burden and responsibility of successfully skinning slaves and converting their hides into great profit and glory for their owners and masters. These pictures are shown as indicative of what is to come under the oleaginous dispensation of the “reconstruction” era that lies just ahead of us. All that there is in that sort of nonsense is that a few fat billets will be provided for more of the S. Gompers type, an ample supply of which the slave camp of capitalism holds in embryo within its womb ready to come forth when occasion affords the opportunity for proper sustenance. But with workers upon boards of directors and other managing bodies of capitalist industry and business, the production of wealth for the profit owners will

¹ This refers to a fable that can be traced as far back as 1831, to a woman who held back the sea with her broom. See Ray Girvan, “Mrs. Partington and Her Mop: Victorian Meme,” *Journal of a Southern Bookreader* (blog), 21 Sept. 2011, <http://jsbookreader.blogspot.com/2011/09/mrs-partington-and-her-mop-victorian.html>.

continue; the burden of producing the really essential things of life will still be thrust upon the shoulders of less than half of the working class, while the balance will still be driven in the production of those things essential only to the ruling class and the up-building and maintenance of its empire, an empire whose grandeur and magnificence has always been and can only be written in letters of blood and whose highest eulogy has been expressed in the awful slaughter of the last few years.

Pensions for disabled soldiers, homes and sustenance for cripples, soup kitchens for unemployed slaves, the inauguration of "public works" in order to absorb the out-of-works, will undoubtedly be the chief line of "reconstruction," but it will settle nothing, it will change nothing. The same old root cause of all the trouble, the misery, the agony, the turmoil, the strife, the periodical wholesale slaughter and devastation will still remain, undisturbed and unimpaired. The slaves will still be slaves and the masters will still be masters, in spite of all "reconstruction" that stops short of revolution: the complete sweeping away of the right and power of one man or set of men to rule and rob the rest of their kind. Though that may smack of "Bolshevism" it may nevertheless be true.

The way of the transgressor is indeed hard. The German bourgeoisie failed to break the rule of feudalism in the revolution of 1848. It did not subsequently thereto develop sufficient spirit and stamina to go to it again and complete the job if possible. The result was that Germany remained politically feudal, alongside of western neighbors who had become, both industrially and politically, capitalist nations. Being thus held politically feudal and backward, it became certain just the very cataclysm of blood and horror should eventually ensue that was pulled off in 1914.

Out of the feudal ruin resulting from the war the German bourgeoisie is now desperately trying to set up that which it failed to realize in 1848 viz., a bourgeois state, after the pattern of France, Britain or the United States. But the failure of 1848 has so prolonged the job that a new factor, and a very disturbing one at that, has developed and is rudely butting into the arrangements.

A revolutionary proletariat has appeared upon the scene. It seems to be of such proportions as to seriously threaten the success of the bourgeois schemers in completing their revolution against their feudal rulers. This proletariat has no confidence evidently in the state that is to be in

the hands of the Scheidemann-Eberts gang.² They have probably drawn inspiration from observing the felicitous condition of the workers under the regime of “democratic” states of that type, such as Britain, France, U.S., etc., and want none of it. And who can blame them? Who among the workers and real democrats of all lands can wish them anything but success in ousting the Scheidemann-Eberts government and setting up the regime of the revolutionary proletariat, as the Russian workers and peasants have already done? And lucky indeed is the working class of any country that is wise enough to avoid the experience of slavery and suffering under a bourgeois regime of plunder and trade. The feudal infamy was certainly bad enough, but that of the bourgeois has all previous infamies in the slavery line beaten out of sight. Small wonder that a large section of the German working class are averse to allowing it to be forced upon them. All success to the revolutionary proletariat of the world, including Germany.

It should not be forgotten that in 1871 the German authorities kindly placed their armies then on French soil, at the disposal of the Versailles government to aid in crushing the Parisian proletariat which had risen against the vicious and incompetent government of France and established the Commune of Paris. The German armies were placed upon the north and east side of Paris, thus completing the circumvallation of the city, the French forces holding the south and west sides. Not only that but the Germans, out of kindly feelings towards their ruling class cousins thus threatened by the rebellious Parisian workmen, also returned captured arms and other munitions that had been taken from the defeated French during the war of 1870, thereby enabling the latter to butcher the rebels. And it was done to a complete nicety especially appreciated by not only the French bourgeoisie but of all other Christian lands as well. They were butchered almost to a man.

Now take note of what is happening in Germany during these days when the Spartacans and other evolutionary workmen are struggling against the attempt to foist upon the country a bourgeois republic like the French one. The dispatches tell us that “Marshal Foch is allowing them (German authorities) to use German forces to defeat the Proletariat.” The German armies under the armistice are to be demobilized, etc., but the great “Marshall” is allowing them to be used for the purpose of crushing the proletariat.

² See, generally, Ben Fowkes, *The German Left and the Weimar Republic: A Selection of Documents* (Boston: Brill, 2014).

He is evidently returning the favor extended to the French bourgeois by their German cousins in 1871. It would be interesting to know how much farther the French general is going in aiding his erstwhile enemies in putting their slaves right.

All of this “enemy” business that so much noise is made about, vanishes into thin, exceedingly thin air once a common danger rises in the offing of class rule and class robbery. Once a class interest is threatened by the workers, erstwhile deadly enemies within the ranks of the ruling class rush to arms together in common defense of the common right to rule and rob.

It might be well to note that the hymn of hate is no longer sung against the Kaiser by those deadly enemies of his known as the entente allies and the U.S. The Bolsheviki and the Spartacans have now the centre of the stage and the Kaiser has been pushed to the wings. He is practically forgotten. His reign of terror in Belgium and elsewhere has been made to look like thirty cents by the Bolsheviki “reign of terror” in Russia and which threatens to sweep the earth. Fame is indeed fleeting. The kaiser must feel sore at thus being relegated to the background by hitherto unheard of terrorists. He who was once a master terrorist is now forgotten. Novices and amateurs have now become past masters of the art. But the bourgeoisie is still on top in most countries and labor skinning, and its aftermath of trade, commerce and glory still prevails. Glory be!

E. T. Kingsley

—“Reconstruction’—And Other Things,” *Labor Star* (Vancouver), 27 Feb. 1919, 1.

On Collaboration between Labour and Capital

1919

This article by Kingsley, published in the *Labor Star* in March 1919, discusses the tendency of some moderate labour leaders—such as Tom Moore, president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada—to compromise with captains of industry and their organizations. This critical perspective would inform the decision of delegates at the Western Labor Conference in Calgary later that month to break away from their international unions and form the One Big Union (OBU) of all workers.

“Hunting with the Hounds”

That movement of manufacturers and dealers in the basic commodity from which all other commodities spring, i.e., the commodity labor power, like all other merchandising movements, breeds an officialdom that instinctively manifests a more or less sympathetic concern in the doings and activities of other movements of like character. And it is quite to be expected that there should be a sort of affinity between trading fraternities that at least would express itself during normal times, when no extraordinary circumstances had arisen to disturb the trading family life. At times there occurs trouble in the otherwise happy family of capital and labor. Perchance the laborers are not satisfied with the meals provided at the family table, thinking the fare too meagre. On the other hand the capitalist may deem it too plentiful and rather tending to induce gout or fatty degeneration of the soul amongst the laborers. A family row results and the ordinary peaceful and orderly family life is often violently disturbed. In the heat of passion either one or the other brother, either capital or labor, may refuse to listen to the voice of reason and confer with the other for the purpose of settling the dispute and restoring harmony. But after awhile the feud burns itself out and the quarrelling

brothers become reconciled. They are once more on friendly terms. At least they are no longer in open hostility. Then the “labor leader” once more appears in the limelight of capitalist favor. He is called upon to address meetings of the Board of Trade, Chamber of Commerce, Manufacturers’ Association, Rotary Clubs and other similar organizations for spiritual uplift by way of the trade route to earthly glory. He becomes a great man again in the happy family of the exploiter and the exploited, the ruler and the ruled, the robber and the robbed, the master and the slave. Everything is lovely until the next row breaks out, and the same old tale has to be retold.

* * *

There is nothing at all out of place in our “labor leaders” getting their shins under the banquet board of Rotary clubs, manufacturers’ associations, and similar worthy institutions of like character. What could be more appropriate and well calculated to strengthen the bonds of fraternity and good fellowship between trading organisations than that their respective officials and members should meet together in friendly concourse and draw inspiration each from all and all from each? From such feasts of reason and flow of soul great good may come in the way of establishing permanent, pleasing and profound harmony between the profit-hungry skimmers and the oftentimes grub-hungry ones who are skinned.

* * *

Local celebrities in the labor world are no less prone to shed their effulgence upon gatherings of capitalist pirates or grace their banquet boards with their illuminating presence, than are the higher-ups in the “collective bargaining” business, which is but another name for wholesaling and retailing slaves upon the instalment plan. And there is nothing incongruous in this close affiliation of traders in different lines. Trading in the commodity, labor power, is no less noble and uplifting than trading in the other commodities that come forth as a result of its consumption. As labor power is the commodity that functions as the raw material from which all other commodities are manufactured it would appear that the organisations of manufacturers of that particular raw material or commodity should be among the most highly-honored and honorable in the land. Such being the case it seems rather grotesque that the officials of the organisations of commodity manufacturers and dealers, whose merchandise is in reality the parent of all other commodities, should

always be the ones to be patronized to the extent of being asked to grace the meetings of the dealers in inferior commodities with their august presence. But such is the case, although it would appear far more appropriate and fitting if the “collective bargaining” organizations were to do the patronising, by inviting their capitalist brethren to sit at their feet.

* * *

How the mouths of local talent in the fine art of appeasing the capitalist class by gracing his banquet board with their noble presence and soothing his sordid soul with tuneful piffle played upon the harmony string, must water when they read of the splendid opportunities afforded the higher-ups in their business, who are allowed to sit at the feet of the great at the capital of the nation and profusely anoint them with the unctuous bullcon [*sic*] primarily intended to act as a soporific to the wage animal, but found equally pleasing and somnolent to the beast that devours him. The president of the Trades and Labor Congress—which, by the way is a subcommittee of Sam Gompers of Washington, D. C.—was recently the “guest of honor at the manufacturers’ dinner” at Montreal. His name is Thomas Moore, but in the headlines announcing the epoch-making event he is affectionately referred to as “Tom.” The Montreal Daily Star rapturously proclaims that “capital and labor are more friendly,” the proclamation being induced evidently by “Tom’s” presence at the festive board. “A splendid spirit of friendship and appreciation was in evidence.” The stunt was pulled off at the “Ritz-Carlton.” This hostelry is not a cheap joint whose patronage is in manner confined to wage animals. Its atmosphere is considered, however, as eminently calculated to afford the necessary inspiration to enable duly qualified “labor leaders” to speak eloquently and convincingly of the hopes and aspirations of those who neither eat nor sleep there, and also to set forth, in a manner not at all offensive to brother Capital, the proper means to induce brother Labor to sit up straight and keep his nose wiped, without forcing unnecessary expense upon his always-well-behaved and loving brother. And “Tom” accepted the inspiration and spoke as none could were they not inspired. He “thought it was an indication of a more friendly attitude between labor and capital in Canada today when he, the head of trade unionism in Canada, was the guest of honor at a banquet of an association which was supposed to be the strongest opponent of trades unionism.” What else “he” could think under the circumstances of the “banquet” and

himself as the “guest of honor,” is not altogether clear. But the “head of trade unionism in Canada” hastened to assure the misguided members of the Canadian Manufacturers’ Association, whose “guest of honor” he was, that “in opposing trades unionism too strongly, the association and other kindred bodies of employers are really hurting themselves in the eyes of the workers, who have reason to look upon their trade union as the court which gives them justice if they are ill-treated.” Of course, “the workers” are, as is always the case, greatly disturbed lest the employers do something to “really hurt themselves.” That is about the only thing that workers ever lay awake nights worrying over. As for themselves, if they are “ill-treated” their trade union will give them “justice.” It’s a wonder the assembled banqueters didn’t either throw up or burst their buttons with laughter.

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“The speaker made a powerful appeal for the association to back up the unions in their fight against bone-dry temperance legislation, and asserted that those who were the strongest advocates of such a measure were the ones who preached Bolshevism and social revolution.” And there should have been uproarious applause. No doubt there was. The assembled employers were also told “that the enemies of organized society were the very ones who sought to stir up friction between employer and employee, and sometimes in the past such men and members of the association before him tonight, had suffered (just think of it.—Ed.) from the mistakes of unions led by such agitators, but that the responsible trades unionist was the capitalist’s strongest bulwark, if only a friendly co-operation was extended to him, since the trade unionist and, indeed, the worker fully realized that the downfall of the capitalist and the cessation of the work in the factory spelled his own idleness and possible starvation.” The balance of Moore’s twaddle, as far as reported in the daily press, was of the same dull and innocuous type. Pleading for better housing for the workers, for unemployment insurance which would keep the temporarily-discarded slave from completely starving to death, the doing away with child labor, liberating married female slaves from industry, so that they could stay at home and mind their kids, and a sickening mess of similar bleatings for mercy at the hands of the gang assembled thereat, constituted the balance of the intellectual menu provided by the “guest of honor.” When he got through with his piffle there was “great cheering,” all of which may be either taken as an expression of hearty accord

with the aforesaid piffle, or extreme joy because he had finished. The next speaker was a legal sharp who spoke eloquently and convincingly about a new "Insolvency Act." We are justified, however, in feeling sure, that it was in no way intended as a reference to either the intellectual solvency or insolvency, as the case may be, of the illustrious "head of trades unionism in Canada."

* * *

If there is a worker in Canada or elsewhere, either a member of a trade union or not, who does not know that he and his class are slaves, he is by no means well enough informed to be safely allowed out of sight of a jail or an insane asylum. If he knows that he and his class are slaves, he will then be fully aware of the fact that there is no common ground between his class and the ruling or master class. He will recognise the truth of Moore's assertion and assurance that the "intelligent trade unionist," of the type of Moore, and who can doubt that he is himself the type that he refers to as "intelligent," is "the capitalist's strongest bulwark?" If there was anything at all dangerous in the type of "intelligent trade unionist" like Moore, that was in any manner dangerous to the master class, does any sane man think that they would be received as "guests of honor" by any association, or aggregation of exploiting brigands or commercial bandits on earth? There is nothing, and there can be nothing, but deadly enmity between masters and slaves, unless the slaves have lost all trace of manhood and become as veritable cringing curs to lick the boots of their tyrannical and brutal overlords. It is evidently the mission of the Moores and such creatures to keep the rank and file of their unions in leash for the employers and masters. If that be not their mission and purpose then their actions and words belie their professions of faith to those whom they are supposed to represent. In the first place no organization of labor, if it be genuine, can consort with masters' and employers' organizations without stultifying itself. No man who is known to be true to the working class and immune to the blandishments of the employers, will ever get any invitations to officiate as "guests of honor" at their gatherings. And no man who is really loyal and faithful to the cause of labor in its struggle to break the chains of bondage to rulers and masters, will ever so far forget his manhood as to have anything to do with these associations and organizations of the ruling class, except to fight them to the finish and fight them in the open. When slaves or their representatives officially break bread with

the rulers and robbers of labor, and pour the oil of gladness upon the raw nerves of those robbers, the nerves that inevitably run down into their pockets, there is no danger of the condition of the slave class being improved in the least. "No man can serve two masters." He can not "run with the hare and hunt with the hounds." And he who as a "labor leader" attempts to do it should not be flattered by being considered an object of suspicion. His guilt is too apparent. So much for Moore.

E. T. Kingsley

—"Hunting with the Hounds," *Labor Star* (Vancouver), 6 Mar. 1919, 1, 5.

On Wealth

1919

This article by Kingsley was published in the Australian labour press in January 1919.

Anything from the pen of the veteran Canadian Socialist E. T. Kingsley is worth reading. In the following article he explodes the old and generally accepted idea that the world is wealthier to-day than formerly. Incidentally he shows how the workers are “bluffed” into believing something which doesn’t really exist.

The Pleasing Hallucinations of Wealth

The dominant world obsession these days is wealth. Everybody worships at its shrine. Everybody talks about it. Everybody chases it, dreams about it and hope to seize it. He who has it longs for more, and usually leads a life of misery in trying to add to his holdings. And at the same time those who have it also turn heaven and earth to blow it in while they hang on to it and increase its bulk. It sometimes looks as though the world had gone wealth-mad, and that modern civilization was little better than a large-sized crazy house. Men lie for wealth, fight for wealth and die for wealth, oftentimes entirely oblivious of the fact that they, as individuals, never have any of it, and can never hope to get any. Those who do not have it are, as a rule, miserable because of the want of it. Those who have it in the greatest measure often appear to not only be equally as miserable, but frequently more coarse, vulgar and disreputable than those to whom it is an entire stranger.

It is the proud boast of these most glorious days of ruling class blood, slaughter and devastation, that fortunes are being accumulated more rapidly and are assuming a far greater magnitude than ever before. It seems that the human blood and butchery business is either a most profitable one, or it acts as a powerful and paying stimulus to other lines of business effort to voluminously pour forth the figurative flood, that spells wealth gotten

for nothing, in the great and beneficent scheme of uplift and sanctification known as finance, trade and commerce.

Wealth Has Not Increased at All

There is not a whit more wealth in the world to-day than when the curtain was raised upon this delightful ruling-class performance in Europe in the gladsome days of 1914. In fact, there is less now than there was then by just exactly the number of possible producers of the requisite things in life who have been massacred during the delectable and glorious circus. For there is no wealth possible outside the men and women who produce the food, clothing, shelter, and other needed things, those slaves of modern capitalist industry who toil and sweat in feeding to a fascinating fatness the vulgar and conscienceless rulers of the modern world and bedecking them and theirs with all the gewgaws and frippery that their narrow vanity and sordid souls may fancy.

There is no property except slaves. The working people of the earth constitute the sole property of the ruling class. There is nothing outside that property that can feed, clothe and otherwise provide for the owner. The test of property is to provide sustenance for its owner without effort upon his part. It is the slave alone that can do the trick. It is, therefore, to the slave alone that the term property can truthfully apply. Were it not for him, property, in the commercial acceptance of the term, would not and could not exist. There would be nothing on earth that could bring to its owner a profit. There would be nothing to be rated in terms of finance, trade and investment.

Only an Accumulation of Figures

Now, as to the accumulation of wealth, there is none. The production of food, etc., of each year or less period, is consumed as fast as it is produced. There is never any surplus, that is taking it year by year. Everything is used up as fast as it is produced. There is no accumulation, except of figures; the product of labor is taken by rulers and masters and passed along the channels of trade and commerce, so-called, until it has been consumed by the workers, the masters and other parasites and supernumeraries camped along the luscious trail. It is taken holus-bolus from the workers who produce it for the very

simple reason that there is nothing either on earth, in the heavens, or hell itself wherewith to make payment.

There is nothing conceivable that enters into the exchange of the market, except the products of labor. There is nothing measurable in terms of exchange outside of those products. Therefore, there is nothing, and there can be nothing with which to make any payment, either to the working man or anyone else. Products are taken from the slaves who bring them forth and nothing is given in return. As there is nothing with which to make payment to the workers who have produced these things, for the reasons already set forth, by the same token there is nothing with which to make payment to those who subsequently divide the plunder among themselves and call it business.

The working man, the producer, receives a promise to pay, which is nothing but an order upon the warehouse for sufficient food, etc., to enable him to refortify himself with energy so that he may be able to continue upon the morrow to produce wealth that is to be taken from him for nothing, the same as the day before. It is just the same as is done without any pretence of democracy, liberty or payment, by the owners of horses and mules in dealing with those useful four-legged slaves.

The Workers “Bluffed”

That which is not of necessity fed to the wage slaves and the working farmers (these are but modified wage slaves, their slavery being very thinly disguised under a fancied ownership of their land and tools) is passed from hand to hand through business channels until it is consumed as already related. It is sort of skidded along, the ways being greased with the same sort of promises to pay that were used to hocus pocus the producer into believing that he had been paid for what he did in the first instance. After the stuff has all been consumed, the grease still remains in the shape of a most imposing array of figures upon bank ledgers, stocks, bonds, bills, mortgages and other clever contrivances of financial deception and ruling class legerdemain. This imposing array of figures is fervently worshipped by the devotees of great wealth, and it is but fair to say that by far the greatest number of these devotees are to be found among the silly asses who have produced all of the real wealth, the food, clothing, etc., and been muled out of it, as were the stone gods of pagan times worshipped by the fools of those days.

The Most Grotesque Hallucination of the Age

After one year's production has been thus disposed of, and the figures representing the magnitude of the year's plunder have been added to those previously accumulated, there usually occurs what is jocularly termed the "cutting of a melon." This really amounts to nothing but a division of the figures accumulated during the year among the players according to the duly recorded paper bluff they individually are able to put up. While it appears to be a most solemn and imposing performance to Henry Dubb, this "melon cutting" is a most mirth-provoking comedy to any one who is not wilfully, persistently and mathematically blind.

After cavorting thusly around the grotesque circle of one per annum's financial flimflam, and having gotten neatly away with the season's swag, with no trace left but the figures, all that is necessary to properly open up the succeeding year's cycle is to use just enough of the accumulated grease (figuratively speaking, of course) to bamboozle the slaves for about one payday and these same slaves will immediately recoup the masters for the expenditure, and all down through the glad new year there will come forth an array of entirely new figures (termed surplus value) to mount up on top of previous accumulations, and thus swell the magnitude of the wealth of the world, still figuratively speaking, to be sure. But that this accumulation of figures is an accumulation of wealth, or has any connection whatever with wealth accumulation, is one of the most grotesque hallucinations of this highly intellectual age of things ludicrous, paradoxical and grotesque. It is, however, a most prevalent hallucination. Nearly everybody totes it around with him. Very amusing! Very much so, indeed!

E. T. Kingsley

—"The Pleasing Hallucinations of Wealth," *Australian Worker* (Sydney), 30 Jan. 1919, 15.

On Gold

1919

This article by Kingsley was published in the Australian labour press in February 1919.

In this article, which is of commanding interest just now, Comrade E. T. Kingsley, author of “The Genesis and Evolution of Slavery,” explodes an old, yet fallacious idea, in rare style.

Gold—The Sacred Ikon of Payment

Even most of these scientific persons who are so thoroughly imbued with the compelling virtue of their own scientific attainments along economic lines, that they are thrown into violent fits of petulance at the mere proximity of the ignorant and illiterate freaks that constitute the common mob, seem to be largely if not hopelessly obsessed with the notion that things in this world can be bought, sold and paid for, and that marvellous consummation is somehow or other arrived at through the mysterious properties of a certain metal known as gold. This particular metal, just like iron, copper, lead, tin and all other metals and things that are met with in the markets of the world, has been brought forth from Nature’s crucible and made presentable for association with other commodities, by exactly the same force and process that has been responsible for the appearance there of all the rest of them. It has been brought forth and fashioned for participation in the commodity parade solely by the hand of labor, and having been so brought in and introduced to the motley throngs of wares for sale, it becomes subject to all the fluctuations, exigencies and idiosyncrasies of the market, just like the rest of the bunch.

Its value in exchange for other commodities can only be determined or arrived at by the same process or method of calculation that applies to them all. All commodities have a common parentage; they are brought forth by labor alone. Their relative exchange value, that is the value of one compared

to the value of another, in exchange, can only be arrived at by a comparison of the respective quantities of labor necessarily embodied in their production. There is but one way yet known to man to solve the problem, and that is to reduce the production of the commodity to the terms of an individual adult, and measure his time by the clock. The necessary labor time thus arrived at becomes the measure of exchange value for the commodity in question. As a similar process has been worked out in regard to all other commodities, their exchange one for another becomes a simpler matter, and, approximately, of course, a reasonably correct one.

Gold Does Not Measure Value

As there are very many different commodities monitored over a wide market, and the owner of any given commodity may not be personally able to meet one who has the particular commodity he desires to obtain in exchange, and vice versa, the expedient of buying and selling has been devised and become a universal practice. To effect this it becomes necessary to translate the exchange value of all commodities into terms of some one commodity that has been selected for the purpose and which is generally recognised and accepted as authoritative and official. The commodity at present in use for this purpose is gold. All other commodities are compared to gold in order to determine their relative value thereto. Gold does not measure their value, any more than they in each case measure that of gold.

To arrive at the conclusion, through comparison, that a certain quantity of gold of a certain fineness is equivalent in value to a given quantity of flour, for instance, by no means establishes any given quantity of exchange value. It merely indicates that the value contained in the one is equal to that contained in the other. It really means that the amount of adult human labor measured by time, necessarily embodied in the one is equal to that necessarily embodied in the other. Hence the value of, say, a barrel of flour, would be expressed in terms of gold as being £3, and the value of that quantity of gold, expressed in terms of flour, would be one barrel of that commodity.

“The Clever Hocus-Pocus of Financial Deceit”

Once the comparison has been made and the value of these commodities translated into money (gold) terms, that particular commodity performs

no further function in exchange, except in perhaps the settlement of trade balances between countries, and even in such case it functions merely as a commodity that is of general acceptance. Such balances might just as readily be settled by the transfer of any other commodity in common and general use, such as iron or copper, for instance. There is nothing about gold that is in any way more mysterious and potent in matters of trade and commerce than there is about anything else that is as commonly used. Whatever mysterious power or property it appears to possess is due entirely to the clever hocus-pocus and “abracadabra” flimflam of financial deceit and swindle that has been practised for so long upon the slaves and gudgeons by the rulers and rogues who must cloak and cover their rascalities by hypocrisy and camouflage. As gold is merely one commodity in the long list of similar things that are produced by labor, it does not require any very powerful remaining faculties to realise that it could no more effect payment for the production of these things than could any other part of the things produced. Not only is gold but a part of the many things produced, but in value it constitutes but an infinitesimal part of the total value brought forth. And it could not pay for anything, because it, like all other commodities, can only be brought into the channels of exchange, trade and commerce by being first taken from the producers thereof without any payment whatsoever. Like all other commodities it is the product of slave labor, for by no other token can trade and commerce exist.

There is no other way to get the wherewith to carry on trade, commerce, business, finance, except through the enslavement of labor and the consequent seizure and control of the wealth brought forth by such enslaved labor, and the sacred gold, the professed means of payment, is but a part of the plunder and a very small part at that. It is neither a means of payment nor a measure of value. It is purely the one particular commodity selected from the lot, for the purpose of acting as a sort of common denominator in the processes of exchange, that are entailed in the disposition and distribution of the loot accruing to the rulers and masters of the earth through the plundering, skinning and trimming of slaves.

Why No Payment Can Be Made

As for payment, it is impossible, either in gold or anything else. The sum of the world's capitalisation, including all bonds stocks, deeds, debentures,

mortgages, loans (either national or otherwise), bank accounts, warehouse receipts, bills payable and bills receivable, bills of lading, currency and all the rest of the paper flimflam and financial phantasmagoria of this crazy age, is pure and adulterated debt; a charge against the future; an obligation that has arisen out of the impossibility of any and all payment in the past, and equally impossible of any and all payment in the future for the very same reason that it has all been contracted, accumulated and mobilised. And that reason is that there never was anything wherewith payment could be made; there is nothing now; and there can be nothing in the future.

Everything that is supposed to be bought, and exchanged, traded in, paid for, eaten up, worn out, blown up by war or otherwise, either profitably or unprofitably disposed of is produced from day to day and year to year, and in the same manner and by the same process disposed of. No payment for such production can be made, for the simple reason that there is nothing outside of that production itself, and it is all consumed as fast as brought forth. Nothing remains but the figures expressing that which has been produced and either consumed or destroyed, without any payment whatsoever.

A Preposterous Swindle

These gallant figures in most noble array constitute what is grandiloquently termed by statesmen, philosophers, sages, pundits, economists, financiers, and rogues and muddle-heads generally, as “the great wealth of the world,” a wealth that is increasing “by leaps and bounds” as the years go by. And they tell us that these figures represent real wealth and all these promises are “based on gold.” The plain fact is that they represent debt and the whole preposterous swindle is based upon the countless millions of slaves and gudgeons whose ignorance and blind loyalty to their masters alone make the present world nightmare of civilization, misery and slaughter possible. And the only actual payment that is ever made, or that is possible, is the payment made daily by the slaves who sweat, bleed and die for the empire of their masters, rulers and torturers. Ruling-class payment is a greater joke than a Russian ikon.

E. T. Kingsley

—“Gold—The Sacred Ikon Payment,” *Australian Worker*, 13 Feb. 1919, 15.

On Class War

1919

This article by Kingsley was published in his short-lived newspaper the *Labor Star*, in the immediate aftermath of the Western Labour Conference in Calgary in March 1919, where delegates endorsed the One Big Union. The article provides a window into Kingsley's political thought during the high-water mark of Canadian workers' postwar challenge to capitalism.

The Class War Is Now On!

Civilization is synonymous with human slavery.

The civilized period began with the birth of slavery and that accursed infamy still remains as the cornerstone which the entire superstructure of civilization rests.

Upon the one hand stands the class masters and exploiters; the ruling class that governs the workers that it may rob them of the fruits of their labor, and rob them because it governs them.

Upon the other hand the working class, the producers of all wealth, driven like galley slaves to their tasks by the lash of necessity, and plundered of their products by the class that lives and thrives by rule and robbery.

For thousands of years the toilers of the world have been thus ruled and robbed, first as chattels, then as serfs and now as wage slaves, by the self-appointed rulers and ruffians who have forced the shackles of servitude upon them.

Government is now, as it always was, the instrument of the ruling class, the enginery of oppression and repression whereby the rulers and robbers maintain their stranglehold upon the workers and complete mastery over the products they bring forth.

It is the sole means whereby masters can retain their mastery, and slaves be held in leash for that exploitation out of which alone can be built and

maintained the empire of pomp, magnificence and vulgar ceremony so dear to the ruling class heart and consoling to the ruling class conscience.

With its armies, navies, its police, parliaments, and its official staff of rogues and stool-pigeons from the great statesmen at the top to the lowest type of secret service sneak at the bottom, its terrific powers of oppression, repression and persecution are made to reach to the uttermost parts of the land, and from which no individual or fireside may escape.

With its absolute control of all legal means of education and the dissemination of information; with its control of all means of communication such as postal service, telegraph, cables, wireless, telephones, etc., it becomes a most deadly influence against the extension of human knowledge, and a most powerful factor in deepening the ignorance of human kind, through such dissemination of falsehoods and such appeals to prejudice as are well calculated to awaken to activity the baser passions of mankind.

Government is the very citadel and sole bulwark of class rule and power; it is the gun held at the breast of the victim while the robber goes through his pockets; it is supreme master of the field of industry from which is gathered the rich plunder that constitutes the boasted wealth and power of the class that now as truly rules and robs the slaves as did the chattel slave masters and feudal lords of old.

Government is master of the shop, the job, the slaves and the product of his toil, because government is the instrument, the servant, the agent, the orderly, the very 'Rock of Ages' of the ruling class, and without which it would not and could not be.

There is nothing in common between master and slave. There can be nothing in common between, them. There is no point upon which they can agree without sacrificing and destroying the interest of either one or the other. Their interests are diametrically opposed at all times and under all circumstances. The interest of the master is to hold the slave in subjection and rob him; the interest of the slave is to attain his freedom from such robbery. And there is no middle ground upon which they can meet.

Civilization all down through the ages has been but a thinly veiled civil war during times of so-called peace, and an open and unconcealed slaughter of slaves during times of war, the grand culmination of which occurred during the last four or five years in the grandest slaughter of the kind for the purpose of a ruling class holiday ever recorded.

Slave revolts there have been at intervals, during the civilized period, right down to the present time. These revolts have always been quelled by using loyal slaves to beat or shoot the rebels either into oblivion or submission. But out of the ruling class fury of the last four years, which resulted in the slaughter of millions of slaves, there has come a revolt that is not mere rebellion—but revolution. The exploited slaves of the earth are rising for the complete overthrow of the class that has for so long ruled and robbed them.

The last dynastic war has been fought; the last sacrificial offering of millions of slaves upon the altar of ruling class-fury has been recorded. The class war is now on throughout the earth. In Russia the blow has been struck and the capitalist and landlord abolished. The peasants and workmen are bringing order out of the chaos and misery that centuries of ruling class plunder and rapine have brought upon the land. The sorry remnants of the old brutal tyranny of class rule and robbery, that are left upon Russian soil, are maintained only by the bayonets of the western nations that attempt to camouflage their worse than Prussian autocracy by the flimsiest of hypocrisy and democratic pretense.

In Germany the same revolutionary uprising against the regime of slavery and plunder is slowly but surely forging on to victory. The capitalist and landlord robbers are doomed to extinction, as forces of plunder and rapine. The slaves will come into their own no matter what the cost. When Prussian militarism went down it pulled down the entire establishment, of exploitation, trade and commerce that rested upon it, and the victorious “Allies” now stand aghast at the ruin wrought, for by the same token their own precious establishments of similar import are tottering to destruction.

In all lands of Europe the ghost of revolution is knocking at the outer gates and there is fear and trembling within the ruling class camp. The slaves are becoming restless and the rulers have no comforting medicine to soothe their excitement. They are making ever more pressing demands upon their masters and the masters find it ever more and more impossible to comply. The ruling class establishment of the entire world has been well nigh wrecked by the fury and blast of the bloody and destructive storm of war, a war that brought to a swift, culmination all of the possibilities of impotence, for any other purpose than that of slaughter and devastation of a civilisation based upon the exploitation and torture of slaves by masters. It brought clearly to the vision of millions just what such a civilization really is, as well as the sole

function and purpose of governments of a ruling class, a function expressed only in repression, slaughter and rapine.

And the ghost of revolution hovers over the scene here upon this western continent, affrighting the rulers by day and haunting their dreams by night. Never was there such alarm in the dovecote of ruling class democracy before. Never were the magicians of the mouth so busily engaged in verbal efforts to forefend the evil threatening the ruling class; never were the low stool-pigeons of authority more zealous in performing their nefarious task of safeguarding the interests of their masters and employers eavesdropping and peeking through keyholes. Never was the noble art of lying and the spreading of falsehood brought to such a high state of efficiency, as has now been attained by the paid liars of the press, pulpit and platform of capitalism, for the eminently worthy purpose of making the criminal ruling class appear white, while its now revolutionary victims are painted in the blackest of colours.

But it is of no use. The ghost, like, Banquo's, will not down. The war bought forth the Nemesis of capitalism, the revolutionary proletariat of all lands. And nothing else could have come out of it, for the working class, the only useful part of human society, can no longer live under slavery. Its exploitation has become so intense, the efficiency of the mechanism of exploitation has become so great that neither masters nor slaves can longer continue it. The masters cannot dispose of the products except by war and that forces the entire establishment into irretrievable bankruptcy because war is nonproductive and capital cannot grow upon that which is solely destructive. War thus hastens the end. The slaves cannot live under perpetual war, because it will in time exterminate them. They can no longer exist under capitalism because it can no longer give them employment and insure them sufficient remuneration to sustain themselves and [their] families.

During war, while working people are killing each other by the thousands, capitalists are patriotically piling up wealth in figures, that in orders upon the future, beyond the dreams of avarice. They continue to exploit those who are not in uniform and they do it with the same degree of cheerfulness and aplomb that they feed the uniformed ones into the cannon's mouth. They go "over the top" in their particular line as gaily and with an intense love of country, as the soldier in the trenches goes "over the top" for "liberty, democracy and the rights of small nations."

The interests of capitalists are alike in all countries. Capital is international. The ousted capitalists and landlords of Russia have the heartfelt sympathy of all of their precious breed and ilk throughout the world. They are all blood of the same blood, and flesh of the same flesh. The aid that is now being given by the capitalist and landlord governments of western Europe and this continent to the monarchist, capitalist and landlord remnants of the Czarist regime, affords ample proof of the fact. Were it not for that aid and support, by bayonets and munitions, the peasants and workers regime of Russia would be swiftly completed over the entire country and the bloodthirsty and rapacious remnants of the old tyranny would be swept into oblivion where they properly belong.

As capital is international, so is labor international. The interests of labor are identical all over the earth. The workers are no less slaves in Britain, France, Italy, Canada and the United States, than they are in any other land, in spite of the loud-mouthed asseverations of "democracy" to the contrary notwithstanding. No matter whether they are exploited by capitalists of their own race and tongue, or by aliens, they are skinned to the quick with equal contempt for their squeals. They are as mercilessly ruled and robbed by their own countrymen as by any others!

An injury, to the workers of one land is an injury to the workers of all lands. A shot fired at the peasants and workers of Russia is a shot fired at the working class of the world, no matter if that shot be fired by a Canadian workingman in the king's uniform, or a renegade Russian workingman under command of a Kolchak or other monarchist remnant who is struggling to reinstate the old regime. All workers are equally guilty in being used as tools to crush their fellow slaves into subjection, it matters not what uniform they wear or whose orders they obey.

It is up to the workers of all other lands, that is if they are worthy to become men, to make imperative demands upon their precious governing authorities to withdraw such troops as they may have in Russia at once, and leave the settlement of the internal affairs of that country to those who inhabit it. And the workers of all countries have upon occasion laid down their tools for far less worthy purposes than for the enforcement of such a demand.

It should not stop there. A similar and equally emphatic demand should be simultaneously made by the workers of all lands, that all troops should be withdrawn from other countries immediately, and that without exception. A

halt should be called at once upon all such ruffianism as the occupation of any country by the uniformed conscripts or volunteers of another.

The class war is on, and all the talk of verbose magicians of reconciliation about bringing harmony and understanding to capital and labor is so much moonshine. Oil and water cannot mix. The elements of cohesion are not there. Neither can the slave and his master be reconciled. Their interests are always in opposition, no matter how much verbal oil may be poured upon the troubled waters. It is war to the knife and the knife to the hilt between them. There can be no peace until the slave is free, his shackles and the authority of his erstwhile master thrown into the discard of oblivion, never to be resurrected.

The class war centres around the control of the state, the rulers to maintain it for the purpose of perpetuating their rule and robbery of slaves; the latter to gain control of it for the purpose of spiking its guns as against the working class; and using its powers to effect the transformation of civilization and society from slavery to freedom. With such transformation completed the state, as a repressive and coercive force, will die out, being resolved merely into an administrative process of the common affairs of a free people, a people no longer exploited by rulers and ruling classes.

Let no misguided disciple of "One Big Union," or other similar conception, delude himself into fancying that the hold of the ruling class can be broken without first stripping from its hands the control of that instrument (the state) solely by means of which it maintains its mastery over the working class and its products.

The class war is on. Line up, oh ye slaves, for the battle! Use the legal weapon of the franchise where and when ye still possess it. Where you have it not, struggle to get it. If that be denied you, then take whatever weapons the occasion may warrant and circumstances place within your reach.

But remember the class war is now.

E. T. Kingsley

—"The Class War Is Now On!," *Labor Star*, 20 Mar. 1919, 1.

On the Paris Peace Conference

1919

This article by Kingsley originally appeared in his short-lived newspaper, the *Labor Star*, in February 1919 and was republished in the Australian labour press in May 1919.

In the following article, E. T. Kingsley—the veteran Canadian socialist—handles a topical subject in his usual masterly manner, and reveals the hypocritical pretences of the international statesmen gathered at Paris at what, for want of a better name, is called a “Peace Congress.”

An International Madhouse

Some months have elapsed since the signing of the armistice. The dogs of war are supposed to be in leash and the dove of peace is expected to again hover over the scene. Alleged statesmen of mighty calibre have been for some time foregathered at the victor’s banquet board, presumably for the purpose of refurbishing the dove’s plumage and renovating dovecote that have been badly ruffled and befouled by the ruling class family row of the last four and a-half years.

Sometimes this gathering in Paris is jocularly termed a “Peace Congress,” but captious critics who claim to have peeped through the keyhole assert that the performance thereat bears a much more striking resemblance to a conclave of pickpockets, porch climbers, bandits, and burglars assembled for the profound purpose of dividing the loot and apportioning the plunder, than it does to a show having anything to do with “peace,” unless it is to demonstrate its utter impossibility.

While no sin of governments during the past has been more loudly condemned and raucously execrated by the disciples of hypocrisy and deceit, whose mission has been to stir up so much fog and confusion about the cause of the recent bloodletting that the common herd would be unable to arrive at any clear understanding of that cause, than the sin of “secret diplomacy,” it

is worthy of note that no greater secrecy could be thrown about the deliberations of this alleged "Peace Congress" if it was actually a gathering of bandits to divide the plunder or lay plans for a future raid.

What Guarantee Is There of Peace?

Even supposing that the "Peace Congress" does in due time conclude its deliberations and a peace is signed, have we any assurance that peace will prevail? Is there anything in the world situation today that makes peace at all possible? From every quarter comes tales of increasing unrest and discontent among the working people. It becomes each day more and more impossible for the masters to find employment for their slaves, and without employment there can be neither quiet nor content.

Ruling class industry in its very highest development has been emphatically demonstrated during the last four years. The mightiest production of ruling class essentials the world ever saw took place during that time. Never before upon such a grand scale was the function of class rule so clearly demonstrated; never was ruling class efficiency and the superlative excellence of its industrial and governing mechanism so convincingly expressed as during that glorious period. No such stupendous slaughter and devastation was ever pulled off before; never was there a more complete justification of class rule staged in all human history; never were the splendid possibilities of human slaughter by the machine method more magnificently exemplified; never was there such a striking comparison drawn between the productive power and "kultur" of the primitive and barbaric past and that of Christian civilization.

The End of Class Rule

But this grand triumph of ruling class industrialism and its methods registers the beginning of the end of class rule and class robbery. The huge mechanism of ruling class industry, the eventual and ultimate purpose of which has been so magnificently disclosed during the years just passed, can no longer be made to function as the mechanism of peaceful industry. The whole fabric of industrialism is falling to pieces.

Made and finally perfected for the sole purpose of slaughter and devastation, once the huge task of the last years is finished, once the grand culmination of all ruling class "aspirations" has been attained in the complete

triumph of capitalist civilization over its feudal forebear from whose loins it sprung, the mechanism breaks down. That which has been created purely for the purpose of war, slaughter and devastation cannot be used as the foundation for an edifice of peace.

Capitalism in a Dilemma

In spite of the fact that some hundreds of millions of slaves were turned from the production of the really essential things of life and their every energy expended in killing, maiming and destroying upon a scale hitherto undreamed of, there has yet been sufficient of those essential things produced to satisfy all reasonable demands. And now that the slaughter has at least momentarily ceased and the machinery thereof is no longer kept going full tilt, the ruling class world is thrown into a veritable jimjams of turmoil, strife and revolutionary action growing out of the inability of rulers and masters to turn their enginery of slaughter and rapine to the requirements of peace.

Evidently the industrial mechanism so-called that has been devised and designed to promote slaughter, devastation and waste, cannot be turned to the production of the essential things of life and the inauguration of an era of peace, plenty and fraternity. War, bloody and destructive, is the highest achievement of which ruling class civilization is apparently capable. In world-wide war the ruling class attains its final goal. Its supreme mission has been realized in the last four years. Senile decay swiftly follows, and its civilization becomes an international madhouse. Can one arrive at any other conclusion after taking careful survey of the world situation as it is to-day?

—“An International Madhouse,” *Australian Worker* (Sydney), 22 May 1919, 15; originally published in the *Labor Star* (Vancouver), 27 Feb. 1919, 4–5.

On Capitalist Civilization

1919

Article by Kingsley in the Australian labour press, 1919.

Capitalist Civilization

Far from emancipating mankind, civilisation under the capitalist system has put the last and finishing touch to the art of exploiting the workers to the supreme limit. As E. T. Kingsley, the veteran Canadian Socialist shews in the following article, capitalist civilisation is but the third stage in the evolution of human slavery.

If we are to believe what the spokesmen and apostles of the present order tell us, civilisation has been saved from the forces of evil that sought to destroy it. It seems that while the death of one man upon the cross was all that was required to save humanity from paying the penalty of its transgressions and sins, it has cost the lives of more than ten million, the mutilation of probably twenty million more and misery and agony of a countless multitude besides, to save this glorious civilisation from the fell designs of a certain Mr. Hohenzollern, who, however, has thus been happily frustrated in his wicked purpose.¹ Now, if it be true that this glorious civilisation has been saved, it would perhaps be well to know what it has really been saved from and for how long a period that salvation may be assured.

Chattel Slavery Dogs

Capitalist civilisation is the third stage in the evolution of human slavery that has followed in the footsteps of what has been termed barbarism. The first stage of that evolution is commonly referred to as chattel slavery. During that period the slave was owned openly and outright by the master, like

¹ The House of Hohenzollern ruled Germany until the establishment of the Weimar Republic at the end of the First World War.

a horse, an ass or an ox. For thousands of years that type of slavery and the civilisation built upon it held sway. Its reign extended over practically all of the then known world. Great empires rose from the toil, sweat and agony of the cruelly-driven slaves of those times, and each in turn crumbled to decay.

All fell to ruin through the corruption and rottenness bred from the foul crime of slavery upon which they were built. Human institutions, human society, a civilisation based upon that parent of all lesser crimes, slavery, can be no less criminal than that from which they spring. That which is based upon crime cannot long survive. It will inevitably perish from its own poison and corruption if not sooner brought to its end by other means. It will eventually meet dissolution by its own hand if it be not otherwise destroyed. Practically the last trace of chattel slave civilisation has long since passed away.

The Next Stage

Let it be noted that the next succeeding form of slavery was not born from the womb of chattel slavery. It rose from the ruins of Roman civilisation when that rotten old slave empire had fallen to complete decay. Out of the ruin and chaos eventually arose the new slavery, but between the downfall of the old and the birth of the new a considerable period lapsed, that is all but a blank in human history.

The new slavery was not a child of the old, but was rather a resurrection of its spirit garbed in more deceitful habiliments. Though changed in outward appearance its essence was the same. The slaves were either trimmed of the result of their labor in times of peace or fed into the furnace of hell in times of war, by their overlords and owners, just as had been the lot of their predecessors the chattel slaves.

The Workers under Feudalism

The second stage of slavery is known as feudalism. The slavery of the toilers was thinly camouflaged under the guise of being attached to the land and bound by ties of fealty to the lord thereof. Feudal serfs were not sold from hand to hand as were chattel slaves. They remained within their lord's domain, however, and were not allowed outside thereof without proper

permission. Within that domain they were allowed certain privileges and so-called rights that were unknown to their chattel slave predecessors. But like the latter they were compelled to work for their feudal lord without payment therefor. Out of their unpaid toil and sweat the pomp and magnificence of feudal civilisation was built.

In time that stage of development of human slavery passed away and the era of Capitalism followed. The late delightful ruling class family row in Europe, and which is perhaps not yet entirely finished, is but a part of the cleaning-up process that is sweeping away the surviving remnants of the old feudal regime that preceded Capitalism. The mid-European survival of feudalism having been tumbled to ruins under the lusty strokes of the child of its own loins, practically clears the world stage of the last feudal rubbish, with the exception of an Oriental remnant that is now courting the same fate.

Capitalism is now supreme in so far as its erstwhile feudal parent is concerned. Capitalist civilisation has thus been saved from being strangled by its wicked progenitor. All this talk about France and other Allies having “found their souls” in the late blood feast is pure nonsense, but they did at last find the requisite stranglehold to prevent the wicked parent from destroying its virtuous offspring.

The Supreme Limit

It has been left to the third stage of slavery—capitalist civilisation—to put the last and finishing touch to the art of exploiting slaves to the supreme limit. Alongside of the achievements in this line of the last hundred or so years, those of ancient chattel slavery and the feudalism of the medieval age appear like the work of unskilled amateurs.

Never before were such gigantic undertakings accomplished; never were such tremendous fortunes garnered; never were such magnificent and luxurious military spectacles of slaughter and rapine possible; never before was it within the power of the ruling class to recklessly and deliberately cast ten million slaves to the slaughter and cripple and damage probably twice as many more, without suffering any material loss. The highest efficiency of a civilisation based upon human slavery is measured by the stern repression and exploitation of slaves in times of peace and their wholesale conscription

and slaughter in times of war. Ruling class efficiency can be expressed in no other manner.

The High-Water Mark of Civilisation

The high-water mark of achievement in this line has easily been attained by the splendidly-efficient ruling class of this most glorious age. Never in all of its bloody history did a ruling class ever succeed in pulling off such a magnificent spectacle of blood, guts, gore and devastation as that staged during the past four years. And there is every reason why it should have been a grand spectacle, for it represents all the knowledge the ruling class has been enabled in the noble art of human butchery, rapine and devastation. It is a splendid display of the full flower and fruitage of a crime ten thousand years old.

That countless millions of slaves could thus be made to go daily forth to kill and be killed for no more noble purpose than that of perpetuating their own slavery and incidentally composing the quarrels of their bloodthirsty and unscrupulous owners and masters, speaks volumes for the efficiency of the ruling class in training slaves to act as good slaves ought to act, when the word of command is spoken by authority. Under no form of slavery were the slaves more docile and well-behaved than under Capitalism and at no period in history were they so productive of wealth and grandeur for their owners and masters. Especially is this true of the slaves of this western contingent. All of which is no doubt due to the fact that their slavery is so completely camouflaged with the outward appearance of freedom that the slaves actually believe they are free indeed.

E. T. Kingsley

—“Capitalist Civilization,” *Australian Worker* (Sydney), 24 July 1919, 21.

On the 1921 Canadian Parliamentary Election

1921

This is the last published work by Kingsley that we have discovered. It was published in the *British Columbia Labor News* in December 1921, exposing the moral and intellectual bankruptcy of the Canadian ruling class in the midst of that year's parliamentary election campaign.

Tariff Not a Campaign Issue: Old Parties Have No Real Issues Says Old Labor Party Campaigner

An election campaign is now on in this Dominion of Canada, for the purpose of electing a House of Commons, from which a government will be forced to preside over the destiny of the country and steer the "Ship of State" safely through reefs and tide rips of a possibly adverse fortune during another period of years. Probably no similar campaign has ever been marked with a more complete absence of issues or policy to be fought out by contending participants in the old parties for "public honors" than this one.

For good and sufficient reasons the political talent of the ruling class in human society has been rapidly deteriorating in quality of latter years. From an impartial survey of the situation throughout the world and of the political timber available to prop it up with, it appears that the intellectual bankruptcy of the political parties and henchman of the ruling class is well nigh established, at any rate as far as Canada is concerned. No duller mediocrity was ever displayed upon the public platform, nor by means of the other official pronouncements of the old line politicians and so-called statesmen and apologists of the present regime of plunder and rapine. And how could it be otherwise than that the rulers and their satellites should land in moral and intellectual bankruptcy once the industrial and financial establishments of that ruling class have gone over the precipice of manifest impossibility? It is quite the common thing for bankrupts and

threatened bankrupts to go “bughouse” and even suicide in some cases. That is evidently the only alternative afforded our present rulers and their tools, in face of the utter impossibility of a further carrying on of their industrial and financial game at full tilt. That perhaps accounts for the weird cavortings and meaningless mutterings upon the part of alleged statesmen and leading publicists of today.

The culmination of a hundred centuries of human slavery and its vulgar trail of business, trade and commerce, was the precipitation of the most gigantic, bloody and destructive war ever yet recorded in history. The closing of this magnificent spectacle has been swiftly followed by every evidence of financial bankruptcy, accompanied with all of its attendant phenomena, by no means the least of which is a tremendous slowing down of industry and a threateningly dangerous condition of unemployment throughout the world.

The figures usually offered as an indication or expression of the wealth of the world, upon examination, turn out to be merely figures of debt, a debt that can never be paid for the good and sufficient reason that all that is produced is consumed equally as fast as it is brought forth. Small wonder that these figures at last reach such imposing dimensions that the bubble finally bursts and bankruptcy ensues.

To make a long story short, the history of the last ten thousand or more years has been the history of human slavery. Its culmination has been the delectable affair that broke out in 1914, the aftermath of which is still with us in the nature of the bankruptcy and collapse already mentioned. The utter impossibility of slavery has thus been clearly made manifest. The human race cannot live under it for any appreciable length of time. The accursed thing will eventually wreck itself, and man will perish unless a return be made to the path of liberty, and that sane manner of existence that actuates the life and purpose of all other living things.

Slavery, with its attendant trade and commerce, is doomed. It is now in collapse, and must go down and out. The vaunted industrialism of the ruling class has been tried in the balance and the result can be read by he who has eyes with which to see and a brain at all capable of reasoning.

The most that can truthfully be said for the boasted mechanical achievements of the past is that they have proven worthy of their creation, for they have been devised solely for the purposes of a ruling class and those purposes are summed up in the conclusion that they never did serve, and never can be made to serve any other purpose than that of intensifying and expediting

the exploitation of slaves and turning the fruits of such exploitation to the account of their rulers.

In the face of these very easily verified facts, what supine twaddle it is to pretend that the “tariff,” for instance, or such other silly stuff can be termed a campaign issue. It is all too childish and empty to come forth from the mouths of even normal babes and sucklings. Such stuff can only issue from the caverns of moral and intellectual bankruptcy.

E. T. Kingsley

—“Tariff Not a Campaign Issue,” *British Columbia Labor News* (Vancouver), 2 Dec. 1921, 1, 3.

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Part II

**Selected Speeches of
E. T. Kingsley**

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On the Aims of Socialism

1895

This is the first known report of a speech by Kingsley following his disablement at Spring Gulch, Montana, and his transformation into a revolutionary socialist. He delivered the speech at San Francisco's Knights of Pythias Hall on 27 October 1895 during his time as an organizer with the Socialist Labor Party.

Aims of Socialism: E. T. Kingsley Defines the Purpose of the Organization for Industrial Improvement

The advocates of socialism, represented as the American Section of the Socialistic Labor Party, held a well-attended meeting in Pythian Hall last evening. E. T. Kingsley was selected to address the gathering upon the aim and tendency of the socialistic movement. The speaker dwelt at considerable length upon the present system of municipal government and gave emphatic expression to his opinions upon its defects and the methods by which they might be remedied. He declared that in the realization of their purpose the socialists should aim at the control of no single branch of the government but endeavor to control all. Socialism, he explained, is not an institution whose purpose is to eliminate the monopolies one by one. If it hopes for success it must secure repossession of the entire system of government at one time.

Among other things Mr. Kingsley referred to the waste of material which he believed was a result of an improper municipal system. He advocated the destruction of what he called rent, interest and property. To bring about such a condition of things he urged a judicious use of the ballot privileges by all socialists.

—“Aims of Socialism,” *San Francisco Call*, 28 Oct. 1895, 10.

On Socialism and the Economy

1896

Report from a speech at a meeting of the Socialist Labor Party's Liberty Branch in the Metropolitan Labor Temple, San Francisco, 8 July 1986.

Socialism and Economy: E. T. Kingsley Delivers an Address at the Temple

Liberty Branch of the Socialist Labor party was addressed at last night's mass-meeting in the Temple, 115 Turk Street.

The chairman, Henry Warnecke, outlined the political objects of the Socialist Labor party and referred to the address of the evening as very appropriate at a time when the economic fallacies of the day are causing many supporters of the old parties to sever their allegiance thereto.

After a reading from a socialistic journal by the secretary of the branch, Theodore Lynch, the chairman introduced E. T. Kingsley, State organiser of the party, who said: "If I were to ask your attention to-night to a question that affected money, tariff or some of the other unimportant questions, you would be far from the cause of the evils, that infest society. Foolish people, who claim that socialism is the product of a particular nation, are daily receiving an object lesson in the economic field. Every intelligent man to-day in this country knows that socialism is the child of economic conditions."

"The workers of America are face to face to-day with a condition of things that must inevitably end in their complete degradation to abject slavery or revolution if those who love their country and their fellow-beings neglect the advantages that socialism offers to adjust the society we live in on a more harmonious basis. We are living to-day in the heroic age—an age in which the chivalry of youth can again emulate the spirit of liberty that animated the heroes and patriots of days gone by."

Short speeches by strangers and economic inquirers followed, and among them were remarks by Rev. J. E. Scott, Leo Gasser, William Edlin and Theodore Lynch.

—“Socialism and the Economy,” *San Francisco Call*, 9 July 1896, 9.

On American Imperialism in Cuba and the Philippines

1899

Report of Kingsley's speech denouncing American imperialism in Cuba and the Philippines at a protest meeting organized by the Socialist Labor Party in the Metropolitan Labor Temple, San Francisco, 30 May 1899.

Imperialism Denounced by the Socialists

Condemn Motive of the Recent War

Tribute to the Boys in Blue

Big Mass Meeting in Metropolitan Temple

Many Eloquent Speakers Talk of Indiscriminate Shedding of Innocent
Blood in the Name of Liberty

Metropolitan Temple was crowded to the doors last night by an intelligent audience who had gathered to hear speakers of the Socialist Labor party voice their sentiments against the imperialistic policy of this Government. Many were the talking points made against the motive which animated some citizens who were patriotic from mercenary or commercial motives only. While due credit was given to the brave boys in blue who went forth in defense of their country, the continuation of the war itself was denounced as barbarous and not animated by humanitarian ideas.

The meeting was called to order by Thomas Bashford, who introduced G. B. Benham as the first speaker of the evening.

"We are here to-night," said Mr. Benham, "to protest emphatically against the late war which was carried on in the name of despotism and followed in its wake by death and destruction. We have seen Cuban patriots refuse to take the gold for which was sold their honor. While this nation was commended in the beginning for its disinterested assistance to a down-trodden people, events have occurred which have changed the aspect of the case,

and now there are none so poor in spirit or judgement to do her reverence or honor.

“This country’s flag waves over a scene of despotism in the Philippine Islands. When the doctrine was promulgated that the people of Cuba are of right and should be free, a mighty thrill of approbation swept over this land. But when our military supremacy was established the Cubans found themselves in the exact position in the exercise of their sovereignty as they had been under Spanish rule. Twenty thousand Filipinos surrendered their lives rather than give up their liberty.”

E.J. [*sic*] Kingsley in the course of his speech said: “Armed murderers have marched beneath the glorious American flag to deprive people of their liberty. The flag has been sold and resold for profit until the very clothes on Uncle Sam’s back smack of the bargain counter. Few wars have been fought with a worthy purpose, and the war against Spain is a capitalistic war which has besmirched the fair name of the United States. The soldiers came mainly from the working classes, and they received death in return for the self-sacrifice, while the officers got a little cheap glory.

“Every citizen should protest with his last breath against the brutality of the war and endeavor to overcome the danger which lurks behind the scheme, namely, military despotism. If it be treason to protest against ruthless murder, rapine, invasion of the rights of people, against the military drilling of our children in our public schools and the other evils that beset our land, then we plead guilty, and, in the language of Patrick Henry, make the most of it.”

A.R. Andre next referred to the inconsistency of the peace conference now in session at The Hague behind closed doors, while the very powers interested in it are busy making implements of war and building battleships.

“If the Socialists had been in power,” he said, “this terrible disgrace would never have been visited upon us in this war. The American nation will get no benefit from it. The private ownership of the means of production and distribution, which was the incentive of the war, should be abolished. All wars should be discountenanced, and the remedy for capitalism is socialism.”

M. W. Wilkins was the last speaker and he deplored the fact that humanitarianism was not the inspiring motive of the war. “The war had but one purpose,” he said, “to open up new fields of exploitation for the capitalists and make them the masters therein. I very much doubt the consistency of a government which goes to the rescue of an oppressed foreign people and

is so callous to the welfare of her own suffering people on her own soil. Four or five million people right here within our own confines are denied the chance of earning an honest living. I must inveigh against the terrible treatment of our brave soldiers whereby ten have died in the camp or in the hospital for every one that died on the battlefield. I protest against such a terrible condition of things in the name of the soldier who has gone to his last sleep and in the name of the grief-stricken orphan, the widow, the mother and the sweetheart.

“War will disappear only when the blood-red banner of international fraternalism shall wave its sacred folds over the Federation of the World.”

—“Imperialism Denounced by the Socialists,” *San Francisco Call*, 31 May 1899, 7.

On the Labour Problem

1903

Report of a speech on the topic of "The Labour Problem" at a meeting organized by the Socialist Party of British Columbia's Victoria Local, in the Victoria Labour Hall, 1 February 1903.

The Labor Problem

Lecture by E. T. Kingsley at Meeting of Socialist Party

Labor hall was filled to overflowing last evening at the regular meeting of the Socialist party, when a lecture on "The Labor Problem" was delivered by E. T. Kingsley, of Nanaimo. After a song from the Socialist song book, a recitation from Mr. Oliver, and a few introductory remarks from Chairman J. C. Walters, the lecturer introduced his subject by going back to the beginning of man's history, and showed how he evolved from his primitive state to the so-called "civilization" of the present day. He showed how empires grew and fattened at the expense of the chattel slave, how the Babylonian, Grecian and Roman empires thrived, and exerted their lordly authority always at the expense of the worker. After chattel slavery came the feudal system where they worked a part of the time for their feudal lord and a part for themselves. When, however, the feudal King George III, attempted to exercise his authority on this Western continent the oppressed colonists soon gave him to understand they were going to run their country their own way. Society has evolved since then to the present wage system which the Socialist party is organized to abolish. In the earlier part of this century the wage earner was little known. In the private ownership of all the means of wealth production lies the root of all the misery of the worker.

What shall be done with the tools of wealth-production was the question the wealth-producer had to solve. To own the tools collectively lay his only salvation. This is forced upon the workers owing to the social character of the tools of wealth-production. Being social in character they must be owned

socially or collectively in order that those who operate them may enjoy their benefits. The Socialist party had the key to the situation, and was organized into a class conscious political body all over the civilized world. The Victoria Socialists were affiliated with the other comrades at Nanaimo, Seattle, New York or Berlin, knowing no national bounds.

At the conclusion of the lecture, a song was very ably rendered by Miss Amy Kneeshaw, after which questions were asked the speaker.

Next Sunday evening G. Weston Wrigley will speak on "The Evils of Government Ownership."

—Untitled, *Victoria Daily Times*, 31 Jan. 1903, 5; "The Labor Problem," *Victoria Daily Times*, 2 Feb. 1903, 3.

On the Political Organization of Miners in Cumberland

1903

Report of four propaganda meetings that Kingsley convened on behalf of the Socialist Party of British Columbia in Cumberland and Courtenay, in Vancouver Island's Comox Valley, resulting in the formation of the SPBC's Cumberland Local in the spring of 1903.

Organizer Kingsley in Cumberland

Organizer Kingsley was in Cumberland about three weeks ago. My report is rather late in being ready for publication, but there is a saying, better late than never.

Comrade Kingsley arrived here at a very opportune moment, as the workers here are on strike because they organized a local of the W.F.M.

When the average wage-slave is on strike he is discontented with present economic conditions and is in a particularly good mood for digesting a lecture on the principles of modern socialism. Com. Kingsley has the honor of being the first socialist who lectured to an audience in Cumberland, and consequently he did not have to contend with the difficulties a socialist speaker often encounters when he has to repudiate statements made by a sentimental socialist who has been over the ground ahead of him. The result was that the working men of this town got the straight goods dished out to them and they seemed to like it.

In his first lecture he traced the evolution of man, the tool using animal, in his primitive stages, and pointed out that man first lived under primitive tribal communism, as all the eminent anthropologists were agreed on that point. From the breaking up of tribal communism he traced human society through the different systems of slavery, viz., chattel slavery, feudal serfdom to capitalism, the present mode of economic production. He analyzed the position of the wage slave under capitalism, and in his peroration pointed

out the only remedy for the economic evils which afflict society. Judging from the numerous bursts of applause from the audience, Kingsley's remarks were greatly appreciated.

His second lecture was an economic one, and few men can deliver and frame into such simple English, which is easily understood by any working man, as our Comrade Kingsley. On this occasion the hall was packed to overflowing and some were standing who could not obtain seats.

On the third and last night of our series of lectures the audience was considerably smaller than in the two previous evenings, but that did not effect [*sic*] Kingsley in the slightest. He spoke for two hours on working class politics, during which he pointed out the antithesis between reform and revolution. He analysed the position of the labor fakir and the pure and simple trades-unionist. He elucidated the futility of sending mere labor members to the halls of legislation, as they are simply supporters of the present capitalist system of society, which spells wage slavery for the worker. In his peroration he impressed on his audience the fact that the Socialist Party is the only working class political party, and the only party which would emancipate the workers of the world from wage-slavery, and which means the transformation of the machinery of wealth production from capitalist property into the collective property of the working class.

We held one meeting in Courtney [*sic*], six miles from Cumberland, which is exclusively a community of ranchers. Kingsley analysed the condition of the small farmers, and pointed out that the farmers are up against it, the same as the other propertyless proletarians.

The result of Kingsley's ably delivered lectures is evidenced by the formation here of a Local of the S. P. of B. C. with a membership of 12. We anticipate a visit from Kingsley again before long, and perhaps this time he will be accompanied by Hawthornthwaite. Then we will make things hum.

David M. Halliday.

Sec. Cumberland Local S. P. of B. C.

Cumberland, B. C.

— David M. Halliday, "Organizer Kingsley in Cumberland," *Western Clarion*, 16 June 1903, 1.

On Stirring the Emotions of His Audience

1903

Report on two speeches that Kingsley delivered in Vancouver on behalf of the SPBC, highlighting his powerful message and rhetorical style. The first meeting took place outdoors on 25 July 1903 and the second meeting was held in the Socialist Hall, 44 Hastings Street West the following day.

E. T. Kingsley's Rousing Meetings

"It's as good as a tonic to hear Kingsley," said one ardent Socialist after the street meeting last Saturday night, at which, as announced by a handbill and placard, E. T. Kingsley, of Nanaimo, was the speaker; and if Socialist weaklings were toned and invigorated by the irrefutable logic of his street corner rhetoric on Saturday, they were assuredly made absolutely "sound" by the "medicine" he administered to them at Socialist headquarters on Sunday night. Disclaiming anything like sentiment or emotion, confining himself to fact, figure and logical conclusion, Kingsley yet stirs in his hearers the very emotions he affects to contemn [*sic*] and awakens the sentiment he proposes to banish. Shame, anger, self-contempt and sudden hope, chase each other round the diaphragms of the men who listen to his scathing words, and a rising sense of conscious power makes them long to get their hands on the ballot with which they are to "do for" the system that enslaves them. "A slave is not a man," says Kingsley and fact on fact is rapidly lined up to show them how utterly futile are their class combinations, their painful strikes and long-drawn-out struggles for a better wage or a shorter work day, while they permit capital to assume the function of government and control the markets when they must spend the wage, be it ever so big or ever so small. Corn beef and cabbage and overalls is the sum total of the worker's wage. If he succeeds in getting "a raise" immediately the price of corn beef, cabbage and overalls goes up to meet the increased capacity of his buying power, and he is no better off than before his wages were raised. The law of

supply and demand as governing the labor market of the world was expounded at length and the fallacy of a Labor trust with a stomach for its supreme dictator, ever hoping to compete with capital on any successful terms was clearly exposed.

Kingsley makes nothing in the nature of an “appeal” to the workingman. He merely shows him conclusively that he [missing text—must accept his?] condition so long as he elects the law-makers from the capitalist class, the interest of which is diametrically opposed to that of the working class.

The audience was large and intensely interested on both occasions, the indoor meeting being followed by a number of questions which were answered to the utmost satisfaction of the querists.

—“E. T. Kingsley’s Rousing Meetings,” *Western Clarion*, 31 July 1903, 4.

On Wages, Profit, and Capital

1903

Verbatim report of Kingsley's speech at an open-air meeting following a Labour Day Parade by union members in Phoenix, BC, 16 September 1903.

Wages, Profit and Capital Analysed by Organiser Kingsley, at Phoenix

Phoenix, B. C., Sept 16.—The Labor Day parade of the Phoenix unions having marched up to the C. P. R. station to meet the Grand Forks excursion train returned, headed by the band, and finally halted in front of Morrin & Thompson's store, where a stand had been erected for the speakers of the occasion.

Promptly on their arrival Organiser E. T. Kingsley mounted the stand and delivered the following address:

Fellow Workers,—This day has been set aside as Labor Day in the Dominion of Canada as well as in the United States of America. Upon this day we gather together for the purpose of social intercourse and to engage in different sports; but I believe the day is not well spent if we do not devote a little of our own time to the consideration of those PROBLEMS WHICH ARE CONFRONTING THE WHOLE OF SOCIETY to-day, and which the working class alone can solve.

There are two ways in human society by which you can make a living, and do it legally. You may live by profit, or you may live by labor.

I want to explain to you why certain men can live by profits, while on the other hand, the great class to which you belong—the working class—STRUGGLE FROM DAY TO DAY to earn a living by labor.

I want to define to you the meaning of profit and wages, of capitalist and wage-earner.

Human society is to-day divided into two classes—the capitalist class which LIVES BY PROFITS, and the working class, which LIVES BY LABOR.

Now let us clearly understand the meaning of the term capital. It is a term applied to wealth, under certain circumstances. Its function is to bring profits to its owner, the capitalist.

Suppose I have a factory, fully equipped with all the necessary machinery. It stands idle. It is not capital. It does not function as capital, by bringing profit to its owner.

Now I transform that factory into capital by calling on the workmen to operate it. In other words, I give them a job, agreeing to pay them a certain wage. They set its wheels into motion, and the raw material is converted into the finished article.

Let us assume it to be a textile mill. All of the cloth turned out belongs to me because I own the mill. I convert this into cash, and OUT OF THE MEN'S WAGES ARE PAID. I keep the balance; this comes to me as profit.

Under the circumstances I am a capitalist: the factory is my capital.

Now, let us assume the average product of the workers in the factory to be five dollars a day each, and the wages two dollars. After the wage is paid I have three dollars left, which represents the unpaid wages of the workers, inasmuch as they produced the total five dollars.

It is by this process that all capital has sprung up, and as it piles up from day to day it spreads out into other and more gigantic industrial undertakings.

Take the great United States Steel Company, of ONE BILLION, THREE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS CAPITALISATION. There stands at the beck and call of that corporation 600,000 wage slaves, because THE COMPANY OWNS 600,000 JOBS. These 600,000 wage slaves can produce enough iron and steel to pay their own wages and the normal rate of capital profit on one billion three hundred million dollars.

Now, suppose these 600,000 men walk away, and that no others can be induced to take their places. What is the plant of the steel corporation worth? Not one solitary cent. The value is ALL in the hide and carcass of the men who have walked away.

The very moment the men return and begin to operate the plant once more, why, lo and behold, it is again worth a billion three hundred million dollars.

CAPITALIST PROPERTY IS MERELY THE OWNERSHIP OF THE WORKING PEOPLE, the ownership of the means of wealth production being the title deeds to this human property.

Why do you men work for wages? Because you have no ownership in the factories, mills, mines and so forth, and are therefore compelled to go to the capitalist owning these things and ask for a job. You must have a job or you can't live. The job is the one thing you worship, and if you have a steady job you are the envy of all other workingmen, especially of those who have no job at all.

YOUR STOMACH IS A MASTER WHO RULES OVER YOU WITH A ROD OF IRON.

It says "food," you must get it or die. In order to legally obtain it, you must sell your labor power; that is, you must get a job; in short, you are two-legged peddlers of labor power. (Great merriment and applause.)

You go to the man who controls a certain industry and you ask him if he wants some labor power. He probably says yes, and you arrive at some conclusion as to its price. You say "What do you pay?" The boss says, probably, "\$2 a day." WHERE IS THE MAN WHO SAYS THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING MAN AND HIS EMPLOYER ARE IDENTICAL?

Point him out to me. I want to see him. I understand that he was, at one time, a dweller in the Boundary district, but has left for parts unknown. If their interests are identical, why does not the boss offer you \$10 a day? Surely if your interests and those of the capitalist are identical he would do so. It is more to your interest that you get \$10 a day than \$2. Then, why does he not say ten, fifteen, twenty dollars, and so forth? Because the interests of the buyer and those of the seller are not identical under any circumstances whatever. THE GREATER THE WAGES, THE LESS THE PROFIT; THE GREATER THE PROFIT THE LESS THE WAGE.

Suppose the average output per man in a given industry to be five dollars per day, and the wage two dollars. This would leave three dollars profit. Increase the wages to two dollars and a-half, and you cut the profits accordingly and vice versa.

If the market is over stocked with labor, down will go the wages in spite of everything you can do.

Suppose we had a market, say, for a million pair of shoes, but, instead of one million you had a million five hundred thousand to put on the market.

The price would immediately go down, the market would be overstocked.

Now, let me say this. Just so long as you are in a position where your LABOR POWER IS A COMMODITY IN THE MARKET, just so long will you be subject to the economic law which governs the price of all commodities—THE LAW OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND.

You may buck your head up against an economic law until you are black in the face, but your wages will go down in spite of you.

Now, I want to show you how you may put yourself beyond the reach of this economic law. It is necessary for you, AS A CLASS, TO ACQUIRE THE OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL of the means of wealth production—the factories, mills, railways, mines, etc.

You already operate these instruments of wealth production collectively. You must assume control collectively, to the end that the working class, may stand master of the products of their own labor.

The vast stream of profits now accruing to the capitalist class will then be turned into the pockets of the worker, and the capitalist themselves compelled to join the ranks of the useful.

To effect this purpose, requires INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION along the lines of the material interests of the working class. To conquer the public powers for the working class is the first step in the process.

This can only be accomplished by affiliation with the political party which stands for working class interests alone. Such a party must stand unalterably opposed to the interests of the capitalists.

Not a man will be elected to the provincial legislature on the third of next month, except he be elected by working class votes.

Let us see to it that not a man is returned to that house without THE MANDATE OF LABOR IN HIS HAND.

That mandate is to apply this test to all questions of legislation: “will this measure benefit the working class? If so, approve it; if not, condemn it.”

The essence of slavery is this: That the master commands the services of the slave and appropriates the profit of his labor. YOU WHO WORK FOR WAGES ARE SLAVES. If you would be free you must, at the ballot-box, wrest from the hands of the capitalists their control of the powers of the state, and, by legal enactment convert the instruments of wealth production from capitalist property into collective property of the working class.

“Remember it is only when labor writes the law that labor will be free.”

The speaker was listened to with marked attention; too marked to admit of much applause, and this, notwithstanding the fact that it rained during the speech. The audience were, however, too much absorbed to notice the wet.

—“Wages, Profit and Capital Analyzed by Organizer Kingsley, at Phoenix,”
Western Clarion, 24 Sept. 1903, 1.

On the 1903 British Columbia Election

1903

Report on speeches by Kingsley and Socialist MLA James Hawthornthwaite during a Socialist Party of British Columbia meeting in the Nanaimo Opera House on 30 September 1903, during the 1903 BC provincial election campaign.

“Small and Early” Given by Socialists

The Socialist Party held a meeting in the opera house last evening, the building not being more than half filled at the commencement, and many of those present were ladies and young people.

Mr. Ogle took the chair and Messrs Hawthornthwaite and Kingsley occupied seats on the platform. The proceedings were commenced with a socialist song in which the audience joined.

Mr. Ogle, in his opening remarks, pointed out that according to the report of the meeting at Victoria of the day before the Socialists had not been the offenders against public order, although such conduct was commonly charged against them.

Touching upon Liberal professions of love and of labor men, Mr. Ogle pointed out that the Liberal Party at Vancouver had nominated a full ticket. The other side were no better but they made fewer professions and were he not a Socialist he would be a Conservative as that was the more honest of the two (Applause). They were going to have some Socialism that evening not mud slinging. It was not a question of Smith or Hawthornthwaite or Kingsley, but a question of Socialism. They were for principles not for men. The question was which of the three candidates was the best. They believed that Mr. Hawthornthwaite's record showed that he was and they would return him on election day at the head of the poll.

The speaker concluded by expressing the view that the Free Press reports of the political meetings were fair, a sentiment of which the audience registered its approval.

Mr. J. H. Hawthornthwaite, who was evidently suffering from a severe cold said that nowhere but in Nanaimo had a labor candidate been put up in opposition to a Socialist. Elsewhere the Labor Parties through out the province had passed resolutions endorsing him and expressing the hope that he would be returned.

He had not gone into personalities to any extent during the campaign and he wished his opponents had taken the same course. The electors did not want to hear them. If anyone wanted to know anything of him he was willing to tell him all he asked.

At Vancouver the previous evening he had attacked Mr. Joseph Martin but neither Liberal nor Conservative papers had said much about it. The speaker here paid tribute to Mr. Martin's courage in discussing Socialism in the presence of a hostile audience and displaying colossal ignorance of the subject.

The Nanaimo Herald and the Free Press had been discussing Socialism at length. There were some errors in the Free Press reports of his speeches. On the part of the Free Press this had, he thought, been unintentional but the Herald did not mean to report him fairly and had put into his mouth statements he had never made. The Free Press had made a mistake in missing out a word—"comforts"—when he had said "necessities and comforts." That made a very great difference, so great a difference that it had destroyed the principal fact of the argument in that day's Free Press. An attempt had also been made to show a difference between the ideas of Mr. Kingsley and himself. Mr. Kingsley had repeatedly followed him on the platform, but he had not heard him object to any statement he had made recently at all events.

The speaker here paid a tribute to Mr. Kingsley's knowledge of Socialism which was practically an exact science, but respecting the final workout out of which it was possible for Mr. Kingsley to have an opinion, and he himself another.

The Free Press asked how they intended to divide the product of their toil. It would be time enough to decide that when workers had it in their own hands. That might be left to the future. The workers must settle that themselves. The tyranny of officialdom feared by the Free Press was practically impossible. Today their bosses were a fixture. Labor had nothing to say as to their appointment or discharge. Under Socialism the workers would have

to decide who should take charge and have power to dismiss them if unfitted for their work.

Owing to his physical unfitness he would not occupy any further time that evening. (Applause).

Mr. E. T. Kingsley said it was unfortunately true that at various public meetings that evening through out the province the time of the public would be wasted in watching a competitive mud-slinging match. It was not argument and no cause could be maintained in that way.

Mr. Kingsley gave an exposition of Socialism, the principal points of which were as follows:

There were two ways of making a living—by profit and by labor. The legal right to both of these was secured. Profit was something that was obtained for nothing. Mr. Kingsley here went onto describe the development of the means of wealth production and of the capitalist system. Dealing with capital Mr. Kingsley said that the function of capital was to make profit and grow. Money locked up in a vault was not capital because it did not grow. If the owner converted it into a forest and a sawmill and bought labor power and made a profit on the operation, then the money would be capital. That meant that the men produced enough wealth to pay their own wages, to pay all other expenses and a certain sum over and above, which was profit.

Labor Power was bought in the cheapest market, its product sold in the dearest, so that the margin, the profit, should be the biggest possible. All schemes to raise the price of labor above the market price must fail just as schemes to raise the market price of other commodities failed. The owner of labor power was obliged to take the price offered and as the market was overstocked, the price would be low.

The speaker went on to deny the identity of interest between capital and labor. The capitalist was right when he said he had nothing to arbitrate. Mr. Dunsmuir had the right and privilege to cut off his man's bread and butter because he owned the mines and they had no kick coming because they had voted him that power.

The speaker denied that there was any difference between the Liberals and Conservatives and that it was a real fight between them. Both stood for the same thing, profits for the master and wages for the slave. They might differ about tariffs and the methods of opening up resources. It was not necessary to open up additional resources because enough had already been opened up to provide enough for all. Were any of them anxious to

go and open up any more resources which would not be theirs when they had opened them up? All they got out of opening up resources was their board. The alien agitator was not as dangerous as the capitalist. The former could not exploit them, but the latter would take their hearts' blood out of them. All they would get would be a little more toil and sweat and board themselves while they did it. Their wages could not be raised by legislation. The market ruled supreme. Every town lived upon the wages of the workers. When wages were cut down the businessmen felt the pinch. Yet these little tin horns were against the men when they entered into a contest for a better wage. The small merchant was doomed. It was on the docket that he should be wiped out and join the ranks of the wage slaves. The small farmer was squeezed by the transportation and other trusts, who took from him all the traffic would bear. The capitalists were confiscating the property of the workers as fast as it was produced. The capitalist class came to them and asked for their ballots because they could not get on without them. All legislation was class legislation. That which was for the capitalist was against the worker, and vice versa, and that was why labor acts were not enforced. Capital never produced any wealth. Capital was surplus value taken from labor without labor getting anything for it. All that the capitalist ever did was to make trouble for the labor class. The working class was the only useful class on top of the earth. Capitalist property was property in the workers, and the mills and the mines were merely the title of that property. The interest of the working class was the collective ownership and operation of the instruments of wealth production. If they would be free they must vote for that. That was the mission, the splendid mission, of the working class. Let them weigh, consider and decide for themselves. (Applause).

The Chairman having asked for questions from the audience, Mr. Nicholson denied that there had been any mud-slinging on the part of the Conservative Party during the campaign.

Mr. Kingsley said that if that were so it was greatly to their credit. (Applause).

He was not sure that it was absolutely true, but he was willing to admit that they had done less than the other party. The two local papers were an example. The Free Press had not done any mud-slinging but the Herald had done nothing else and while it accused the Socialists of lying, slandering and vilification, that was the course it continually pursued.

Mr. Nicholson said that if all the profits were made from labor, why did not the capitalists keep all the idle men working and make more profits?

Mr. Kingsley replied that machinery of production could glut the market without employing all the available men.

—“Small and Early’ Given by Socialists,” *Nanaimo Daily News*, 1 Oct. 1903, 2, 3.

WORKERS MASS MEETING

==== **SUBJECT** ====

**Russian Events and Their Bearing
Upon the Labor Problem . . .**

E. T. KINGSLEY

==== **SPEAKER** ====

CITY HALL

Sunday, Nov., 5th.

AT 8 P. M.

COLLECTION

Figure 1. Advertisement for a speech by Kingsley on the Russian Revolution of 1905, which took place at Vancouver City Hall on November 6, 1905. *Western Clarion* (Vancouver), 4 November 1905.

On the 1905 Russian Revolution

1905

Report of a speech by Kingsley attended by an estimated six hundred people in Vancouver City Hall, 5 November 1905, on the topic "Russian events and their bearing on the labor problem."

Big Meeting in City Hall

About 600 people attended the regular Sunday night propaganda meeting of Local Vancouver, S. P. of Canada, held in the City Hall, Vancouver on Nov. 5. E. T. Kingsley was the speaker of the evening, his subject being "Russian events and their bearing upon the labor problem."

He prefaced his remarks by referring to the large audience present as one of the many indications of the increasing interest that was everywhere being taken in what was really the only problem confronting human society today, and that was the Labor Problem. He then explained that the overthrow of the autocratic rule of the Czar and his following in Russia, was but a repetition of that which had already occurred in the other countries of Europe where the absolutism of the Feudal autocracy and its church had been broken down in order to give full play and free reign [*sic*] to capitalist forces and development. This particular epoch in Russia's history had been delayed because of a somewhat belated economic development. Now that the economic development had reached the point where industry in many lines had already assumed the capitalist garb, the autocratic rule of the Czar and his bureaucrats became no longer compatible with the free development of capitalist production. Hence the revolution, for the purpose of breaking down autocratic rule and substituting constitutional government therefor.

While the Russian revolution possessed the same characteristics, and arose from the same causes, as the French revolution, and the European uprisings of 1848, and while it was attended with the same ruling class brutality and blood-letting, the speaker contended that it differed from those previous affairs most markedly in one respect, and that was in the attitude

assumed by the proletariat. In the previous revolutions referred to, the proletariat was merely a tool used by the bourgeoisie to assist in breaking the rule of the old order. It set up no demands of its own of any consequence. The capitalist method of production had not yet advanced far enough to clearly establish the class line between employer and employee, and thus awaken in the latter, that class consciousness that would prompt it to become revolutionary in its own behalf, and break the rule of capital over labor, even as capitalism had broken the rule of Feudalism. In this Russian affair the proletariat is both loud and insistent in its demands. Capitalism has developed far enough, even under Czarism, to create a considerable city proletariat. These workmen have had access to the written and spoken record of the experience of the proletariat of countries much more highly developed industrially than Russia, and they have imbibed the revolutionary ideas that such development germinates in the working class brain. By virtue of this, the Russian revolution is marked by much clearer and more pronounced working class demands than preceding events of similar character.

The speaker felt sure that, though that artfully constructed farce known as constitutional government, should follow the downfall of the Russian autocracy, with a numerous and revolutionary proletariat to deal with at the very outset of its career, it would travel a thorny path, and the span of its existence would be shorter than in the other European countries. At any rate the action of the Russian workingmen during these recent troublous times, should prove an object lesson to workmen everywhere as showing the overwhelming power of the workers once they act in unison. Without the aid of these workmen, the power of Czarism could not have been broken. Once these men laid down their tools, the job was done.

—“Big Meeting in City Hall,” *Western Clarion*, 11 Nov. 1905, 3. See also Advertisement, “Workers Mass Meeting,” *Western Clarion*, 4 Nov. 1905, 4.

On Workers and Rockefeller

1905

Report on a speech by Kingsley in Seattle's Labour Temple on 17 December 1905, his second visit to the city that year, demonstrating linkages among leftists in the Pacific Northwest and Kingsley's ongoing influence in the United States following his move to Canada three years earlier.

Kingsley Calls Them All Loons: Socialist Leader Asserts That Workers Are Thick-Headed

“You have been robbed. It makes no difference if you never had anything to be robbed of, you have been coolly and plainly robbed, just the same. You ought to have had lots of things, but they were stolen from you before you got them. That is plain.” At least, E. T. Kingsley, socialist, said it was at the temple meeting at Seattle and the P.-I. reports him thus: Mr. Kingsley is “National Organizer of the socialist party of Canada” and feels that he knows.¹

His address was thoroughly appreciated by the audience, for when he told them they were “all loons” the applause was enthusiastic. The capitalists were handled without mercy, all except Mr. Rockefeller. He alone was spared. He is not responsible; he just drifted into his money because his employees did not have sense enough to keep it away from his and haven't even today.

The speaker said workingmen are not worth ten dollars apiece on the average and never were. They have been too busy making the gigantic wealth and fortunes of the country to think of themselves. The workingman makes things faster than he can consume them and some one has got away with the surplus. The finger of circumstantial evidence points ominously toward the capitalist.

¹ The “P.-I.” is the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, one of the city's leading daily newspapers at that time.

You are a carpenter and you make four chairs in one day. Your employer sold three of the chairs for the amount of your day's wages. Therefore he stole the other chair from you. Wealth is made by the workingman for the capitalist; so the wealth of the country represents the wages that you are not paid. The money with which you are paid was really gotten from you before. The speaker became excited when he reached this remarkable climax and explained to the audience that they were thick-headed to work. He informed them that work is not for men to do, but for mules, oxen, horses and machines.

—"Kingsley Calls Them All Loons," *Vancouver World*, 20 Dec. 1905, 9.

On the Mission of the Working Class

1905

Report of a speech by Kingsley attended by three hundred people in Vancouver City Hall on Christmas Eve, 1905.

The Mission of the Working Class: Rousing Socialist Meeting in City Hall on Christmas Eve

E. T. Kingsley, Speaker

The Problem Confronting Labor Ably Analyzed; the Remedy Pointed Out; Its Means of Accomplishment; and What It Will Mean to the Proletarians of the World

On Christmas eve, Sunday last, amid a pouring rain, some 300 workingmen and women gathered in City Hall, to hear Com. E. T. Kingsley's address, his subject being "The Mission of the Working Class."

Com. James Pritchard acted as chairman, and after briefly announcing future meetings, etc., introduced the speaker.

"It does seem peculiar that despite the fact that the working class—the only useful class in society—have built the most gigantic and complicated means of wealth production this world ever knew—the great mass of them are still suffering from poverty, except when they were able to secure employment from another man, or set of men," observed the speaker.

"To ask for a job is to ask for permission to live.

"We hear much in these days of the right to live. At this very moment the great working class of the world do not possess that right. They only have the privilege; and this because they have no command over the means of life. The things the workers have to use in order to feed, clothe and shelter themselves, are the instruments used to dispossess that working class."

Com. Kingsley then briefly reviewed the methods of production from the time of the hand tool up to the present time of great mechanical devices;

until to-day we have what is termed by the Socialist capitalist property—a form of property between private property and what is soon to be—collective property.

The proletariat—that portion of society without any means of subsistence—cannot exist except by wage-labor.

The small farmer, too, who at first glance would not appear to have interests identical with the proletariat, crystalises his and his family's labor-power into wheat, etc., but he too, must turn his product over to capitalist property—the combines—the latter to use for profit-making.

In the last analysis the small farmers and the wage-earners have worked for the same thing—a bare existence.

Surplus farm products and surplus labor, both tended to depress their market price.

Therefore, the small farmer—not the big farms, operated by wage-labor—had interests identical with the wage-slave. There should be no conflict between the small farmer and the city wage-earner.

The function of capitalist property was to make a profit out of wage-labor; and unless profits would accrue to its capitalist owners, not a wheel was turned, no matter what the hunger or suffering of those dependent upon the sale of their ability to work.

The function of capitalists was to take what the workers make.

We have no reason to harm capitalists as individuals; but since the means of wealth production were created by labor alone, we must merely strip the capitalist of his power to exploit those who do the work.

The proletariat must know his position in human society; what capitalist property is, and how he is robbed through the wage-system, and denied the right to life.

The workers having mastered the problem of wealth production; with the modern means of machine production, there should be little difficulty in providing food, clothing, shelter and other necessaries for all.

Yet, with all this accomplished by the workers, they are still face to face with poverty in all its hideousness, degradation and humiliation.

They (the workers) have another mission to perform. They must convert these “trustified” means of wealth production to their own use.

How?

By destroying capitalist property—yet not wrecking a single wheel—but merely by stripping the means by which we live of the garb of capital—the

power to enslave labor for profit. Make it the collective property of the class who use it.

How?

By taking possession of the power of government, and by legal enactment, backed by the power and mandate of the working class—without which we are helpless. The conquest of the organized powers of the state, the reins of public power placed in the hands of the proletariat, the instrument with which to strike the blow for its emancipation.

But what of resistance on the part of the ruling class?

Say; if you wanted to capture a grizzly bear, how would you go about it? Would you approach it and ask: Please Mr. Bear, will you lay down and die? (laughter).

Or would you make ready for the task before you, and I want to tell you here and now the governments of every country are just as lacking in scruples as any grizzly bear you could meet.

What is legal enactment?

The power to do!

Constitutional rights?

Bah!

You must possess yourselves of the power to protect yourselves. If the ballot will do, so much the better—for the other fellow.

With all the power in its hands the proletariat can free itself. You cannot stop its robbery by leaving representatives of the robbing class in power.

The workingmen to-day have no means or power of enforcing their mandate or agreements, while the capitalists—few in number—are backed by all the powers of the State, and vested with the ownership of the means of existence. Formerly it was chattel slavery; then feudal serfdom; now wage-slavery.

One “Professor” had said socialism would mean a reversion to barbarism. Barbarism would at least be preferable to modern “civilization.” Why, there are dozens of hungry men and women in Vancouver tonight—this glorious, prosperous Christmas eve.

The vilest holes of debauchery, prostitution, human degradation and cesspools of iniquity exist within the shadow of this very hall—with the consent of Mr. Business Man and Mr. Church Man, all for the glory of God and Profit.

As you all know we have developed some of the ablest, Godliest, and highest types of morality and refinement in polite business society the world

ever knew. For instance, our insurance men, copper kings, oil kings, and that whole bunch of scallywags engaged in the business of what?—Skinning the workers, and dividing the swag.

And the workers?

Why, many of them are so busy upholding the dignity of labor that they stay up and slave all night in order to preserve it.

Current events throughout the world, in Russia as elsewhere, are making plain the mission of the working class. In France, in Germany, in the United States, and even in reactionary England, the workers are more than beginning to recognize that if they would be free they must themselves strike the blow—and assert their freedom.

It is a tremendous task. But the campaign everywhere is being waged with a persistence never duplicated in all history.

The Twentieth Century belongs to the Proletariat.

The Russians are sounding the advance. Capitalism cannot much longer stand; it must choke for need of further markets to conquer.

The proletariat will be compelled to accomplish its mission—no matter what the cost.

“And I intend to live to see the flag of freedom float o’er every country on top of this earth!” concluded the speaker amid spontaneous applause.

After the collection, a few questions, and some little discussion the meeting adjourned, stirred with the spirit of the “Marseillaise.”

—“The Mission of the Working Class,” *Western Clarion*, 30 Dec. 1905, 4.

On the Paris Commune

1906

Report of a speech by Kingsley at a Socialist Party of Canada meeting at Sullivan Hall, Vancouver, commemorating the thirty-fifth anniversary of the inauguration of the Paris Commune, 18 March 1906.

Among the Workers: Commune Anniversary

With a Good Audience, a Satisfactory Meeting Was Held in Sullivan Hall on Sunday Evening.—The Speakers Were George Dales and E. T. Kingsley.

E. T. Kingsley, after acknowledging the inspiration supplied by the music and song, and the presence of so many ladies in the audience, proceeded to an able and forcible exposition of the whole subject.

Dealing with the Franco-Prussian War, of which the Commune was the final development, the speaker traced the events which furnished the opportunity and to some extent the incentive and inspiration of the Communards. Paris, the beautiful capital of the leading State in Europe, had always possessed a quota of revolutionary workmen, among the noblest and best the world has ever seen; frugal, intelligent and capable of great self-sacrifice, qualities shared, too, in large measure by their wives and even children.

When these, the flower of French manhood, saw the degrading, humiliating and cowardly plot of the French Commanders and ruling classes to surrender the city to the Prussians, when they recognised the hollowness of Race Patriotism and the universal and cosmopolitan bonds of steel that bind in a common interest and policy of repression, the ruling class of the world, and instanced by the aid given by the Prussians to the French against the Communards; this was the chance seized to establish, for sixty days, a civic government, that for ability, justice and consideration for all within its pale, stands unrivalled, and an enduring monument to the worth of the working class. But the success of the Commune only further enraged the

ruling class and their military tools, who would rather see France a Prussian province and maintain their social and economic mastery of the masses, than see it ruled in the interests and by those masses themselves. Bribery and ignorance among the troops of the Provisional Government, then removed to Versailles, the aid of the victorious Prussians, the trustfulness and lack of organisation and knowledge of military matters among the Communards are mainly accountable for the fall of the Commune. Their very virtues contributed to their undoing. Cheered by the audience, the speaker, here made some scathing criticisms of professional murder, alias soldiering; said he: "I love a soldier as I do a policeman." Every man should have a gun, but in his own keeping and for his own protection.

The concluding part of Com. Kingsley's address was a forceful application of the subject to current events and an appeal to the worker to be ready for the unbaring of the iron hand of Capitalism on this continent.

Comrade Jas. Pritchard occupied the chair. With Miss Polly Parr at the piano and the songs of the Glee Club, directed by Mr. E. T. Burns, a pleasant variation was made from the routine meetings.

Meetings will be held every Sunday evening, in Sullivan Hull, from now until further notice.

Come along next Sunday, and bring your neighbour.

—"Commune Anniversary," *Western Clarion*, 24 Mar. 1906, 4. For a selection of Kingsley's other speeches on the Paris Commune, see "Brief Local Times," *Vancouver Daily Province*, 19 Mar. 1904, 16; "News and Views," *Western Clarion*, 9 Mar. 1907, 4; "Last Sunday's Meeting," *Western Clarion*, 16 Mar. 1907, 4; "E. T. Kingsley Lectures," *Federationist*, 27 Mar. 1914, 6; "The Paris Commune and the Bolsheviki," *Federationist*, 15 Mar. 1919, 8; "Kingsley on Paris Commune," *Federationist*, 19 Mar. 1920, 1; "Kingsley on the Commune," *Federationist*, 26 Mar. 1920, 4.

On Labour and Its Economies

1908

Report of a speech delivered by Kingsley at a Socialist Party of Canada meeting on the topic of "Labour and Its Economies" in Oliver's Hall, Lethbridge, Alberta, 24 August 1908, at the end of Kingsley's cross-Canada tour.

Socialists Will Surely Come to Power in British Columbia: That Was the Prediction of E. T. Kingsley in Addressing a Mass Meeting at Oliver's Hall Last Night—Value of the Wage Earners—Workers Are Slaves, He Says

Last night, E. T. Kingsley, editor of the *Western Clarion* and Socialist candidate for Vancouver, B.C., delivered an address on "Labor and its Economies."

Oliver's Hall was comfortably filled at 8:30 when Jas. Barclay took the chair and introduced Mr. Kingsley, who said the chairman, had devoted his life's labor on behalf of labor.

In opening, Mr. Kingsley called attention to a most remarkable state of affairs that existed in all history, namely, misery and distress among the working classes. The resources of the earth had not yet been touched upon. Fully one-quarter of the useful class have been idle for the last six months, and with the winter months approaching the workers were up against a very serious proposition.

Today every revenue was controlled by the capitalist class and could be used for one purpose—the benefit of the capitalist. Capital was the resources of the earth when these things were making a profit.

He instanced a factory fully equipped to carry on the production of cloth. A lock was put on the door and the factory closed down. It is then useless. Assuming that this factory unlocks the gates, they call upon the working classes to get jobs, and when the process of motion is started the owners begin to start to make profit. If the profit is made out of these men they are deprived of what they make if the mills do not work.

The speaker referred to land in Lethbridge being valuable. Let the working people leave and what did these land values mean. The coal and value of the real estate is the value of the working man. Was the capitalist aware the workers possessed so much value. If the owner wanted a four legged mule he had to pay \$200 for it, but if he wanted a two-legged animal he got him for nothing.

Referring to the growth of wheat in this country, Mr. Kingsley stated amidst much laughter, that a few weeks ago Mr. Whyte, the grand mogul of the C.P.R. came out to "look over his ranch." He was merely looking over what the C.P.R. would make.

He heard considerable talk about a Conservative going around with his picture machine, telling of the vast resources of the West.

"How does it happen," asked the speaker, "that profit can be made out of labor? Suppose that as a result that the average laborer made only the equivalent of his keep, no man can make a profit out of it."

In sketching the evolution of threshing, he said he had seen this grow from the antediluvian stage to the new method, and explained the doing away with labor as inventions increased. He stated according to the advance of machinery that the farmer was just as badly off now as he was before those inventions arose.

What are the instruments of production? The working people, the tools, the resources, of the earth, are. This was the system which confronted the working men just now. By virtue of the fact that the capitalist owned the production, they own the working classes.

Six weeks ago, the speaker saw a side track half a mile long, with engines that had not turned a wheel for six months, and had seen tracks a mile long when down east with weeds and grass growing through the wheels, and this right in the midst of the busy season.

This meant that a quarter of the working class in this western country were out of work.

If there was any word in the English language that should be eliminated it should be the word "work." Who did work? Horses, mules, oxen and the two-legged animal.

The doctrine of work has been doctored into us ever since we were born. Who told us that there was "dignity" in work?

The working classes make all the palaces that are built. Do they live in them? When he saw the Alexandra Hotel in Winnipeg, he asked if the

working people stayed there. He was answered—"If they stay there more than one minute they would be locked up." He thought it peculiar that the men who built it could not afford to stay there and were unable even to look at it.

Coming down east, he met a C.P.R. man and his wife with two or three children. They had been travelling some time and the woman and children looked thoroughly worn out. He got into conversation with them, and asked them if they knew there was a sleeper further back. The man replied that he was aware of the fact, but his pass did not entitle him to that comfort and luxury. The man said he was a Conservative. Mr. Kingsley said he knew he was and he had a good mind to notify the R.N.W.M.P. at the next station that he had escaped from the asylum at New Westminster.

The speaker then mentioned that if they lived in Vancouver, they could get a ride in an automobile if they broke a window—to the quod. We make the jails to lock ourselves in—actually to hold ourselves in subjection.

The working man could not live [in?] the audience who was a politician—whether Republican, Democrat, Liberal or Conservative. These were the names for capital.

A mere handful of people hold the power in this country because we give them the power. The only difference between the two parties was that one was in and the other was out. Whoever comes out they talk about "our Dominion," "our future" and the workers sit around and think they are talking about us.

The government rests on the franchise. Never did a class exist before that had this legal right in its hands.

What is government—the instrument of the working classes. The government gets this power from the workers. When the workers accomplish what they have now set out to do, the capitalist would be put in his proper place.

If he was a woman, and his husband went to the poll and voted to consent that the chains of slavery should go on, he would take a piece off the bed and "knock his block off."

Referring to B. C., Mr. Kingsley said the time was not far off when the Socialist party would control that provincial house.

The working men were the most comical class on the earth. When the wage slave became extinct he did not know what they would do for fun.

The Chinks and Japs,¹ now that we have taught them industry, are heading us out, and instead of us shipping to them, the tables are turned.

In conclusion, he said—“Remember that you are living under the greatest empire you ever saw; remember you cannot take food unless you pay for it; remember it is unlawful to sleep in the street, box car, or hotel. If you haven’t the price of food, don’t eat. If you haven’t the price of a bed, don’t sleep. Remember the Union Jack and the glorious institution, because they are founded upon the greatest institutions in which we live. But don’t, for heaven’s sake take the power in your own hands and put your men into parliament.”

—“Socialists Will Surely Come to Power in British Columbia,” *Lethbridge Herald*, 25 Aug. 1908, 1.

¹ This racist language was symptomatic of the era and also indicative of Kingsley’s incomplete embrace of a conception of working-class solidarity that would transcend national and ethnocultural boundaries.

On the Working Class Using Clubs If Necessary

1908

Speech during the 1908 federal election campaign, in Vancouver City Hall, 30 September 1908, when Kingsley was standing as the SPC's candidate for Vancouver Centre.

“If Necessary Let Them Use Clubs”: Socialist Candidate Prophesies a Revolution within Eight Years—Kingsley’s View of British Law

“You have to conquer the reins of public legislation, by which the capitalist classes enslave you. Then proceed to strike down the capitalist power and become free men.”

Mr. E. T. Kingsley, candidate of the Socialist Party of Canada for federal parliament, thrust his head forward, licked his finger, and beat his right fist into the palm of his left hand, and then proceeded. “My friend Mr. McInnes used to say that he believed in a white democracy of happy homes. I wonder if he meant the homes we carry round with us. We have no homes. We rent them from the capitalists. How can we have homes when we have to trudge round all the time asking for jobs? Jobs from the capitalists. But there will be an end to this. There is the other class—the working class. I know that class will not remain slaves very much longer. It is getting rebellious. Look all the world over. Socialism is being discussed everywhere. Watch the red special.” Here he was interrupted by applause.

And then Mr. Kingsley prophesied: “Within the next eight years there will be the greatest upheaval on this western continent the world has ever seen. And if necessary the working classes will go forward with clubs in their hands to emphasize their needs. I hope not. But if it be necessary, then let them use clubs. The community as a whole must get control of the tools of production.”

Talks like a Ball-Player

The city hall was well filled last night when Mr. Kingsley got up to speak. Mr. P. Garvey was in the chair and wasted very few words in opening the meeting. He mentioned that there would be a collection, and that if there were any representative of the other political parties present, he would be given a fair hearing. Then Mr. Kingsley advanced to the front of the platform. He is a typical American, whose fifteen years' residence in Canada has not spoiled his accent.¹ He speaks in short sentences, and drives them at his audience with sharp forward jerks of his head. But the most curious of his mannerisms is the way, when wishing to make a point, he licks his first finger, for all the world like a baseball pitcher preparing the famous spit ball. Tall, and inclined to be stout, with keen small eyes, that seem to be continually raking his audience for possible hecklers, he is a good speaker with a forceful manner.

The Capitalist Politician

The whole of the first part of his speech at the city hall last night was devoted to the regular Socialist propaganda, to the power of capital, and the way in which the tools of production were entirely at its mercy. He mentioned the rich resources of Canada and asked how it was that with such resources and so small a population unemployment could be rife throughout the land. He was very pessimistic as to the coming winter, and even the winter after, saying that unemployment would increase and factories would be shut down. "Ask the capitalist politicians why this is. Ask McInnes, Cowan, Martin. I would not abuse an opponent for anything. I am too mild a mannered man for that. But I am positive of one thing, and that is that if there is one man who stands head and shoulders above all others in the ignorance of economics, it is the capitalist politician.

"As the tools of production become more powerful, as they are centred more and more in the hands of capital, so much the greater will be the unemployment. Capital will force labor to take lower wages. They say there

¹ The *Vancouver Province* is incorrect in its reporting on the duration of Kingsley's residence in Canada. In fact, Kingsley had resided in Canada for a little more than six years at the time of this speech.

is an agitation here to force Asiatic labor out. I say that there need be no fear of the Asiatic. For the wages of the white man will be forced down by competition to such a low point that Asiatic labor will not be able to live.”

His only direct reference to politics was when he distinguished between the parties as “One gang in and the other out. The Liberal party has been very good to its friends. One man buys timber limits, our resources mind you, for \$500, and I said hurr-ah that is a good bit of business. Another man got all kinds of water and fishing rights for \$10, and again I said hurr-ah that’s better business still. But when I heard that another had got a lot of grazing lands for nothing, well that put my pipe out, and I said that that was my ticket as I could not afford the others.”

Broad Socialism

He outlined the whole programme of the Socialist party in one sentence: “It is that the community as a whole shall assume control of the tools of production,” and the mission of Socialism he described as a movement whereby “the last slave and the last master would be sent into oblivion, and for the first time in history the workingman would stand up as a free man no longer controlled by the ruling class.

“Mr. Taft was recently asked what is a working man to do when he is out of employment and has no money, and he replied ‘God knows,’ well I don’t pretend to be cleverer than Mr. Taft but I will answer that question by saying obey the law. The British law is a great thing. It is unlawful to go into a restaurant and eat if you cannot pay for what you eat. Well then don’t eat. It is unlawful to go into a hotel and sleep if you can’t pay for your bed. You may not sleep on the street or in a box car. Very well, don’t sleep. It is unlawful to be a vagrant, then don’t be a vagrant,” and amid much laughter Mr. Kingsley sat down. As the collection began to be taken, so the hall began to become empty, and only one question was asked of the speaker, and that dealt with the race trouble. Mr. Kingsley adroitly turned it into a class trouble and again dwelt on the alleged tyrannical power of capital as a class.

—“If Necessary Let Them Use Clubs,” *Vancouver Daily Province*, 1 Oct. 1908, 2.

On Working-Class Political Power

1908

Speech by Kingsley delivered at the Vancouver Opera House on 19 October 1908, during the 1908 federal election, in which Kingsley stood as the SPC's candidate in Vancouver Centre.

Kingsley: Socialist

The name of E. T. Kingsley, the Socialist candidate, was the next one to come out of the hat and a wild burst of applause followed.

He brought down the house by saying that this was the first time he had been found in the presence of three lawyers. The taking out of a few stumps by Asiatics was not worth a moment's attention from people of good sense. There was a greater question. Mankind was torn into two classes. On the one hand was the small class which, as masters, had complete control of the other, or wage slave class. Until this was solved there could be no use in discussing any other. Every avenue of production was under the control of some corporation. Every manufacturer was in favor of free trade which would enable his workmen to get their food a little cheaper, so that he could cut down their wages.

The speaker then proceeded to sketch the condition of the workers from a Socialistic standpoint. The systems which his opponents represented were in their death agonies.

The whole earth was trading in human flesh. The life blood of the working class was being coined into the various products of civilisation.

Mr. Kingsley gave in an able and eloquent manner an outline of the political stand of the Socialist party. He had no condemnation for the masters. It was the slaves who put their necks to the yoke that should come in for the condemnation.

The working classes produced all the tools and the things made by them. Public ownership was of no use until the political power was captured by the working class.

Mr. Kingsley closed by saying that those who did not think that the present conditions were for the best, should go to the polls and cast a vote for the movement for securing the freedom of the working class from wage slavery.

Kingsley's Address [Detailed Report]

Fallen Among—Lawyers

An apology was first offered by Mr. Kingsley. This was the first time he had been caught in the company of three lawyers. (Laughter.) These gentlemen had been laying particular stress at their meetings upon the Asiatic question. He had heard considerable discussion upon the question of whether a certain gentleman had used Japs to pull up certain stumps on a certain island. He did not regard that as a question worth the attention of an intelligent man when there were so many grave problems before them.

It was this matter of dealing with the instruments of production and converted [*sic*] them to their proper use, which was the problem the people of Canada and of every other country on the face of the earth must solve, or else hundreds upon hundreds of working people would perish of starvation in the midst of plenty. Never was the power of productive labor so great as it was to-day, and never was the great mass of the people so completely without property. Never were they more insecurely employed. Never was there so much degradation, poverty, vice and crime.

In old England today there were thousands of people so poverty stricken that they were about ready to eat one another, but if they waited until winter there would be so little flesh on these people's bones that they would not be able to make a meal of the pickings. They had no competition from Japanese in that country. They had been driven down under the heel of that capitalist system which had got the workers of this country by the throat now, and just as sure as this capitalist class would control this country the condition of the people would sink to that of the starving poor of England.

Traffic in Human Flesh

What was the whole world doing to-day but trafficking in human flesh? But the system was reaching its climax. It had attained its highest degree of

development. It had had its day. He had no words of condemnation strong enough for the greatest and most grasping corporation on earth, and he insisted that as long as its slaves would meekly bend their necks to the wills of their masters, and would pin their economic faith in the class that ruled and robbed them, those men were no men, they had no part in manhood.

Public ownership of public utilities had been advocated by the speaker who had preceded him. He himself did not believe in public ownership of utilities unless the government was in the hands of the class he represented. While the government was in the hands of lawyers, he would say “Heaven forbid.”

Sarcastically he referred to the candidates’ usual talk—about the happy homes of Canada. That summer he had seen thousands of these “happy homes.” He had seen them carried on the backs of the men of this country. Sometimes the home had consisted of two blankets and a couple of cooking utensils, sometimes it consisted only of a single blanket. Before next winter they would see in Canada, in the United States, in Great Britain and Germany more millions of people in dire poverty than had ever before been recorded in the history of the past. Things were going from bad to worse. Several of those who were now not in the class, the small trader and employee, would go down into the wage slave class.

Brisk Capitalist Rule

“When will you people use your power for the purpose of transferring capitalist property into the common property of the working class and use it for the benefit of that class?” asked Mr. Kingsley.

“Is that not worth fighting for? If you workingmen believe your interests are conserved by the wage system, vote for one of these other candidates, it does not matter which of the three. But if you are not satisfied with this system under which you now live, you must stand with my comrades and myself for the emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation. I don’t expect any legal gentlemen to bring us anything on a silver platter. I don’t expect our masters to bring us our freedom. I say if we have not enough sense to kick them off, we deserve to have them straddled upon our necks forever. I know as Socialists we are approaching the period of evolution when the old system of capital is giving way for something more in consonance with the rights of human beings. We shall forge ahead whatever the result

of the election may be. Defeat is a word not in our category, because we know the economic pressure brought upon our class in human society will eventually compel that great working class to act in its own defence. With sublime faith in the future we shall keep up this fight, knowing that in the end we shall conquer.”

—“Four Characteristic Addresses,” *Western Clarion*, 24 Oct. 1908, 1, 4.

On the Vancouver Free Speech Fight

1912

Report of Kingsley's speech at a joint meeting hosted by the SPC and IWW, protesting the "Bloody Sunday" police attacks on left-wing speakers and bystanders during the Vancouver Free Speech Fight of 1912, at the Dominion Hall, Vancouver, 1 February 1912.

Union Jack Is Torn Down and Hurled to Floor

Incident Without Precedent in Vancouver Occurs at Socialist-I. W. W. Meeting. No Word of Protest Raised in Any Part of Crowded Hall. Flags Framed Picture Premier Borden, but Picture Not Touched. One Speaker Urges "Boycott The Province," Another Calls Mayor a "Cockroach."

Before a crowd of hundreds of Socialists and members of the I. W. W., who thronged Dominion Hall last night, the Union Jack was torn from the walls and thrown on the floor where it remained until the end of the meeting, which was called to protest against the actions of the police in the street troubles last Sunday.

The incident occurred before the meeting started. Several men were going about the hall selling copies of the *Western Clarion*, the local socialist organ, when two flags which framed the picture of Premier Borden on the wall above the platform attracted the attention of a short, long-haired Socialist who was busy selling papers. He climbed on top of the table and tore both flags from the wall, taking out his knife to cut the rope which fastened one of them to a nail. He threw them on the platform, and then when he got down off the table he picked them up again and threw them to the floor. The Premier's picture was not touched.

During the proceeding, the like of which has probably never before been witnessed at a public meeting in Vancouver, there was not one word of protest raised in any part of the hall, which was crowded to the doors.

The meeting, which contained several ladies, was quite orderly, and although the applause which greeted the speakers and their remarks was sometimes vociferous there was no more excitement than that which frequently arises at an ordinary political meeting.

Calls Audience “Bunch of Slaves.”

Mr. E. T. Kingsley, who followed Mr. Dribble, referred but little to the present trouble but gave a lengthy address along the well-known socialist lines which he has been advocating in Vancouver for a long time.

“Mr. Chairman and the mob,” he began, and during the rest of his speech he referred to his audience as “a bunch of slaves.” He maintained that the great power which lay in the hands of the working man was the ballot. Without the working men, he declared, neither the present mayor who was not a real capitalist—a real one would not be bothered being the mayor of any place—nor any of the city councilmen could be elected to the offices they hold.

“I know you,” he exclaimed, “and I know that there are some here who at the next election will go out and vote for the same man and the same things as well.”

He advised the crowd not to go out and tear down the city. He did not think that anything could be gained by it. Then he entered on a long talk on the theoretical side of socialism.

“We are a great people,” said he, “and our bank clearings are something enormous.”—this with a comical sneer that brought a roar of laughter from the crowd. “What do you think made it all? If all the workmen left this city how much do you think the real estate, our greatest industry, would be worth?”

“Five cents,” ventured someone from the audience.

“Don’t waste your money like that my friend,” cautioned the speaker, and another laugh swept through the hall.

Later in his speech, Mr. Kingsley remarked that “perhaps the knocks given by the police last Sunday were not without their good effect for it was time that the working men were taught a lesson that they would remember. It was time they were taught that they were the slaves and servants of the capitalist class and that they had no right to meet together to protest that they were out of a job or that they were hungry.”

Mr. Kingsley's speech lasted the better part of the evening but the crowd, which seemed to be in remarkably good humor, gave him an excellent hearing.

—"Union Jack Is Torn Down and Hurlled to Floor," *Vancouver Daily Province*, 2 Feb. 1912, 35. See also "Mule Story Was His Theme," *Vancouver Daily Province*, 5 Feb. 1912, 3.

On the Vancouver Island Miners' Strike

1913

Comments by Kingsley at a mass meeting held in Vancouver's Horse Show Building on 8 December 1913, organized under the auspices of the Miners' Liberation League to protest the arrest and jailing of more than two hundred Vancouver Island coal miners during the dispute over recognition of the United Mine Workers' union in the Island coalfield and deployment of one thousand militiamen to aid the mine owners.

"The B.C. Miners' Liberation League"

E. T. Kingsley, of the Socialist Party of Canada, said it was not much good to protest so far as getting the dominant class to change its mind was concerned. Such treatment dealt out to the miners had been dealt out to the slave class of old. A movement of this kind will not down. He hoped that the working class would arise some day and knock the "block" off every ruler that lived. The militia and police are the counterpart of the slave class. Slavery and militancy were born together and lived together all down the pages of history. He held no brief for Bowser and McBride. They have been tried in the balance and found no wanting, for they represented the ruling class. A mistake was made by electing them. The two classes have nothing in common. He compared the "working plug" to a balking horse. When he refused to do his master's bidding he was beat up and locked up in jail for intimidation and various other charges. The speaker had been mixed up in many strikes. Corporation tools and thugs were always on hand to suppress slaves in rebellion. The ruling class had always humbugged the workers. People on the outside of the working class were becoming disgusted with the militia. "We can't get along without the miner, but we can without the other fellows," he said. There were many who heard him that did not know where to get the next meal. He referred to the state of trade, and instanced a case where the telephone company had complained of a man who had

been in business 16 years jumping without paying his bill, and added that “things were going on the bum.” (Laughter.) The end of the modern system of production was a reasonable distance of ending. (Applause.)

—“The B.C. Miners’ Liberation League,” *British Columbia Federationist* (Vancouver), 12 Dec. 1913, 3.

On the *Komagata Maru* Incident

1914

Reports of speech by Kingsley on the “Battle of Coal Harbour” and the treatment of Sikh passengers and the local Sikh community during the *Komagata Maru* incident of 1914, delivered at the Empress Theatre in Vancouver on 26 July 1914

Hindu Invasion from Socialist Viewpoint: Mr. E. T. Kingsley Compares Participants in Midnight Attack to Porch Climbers

Speaking from a Socialist viewpoint Sunday night in Empress theatre on the “Battle of Coal Harbor,” Mr. E. T. Kingsley took the occasion to ridicule the manner in which the “battle was won” and declared that a deliberate effort was made to incite the populace to violence against the Hindus on the *Komagata Maru* and also against the shore Hindus.¹ In this effort he declared the newspapers did their share. That the attempt failed was due to the fact, in Mr. Kingsley’s opinion, that the workingman was no longer disposed to excitement, and incitement to commit acts of violence.

Referring to the midnight attack on the steamer when the invaders aboard the *Sea Lion* were repulsed, Mr. Kingsley in describing the incident said that the police force, fire chief, militia and immigration officials, and others, together with a member of parliament, put out after midnight to attack the defenseless boat. “I have no use for those who work after midnight,” he declared. “They remind me,” he continued, “of burglars, porch climbers, chicken thieves, etc.”

¹ Hindu (or “Hindoo”) was the prevailing description in the North American press in the early 1900s for Sikhs and other people from the Indian subcontinent. Kingsley’s writing reflected this convention. Most of the passengers aboard the *Komagata Maru* in 1914 were Sikhs, rather than people of the Hindu faith.

Combined Force

The Hindus aboard the Komagata Maru, driven to desperation by the treatment they had received, resented this midnight attack and the naval forces were defeated. Then the land forces and the Canadian navy joined forces and the Hindus threw up their hands. It thus took the combined land and sea forces to overcome 350 unarmed and harmless men. Such action on the part of the officials made a joke of the government. The latter could not repel the few Hindus without worldwide excitement. The Hindus were men of spirit but they made one mistake, he declared. They should have come to this country as the forefathers of the people here now did—with guns.

The scenes enacted in Burrard inlet and the methods taken has not enhanced the dignity of British law, declared Mr. Kingsley. He expressed the hope that as a result of the affair British rule in India would be swept away and India held for the Indians.

Government's Fault

The speaker launched into criticism of the recent affair by reviewing the events leading up to the "battle." He claimed that the Hindus had been misled before leaving for British Columbia, that they were delayed in Hong Kong long enough to give the Dominion government time to extend the embargo on April 1 against laborers entering the country. He claimed that the treatment meted out to the Hindus was anything but just. They had been held by the officials and not allowed to go before the courts and although they had brought a cargo of coal with them which they desired to dispose of to help to recoup themselves for the outlay they had been put to, over \$50,000, they had been prevented from doing so and from taking back with them a cargo.

The government, he asserted, should have sent word to the Hindus at Hong Kong that they would not be allowed to land, and when they did come every effort should have been made to expedite the hearing of their case before the courts.

—"Hindu Invasion from Socialist Viewpoint," *Vancouver Daily Sun*, 28 July 1914, 2. See also "On the 'Battle of Coal Harbor,'" *British Columbia Federationist*, 31 July 1914, 3.

On Conscription

1917

Report of Kingsley's speech during a mass meeting organized by the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council and the Socialist Party of Canada to protest the introduction of conscription in Canada, held in Vancouver's Empress Theatre on 13 June 1917. Demonstrating a détente on the BC left in the face of the threat facing workers with the enactment of the Military Service Act, 1917, Kingsley shared a platform with former Socialist Party comrades William A. Pritchard and Wallace Lefeaux. Richard Parmater "Parm" Pettipiece, who worked with Kingsley as editor of the *British Columbia Federationist* newspaper, also spoke at the meeting.

Empress Theatre Meeting of June 13

Held under Auspices of Trades and Labor Council and Socialist Party. Good Audience Listens to Reasons Why Conscription Should Be Turned Down.

Unmarked by hysterical enthusiasm, such as is conspicuous at meetings held by the patriotic adherents to the cause of slavery, otherwise known as conscription, but noticeable because of the careful hearing given the speakers, and the desire evidenced by all present to profit by every word spoken by those who have made a study of economic conditions and applied that study to delving into and ferreting out the innermost reason for the present attempt on the part of the powers that be to shackle the worker with the conscription measure, the meeting held in the Empress theatre was a success in the true sense of the word.

Under Joint Auspices

The gathering had been called, under the joint auspices of the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council and the Socialist Party of Canada, for the purpose of hearing speakers in opposition to conscription, and those speakers would be heard quietly and without interruption.

How the Slave Is Shackled

Mr. Kingsley's address bristled with points, and all were well made, the audience showing its appreciation of the facts as presented in no uncertain manner. He opened by referring to the matter of the Winchester short range gun, remarking that a long range one might possibly reach out and kill one of the fattened capitalists. As to the war, he said: "There never was a war but which had sprung from economic sources, and never a slave was shackled save under force of the bayonet, club or gun. There is no such a thing as property, save only the human animal, which toils and sweats to produce the wealth and is then robbed of it. All the military is for is to protect the master, who rules and robs that slave."

Why Conscription?

"One argument," he said, "used by the capitalists to justify conscription, was that we had to win or get off the earth, but in view of the fact that the population of the Entente Allies was about one billion as against 165,000,000 for the Central European powers, there was no possibility of losing. It was not necessary to conscript the men of Canada.

"Again," he said, "I have it on good authority, that there are at present in Great Britain four million soldiers, who have never yet been to France. Now, what is the meaning of that? And what does this conscription measure signify? There is some reason which the politicians dare not give, for they know that if they did, they would not get a man to favor it."

Prussianising America

The president of the United States next came in for some handling by the speaker, who pointed out that by bringing in a conscription measure through

congress, the president had become equally autocratic with the kaiser, also proving to his hearers that Mr. Wilson had no power or authority to take such action.

“The countries which went to Germany for their Workmen’s Compensation bill did not forget to take a pattern from the greatest form of autocracy the world has ever seen,” he said, “and if the citizens of the United States stand for it, they deserve all they get.”

In Canada, the speaker pointed out, conditions were much the same. The government was legally dead, and was not authorized to impose upon the public a military regime.

“We have militarism in its incipient stage now,” said he, “as witness the island trouble and the Fraser fishermen’s trouble of some time ago, but wait till an army of many thousands has been built up, drilled by their officers and the workers will have something on their backs they will not be able to throw off. Little enough has been gained by the workers in their past struggle, but it is far too much to be surrendered in any war, for if once lost, it will never be got back. What we have we should hold.”

Some Slave History

He then traced the history of chattel slaves of the past to the workers of the present age, whom the powers were trying to force back to their original state, and remarked that it was against this movement that the workers were fighting.

“When the masters declare their deep solicitude for democracy, I know they lie, and do it deliberately,” he declared. “President Wilson is an adept at the greasy methods, but when a man will usurp power and authority, as he has done, the truth is not in him, or within a million miles of him. Conscription is an excuse for militarism, and the men would eventually be ranged up around the manufacturing plants with their short range guns.

“Listen,” he said, “you men who admire the soldiers as they march down the streets. Remember always that those guns will be pointed at your breast, and at the breasts of your wives and children. While no military system arose from the army of the civil war, which was probably the nearest approach to a democratic army, the Spanish war had produced a soldier of the hoodlum class, which existed today. This type would nearly push pedestrians off the

sidewalk, something which the speaker said he had witnessed in Vancouver within recent times.”

U.S. Military Type

“There exists today in the United States officers of the same type of military ruffian and bloodthirsty scoundrel as in Germany, all they need being the ‘von’ in front of their names.”

“Any country dominated by militarism will slide into despotism,” he said. “The soldiers trained under the banner of Britain will go to do just what their masters tell them, because they are not yet as far advanced as the working-man of Russia. If sent to Russia, in case of rebellion of workers, I should be greatly surprised if they did not fire on their kind at the word of command.”

The Decent Part

Continuing, Mr. Kingsley said there was only one decent portion of society today, and that was the working class, the goose which did the golden egg trick. All these were not decent, however, some of the eggs being sadly addled, which accounted for the fact that nine-tenths of the strike-breakers and soldiers were recruited from the ranks of the workers.

In his closing remarks, the speaker said: “Unless this bill is submitted to the electorate, and they decide to have it, we say right here and now, that we will ‘lay down our tools, and we will not take them up until you take this thing off our backs.’ I offer you this prophecy,” he said in conclusion, “that out of the turmoil and strife and tempest of this war will rise in every country a revolutionary movement of the proletariat which will sweep the master class and like robbers off the face of the earth within the next two decades, for whatever else the war has done, it has at least cleared the stage of a lot of rubbish and pointed the way to the possibility of a world without masters and without slaves.”

—“Empress Theatre Meeting of June 13,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 15 June 1917, 7. See also “Conscriptionists Plan Monster Mass Meeting Next Week,” *Vancouver Daily Sun*, 14 June 1917, 4.

On Working-Class Opposition to Conscription

1917

Report from an earlier anti-conscription meeting where Kingsley appeared as the keynote speaker, convened under the auspices of the British Columbia Federation of Labor and the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council in Vancouver's Avenue Theatre on 4 June 1917.

Organized Labor Pulls Off Big Meeting

Theatre Packed to the Doors by Citizens Opposed to Militarism. The Only Interrupters Were Two Soldiers and a Few "Ladies."

Orderly throughout, the meeting held under the auspices of the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council and the B. C. Federation of Labor, in the Avenue theatre, Monday evening, for the purpose of opposing the proposed conscription measure, was one which redounds to the credit of organized labor and incidentally puts a crimp in the city fathers' idea that Labor cannot meet and discuss such a momentous question as that which was before the audience in the Avenue without the roughneck element creeping in to disturb the peace.

Then the speaker of the evening, E. T. Kingsley, took the floor, and delivered a splendid address, and one which drove home facts to the mind of the folks in front of the footlights.

"Conscription," said he, "had to stand on its merits, for there was never a cause in the world which was worthy of support but could so stand, and that which feared discussion, feared the truth. This cause cannot be bolstered up by vilification or abuse, and if there is nothing better to offer than the cry of pro-German at those who oppose it, then it is a weak cause and must fall by virtue of its weakness."

“There never was a despotism yet fastened upon a people by virtue of anything which could appeal to their reason; it always had to be put over by brute force.”

“Our ancestors were opposed to the brutal despotism of Europe; they left there to escape it,” said he, “and to enjoy some semblance of democracy; then shall we sacrifice that for which they suffered at the whim of the ruling class?”

Continuing, the speaker said the workers were not opposed to the war going through to its ultimate end. It was something which had to come as the logical result of certain causes.

The Rise of Democracy

He then traced the period of evolution from the earliest days of the dawn of democracy to the present, dealing with the French revolution, when the autocracy and unbridled despotism of the nobility and the church were broken and the people took to themselves a modicum of democracy and set up a government in which they could participate.

Britain, by a gradual process, followed, and arrived at a similar result, and today British monarchy had lost all brutal and despotic powers, the king being only in authority granted from day to day through the parliament.

Autocracy In Danger

Speaking of Germany, Mr. Kingsley said that in that empire, the parliament could not declare war or arrange peace, the kaiser being absolute, the country being under the rule of military autocracy.

Because the German empire and Austria saw that the democracy of France and Britain threatened their very existence and because of the democracy of the United States and the fact that Italy was a constitutional state, they realized that it was absolutely necessary for them to go to war in defence of their autocracy.

Personally, he was bitterly opposed to the prolongation of German autocratic rule, and he believed that every working man must find his sympathies alongside of the Allies in the fight against the autocratic rule of Germany.

“Anyone who tries to fasten the yoke of autocracy on the necks of the people of Canada is most distinctly pro-German,” declared the speaker, who went on to say that the citizens were entitled to look with suspicion on any

military establishment, for it was autocratic in its ultimate [missing word] as militarism was a complete denial of democracy.

“We are opposed to the introduction of the military system in Canada,” he said, and the audience were with him to the echo.

“We have nothing but admiration for those men who have gone to the front of their own free will to do battle for their country, no matter what their country may be, but we have none for the man in an official position who, well, let me tell you of a type.

“Slackers”

“I won’t mention any names, but there is a certain public official in the city who presided over a conscription meeting held in Vancouver. I have no doubt he spoke eloquently at that meeting. He is a man in the prime of life, of military age and physically fit, and yet he has not offered himself for service for his country and his king. I don’t like this particular type. It’s like snakes. I don’t pick out any particular snake, but I don’t like the type in general.

“Another man, who sits in an editorial chair, of a weekly paper, I may say in both senses, who stands, I understand, six feet high, and is said to be one of the finest specimens of physical manhood one could wish to find, an all round athlete and a person who should be able to throw a bomb a mile; he also has not yet offered himself, yet these people would force others to go. These men who are so glib in advocating that the chains of military servitude should be rivetted on the limbs of other people, should go first to show an example to others, rather than sit back and yell ‘slackers and traitor.’

Democracy’s Deathknell

“The inauguration of conscription in Canada would sound the deathknell of Canadian democracy, for the conscript is not a free man, and is not the possessor of democratic privileges.”

Said Mr. Kingsley: “I am sorry to see that it has gone through in the U.S., for it means the thin end of the wedge which will take away from them the sacred rights of citizenship.

The government in Canada has no mandate calling upon it to declare a conscription measure, and has only the legal right to go to the country for re-election or defeat.”

The “Overwhelming Demand”

“From whom do we hear the overwhelming demand for conscription?” asked he. “From the boards of trade, the chambers of commerce and the ministerial association and those who are always going to uplift the poor and raise them to the millenium [*sic*] of wealth.

“The boards of trade, etc., are composed of persons who are trading in the wealth the working class has produced and been swindled out of, and naturally those bodies wish to keep the workers in subjection.

“All the glory won at the war will not feed the returned soldier after the fight is done.

A Comparison of Strength

“The working class has ever had to pay the bill, and so long as they have some slight degree of democracy left to them, they should struggle to preserve it, even if they have to go as far as the Russian brothers went, kicking the whole profit-mongering class off their backs and taking possession of the entire earth.”

The speaker then pointed out that Petrograd was said to be experiencing a reign of terror, because the clerks there had applied for a raise of 100 per cent. on their wages, after which he took the figures given by eminent authorities as to the number of available men at present on the battle fronts and showed that there were at least 85 millions of British and French, as opposed to 65 millions of Germans, and asked his hearers if they did not believe the British and French were more than equal man for man to the Teutons, in which case, where was the necessity for the conscription measure which the government was trying to put over?

There was no logical reason, he contended, why one more man should go from Canada to Europe to fight in this war.

“I don’t know what scheme is behind this conscription business,” he said, “but I have faith enough in those who are at the front to believe that they will clean up that German bunch, but what is needed is food and steel.”

No Absolutism Wanted

“The present system in Canada,” continued he, “is so much better than that of military absolutism, that it is up to the citizens to see to it that no jot or tittle of it gets away from them.”

“Now, as to going to the front,” said the speaker, “I want to say that I would not advise a man to either go or stay away. I have never advised a man to do a thing I cannot do myself, and in that I differ from, well, say, the mayor of the city of Vancouver.

“I would not put the yoke of conscription on any man’s neck, and by the eternal, I’ll bawl my head off before they shall put it on mine.

“I would not, however, prohibit the holding of a public meeting by those who favor conscription, for I maintain that every cause demands a hearing.

Why Rulers Rule

“There never was a ruler on earth, or a ruling class, that did not rule for one specific purpose, that he or it might rob. I am not in favor of taking up arms to support that class, for I believe there is only one fight which is justifiable, and that is when the common people take up arms to fight for their liberties and freedom against the capitalist system.

“When I look at these sugar lords and bloated capitalists, I feel like swatting, not them, but the system which allows them to fatten on the juice of the poor working plug’s bones. And the capitalist hogs talk patriotism. It is a wonder they do not choke. Believe me, my friends, he who loves his country is he who loves the people of that country. He who is a patriot is ready to fight for the people of his class, and the kind of patriot who fattens on war profits is of no use to any one.”

When Labor Is Alive

The speaker commented on the attempts made in Australia to bring in conscription, and said they were doomed to failure, following this by an allusion to the tactics employed by the Welsh coal miners in their strike at the beginning of the war, tactics which, if employed by the workers of Great Britain as a whole, would have compelled the government to take over all industries.

He pointed to the fact that industries were being shut down because the Alberta and Crows Nest mines were closed, and remarked that the prairie people would have to suffer from lack of fuel in addition to the loss of work occasioned by the shutdown. Yet the government would conscript the workers.

Are Getting the Money

“If it were a case where the life of the nation was at stake, then I,” said the speaker, “would say it was wisdom on the part of the government to take the strongest measures, but here is the case in a nutshell. The capitalists are getting more money out of the war than out of peace, therefore they are in favor of war without end, for that means that their profits will continue.”

As to the treatment of the men after peace is declared, Mr. Kingsley pointed out that the great majority of the countries were at present on the verge of bankruptcy, and no matter what good intentions the governments may have towards the men, they would be powerless to keep their pledges, for there would be no question of indemnities when this fight was done, as no country would have the means with which to pay.

Sooner or later the war must end, as Russia was ready for peace with no annexation of territory and no indemnity, and the man power and power to pay was being fast exhausted, which made it utter nonsense to dream of collecting indemnities from nations which were busted.

Within a year a demand would come from the belligerents that the war end on the terms put down by the Russians, and when the kaiser had to go back to his people with his wonderful lies of victories, despotism would last no longer than the fabled snowball in the nether regions. Then there would be a chance for that goodwill and peace on earth which might have a lasting quality.

The Two Slaves

“When democracy has swept despotism away,” said he, “the doom of war will be sealed and we shall hear no more of these world struggles. The soldier came upon the stage of human events alongside of the slave; they have travelled together all through the play, and they will go out together.

The presence of the slave made it imperative that the soldier should be on the scene to hold him to his job.

“The military autocracy is bad for the German people, and it would be bad for the Canadians; therefore I say, if we relinquish one iota of the freedom won by our ancestors, we are foolish and deserve all we get.

“In conclusion, let me say that the journey from the old days of the press gang, when the men were compelled to fight, to the present democracy, has been a long and hard struggle, but it is a short one back from conscription to the press gang in all its pristine beauty; therefore be advised by me, don’t take it.”

Amid prolonged cheering, the veteran speaker took his seat, after which Chairman McVety asked for a show of hands from those opposed to conscription, which resulted in at least 95 per cent. putting up their hands, the call for the conscriptionists showing that if there were many at the opening of the meeting, the arguments put forward had proved conclusive so far as they were concerned.

The thanks of those responsible for the gathering was tendered to the audience for showing the city council that an orderly meeting could be held on the subject of conscription, and the gathering dispersed, a few ladies at the rear singing the national anthem as the balance filed out. Some slight interruption to the clearing of the theatre occurred when one of the ladies took exception to being asked to sing “God Save the People,” but this was merely a side issue.

A collection of \$49.80 was given by those present toward defraying the expenses of the meeting.

—“Organized Labor Pulls Off Big Meeting,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 8 June 1917, 8. See also “Bloated War Barons Scored,” *Vancouver World*, 5 June 1917, 16.

Anti-Conscription Meeting

Will Be Held in the

Avenue Theatre

Thursday, July 26th, at
8 p.m.

Under the auspices of the Trades
and Labor Council.

Chairman, V. R. Midgley

Speakers, J. Kavanagh, Miss H.
Gutteridge and E. T. Kingsley.

Figure 2. Advertisement for a Vancouver meeting that Kingsley spoke at in 1917 opposing conscription during the First World War. *Vancouver World*, 25 July 1917.

On Conscription and Wiping Out Ruling-Class Laws

1917

Report of a speech by Kingsley at an anti-conscription meeting held in Vancouver's Avenue Theatre on 26 July 1917, where Kingsley shared a platform with Helena Gutteridge, an official in the garment workers' union, and Jack Kavanagh, a Socialist Party member and president of the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council.

Very Good Meeting at Avenue Theatre

*Live Issues Discussed from the Standpoint of the Working Class.
Good-Sized Audience Gives Close Attention to the Several
Speakers*

Outdoor weather of the finest, and somewhat short notice of the meeting, caused the attendance at the anti-conscription gathering in the Avenue Theatre, last evening, to fall somewhat below the average, but the enthusiasm of the audience and its orderliness, made up for the lack of numbers.

The meeting, which was held under the auspices of the Vancouver Trades and Labor council, was unique inasmuch as it was the last at which the voice of Labor could be raised against the bill, by reason of the fact that the measure had already passed its third reading.

The Chairman's Remarks

V. R. Midgley, who acted as chairman, explained the object for which the meeting had been called, and said the attitude of Labor towards the Borden government on the subject of conscription had not altered in the slightest, despite the fact that the bill was through the house.

It was labor's last chance to protest, in this manner, and the meeting was being held in order that members of the working class might be better able to tell what action to take on election day.

The speakers of the evening were Miss Helena Gutteridge, President Kavanagh, of the Vancouver Trades and Labor council, and the veteran speaker, E. T. Kingsley, each of whom delivered speeches replete with truths, all of which found their mark, and impressed those who were in front.

Especially was this the case when Mr. Kingsley spoke, for he handed the proposition out to the audience in language which was terse and pointed, for he explained to the workers that they were responsible for the whole kettle of fish.

Mr. Kingsley's Speech

"I do not intend to put up any pitiful plea of protest against conscription of man power," he said, "for I will tell you straight to your faces that you have asked for it, and I hope you will get it. For years a few zealots have been telling you, and trying to show you [that] you are only slaves, and that if you wanted to get anywhere, you must combine against the masters in order to throw the shackles of slavery from your limbs. You've listened to them in the past, but you have got right up from your seats and have gone and exercised your little prerogative of voting for the class which is today still further riveting the fetters upon your limbs. Now, take your medicine, and for heaven's sake, don't squeal.

"Why worry about conscription," asked he. "You are already conscripted in industry and cannot get away without starving to death. Why talk about the loss of the blessed right to strike? Why even God Almighty could not take that from a mule, because even that animal can balk, but do you get anywhere with your striking?"

Slavery and Its Result

"Slavery, which consists of serving masters for the master's profit, exists just as truly today as it did in the old times of the chattel slaves, and every war from the earliest to the present, has arisen from quarrels between masters over the plunder accruing from the skinning of slaves," said the speaker.

“It is folly to say that the end of this war will see the end of all wars, unless there is to be an end of this slavery, for just so long as the master exists on the one hand, and the slave on the other, so long will war follow war. Talk of liberty,” said he. “The very act of enforcing service gives the lie to such babble, and renders those who are the subjects of the proposed measure slaves, who toil and sweat and die, but cannot touch a copper of the wealth of their own producing, save enough to keep them alive to work, and that only by permission of the masters.”

Speaking of the proposed conscription of wealth, Mr. Kingsley said it was the greatest joke ever perpetrated on the credulity of the masses, and proceeded to explain the meaning of the term wealth, which he said consisted of mere promises to pay, which alone constitutes the boasted money of the world. The total supply of the necessities of the world is practically produced and consumed each year, therefore there was no such thing as accumulated wealth to conscript. No accumulation is possible.

The Great Hoax

“The workers [*sic*] went to work to make bombs to blow the Germans to pieces, and he was paid in the form of pieces of paper on which were written these promises to pay, which he swapped with the fellow who had a store, for clothes to wear and food to eat as far as his promises would go, the pieces of paper forming an endless chain through the medium of the banks, and being absolutely valueless, except as a means of continuing the hoax. As all of this so-called money with which payment is alleged to be made returns to the same capitalist hands, the entire process including conscription of wealth is simply equivalent to taking nothing out of one pocket and putting the whole thing into the other pocket,” he said amid laughter.

Labor the Creator

“Labor alone produces the necessaries of life, and on the enslavement of that class is the whole world system of capital and finance based. There is no property on the earth and nothing owned, save the workers, for nothing else will pay a revenue to the owner, and it is only through the exploiting of the slaves of any age that the wealth of the world is produced. When you

have conscripted the slave, you have conscripted all the wealth on the top of God's footstool," said he, "and you don't better his position or condition by conscripting these promises to pay, which allow the master to sit snug at home, safe from bombs and high explosives, and eat, drink and enjoy himself, while the slave is torn to pieces, maimed and crippled."

Continuing, the speaker said: "We demand justice and human rights, but let me tell you that the slave can never be a man. The only time a slave shows he has anything in him which might eventually develop into manliness, is when he starts to fight for his liberty and against the shackles of the master. That servile thing that is ever ready to bend the neck to the yoke, and do the behest of the master, can never be a man, and I wouldn't dare to call it a dog, for fear the meanest cur in Vancouver would bite me for thus libelling the canine race."

The Workers Do the Trick

Mr. Kingsley pointed out that the votes of the workers put the representatives in their places in the legislative halls, because the slaves outnumbered the masters by many to one. "Government," said he, "do you realize the meaning of the word? It means some person or persons who govern or rule, who make laws, laws, laws, and enforce them for the specific purpose of enabling those who make them to pick the pockets of those they govern, for to govern is to rob. These laws they are now going to add to by making a law calling for compulsory service."

"Believe me, my friends," continued he, "if ever the workers got into those houses of parliament, their business will not be to make more laws, but to wipe out the whole infamous mess of ruling class law and wash its iniquities into the sewer of oblivion. The master's law to govern the slave, that is government, and every time you working plugs go to the polls and vote for ruling class legislators to make more laws, you are simply perpetuating your own misery by empowering them to concoct more schemes for your subjugation."

In conclusion the speaker pointed out the paradox of the slave's existence, the latter receiving but enough to keep him strong enough to return to work each day, while the master batted and fattened on the goods produced by him.

“Until the workers become sufficiently class conscious to refuse to take up arms against the workers of another country, there will be no war upon war, but when that day does come, then will come the end of all war and the dawning of the real day of democracy.”

—“Very Good Meeting Held in Avenue Theatre,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 27 July 1917, 1, 6.

On the 1917 Conscription Election

1917

Excerpts of a speech by Kingsley in Victoria's Knights of Pythias Hall on 10 November 1917, in support of Labor candidates Albert Wells and Joseph Taylor in the 1917 federal "conscription election."

Nothing Good but Reign of Socialism

"First Grand Rally and Organization" Meeting Hears Three "Grouchy" Speakers; Collects \$34; Closes; Nothing Else Done.

Three speakers, each with a determined "grouch" against things in general and everything in particular, addressed the "First Grand Rally and Organization" meeting held on Saturday night at the K. of P. Hall. These were A. S. Wells, a candidate for Victoria City; J. Taylor, a candidate for Nanaimo; and E. T. Kingsley, editor of the B. C. Federationist, Vancouver. At the commencement, E. J. Herron, chairman, said they would be open to answer questions after the speakers had finished.

But when, at 10.30, that time arrived, and he inquired for questions, none were asked, the chairman considering this a sign of satisfaction. Another interpretation was that the audience was glad to get a chance to get away. After the very long remarks, lasting one and a half hours, Mr. Kingsley had seen fit to make in his indignation at the ruling classes. A collection of \$34.10 was made at half-time, but there was no mention of any organization work.

Both Are "Pious"

E. T. Kingsley's very lengthy speech was an uncompromising and bitter attack, not even as comparatively moderate as those which had previously been heard, in which he hit all and sundry. He said it was an appeal to "the men and women who did the world's work, and were ready to do all and dare all for the cause of democracy and human liberty." Mr. Kingsley's home

is in Vancouver, and, in connection with one of the Tribunal Board's there, he alluded to Judge Grant and Prof. Odium as "two most insufferable hypocrites, although both pious," adding that if any two worse could be found he would give thirty cents for the Federation campaign "right then."

The following are some of Mr. Kingsley's remarks:

"No war for liberty has ever been fought. They have all arisen out of quarrels over shares of products."

"This war has been paid for by the men, women and children who were living in 1914—and some of whom are living yet. Wealth never did pay for war, and never could. Neither can any people who live after us pay for it. The accumulated wealth of the world consists only of figures in bank balances."

"The loss of the spawn of the upper classes is not so great as that of the workers, which is a fact in which I console myself."

"I do not want to discourage anyone else as to contributing to the Victory Loan, but wherever there is a government on the top of the earth financially sound it is not necessary for that government to go out and negotiate loans, for if its bonds are good its treasury notes are good. In the last analysis, of course, they will all go bankrupt."

"Band of Political Rogues"

"If you elect the bunch at Ottawa, stick to them, and you will have them to the end of time."

"The War-time Election Act has been placed on the Statute Book by the greatest band of political rogues unhung. They are not a 'Win the War' party, but a 'Win the Election' party."

"The enumerators may make out any old list they like."

"I would not advise anyone to go contrary to the law, but I would consider it a joke if anyone—say down at Halifax—asked for his name to be put on at the last minute, and then, if it wasn't put on, got vexed and went out and smashed some windows."

“Forgot” to Register

“Thousands have ‘forgotten’ to register, and in the United States 50 per cent of drafters are still running wild in the bush. I do not want to encourage them, for if there is anything in which I am a stickler it is in upholding the law, and the law is the edict of the master to determine the conduct of the slaves.”

“There is only one place for progressive men and women, and that is to seize the reins of political power. All should register their kick against this iniquitous thing. I freely admit there are thousands of men among the Liberals and Conservatives just as honest and sincere as the workers, but they have been led away by Borden, Sifton and others.”

“Always the term ‘Government’ abnegates the term ‘democracy.’ This war is lost to the ruling classes of all the world, now, and there is nothing on earth that can bring the war to a conclusion except the class of the great producers of wealth. The fundamental crime is universal slavery.”

—“Nothing Good but Reign of Socialism,” *Victoria Daily Times*, 12 Nov. 1917, 17. See also “Labor Federation Candidates Speak,” *Victoria Daily Times*, 24 Nov. 1917, 13; “Federation Nominee Is Not to Withdraw,” *Victoria Daily Times*, 26 Nov. 1917, 11.

On the Formation of the Federated Labor Party

1918

Report of Kingsley's speech at the inaugural meeting of the Federated Labor Party in Vancouver's Labour Temple on 23 February 1918.

Working Men of British Columbia Need Only to Stand Fast to Have Control of the Government

First Meeting Held in Labor Temple under Auspices of Federated Labor Party Indicates That Workers of Province Intend to Have Large Representation in Near Future in the Provincial Legislature.

Day of Class Rule and Legislation Will Soon Be Thing of the Past, Crowded Gathering Is Told by J. H. Hawthornthwaite and E. T. Kingsley in Inspiring Addresses—New Era for Labor at Hand.

“I do not know who is going to win this war, but I know that at the finish the working classes of the world will win. They will abolish German autocracy; they will abolish it the wide world over, and the cause of it all—capital.”

In those words Mr. J. H. Hawthornthwaite concluded an hour's stormy address before a gathering which filled the large hall of the Labor Temple, last Saturday night. The occasion was the first public meeting under the banner of the Federated Labor Party of British Columbia, and the attendance, combined with the enthusiasm that was manifested, not to mention the scores of applications that were received at the end of the meeting, all rendered the gathering one of the most successful and most notable that the cause of Labor has ever brought together. The membership of the F. L. P. is

growing by leaps and bounds, a fact which was referred to by the secretary of the organization, Mr. W. R. Trotter, and the president, Mr. George J. Kelly.

That the movement has come to stay and that it is filling a gap in B. C. was indicated in every respect. "Jim" Hawthornthwaite was in fine fighting trim, and his reference in the manner in which he had blocked several private bills in the legislative assembly, was appreciated to the full. That old warrior in the cause of Labor, E. T. Kingsley, delivered a characteristic rapid-fire address. He held his hearers right up to the last word of his speech and as he drove home point after point in vigorous and forceful style he was given a hearty round of applause.

E. T. Kingsley Speaks

"There are certain reasons why the working class must engage in political action distinctly on their own behalf," declared Mr. E. T. Kingsley, at the commencement of his speech. "For probably one hundred centuries civilization has been based on one thing, and one thing alone, and that is human slavery. The working class today is just as completely enslaved as ever it was in the days of Babylon and Assyria, Greece or Rome, and it is upon that one fundamental basis that all the great super-structure of this boasted civilization has been built. And all down through the history of that slavery there has been one instrument that has been utilized by the master class as a means of holding the slaves in subjection to the yoke of exploitation, and that one instrument has been the instrument of government. Government means nothing else but the holding of slaves in subjection to their masters. Today that instrument, that great complicated mechanism of robbers is in the hands of the ruling class of every country on this earth except Russia, where the workers have temporarily broken it.

"All through the ages your masters have asserted the right to lay down the law and to enforce their edict no matter at what cost to you, and, until you and your class rise up and make for the conquest of that instrument known as government, that you may scuttle and destroy it and turn it aside from an instrument to be used against you; until that day comes your condition will go from bad to worse and you will sink deeper into the swamp and the slough of despair."

Mr. Kingsley took issue with Mr. Hawthornthwaite on the statement that the working class had not paid for anything. They had, he said, paid in their

agony and pains for everything that was done. “And beyond that there can be no payment,” he declared amid applause.

Is Mailed Fist

That instrument known as government with its powerful machinery to law [*sic*] down an edict determined what the slaves shall be allowed to do. The machinery at hand was the mailed fist, the club and the gun to enforce that edict against the slaves and in the last analysis to use the club and beat the slaves into subjection or even kill them if the case demanded it. “That instrument,” said the speaker, “has been allowed to remain in the hands of the masters with no serious opposition on the part of the working classes.

“The working people constitute all the property on top of God’s footstool,” was a remark which set the house applauding. “It is by virtue of the fact that you men are here—I will not call you men, because slaves are not men—but I want to tell you that you workers are the only revenue-producing property on top of the earth.

“Just as long as we stay out of the legislative halls, just as long as we do not challenge the right of the classes to rule and rob us—and those are synonymous terms—just as long as we do not challenge them and do not seize that instrument of government and put them out—just so long will we continue to whine and snarl and grouch and baby-cry and squall, and sink lower and lower in poverty and misery.

“My friend Hawthornthwaite says I am opposed to conscription. I tell you now, I am opposed to everything the master class demands. (Applause.) If they say, ‘Thou shalt not,’ I feel like saying, ‘You’re a liar, I will!’ (Laughter.) I do not stop to analyze the proposition whether it is good or bad. I do not need to, because I know that what is good for that man is not good for the despised slave crowd that I belong to. We get patted on the back from our masters. For heaven’s sake, do not let us pat ourselves. We are a joke. We are the only joke in all history that will bear repeating. And then we swell up like toads in a thunder storm and talk about democracy and liberty (applause).

Stand He Takes

“All over this western continent the Labor movement has professed its loyalty to the government and to the masters who represent us. Not for me,” said

the speaker, amid laughter and applause. "I am disloyal to that and I do not hesitate to say so and I will repudiate it whenever the moment seems opportune and I will stand up and bawl it out no matter what the consequences (applause).

"Reasons why the working class should go into politics?" he asked. "Yes, there is every reason in the world. The line of political action is the only action making for the seizure of the ruling-class interests, the capitalist and the government institutions. We must go into politics or we must be forever whipped."

Speaking of what is termed the dignity of Labor, Mr. Kingsley said the workers were fighting for their country under that grand old trademark of a gang of robbers. "I am now speaking of the American flag," he added amid laughter. "Is it anything else but a commercial trademark?" he asked. "That," he continued, "is the flag that is leading these men over the water to fight for democracy."

"We cannot keep out of politics," he proceeded. "We must first and always remember that our political purpose and object does not conform with the purpose and object of our masters. The reason why the masters are in politics is to retain possession of the government. Ours is to get it. Their purpose is to use it against us. Our purpose is to scuttle it, to spike its guns so that we may no longer be held in subjection to robbery.

Can End Slavery

"It is up to the working classes to end this slavery. The Bolsheviki of Russia have made a noble beginning and I believe that that spirit is the hope of the civilized world, and, sooner or later, that spirit will sweep the whole earth and second-hand shops from that day on will be ramful of thrones and crowns (laughter and applause). We have got some little job on our hands but until that job is finished the condition of our class will sink lower and from worse to worse.

"Some people think that governments are for the protection of the poor little lam [*sic*] whose fleece is not long enough to protect it. But that it not the purpose. The purpose is to take the rest of the fleece and then to slaughter the lamb for mutton (laughter). The reason we go into politics is embodied in the fact that the wealth producers of the world are as completely enslaved as were the slaves of the south before the war or the slaves of Babylonian

days. Government is the institution that holds them in subjection. And that will remain until the workers control the machinery of government and proceed to stop the robbery that is now being perpetrated upon them, by removing the shackles from their limbs.”

Speaking on the war and the condition of the working class as a result of the war, he said that the German working class were in as bad a fix as were the workers of this and other countries because of the one fact that he had alluded to. He attributed the reason why the Central Powers precipitated the war, to the fact that they were at least 200 years behind western Europe in political development. These feudal monarchies, armed to the teeth with capitalist tools and weapons, in the blind fury of self defense, aimed their first vicious blow at France in the west, although making the pretense that the real menace to peace was the Russian mobilization. The real menace was, as a matter of fact, the oncoming democracy that was developing in the west. Its propaganda constituted a deadly threat at the feudal regime of absolutism in the Central European countries. If this feudalism was to survive, democracy—even the nascent democracy of capitalism—must be demolished. Otherwise it would eventually conquer the remaining feudal survival, and, of course, this opened up even more dangerous possibilities in the way of a working class democracy—an industrial democracy for the near future. This no doubt accounts in no small degree for the fact that the first blow was struck at France, probably the most democratically advanced country on earth.

Must Assume Control

“Unless,” said Mr. Kingsley, “the workers of the world move forward politically and assume control of and seize the governmental powers in their various countries and bring order out of chaos, I tell you that this world will be condemned to a repetition of the dark ages that followed the downfall of the Roman empire, just as sure as the sun will rise on the morrow.” (applause).

“I look forward to the time,” he said in conclusion, “in fact, I consider we are right on the threshold of that day when all the members of human society, the working people and all of the real democrats of those countries and all the progressive elements will line up together for the one common purpose of bringing this crazy ruling-class civilization to its finish. Let us

help it along in destroying itself and build a structure out of the ruins that is based upon freedom, upon real democracy, upon the rights of all men and women to live upon this earth upon the production and the fruits of their own toil without paying tribute to any rulers and masters.” (Applause).

—“Working Men of British Columbia Need Only to Stand Fast to Have Control of the Government,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 1 Mar. 1918, 2.

On Laws

1918

Report on a speech by Kingsley at a Federated Labor Party meeting in St. George's Hall in New Westminster, British Columbia, on 9 March 1918.

Live Mass Meeting in Royal City on Saturday

*Under Auspices of Newly-Organized Federated Labor Party
Hawthornthwaite, Kingsley and Pettipiece Are the Speakers.*

New Westminster, March 10.—Members in the audience remarked that Saturday's meeting of the F. L. P. in the Royal City was the biggest political gathering of wage-workers they had ever seen there. St. George's hall was filled with an attentive audience, each of whom received an application for membership blank. Fifty-three of these filled in and signed up for membership in the party that from now on will be the true political expression of the toilers of British Columbia.

E. T. Kingsley

The chairman stated that the next speaker would be E. T. Kingsley, who needed no introduction and it gave him great pleasure to call upon Mr. Kingsley to address the audience.

Mr. Kingsley received hearty applause as he stepped forward to address the audience. He said, in part:

"I am very fond of animals. I have watched the wild animals in the forest and the cattle on the prairie play and gambol and roam about, but I have never noticed any of them driving others to work. I have never known a horse to beg of another horse to put the harness on his back or hook him to a plow (laughter). But the two-legged animal seems to insist on being harnessed and driven (laughter).

“The wage-working animal insists on a system of slavery and the penalty of slavery is work, work, work and keep on working, A mule will work only when he is driven to it by man and the two-legged slave and the mule make a fine team. This slavish condition has come down to us from the countless ages and most of us have not got kick enough in us to get away from it.

Labor Produces All

“There has never been a yard of cloth produced, and there has not been a piece of coal, bread, or lumber produced except by the hand of labor and yet the slave class cannot partake of a particle of food except by the will of the master class.

“Did you ever know of a mine, mill or factory that ever produced a loaf of bread for its owner without turning a wheel. No! And who is it that turns that wheel? The slave! Nothing is produced until the wage-worker applies his mental or physical energy. The mills, mines and factories are worthless so long as man fails to apply his energy, because nothing is produced. Hence the workers are property.

“You are the thing that is owned. You are the thing that makes the bread. You are the thing that makes the machinery of wealth production valuable and yet the owners of that machinery control your every act. The financial columns of the papers are full of figures representing your value to the owning class. When the price of stocks is quoted they are quoting your value to the holders of those stocks.

“Robinson Crusoe did not eat the bread of idleness until Friday came along and was forced to become a slave. Then Friday got busy and caught the fish and cooked it and gave it to Crusoe and after Crusoe ate the good meat he handed Friday the bones (laughter). And the modern wage slave acts just like Friday. He has got to go out and find a master before he can get a job which will enable him to eat and then he gets the bones or the cheap trash.

“Less than 40 per cent. of the inhabitants are engaged in producing the necessaries of life. The other 60 per cent. does nothing but eat up what the 40 per cent. has produced. The 60 per cent. are either doing nothing or are producing ruling-class requisites and performing ruling-class service such as policing, soldiering, selling real estate, banking and doing other things than producing food, clothing and shelter. No wonder there is poverty and distress.

The Political Club

“At one time the slaves were ruled by means of a knotted club. The owners of the club thumped the workers with the club and got them busy. But wise men sprang up and learned how to write and make laws and now we are ruled by laws instead of by clubs. Now and again we get a crack on the head with a club to remind us that there are laws.

“How do they make the laws? They take a piece of paper, write something on it and say, this is the law (laughter). So today men are put in the coop on the strength of a piece of paper. Some of us slaves can read the law, but very few of us can understand it (laughter). We have to hire a lawyer to understand it for us.

“But without the law the master class cannot exist, hence their efforts to retain their henchmen in office.”

—“Live Mass Meeting in Royal City on Saturday,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 15 Mar. 1918, 1, 3.

On Reconstruction

1918

Report of a speech by Kingsley on the topic "Reconstructing Society" at a Federated Labor Party meeting in Vancouver's Rex Theatre on 13 October 1918.

Kingsley Preaches Gospel of Freedom

"Reconstructing Society" Is Stirring Subject of Address at Rex. No Function of Government to "Wet-Nurse" Bunch of Slaves

Probably the best evidence of the unwaning popularity of E. T. Kingsley was to be seen in the fact that the Rex Theatre was crowded in every part for last Sunday evening's meeting when "the old man" was billed to speak upon "Reconstructing Society." Charles Lestor as chairman opened the meeting with some pertinent references to some of the up-to-date methods that were being employed to suppress every attempt to tell the truth or to act in accordance with it. Quoting an old story of William Morris of a farmer who gave his fowls the privilege of how they should be cooked, and the protestations of one rooster that he did not wish to be cooked at all, Lestor said this fellow "must have been a Bolsheviki." Referring to the German money humbug, he stated that if there were any German money loose in this country, so adept had certain classes of the Flavelle variety and kindred "patriots" become in annexing surplus values that there would be mighty little chance for any mere working man to get near the trough.

Mr. Kingsley prefaced his speech with the statement that "no civilization based upon human slavery can long exist." The ancient empires of Greece, Rome, Carthage, Egypt, Babylon and the long list of others had all perished through corruption which was inherent in the system upon which they were founded. Present day civilization was following precisely in the same footsteps as the cornerstone of present day society was the slave, and every organized effort was based upon the exploitation and enslavement of the

producers. From this there was no escape until the slaves understood their position, but thus equipped they would be in a position to act intelligently.

Definition of Property

We speak of property—property! What is property? We read of the accumulation of the wealth of nations running into the billions of dollars till we become dizzy by merely looking at them. What is this thing of such enormous magnitude? Not property, as property is something which can bring revenue to the owner without any effort on his part and there is only one animal that can be so classed—the human animal in bondage! Bonds, stocks, interest, dividends, etc, can come from no other source; nothing is rated except the slave, all of these things are predicated upon his ability to bring forth wealth for nothing. Real estate values without the presence of the slave are worth nothing—but the more of them there are the greater the value of the real estate.

Referring to the C. P. R. and the U.S. Steel Corporation as huge dividend-earning corporations, the speaker quoted figures in regard to these dividends and declared that the stockholders were merely carrying paper titles based upon the continued willingness to labor or the enforced labor of so many thousands of producers. Their dividends were received for an absence from work and an ability to sting those who did work. The speaker had heard of a certain story of manna coming from Heaven, and of a whole people being fed without working; but so contrary was this to all human experience that he suspected there were somewhere around some almighty slaves closely connected with the proposition.

He remembered the case of a man who had worked during one winter for his father, who was a tenant farmer, for his board only. At that time he had thought that his father got this man mighty cheap, but since he had himself grown up he discovered that the workers were working for nothing and paying their own board, and he had concluded that the man who had worked for his board alone was owing still.

Cannot Produce by Order-in-Council

By order-in-council the government can yoke all slaves to whatever proposition they choose; but the inanimate things which they needed could not

be got by order-in-council. They were obtained by circulating “promises to pay,” which in turn were based absolutely upon the retention of the worker in the bondage of the present system.

The world’s wealth consists of food, clothing and shelter, and there can be no “accumulation” of real wealth, only an accumulation of figures—promises to pay—which was an immortal thing and in the last analysis really unredeemable. Sometime perhaps it would require a bale of it to buy a toothpick. It was not so long ago that \$75 per month would buy what required \$150 to buy today. There was plenty of currency in the Southern States during the Civil War, but it required \$100 to buy a pair of boots. In Russia today it was much the same and financial collapse was what was facing every nation.

No people can carry freedom to another people if they do not possess it themselves, and if Hun autocracy had to be disposed of it would have to be done by the German people themselves. Some governments were promising to the workers a greater share in the conduct of industry, but this implied little, if anything, as no government would ever wet-nurse a bunch of slaves. Some of the antics of government were really funny, as no amount of legislation could ever prevent an animal from balking in harness if it felt like it. The speaker never advised anyone to strike industrially, as the only effective strike was at the ballot box. What they wanted was the reconstruction of society by the exercise of reason, intelligence and concerted action.

—“Kingsley Preaches the Gospel of Freedom,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 18 Oct. 1918, 4.

On the Armistice and Postwar Moment

1918

Report of a speech by Kingsley in Vancouver's Rex Theatre on 24 November 1918 during a Sunday evening mass meeting of the Federated Labor Party, examining the postwar moment in the wake of the signing of the Armistice that ended fighting on the Western Front.

Kingsley Asks the Question: "And Now What?"

*Record Meeting at the Rex Theatre When Labor Party Re-opens.
Capitalist Domination Spells Wastefulness as Well as Robbery.*

Speaking at the Rex Theatre meeting of the Federated Labor Party on Sunday evening last, Mr. E. T. Kingsley allowed himself to adopt the role of prophet, when referring to the present Russian government, expressing the belief that they would be displaced by a bourgeois government and that they were apparently a little ahead of their time.

The great show of the last four years had ended in an armistice. Semi-feudalism had been conquered by the capitalist democracies of the western world. The policy of blood, iron and ruthlessness would be compelled to give way to the cunning of the bargain counter and the domination of "trade." Soon there would be a gathering of the "business interests" to count up the assets and portion the plunder. The press might be expected to outdo even its previous record of deceit and hypocrisy. Bold pretensions toward liberty and democracy would still be used to cover up schemes of conquest.

This week they had been treated to a spectacle of 60 to 80 ships of a vanquished people making surrender under conditions which smacked strongly of "opera bouffet." Four hundred battleships of the highest glass [*sic*—class] were on the job to help convey the impression that right was might. To him the whole proceeding seemed undignified and not in accordance with common decency.

Returning to Less Freedom

The big job was over and the men would be looking to return and what would they find on their return? They had risked all in an alleged fight for freedom—would they find a greater freedom awaiting them on return or was it not actually true that they would find that the shackles were even still more firmly fastened to their limbs and that oppression was greater than when they left. There was awaiting them a battle at home in which they would be compelled to join for the ruling classes were even now preparing for a resumption of conditions which left the workers with only one real line of action—political action.

Turning to the question of production, the speaker claimed that no real improvement was manifested in spite of the huge machinery of industrialism which had been erected. Clothing today was poorer than when it was handmade in the home and, moreover, the original handloom product was cheaper than any now obtainable. The same applied to articles of food.

Essential and Non-Essential Work

Half the working force of the world was gathered together in cities and did not produce a mouthful of food. They were engaged in the non-essential occupations which were part of a discredited system. Many of the “industrial monuments” of today could be compared in usefulness to the ancient pyramids of the banks of the Nile, yet they represented a tremendous amount of human labor. All the food, shelter and clothing needed by these people were produced by others while the mass of work on which they were engaged was of little real use to a well-ordered human society.

“Crown Prince” of the U.S.

The empire of industry would not be easily overturned. The red flag was never so much in evidence as now, but there was little chance of the establishment of Socialist republics without bourgeois interruption. The Houses of Parliament could not suddenly be filled with working class representatives. The empire of capitalist magnificence had been slowly reared and would be gradually superseded.

After a number of illustrations to show the futility of the present piling up of “promises to pay,” Kingsley stated that he would not be surprised that Scheideman (whom he referred to as a “pale pink red”) was induced to resign after getting a look at his new job as chancellor of the German exchequer, and the same was true of the “crown prince of the United States,” who resigned last week. “You cannot produce food, clothing and shelter and let it go from you and be paid for it except in promises.” The only revenue producer was labor in requisition, which was the only property on earth.

Legal Methods If They Existed

There could be no relief until the working class controlled the powers of government. There was no telling when the polls would again be open. His advice was to use the legal means of the ballot; but he would take care to point out that in some countries force had been resorted to because legal means were denied the workers, and it might be well to remember that in some countries where legal means had been so restricted as to be useless or had been removed altogether.

There was talk of reconstruction on the part of the people who were always trying to “do as good.” The speaker said experience showed they could be relied upon to “do us good and plenty.”

We must be free to speak our minds and to engage in political conflict and all support must be withdrawn from the class who rule and rob.

Mr. R. P. Pettipiece occupied the chair.

—“Kingsley Asks the Question ‘And Now What,’” *British Columbia Federationist*, 29 Nov. 1918, 1. See also “Kingsley and Society,” *Vancouver Daily World*, 25 Nov. 1918, 12.

On Allied Intervention in the Russian Civil War

1918

Report of a speech by Kingsley at a mass meeting in Vancouver's Empress Theatre on 29 December 1918, organized by the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council to protest the deployment of Canadian troops to Vladivostok as part of the Allied intervention in the Russian Civil War. Kingsley said that he was opposed to "the sacrifice of the life of even one Canadian to collect that bill" (owed to French capitalists, who had bankrolled the Czar, and subsequently repudiated by the Bolsheviks). Other speakers at the mass meeting included A. S. Wells and W. A. Pritchard.

Mass Meeting Held Sunday at the Empress

*Resolutions on Censorship and Intervention in Russia Passed.
Trades and Labor Council Upholds Its Records for Orderly
Meetings.*

Pursuant to a decision of the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council at the last meeting, a big mass meeting was held in the Empress Theatre on Sunday afternoon, to demand the abolition of the censorship, and to protest unequivocally against intervention in Russia. President E. Winch presided; and, as there had been some talk of an attempt being contemplated to thwart the object of the meeting, he quietly intimated, to any whom it might concern, that arrangements had been made to thwart any such situation as might arise. At the same time, he declared his inability to see from what quarter such hostility was to be expected; and as it turned out, any apprehensions on this score proved to be unnecessary. The theatre was crowded upstairs and down; the speakers were heard without interruption and enthusiastically

applauded; and the resolutions condemning the censorship and intervention in Russia, were passed by loud acclamation without a dissentient voice.

E. T. Kingsley was the concluding speaker, and he handed it out in his usual inimitable style. "I have the utmost respect for the censorship," he said. "So much so that I absolutely refuse to pay any attention to it." No worthy cause ever had to depend on "verboden" signs to support it. It was only tyranny that had to resort to that kind of action. Of course, society could put him in jail; but that had happened to "the best men who ever walked God's green earth." It was an old truism that "Truth is ever on the scaffold and error on the throne."

The speaker created some amusement by relating how the local Socialist Party some years ago had caused the censor's office at Ottawa to be "smothered with communications," following the ban on the "Appeal to Reason," in consequence of an article by Debs, of which the Socialists here had reproduced 20,000 copies and scattered them broadcast. He pointed out that mail addressed "O. H. M. S." didn't even need a stamp; and, by the requirements of "red tape," every letter had to be answered. As to the recent edict on popular educative literature, he said, "that edict has been absolutely defied." The literature in question had been sold with absolute disregard of the order-in-council; and that course should meet with the approval of the workers. With regard to Russia, he declared that there had been the most artistic lying he had been acquainted with.

Mr. Kingsley referred to the project of intervention in Russia on the ground that the Bolsheviki would not pay the claims of the French capitalists, who had financed the old regime. The speaker suggested that the money-lenders should "go and chase the Czar" for their money. (Loud applause.) He was "opposed to the sacrifice of the life of even one Canadian to collect that bill." Not a capitalist on earth ever had anything to loan that they did not first steal from the slaves. As to the vaunted wealth existing today, he declared, "There isn't anything to it but figures. It's what you may call 'figurative' wealth." (Laughter.) The only real wealth in Russia was in the hides of the Russian slaves themselves. The only thing their ruling class had lost by the war was the firm grip they once had on the mass of slaves.

The speaker recalled the time of the Paris Commune, when over 50,000 workers were killed in the streets, while the United States and other powers stood by and smiled. Now, in Russia, they would multiply that slaughter a hundred-fold in order that the workers there should not have that kind of Democracy that seemed to them the only kind worth while. "If we are to have

self-determination of nations,” he said, “we must keep our hands off.” It would have been no worse for the Germans to come here, “and make us two-step to their ‘verboden’ signs,” than it was for the Allies to do the same in Russia.

The Allied powers had formerly declared for “no annexations or indemnities;” now they were in favor of both. The only way the Germans could pay was in products, spread over an interminable period of time; if they did that, “there isn’t a plug anywhere else in the world that could find a solitary thing to do,” the speaker declared. The debts were simply “unpayable, irredeemable orders on the future.”

Concluding, he insisted that it was “none of our business what the people of Russia think proper to do about their own business.” (Applause.) “We have got to settle the self-determination of our own country—and speed the day when there is no longer a master or a slave anywhere in the world.”

The following were the resolutions carried:

- (1) “Whereas, the censorship regulations in Canada have been so extended as to preclude the workers of this country acquiring a correct knowledge of the activities of the workers in other countries, and
“Whereas, a knowledge of international affairs is necessary for social progress;
“Therefore, be it resolved, That this mass meeting of citizens of Vancouver require the government at once to remove the censorship regulations in their entirety.”
- (2) “Whereas, President Wilson has clearly expressed a policy respecting the self-determination of nations; and in No. 6 of his fourteen points, demands evacuation of all Russian territory and opportunity for Russia’s political development;
“Therefore, be it resolved, That this mass meeting of citizens of Vancouver place ourselves on record as being opposed to intervention in Siberia, or any interference in Russia’s internal affairs.”

—“Mass Meeting Held Last Sunday at the Empress,” *Federationist*, 3 Jan. 1919, 1, 2, 7.

On Lenin and Trotsky

1919

Report of a speech by Kingsley at a meeting of the Federated Labor Party in Victoria's Columbia Theatre on 26 January 1919, countering statements made by FLP Member of the Legislative Assembly James H. Hawthornthwaite the previous week condemning the the leaders of the Russian Bolsheviks. Kingsley's statements at this meeting prompted a resolution by Victoria City Council calling for the suppression of "seditious" meetings and the deportation of foreign-born radicals such as Kingsley.

Hawthornwaite Replied to in Victoria

E. T. Kingsley Exposed the Weakness of Statements Made. Draws Comparison between Press at Time of Paris Commune and Now.

It was indeed an invigorating and refreshing experience for the large audience which filled the Columbia Theatre on Sunday evening, to listen to the address of Mr. E. T. Kingsley, after what they had undergone the previous Sunday, when J. H. Hawthornthwaite, the modern exponent of the Nicene creed, (whose main foundation is, "I believe") was on the platform. Mr. Kingsley showed in no uncertain manner that he was in thorough touch with his subject, and that hearsay stories from venerable old ladies of seventy-five, whose motives are open to doubt, did not have any place in the philosophy of scientific Socialism. The speaker's remarks were greeted with round after round of applause from the audience, which practically packed the theatre.

Mr. R. Donachie was chairman, and read a resolution of the Vancouver Federated Labor Party, condemning the action of J. H. Hawthornthwaite in his anti-Bolsheviki speech of the previous Sunday, and also a challenge from No. 1 local, Socialist Party of Canada, to debate the question of Bolshevism, with the most prominent anti-Bolsheviki in the province and J. H. Hawthornthwaite in particular.

Mr. E. T. Kingsley, in his address, said the grand culmination of centuries of slave civilization had just been realized in a four years war, the results of which was eleven millions of men slain, double that number maimed and crippled, and none can accurately tell the number who died of disease and starvation, and after all the suffering and misery we, the working class, have nothing to show for the tremendous holocaust; there was nothing in the struggle which involved the freedom of the people. The struggle was entirely between conflicting interests of the master class, and as regards payment of the bill, the only people who could and did pay were the working class, and they pay every day of their lives.

For four years the Kaiser had been the goat. Another goat had now sprung up, and the Kaiser got a rest. The bogey was now discovered in another direction, the Bolsheviki. (Cheers.) Mr. Kingsley drew an interesting analogy between the attitude of the press, in the days of the Paris Commune and their expressions at the present time regarding the Bolsheviki. After the Communards had established themselves in Paris, all the capitalist press of the world raised one long, unending howl of despair, and the working class of Paris, were pictured as unkempt, bloodthirsty ruffians, running around cutting throats just for fun. The women were bedraggled, wild eyed, debauched specimens of humanity, running about with cans of kerosene setting fire to the sacred bourgeois treasures of art and science, and the cry went up from the capitalist class of the world, "If these terrorists win out in France, it will be our turn next!"

It was only years afterwards that the horrible truth was revealed by the archives and the writings of men who had been there. Elihu Washburn stated that Paris was never so safe as during the two months when the Communards were in power, that they did not destroy a building or cut a throat; that they never laid a finger on the archives or records, in fact it was all one gigantic tissue of lies. But when the truth leaked out years after, what was the horrible tale? Fifty thousand men, women and even children butchered in the streets of Paris to gratify the cowardly bloodthirsty, all blinding desire for murderous revenge of the capitalist class of France, when the French bourgeoisie (ready to join hands with their erstwhile enemies, the Prussians) slaughtered in cold blood those humble members of the working class after they had thrown up their hands in surrenders.

We of the working class should not worry about the doings of the Bolsheviki, for if they hung every Grand duke and every general without an army,

and all the rest of tyrannous ruling class outfit of Russia, they could never attain to one ten-thousandth part of the atrocities practiced under the Czar. We could rest assured that all the stories of Bolsheviki atrocities were 99 per cent. falsehood and the rest a lie! Such men as Col. Thompson, Raymond Robbins, John Reed and Arthur Ransome tell an entirely different tale from what we read daily in the capitalist press. Russia was never so orderly and free from atrocities, and all who were going to Siberia with the intention of beating up the Bolsheviki would be well advised to think twice before they tackled that job.

Even the tyrannous land barons had not suffered any violence from the Bolsheviki, unless when they offered resistance. These barons received the same quota of land as the peasants, and so long as they were industrious they were perfectly safe. It was only those Russian barons without land and Russian generals without armies who were now in Paris raising such a cry against the Bolsheviki, and saying it would be dishonorable to meet them. Touching on the peace conference, Mr. Kingsley said they were certainly a nice bunch. All this talk of league of nations, no wars, etc., was just so much hypocritical bunk. The United States and Great Britain were making bigger guns than ever, the British navy was to be maintained, so that freedom of the seas might be insured. How did navies originate?

The precursor of the present gigantic fleets of lighting machines was the pirate of the high seas. In earlier days it was a regular means of getting revenue, by equipping a fleet and setting out on a marauding expedition, robbing merchantmen, until eventually it became a permanent institution in every capitalistic country, and while a single fighting ship was left there could be no freedom of the seas. As for no more war, we might as well forget it, for while the exploiting system lasted there would be war after war, each one more fierce and terrible than the previous one. Never in history had there been such a conflict as had just been finished in Europe.

The rulers had conjured up a spectre that would not down and that was not confined to Russia alone. The working class is not infallible and make mistakes. Anyone, however, who says the Bolsheviki are killing and burning, speaks falsely; no man can read the record of Trotsky and Lenin and think of them otherwise than as truthful and courageous men, valiant in the cause of working class emancipation.

Kerensky wished to form a bourgeois republic the same as the United States, than which there was no more reactionary or backward country, no

country with such an apology for a labor movement, bourgeois to the core, with scarcely a grain of revolutionary thought. We in Canada do not want any rough stuff if it can be avoided, but just now there was a military shebang in Canada; our literature was banned, our correspondence scrutinized; but we had still some semblance of political rights. The time would come when we would be able to express our will at the polls, and woe to him who would attempt to thwart the will of the majority. (Loud cheers.)

A collection of \$50.60 was taken.

—“Hawthornthwaite Replied to in Victoria,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 31 Jan. 1919, 1; see also “Speaker Who Finds World Out of Joint,” *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 28 Jan. 1919, 5.

On the Belfast General Strike, Unemployment, and the Postwar Challenge to Capitalism

1919

Report of a speech by Kingsley at a meeting of the Federated Labor Party in Vancouver's Dominion Hall on 2 February 1919.

The Dominion Hall Instead of Rex

*The Federated Labor Party Held One Meeting Last Sunday.
Kingsley and Curry Dealt with Many Vital Matters.*

A rousing meeting was hold in the Dominion Hall on Sunday evening under the auspices of the Federated Labor party; the theatres in which they had been accustomed to meet being closed, owing, it was said, to rumors of threatened disturbance, in which returned soldiers were to be used as the catspaws of the reactionary interests.

Chairman W. R. Trotter opened the proceedings promptly at 8 o'clock, the large hall being already packed, though people still continued to throng into the gallery and finally blocked up even the entrance hall for lack of other accommodation. On the street below, a few score men stood about—small businessmen, plain-clothes officers and the like—awaiting developments. Near the door were a couple of burly constables and a police inspector; and in a doorway opposite was an imposing-looking military officer in uniform. Otherwise uniform of any kind was conspicuously absent, apart from half a score of young boys of the machine-gun section, who were evidently only “out on a lark,” and who disappeared after standing a few minutes on the street corner.

Another chorus was now sung while a collection of \$70.50 was taken up; then the chairman remarked, “We'll let the old man get started.” The “old man” was of course E. T. Kingsley; and during the next hour he was a grander

old man than ever. "I insist," he said, "that the censorship does not apply to me; and I intend to stick to that." It was pretty near time the people of this town did the same as the people of Belfast. (Loud applause.) The papers allowed that Belfast was never more orderly than it was now. Similarly it had been testified that never was Paris so orderly, never so free from vice and crime, as when the Red Flag of labor floated over the Hotel de Ville. (Renewed applause.) In Russia they had got rid of the czar and done "as you in Canada and every other country must do before you can look yourselves in the face and say you are free." (More applause.) As to destroying property, he declared: "We do not want to destroy property rights in human beings," the only kind of property there was. The boys were coming back from the front to the same conditions as before—possibly worse. The government was double-crossing them right now, being itself on the verge of bankruptcy. As to accumulated wealth, there was no such thing possible. "If you've got Liberty Bonds and all that kind of junk, you'll have to take a wheel-barrowful of it down town to get two bits for it." (Much laughter and applause.)

After a brief reference to revolutionary doings in France and now in Russia, the speaker expressed the hope that such things might never be necessary in Canada; but he added: "That form of government will probably go down and out by something more drastic than merely by voting at the polls." As to the unwillingness of the Allies to treat with the Bolsheviki, he said, "They've got to come to it, not only in Europe, but right here in Canada and in the United States of America." (Still more applause.)

On the unemployment question, the speaker quoted the decision of the Soldiers' and Sailors' council at New York: "We want work—but not at the expense of any man who is at present holding a job." He hoped they would say so here—"and I don't care where the poor sucker was born either." Tremendous applause again broke out when he added, "If you soldiers will do that I assure you that all the workers in the province will rally to your support." It was not true that people were our enemies just because they were born in other lands. They came over here to escape tyrannies they couldn't any longer stand in Europe. Somebody here remarked: "Some of 'em;" and Kingsley declared that "all who were traitors were still tied officially with the rulers of the German Empire." The forebears of the English people came from what was now Schleswig-Holstein (a voice, "That's right"), and there were "some rulers" who traced their way back "by a much shorter

lineage” to that German land (hear, hear). He did not point the finger of scorn at them for that.

The only approach to an “incident” occurred at the close of the meeting, when the chairman called for the Marseillaise. A lone voice in the audience at once demanded “God Save the King,” and a young man with black hair and a very white face stepped on the platform. Here he encountered the gentle but firm resistance of a young woman; and so he stepped down again assumed the peculiarly interesting posture known as “attention”—a kind of hypnotic stunt, apparently, in which the subject becomes suddenly as rigid and lifeless as a mummy, leans forward over his toes as far as he possibly can without toppling over on his nose, and concentrates on the all-important necessity of keeping his thumb-knuckles glued to the side-seams of his pants. Of course, nobody ridiculed the poor fellow or molested him in any way, the impression being that he had been “gassed.” During the singing, the kindly ministrations of another little woman apparently restored him to sanity, and he withdrew. But it must be confessed that, while he stood at “attention” to the Marseillaise, his attitude was ludicrously suggestive of those stiff little wooden soldiers that Santa Claus used to bring—marked “Made in Germany.”

It was noticeable that a considerable number of men in khaki were sprinkled among the audience, seemingly heart and soul in the business of the meeting.

—“The Dominion Hall Instead of Rex Theatre,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 7 Feb. 1919, 8.

On the Bolshevik Revolution

1919

Report of a speech by Kingsley in Nanaimo's Dominion Hall on 2 March 1919, relating to the constitution of the Russian Soviet state and policies to support agriculture.

E. T. Kingsley Speaks on Bolshevik Regime

Mr. E. T. Kingsley, the veteran Socialist speaker, formerly of Nanaimo and now of Vancouver, addressed a large audience last evening in the Dominion Hall on the Russian situation. The speaker outlined the constitution of the new soviets, explaining the relations which exist between the town and village soviets and the Provincial and all Russian convention of Soviets. The voters are all citizens of both sexes who earn their living by productive work and are members of trade unions. No person employing another for profit enjoys a vote.

The aim of the new constitution is to decentralize government, and in this connection Mr. Kingsley referred to the action of the Bolsheviks in moving many residents from the cities to the country to take part in farming. Food is no longer sent into the towns sufficient to support the farmer populations and this was represented as part of the government policy for bringing more people back to the land.

—"E. T. Kingsley Speaks on Bolshevik Regime," *Nanaimo Daily News*, 3 Mar. 1919, 1.

On the One Big Union

1919

Report of Kingsley's speech on the OBU and the role of the state at the Federated Labor Party's Sunday evening propaganda meeting in the Theatre Royal, Vancouver, 30 March 1919.¹

E. T. Kingsley on the O. B. U.: The State Is No Easy Proposition to Conquer

“One Big Union” was the topic which drew a full house at the Theatre Royal on Sunday evening, the principal speaker being introduced by Chairman W. R. Trotter, as “The Old War Horse, E. T. Kingsley.”

Comrade Kingsley dryly remarked that it really looked like “one big union” at the present moment, the whole world being in a state of turmoil “never duplicated in history before.” The mechanism of class control had suddenly been thrown out of joint by a spasm of fury—the outcome of a civilization based on slavery. Following the ravages of war, famine and plague, a peace conference was up against revolution and a stoppage of industrial life more widespread than ever before. The sudden conversion of the means of production to purposes of slaughter was the last act of this civilization. No means had been even suggested whereby the rulers could cope with its

¹ Kingsley's views on the OBU provoked a sharp reaction from working-class militant George Hardy, a future leader of the British Communist Party who was working and living in British Columbia at the time. See George Hardy, “Letters to the Federationist,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 2 May 1919, 6. For Hardy's memoirs, see George Hardy, *Those Stormy Years: Memories of the Fight for Freedom on Five Continents* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1956).

collapse; the revolution threatened in the near future to sweep every part of the civilized world.

By state mechanism alone had government been maintained all through the ages. It was that which kept the workers subjected to exploitation. No individual capitalist or capitalist concern could rise above, or defy, the power of the state, which was devised to further the interests of the ruling class as a whole. And the workers, being property themselves, could not infringe on the rights of their masters to that property, except by one course—the conquest of that institution known as “The State.”

The State was no easy proposition to conquer; every man, woman and child was within the reach of its tentacles. They could not declare open rebellion without the state knowing it. The fight must be made in the open, along lines acknowledged as legitimate by the state itself; by the franchise, so long as that road was open, however restricted.

The difficulty of the conquest was “not because the workers don’t outnumber it again and again, but because of the deep-seated superstition in the heads of our own class as to the reverence we owe to the state.” The state consisted of nothing but the power of repression; it issued the edict, “Thou shalt not,” and backed it with force.

The speaker’s view was that concessions won by such a method as the strike always had a string to them by which they could be “yanked back,” or else they were in some other way nullified. He declared that “the wage has not been altered one five-cent piece since the first union was formed,” by any such means. Otherwise the Marxian theory itself would stand reputed.

The Standard Oil Co. never tried to fix the price of its oil; if it did, trade fell off through recourse to substitutes. Similarly the price of labor-power could not be maintained against a falling market. Concessions were only a temporary loss to the ruling class, and were recouped in other ways; were in fact taken back several times over. Thus an advance in wages, on the United States railways, to the amount of 300 millions was accompanied by an advance in freight charges to the extent of 900 millions, “paid by every man, woman and child all over the country.” The speaker insisted “That is an epitome of the whole struggle for wages. You can force no concessions from those masters except what they see fit to give you.”

It was true that the Russian revolution was not accompanied by dropping pieces of paper into a ballot box; but that revolution never had a moment’s certainty till they had smashed the power of the state. They had to rise up

and seize that state; and they did it. For the Bolsheviki, no other means was available but open uprising; and the result of their sudden smashing of the machine was general confusion. In such a collapse, the workers would be the first to feel the consequences. Only by the same process by which it grew up will the machine be demolished, without great distress. "If the revolution sweeps England and France by the same methods (as in Russia), the suffering will be beyond measure; but if the industries can be one by one dissolved or rearranged to suit the new order, then the suffering may be avoided."

"I stand," declared the speaker, amid applause, "for one big union—for that specific purpose of conquering the reins of power." This, of course, by peaceable means if possible; "and if not, by some other means." (Renewed applause.) He added pointedly, "It's always up to the other fellow to say how peaceably that shall be. But," he insisted, that "what has taken generations to build up cannot be suddenly turned over to some other purpose, without distressing results."

It was owing to ignorance that the workers were not represented at Washington and Ottawa. Such ignorance was, apparently, generously shared by the public press, judging by something the speaker had been reading in the Sun, by John P. McConnell—"one of that type that will write anything on God's earth for \$3 a column." (Laughter.) Though the speaker confessed to having read this particular sample of ignorance, he stoutly protested, "I didn't buy it; I've got too much sense for that." There was more laughter when he again mentioned the \$3 rate, shook his head, and decided, "Too much!"

The idea of cutting across a corner, "by one big union that the masters know nothing about," had already been tried. The I. W. W. was now in jail or being chased in the bush, through following a line of action that the ruling class declares unlawful, "and which in common sense ought to be unlawful, too; for it can land them nowhere except when they are—behind the bars." The United States was now adding a standing army of over 500,000 to the other tentacles of the ruling class, which could only be unhorsed by the workers seizing the reins of power at Washington. The only way was to go out into the open for revolutionary political action in which all the workers, skilled or unskilled, could unite. "By no camouflage or sleight-of-hand performance is your class going to oust the ruling class from control of your life."

Economic organization—"to back up our edict at the polls," etc., was all "bosh." If all Labor was organized—"every man inside"—competition would be exactly the same as if there were no union at all. The workers had

no control over anything—not even themselves. “A bunch of mules might as well do it.” (Laughter.) All organization was under the power of the ruling class—under the guns of the state. No revolution in Europe had been backed up by economic organization; the only economic organization they had, followed the revolution. Lenin allowed ten or fifteen years for things to work out and settle down; the speaker looked meanwhile for continual turmoil—uprisings and repressions and uprisings again.

“I believe in mass action,” declared Kingsley, such as a general strike if necessary—“with a purpose that can appeal to all.” The Goodwin strike, that caused such a squeal, was purely a political strike—a protest against the persecution of draft evaders, guilty of political offences. In Europe, such offenders had already been released. “Not over here, though; we’ve got Democracy here—and it stays with us,” he added.

Concluding, the speaker again referred to the fact that the essential sustenance of the United States was all produced by about one-third of the people. “More than two-thirds of production today is ruling class production; and when the ruling class goes, it will go with them” —whether to a hot place or a cool one! The one section of the community that had means for economic organisation was the country population, who could strike and eat all the time. Yet the Calgary conference had practically ignored their communication, whereas they should have resolved the first consideration. The only true aim of one big union was “the mastery of the earth, and everything on top of it or underneath.”

Immediately after the address, a member of the audience said, “I’d like the platform;” and was backed by cries of “Platform! Platform!” from various parts of the house. Chairman Trotter interposed: “I want to say very clearly and very emphatically that if any person in the audience will not obey the chair, his place is out on Hastings street.” Later, he added, that it would be better to allow the meeting to be run from the platform; there was no reason for any one to get “hot under the collar.” They could have questions, but no one would come on the platform. This course was accordingly followed, and order was maintained till the close.

—“Kingsley on the O.B.U.,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 4 Apr. 1919, 1, 8; “The State,” *Semi-Weekly Tribune* (Victoria), 7 Apr. 1919, 4.

On the Class Struggle

1919

Report of a speech by Kingsley at Vancouver's Royal Theatre on 20 April 1919, organized under the auspices of the Federated Labor Party on the topic of "The Class Struggle."

Kingsley on the Class Struggle: Is It Based on Enslavement of One Class in Society?

In taking up the subject of "the Class Struggle," at the F. L. P. meeting on Sunday night, E. T. Kingsley observed that the very term implied human slavery. Such a struggle could not exist without a class of oppressed and a class of oppressors. All written history was the history of a civilization based on slavery; and they were justified in assuming that its original form, chattel slavery, existed many, many thousands of years prior to any written record. Slavery had been the corner stone of civilization down to the present time.

There had been many rebellions of slaves against their masters in pre-Christian times; but never any idea of wiping out one for all the system of slavery under which they suffered. Thus Spartacus and his band had for years waged a terrific war against the master class; yet there was nothing in that rising which bore the ear-marks of a revolution, with the object of wiping out that class entirely. So in the world of today, here and elsewhere, there were rebellions against the conditions under which the wage earners lived; but an analysis of the situation would show that the class struggle cannot express itself in any such fight for a mere amelioration of conditions.

The Marxian theory held that all value, as expressed in terms of exchange, had been put into commodities by the hand of human labor alone; their value was determined by the amount of necessary labor power embodied. There was no other basis upon which exchange value could be determined. The law of exchange was not a written law, not an enactment of legislators or governments; yet no power on earth, no combination of either capitalists

or workers, could overturn it. For 4,000 years at least, working people had been attempting to do so—now here; now there—in their fights about wages and conditions; yet exchange value had never been altered by one iota.

Labor power was a commodity; bought and sold in the market; and all commodities were subject to the unwritten law of exchange. Efforts made to raise or sustain the rate of wages were along the lines of a trust; i.e., a combination of persons who have agreed to control prices in the market. The Standard Oil trust was an example. All went well till one or other of the combined concerns, through loss of trade, gave way and cut the price; then the trust went to pieces. It could not stand the pressure of an adverse market. The Standard Oil people never attempted that again, but organized the Standard Oil Company and crushed all competitors by merciless under-selling. That was the only way.

A labor-power trust was equally futile. An increase of wages was always made up by a rise in prices. "The master class never lost a five-cent piece by any advance of wages it ever granted." (Applause.) The iron law of exchange could not be violated by either masters or slaves; the market would always right itself. "It is impossible to get a copper away from them, as long as they are masters and the rest of us are slaves."

It was absurd to think that John D. Rockefeller could put up the price of oil at pleasure. Orders would fall off, and the price would be shaded down to the correct point. The loss of trade would indicate that other things were being resorted to in place of oil. The Standard Oil Co., no longer tried to get a price that the market did not warrant. Similarly, increasing orders indicated that, the price was below what it ought to be; then it was shaded up, till the normal flow again was reached.

"We can agree on wages below which we will not work; but, unless the circumstances of the market determine that is the correct exchange value, that agreement will be broken." Either the wage would be paid and taken back again; or the unemployed would be compelled, in spite of all their resolutions, to break that price. "Then the whole shebang falls down, as we have seen it many, many times."

Many did not understand that there were slaves; that this was the most intensified slavery that the world ever saw. They were more powerless to back it, without overthrowing it altogether, than they ever were. The wage of labor throughout the world was never so low as at this moment, compared with the prices of things in the stores. The reason was that human slavery

was more highly developed today; the slaves were skinned closer to the quick now than ever they were before.

There was nothing revolutionary in combines for rebellion against the market; they were an absolute denial of the class struggle. The conflict was between buyers and sellers, between whom no class struggle was possible. So a fight between strikers and scabs was merely a fight between slaves; there was no revolution in that. The price was dictated at all times by the number of jobs compared with the number of slaves.

The class struggle could only be a struggle for the conquest of political powers, so that the rule of the master class should be brought to an end and the earth set free for the workers—the ending once [and] for all of the wage question, the last form of human slavery. The fact of one man working for another was unnatural and positively deadly—to worker and master alike. It implied human slavery and government—somebody to govern and somebody to be governed. The talk about democracy under such conditions was all piffle. “What does government mean except to rob? That’s all it can imply—the edict of the master.”

—“Kingsley on Class Struggle,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 25 Apr. 1919, 3.

On the Machine

1919

Report of a speech by Kingsley on the topic of "The Machine" at the weekly Sunday evening meeting of the Federated Labor Party's Victoria Local, Crystal Theatre, Victoria, 4 May 1919.

A Socialist Address

Subject Engages Attention of Federated Labor Party; Address by E. T. Kingsley

Speaking from the platform of the Federated Labor Party at the old Crystal Theatre last night, E. T. Kingsley severely criticized the present order of things, claiming that society was run by what he termed "the machine." He claimed that no matter who owned or operated the machine, the result was the same, the complete breakdown of civilization.

The "capitalistic classes" also came in for an attack at the hands of Mr. Kingsley. He claimed that while present day conditions tended to speed up production, the increase in "machine" methods would soon be the cause of everything tumbling down with a mighty crash. He drew a picture of the contented state of the farmers at the time when he was a boy, and the frenzied effort to secure a living which most farmers were now obliged to make with their machinery. He concluded:

"The hour is drawing nigh when calamity will be upon us, and all of you will be well advised to make all possible preparation to meet the situation. If you do not make a move, the horror which I dread so much will descend upon us without intelligent preparation. I see nothing but disorder, bloodshed, misery, suffering and starvation awaiting," he declared.

—"Federated Labor Party," *Semi-Weekly Tribune* (Victoria), 8 May 1919, 1. See also "Socialist Address," *Victoria Daily Times*, 9 May 1919, 7.

On Capitalism

1919

Report of a speech by Kingsley at a meeting of the Federated Labor Party in Vancouver's Columbia Theatre on 1 June 1919, examining the topic of "Capitalism."

Kingsley on Capitalism: "The Old Man" Did Not Mince Matters Last Sunday

A bigger audience and lustier singing featured [at] the Columbia meeting on Sunday evening, when E. T. Kingsley once more took the situation in hand, being welcomed with warm applause on his appearance. Chas. Lestor made a live-wire chairman, being also greeted with applause; he explained that the Grand Old Man was going east to awaken the comrades there to a realization of the catastrophe impending—"what is likely to happen and the steps they are to take."

Comrade Kingsley remarked that no great credit was to be given to any individual for having interpreted the revolution to his fellows; that was done, not by individuals, but by the development of the institutions pertaining to how man gets his living. For 10,000 years, these had been based on human slavery; that was no less true today than in the times of chattel-slavery or serfdom. The workers were as much enslaved now as then, and more ruthlessly and completely exploited.

The lever by which this had been brought about was the steam-engine, that "monster" which was invented about 150 years ago, with the whole series of tools and machinery accompanying. Hand-production had been necessarily laborious and slow, especially with regard to non-essential products; but as to the necessities of life, it had never been a very serious matter when the workers were not enslaved and their product seized by others. It was when the rulers discovered how to harness the powers of nature, that there came the possibilities of luxury beyond the wildest dreams of olden times.

The supreme culmination of all ruling-class effort had come in the last four years. Collapse was now at hand; and the ruling class was just as powerless to stem the tide as were the workers—just as much at sea as the most unlettered working man. There has been intense industrial activity, resulting in immense profits and accumulation of capital; then came the armistice, involving the break-down of the whole business. It was found impossible to put back into productive industry the men who had been put to slaughter; it seemed beyond their power to make the transition back from war to peace.

The burden of producing essential things had been continually sloughed on to a decreasing proportion of the population; hence the increase of town population. Thus civilization became top-heavy with a vast army of non-essential producers; and the whole establishment broke down. Machinery was used to produce more machinery. Lack of markets for the product resulted in unemployment and turmoil, and so there were all kinds of begging schemes to keep the thing going; since the war was over, these things were more and more in evidence. (Hear, hear.) More men were unemployed now than when the war broke out, and never were wages so low as at the present time.

It was, however, only by consent of the working-class that such an abominable system was allowed to exist for one moment. There was no reason on earth why a master should treat a slave otherwise than as a slave—“with the lash on his back if he doesn’t do what he is told, and do it well.” (Applause.) As long as slaves were bargaining with their masters, they were still slaves; and the masters were still masters. “I don’t care whether he bargains alone or bargains by the million; the circumstances and conditions of the market determined the price of every commodity.” Labor history for centuries past showed that no power on earth could upset the unwritten laws of the market with regard to exchange.

With “collective bargaining” it was just the same; there was no difference in the average wage. “So long as one man has to work for another, he can’t get more than a living—and no extraordinarily fat living at that.” No living thing worked unless it was enslaved. It was not work to get a living; it was a life of joy, of pleasure, of everything that was desirable. But just as soon as men were enslaved, “it became necessary to invent some word to express their misery and their agony—and that damned word was W-O-R-K.” (Laughter and applause.)

The speaker proceeded to repudiate the belief that machinery lessens the toil of producing the necessities of life, and argued that it could only be utilized in exploitation and in production for a market; and he declared that “a market can’t exist till slavery first exists.” Transportation never aided in producing a morsel of food; its function was to take the product away from the producer and secrete it in the market. It was all of a piece with the mechanism of war and of cities. “It is the presence of slaves that makes this combination of great cities that are sapping the health of the country districts.” The city producer was as much a parasite as his master—producing stuff to keep the mechanism going, and not the necessities of life for himself or anybody else. The majority of the machinery would be of “absolutely no use whatever to the slave class, the moment that slave class becomes free.”

Comrade Kingsley confessed to losing all patience with working men asking their masters for privileges. “When I find a great mass of workers asking a handful of masters for favors, I get right down on my marrow-bones and pray they won’t get ’em.” (Loud laughter.) What was worth having was worth taking. Just as long as they allowed the ruling-class to make the laws to govern them, they’d *[sic]* get it where the chickens got the axe. In spite of the O. B. U., collective bargaining, etc., “the other fellow still owns the shop, the factory, the mill, and the mine—and beyond all that, he owns you.” With a surplus of labor, the price of the worker was broken, in spite of his rules, “even if he swears on a stack of bibles nine miles high.”

The speaker concluded with a warning as to the wide-spread destruction that threatened the workers in the cities in case of anything like a sudden collapse of the system. Cut off from the country districts with their food supply, they would die by countless thousands. The workers of the city and country had got to act together; then they could conquer this whole western continent and undo that which the ruling-class had been fastening on them for 10,000 years. To wipe out the wage system, and all that it implied, must be the ultimate object of the revolutionary working-class; and so to become a class of free men and free women.

—“Kingsley on Capitalism,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 6 June 1919, 8.

On the Defeat of the Winnipeg General Strike

1919

Report of a speech by Kingsley at Vancouver's Columbia Theatre on 13 July 1919, following a trip to the interior of British Columbia and Alberta on behalf of the Federated Labor Party.

Kingsley Makes Good Points: Present System Will Go If Workers Do Not Move to Destroy It

Comrade E. T. Kingsley was welcomed back to the Columbia on Sunday evening, and responded by giving his audience a calling-down for getting into trouble while he was away, e. g., going on strike about 24 hours after his back was turned.

Nothing except temporary gains, he said, had ever been won by the workers in a fight for better conditions; that struggle had now become more hopeless, than ever. On the other hand it was becoming more difficult for the masters to get recruits from the slave-class; it would soon be no longer possible for the rulers to use one section of the working class to shoot down, club, and jail the others. (Applause.)

Political action meant, for the workers, to strip the ruling-class of power; and for the rulers, to hold on to it. "That struggle must be short and decisive when the working class becomes politically wise. The working class will become triumphant, and, rise to the mastery of its own life and its own destiny," (Applause.) The speaker did not think the rulers would dare to take the franchise away in these western nations, or they would have the revolution of violence which they dreaded.

The working class constituted all property, since it was the only source of revenue. Ownership and control of that class was bulwarked by the state. When they revolted, as at Winnipeg, they laid themselves liable to the fangs and claws of the state; the mounted police and the other thugs and ruffians of

the rulers were put in motion. The state's agents could invite the hotheaded to some overt act, and the strike was speedily broken. The masters could not be reached in the economic field; the strike was really against other members of the working class, i.e., against surplus labor. It was as hopeless as a horse balking in harness. All the strikes on top of the earth had never got the workers anywhere yet; wages were lower now than ever they had been. Marx's iron law could more be overthrown in the selling of labor power than in the selling of anything else.

There could be no other struggle between slaves and their masters except to break the hold of the master class and regain their liberty. The struggle of the farmers for a better price for wheat was no evidence of a struggle against the master class; but they might take political action to break the power of that class. The workers of the city would do well to go with them; together they could conquer the earth and everything on top of it.

The speaker went on to show that of the essential things of life there was never any large accumulation. All that was left of the U.S. last year's wheat supply of 800,000,000 bushels was about 18,000,000 bushels—perhaps a week's supply. It was said that the City of London was built over again in every generation; many cities on this western continent were rebuilt more frequently than that. There was no accumulation, except of machinery and of bank accounts and similar credits. The Bolsheviki could wipe out that kind of accumulation with a wet sponge, without destroying a loaf of bread or a yard of cloth or any other useful thing.

There would never be any serious consideration of anything that could endanger the master class, so long as the workers kept talking about profiteers, etc. Their profits were only in figures. Money was simply a promise to pay, that could never be paid. The "surplus value" of Marx consisted of "figures in existence at the end of a year that were not in existence at the beginning."

There was, in fact, nothing to pay with. Austen Chamberlain, Vanderbilt, etc., were pointing out that the nations were absolutely broke. What they said was true; there were only gigantic debts piled up. This applied not merely to currency, but to stocks, bonds, and all the paper flim-flam of the financial class. If capital, then, was only debt, why shouldn't it be wiped out! The destruction of capital was only the destruction of human slavery.

Less than one-third of the population of any country produced all the essential things of life for all the people of that country. The others were

producing for solely a ruling-class purpose—the material substance of great cities, factories, railways, shipping, wharves, mines, “and all that kind of stuff.” And out of it all, the workers get nothing; the ruling-class got “their eats and a mass of figures that would reach the length of this house.”

What was breaking the system down was not what the masters consume, as they were an infinitesimal portion of the whole; it was that great mass of labor in the city, with its brokers, financiers, etc., that was eating the life out of modern civilization.

The proposal to operate these things for the common good was absolutely preposterous. Machines represented the ultimate in the exploitation of slavery.

Of all the worse-than-useless contraptions of modern civilization, the aeroplane was the most deadly and most damnable. One of these could carry enough of a new poison gas to wipe out every living thing in a city as large as Vancouver, down to the last blade of grass. The submarine and the atrocities of the poor Germans seemed like nothing now in the face of this “greatest and grandest chemical achievement of civilisation.”

This civilization would perish, even if the working class did not move to destroy it. It was just as truly based on human slavery as any that preceded it. It had made life an intolerable curse.

—“Kingsley Makes Good Points,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 18 July 1919, 2.

On the Machinery of Slavery

1919

Report of Kingsley's speech at a Federated Labor Party propaganda meeting in the Columbia Theatre, Vancouver, 31 August 1919.

E. T. Kingsley on the Machines of Slavery

*Says World Is in a Devil of a Fix as a Result of the System.
Present Day Society Is Based on the Crime of Human Slavery.*

E. T. Kingsley was as unequivocal as ever on Sunday night, in his insistence on the essentially vicious nature and function of the machinery of capitalism, and its utter futility and impossibility in any civilization not based on human slavery. So much so that Chairman Lestor was able at the close to put it thus: "When we capture the means of wealth production, we shall be as well off as a mule which has captured his harness."

Comrade Kingsley began characteristically by remarking that the world was indeed "in a devil of a fix." (Laughter.) He added that he did not believe that any man or set of men, living either now or in the past, were responsible for it. It was the logical result of the growth and development of a system based on one fundamental crime—human slavery; And he did not doubt that the inception also of that system was due to causes; certain habits of living, certain lines of conduct, had led to a point where every institution had been made to conform to its requirements, and bring it to the climax of its growth.

A civilization based on a fundamental crime could not be of very long duration. This system, indeed, had probably existed for 10,000 years or more; but that was "a mere bagatelle" in the life of the human race, since even in the cave of the stone-age man there had been found the relics of a period estimated at 50,000 years.

Today they were supposed to have the most powerful machinery of production ever known, with the amount of labor required so small as to be hardly worth mentioning. Yet the people lived in privation and distress. If they were reasoning animals, of which he sometimes had his doubts

(laughter), it was up to them to use their reasoning faculties and find out what was the matter with them. They were told they were free; yet they were exploited every day of their lives, having to work for somebody else.

They were told also that they were paid for what they did. That was a positive lie. Commodities were consumed as fast as they were produced; no payment, therefore, was possible, since there was nothing wherewith payment could be made. Every bond, deed, mortgage, and the like, was a “promise to pay” that could not be paid.

A prominent writer had just stated that in times of peace a great mass of labor was engaged in producing the superfluities of peace, and in times of war the superfluities of war. The speaker maintained that these “superfluities of peace” were simply the means of solidifying ruling class power; the “superfluities of war” amounted to the same thing. All was made to subserve the great ruling class scheme of world trade and commerce.

It was now stated that not more than one in ten of the producers in America were engaged in the production of the essentials of life; the speaker himself had not gone further than to quote the official dictum of the Bureau of Commerce at Washington, which placed the figure at one in five. Right there, they had the cause of all this turmoil and unrest and chaos and confusion. While one was producing the essentials, the other four were doing nothing except rendering ruling class service; meanwhile they had to work as hard as the one who maintained them. All were alike exploited by the ruling class.

There must be slaves, for trade and commerce to be carried on; conversely, while there were slaves, there must be trade and commerce to keep them employed. The greater the trade and commerce, the greater the exploitation. In ancient empires, trade and commerce did not attain very large proportions, everything being done by hand. A pyramid, which then took 20 years to build, could now be turned out in 48 hours. (Laughter.) No more of the essentials, however, were produced now than then, but a greater amount of ruling class production.

Within the last century and a half, with the introduction of the steam engine, the volume of exploitation had increased by leaps and bounds. Essential production had been forced on fewer and fewer workers, and more of them released for ruling class production. In the United States, three and a half million were engaged in transportation—“hauling commodities from where the slaves produced them and putting them where those slaves can never get them again.” (Laughter.) That and the great factory system had resulted in this enormous enlargement of the ruling class empire of material

things. How could there be any solution except the tearing down of that scheme of trade and commerce, and bringing back the workers to the production of the essential things of life? “Is there any use tinkering with the fool machinery of capitalism?” The whole thing was based upon a crime and an impossibility; for slavery was an impossibility and could not continue.

The whole shee-bang was going up in bankruptcy; the U.S. would join the bankrupt crowd within the next two years. It had come to a point where they found they must lend other nations money, “so that they can buy our goods and pay cash.” (Laughter.) Commodities were all consumed, leaving only “tracks” behind them—on pieces of paper! These were passed round, again and again, as promises to pay, from hand to hand, but the same amount of debt existed as before; the debt of the world was not one penny less. “You cannot get rid of the stuff except by one route; and I hardly dare mention that, because it’s almost a crime in Canada to mention Bolshevism.” (Applause.)

The speaker ridiculed the outcry about profiteers, declaring it “just as honest, and just as legitimate to take a million per cent profit, as to take one.” (Applause.) The 1700 million bushel wheat crop of the United States was all gone within the year, except about a week’s supply. “If they hadn’t accumulated the figures on their bank books, wouldn’t it have been eaten up just the same? What difference does it make to you what profit they make? If they didn’t make any, you wouldn’t get any more to eat. All that talk about the profiteer being the fellow that hurts you is all bunk.”

It was the four persons out of five producing useless things, the parasitic labor of the cities, that was eating the heart out of the producers of essential things. In the European cities, the people were going absolutely to exterminate themselves; their frenzy would have to run its course. The cities would go down and out, as they had done in former ages; those on this continent would follow suit. The city must resolve itself again into smaller centres of population. The essential things of life were few and easily obtained. The idea of organising “along industrial and political lines,” to avoid the impending disaster, was a “pipe dream.” Disaster could only be avoided by joint action of the farmers and city workers, and the return of the workers to production for their own sustenance instead of trade and commerce.

—“E. T. Kingsley on the Machines of Slavery,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 5 Sept. 1919, 2.

On Civilization

1919

Report of a speech by Kingsley at the weekly Sunday evening propaganda meeting of the Federated Labor Party in the National Theatre, Vancouver, 23 November 1919.

It Is Beyond Redemption: Kingsley Says Present System Cannot Possibly Be Saved

At Sunday night's F. L. P. meeting, Comrade E. T. Kingsley again gave utterance to his profound conviction that the present civilization is beyond redemption; he saw no possible means by which it could be saved from complete and final collapse. Moreover, its industrial machinery must go to the scrapheap, too, as being incapable of serving any other purpose than that of human exploitation, for which it was brought into existence.

As a title to his address he suggested "The Great Joke;" the state of things existing today would appear in the future as the greatest joke ever perpetrated. They were living in a civilization based on human slavery; yet the slave believed himself free—believed all the parson and the press told him. "We fall for practically everything they give us, and we impress it on our fellows for truth."

The speaker disputed the contention that necessary commodities are now produced with far less expenditure of human energy than in former times. "All the mechanical devices to aid man in the process of production have not increased his productive capacity one iota." The speaker cited the laws of mechanics in support of his assertion, and insisted that, when the labor of producing and maintaining the industrial machinery was taken into account, there was no saving of human energy whatever. Otherwise, the saying about "lifting themselves by their own boot straps" would not be the joke it had been.

The speaker referred to the great financial difficulties in which the various nations were now involved, and the suggestion that all was to be set right by

the slogan of "Produce more and eat less." (Laughter.) By that process they could never square off one iota of their indebtedness, even if they kept it up "till time shall be no more."

Comrade Kingsley next demonstrated the impossibility of the workers ever being "paid" for their work by their employers, putting himself for the time being in the position of "Man Friday" to Chairman Ernest Burns as "Robinson Crusoe." He also ridiculed the idea of "surplus value" as being anything better than piled-up promises to pay, the fact being that commodities were consumed as fast as produced. Those promises to pay were never wiped out except by the so-called "Bolshevik" method of repudiation. "That accumulation of capital has become so great that the countries are all well over the precipice into a bankruptcy which they cannot escape, though they may call on high heaven till they are black in the face."

The speaker compared the time when production was by primitive methods, and the bulk of the workers were employed in agricultural pursuits, with the age of machinery, in which an ever-increasing preponderance were diverted to the cities and engaged in carrying on industries essential only to the trade and commerce system of the ruling class—"things which the producing class has no use for under any circumstances whatever." Such a system was only brought into being because slaves were being exploited, and their products could only be disposed of in that way.

History was not the history of development of the human race, but development of human slavery. There was increased efficiency only in the ability of the masters to exploit their slaves. No matter who owned the machinery, whether the proletariat or anybody else, "it can be made to do no other than it does today." All the machinery had never lifted the burden from the back of anybody but the master class—"and they didn't have any burden to bear before the machinery was devised." (Hear, hear.)

The speaker enlarged on the enormous waste involved in the present system, and declared that such waste "can't be wiped out except by the destruction of this industrialism." There was, however, no need to knock it down with a club; "it will go down and out, just as all civilizations have gone that were based on human slavery."

The railway system, in particular, had become the most vital part of the system, next to the financial; the transportation figures of the U.S. last year showed an amount of 25,000 tons per family moved one mile. Its

real function, however, was only to take the product away from those who produced it.

Taking wheat as an example of the high cost of living, the speaker pointed out that “all along the trail that wheat travels, there’s a bunch of individuals jumping on the wheat and eating out of it.” Legitimately, too! Since that was the only way this civilization could dispose of it. If “that gang of parasitic workers” couldn’t eat at all, this system of trade and commerce would go “on the bum.”

The city workers, compared with the producers in the country districts, were as house-sparrows compared with the sparrows that got their own living by performing a useful function in the fields. The various kinds of city workers were parasites, just as much as the butler, etc., serving the scallywags at Shaughnessy Heights. (Applause.) Even the trade union organizations were part and parcel of this system of slavery; when the system went down, they would go down too. By their very constitution, “they can’t draw a revolutionary breath; I don’t care whether they call themselves trades unionists simple or O. B. U.”

There was no organism on earth that did not feed itself, except the slave. Not a living thing worked, except the slave. “Work exterminates them, as it ought to exterminate everything that submits to it.” The only hope of the race was for the farmers and city dwellers to come to some arrangement whereby the latter would withdraw to the land and sustain themselves.

—“It Is Beyond Redemption,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 28 Nov. 1919, 3.

On Mechanization of Production

1920

Report of a speech by Kingsley at Vancouver's Royal Theatre on 2 February 1920, examining mechanization, the rise and fall of civilizations, and the means of production in post-capitalist societies.

Staggers Red Says Kingsley: Machinery Never Lightened the Load of Workers Is Contention

"It rather staggers the average 'Red'—especially the really scientific one. He goes right up in the air at once." So remarked Comrade E. T. Kingsley at the Royal on Sunday night; nevertheless he receded not one whit from his position that "all the machinery on top of the earth never lightened the burden on the back of the workers or made it possible to produce a solitary thing with less expenditure of human energy than before the invention was ever thought of."

The speaker started out with a repudiation of the idea that the worker is ever "paid" for his work. Master and slave between them consumed all the product from day to day, as fast as it was produced; there was nothing left to "pay" with, except promises, which could never be redeemed. Commodities in the market were sold on credit, resulting in a mere accumulation of stocks, bonds, mortgages and similar promises to pay. "That which Karl Marx called surplus value expresses itself in figures. There is nothing else but a continued accumulation of figures—except an accumulation of misery, which I think the slave deserves." (Hear, hear.)

Trade and commerce was not part of the process of production. It was merely a matter of keeping account of commodities as they moved round until they were snuffed out by the consumer. The figures were the tracks left behind—tracks of goods extorted from the toil and sweat of the workers and sold in the market for nothing.

The speaker however, was not one of those who expected the whole machinery to be wiped out in their time. "It will not be abolished out of

hand, but by the comparatively slow process by which it has grown up." A mushroom grew in a night, and perished in a night; an oak took centuries to mature, and centuries to decay. The Roman Empire was 1500 years in growing, and 13 centuries in dying.

The capitalist system was about 200 years old. It had reached its climax, and was now in collapse—gradually dying. "It will perish off the face of the earth eventually, without us lifting a finger against it. It may take a hundred years, or two hundred; it may take as long as it has taken to attain its growth."

Machinery came into being in response to the needs of exploiters and masters of slaves, and could only serve their ends, forcing an ever-increasing number of slaves from the production of essential things into the production of things that only served the ruling class interests. "The city itself is a ruling class institution, and could not exist in a society of free people."

In the United States, it had been found that one family engaged in necessary production, had to "carry" three others; the latter were kept just as busy about things not essential in any sense of the word to the comfort and welfare of any people.

"Can any one suggest a way of lightening that burden, except by cutting out ruling class service and turning to the production of the essential things of life? If this system were to pass tomorrow into the hands of the proletariat, not a solitary man can be dispensed with if it is still to be operated by the sons of men. Every one must remain at his post as a non-essential producer, or another take his place."

"There is no living thing except man, and such animals as man can bend to his will, that does not individually provide for itself—and not for others. The working man is all the time working to feed somebody else, and taking a chance on somebody else feeding him." Here the speaker proceeded to laugh the whole system out of court by a most ludicrous "reductio ad absurdum," convulsing his audience again and again, and showing a "per capita" amount of "transportation" far exceeding the amount of necessary things that any human being could possibly get away with.

—"Staggerers Reds Says Kingsley," *British Columbia Federationist*, 6 Feb. 1920, 2.

On the Paris Commune

1920

Report of a speech that Kingsley delivered on the forty-ninth anniversary of the inauguration of the Paris Commune, in Vancouver's Royal Theatre on 21 March 1920. Demonstrating the international reach of Kingsley's ideas, the report was printed later in 1920 in the *Brisbane Worker* newspaper.

Kingsley on the Commune: Gives a Vivid Picture of Ruling Class Atrocities in France

On Sunday evening at the Royal, Comrade E. T. Kingsley told once more the story of the Paris Commune of 49 years ago, than which, he said, probably no event in human history had been more misrepresented. Not even the present-day vilifiers of the Bolsheviki had reached the height in the art of vilification attained by the French ruling class of that day.

The speaker began with the collapse of the empire of Napoleon the Little in 1879 [*sic*] under the onslaught of the Prussian arms—"a tinsel empire, as all empires are." The dispute, incidentally, was as to "which royal spawn should sit on the throne of Spain," this being, of course, "a very serious matter to the common people" of Germany and France.

With the German armies rapidly approaching the gates of Paris, and the Napoleonic government absolutely impotent to repel them, a republic was proclaimed and a committee formed to prosecute the war or negotiate a peace. But treachery was at work; and, though there was ample force available to drive off the invader, the capitalist gang in control agreed that France should pay a heavy indemnity, and that the Germans should occupy Paris temporarily as a matter of form, and then retire to the suburbs, and later to the frontier, to await payment. In the face of an enraged populace, this programme was duly carried out.

The proletariat in France at that time, said Comrade Kingsley, was the most advanced in the world in its knowledge of the Socialist philosophy. It

was therefore very dangerous to the ruling class of the world, which accordingly looked complacently on its extinction by the capitalist class of France.

First the National Guard was disarmed, and its 2,500 cannon were surreptitiously seized in the night—March 18, 1871. Next day, the whole working class, men and women, surged around and re-captured them; two generals, who had been prominently brutal to the workers in 1848, were now put against the wall and shot. This act was duly recorded against the commune, which had not yet been proclaimed. The government fled to Versailles; and, on the morning of the 19th, the red flag was displayed on the Hotel de Ville and other public buildings of Paris.

For 80 years, the speaker explained, Paris had had no municipal self-government like other cities; it was now decided that the city should be ruled by a civil administration duly elected, by the popular exercise of the franchise, and an executive committee was appointed to give effect to this decision in the name of the Commune. The ensuing elections were carried out without interference or juggling, more than a quarter of a million votes being polled; and about 35 candidates were elected and took control of the municipal affairs.

But the monarchist-clerical-bourgeois gang at Versailles now obtained the release of about 250,000 prisoners held by the Germans; from among these and the Catholic peasantry they recruited a great force to crush the Parisian proletariat, closing in on the south and west while the Germans completed the cordon on the north and east. Bismarck, in particular, thought this a good time to clean up the dangerous revolutionaries collected in Paris. Paris was shelled by the government forces, and entry was made on the south side on Sunday, May 20. During the following “Bloody Week,” 20,000 men, women and children of the working class were slaughtered; and no civilized government in the world raised a hand in protest.

During the absence of the reactionaries at Versailles, Paris had been for the first time clean of pimps and prostitutes, police and criminals in general; life and property had never been so safe before. Now, the people died with “vive la Commune!” on their lips; and the line ladies came back from Versailles with their parasols, poking and peeking at the dead “vermin.” At last exasperated, some communards, without authority, then for the first time retaliated by killing 65 hostages; this was, of course, bruited all over the world against them. But the total number of Versaillaise killed during the whole struggle was set at 800 or 900; the number of workers butchered exceeded

35,000, the hunt after men, women and children being kept up for six years, while countless thousands were transported for life.

Comrade Kingsley admitted the Communards made mistakes, as when they allowed the reactionaries to sneak out of Paris alive and also left the plunder in the banks untouched, though there was gold enough there to buy the Germans off. They should have imprisoned every one of the old gang and appealed to the country for their one chance of success; however, perhaps their experiment was half-a-century too soon and would have failed in any case.

The speaker characterized this as the most stupendous slaughter of slaves since Spartacus, and added that “hundreds of thousands more will be slaughtered before this job is finished and the ruling class dismissed for ever. Don’t think you are going to get them off your back by talking nice to them; they will stick to you like a long-lost brother—and will drive a dagger to your heart.” As an indication, he pointed to recent measures against the workers in this country, where, he observed, “the revolt is pitifully weak as yet.”

This slave civilization, however, would die by its own hand. Its machines must go down and out; and with them would go the society that was based upon them. The cities themselves must perish; the whole city life was practically an economic waste. The period of human freedom was marked, not by great organized industries, but by the utilization of very primitive and simple means of production. With a complicated system, all liberty was lost; conditions became ever more intolerable, and nothing was left but inevitable collapse.

—“Kingsley on the Commune,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 26 Mar. 1920, 4.
See also “Paris Commune,” *Brisbane Worker*, 22 July 1920, 22.

On the Collapse of Civilization

1920

Report of a speech by Kingsley at a meeting of the Federated Labor Party in Vancouver's Royal Theatre on 25 April 1920. A change in his political outlook could clearly be discerned, as the eclipse of the postwar revolt of the Canadian working class and the "consolidation" of Canadian capitalism influenced a shift in discourse from the revolutionary transformation of class relations to apocalyptic warnings of civilization's collapse.

Collapse Now Threatened: Kingsley Says First Gun Fired in War Was Capitalism's Death Knell

Under the caption of "The End of an Epoch," Comrade E. T. Kingsley once more rung his warning knell on Sunday night at the Royal, the key-note being sounded in advance by Mrs. G. H. Taylor as chairman. She assured her hearers that, if they were depending upon the other fellow, they were nearing the end of their existence. With a continuance of the rise of prices and the curtailment of production, the majority of people would soon be starved off the face of the earth; so they might as well make preparations for laying out their lives themselves. The mishandling of Great Britain's food supply showed the hopelessness of the case, even under government control.

There was no prospect, she said, of things getting better as long as the farmer worked long hours, got one-fourth the retail price of his commodities, and knew he was being robbed hand over first. He would just raise enough for his family, and tell the rest of the world just where they could go. He had been, like the working class in general, too good and kind. He was now getting tired of this. She didn't blame the farmer one bit.

Comrade Kingsley averred: "We shan't have to wait very long for the crisis—it's here right now. The whole civilized world is being confronted with confusion worse confounded."

Never was the mind of man so confused as it was now; never the situation of the world so helpless. Ruling-class civilization had reached the apex of its achievement in the bloody war; the first gun fired in that war sounded the death-knell and the doom of ruling-class society.

For the last 10,000 years, at least, all the institutions of human society had rested on human slavery. The slaves were now more cruelly tortured than ever before; and a general collapse was threatening to bury those slaves with their masters in oblivion. The speaker believed nothing else conceivable, except that this civilization should go to complete ruin.

History was not a record of human progress, but of the development of human slavery. Machinery had never lightened the burden of human toil; it had only forced on an ever-lessening number of slaves the burden of producing the necessary things of life for all, and turned over an ever greater proportion to the service of the ruling class. By a physical law, it was impossible to produce power without the expenditure of an equal amount of energy; to suit a human purpose, it required human energy, and no other power could take its place. The weight apparently lifted by one man at the lever, was really lifted by the combined energies of a multitude of men. The entrance of mechanical appliances into industry did not conserve human energy; on the contrary, it added friction, which ultimately became impossible for those living under it to feed and clothe themselves.

Referring to the British government's consignment of thousands of carcasses of mutton to the soapworks, etc., Comrade Kingsley pointed out that the mutton was produced to be sold—not to be eaten. "It's the owner's business to do what he pleases with that stuff. It didn't cost him anything, and he won't get anything for it, except a promise to pay. There is never anything to pay with; what is brought forth from day to day is likewise consumed from day to day. All the nations are now bankrupt; they've got more money than they ever had before—and it isn't worth a damn!" (Laughter.) Profit, the equivalent of what Marx called surplus value, was merely figures on the books, or "figurative" wealth. "That surplus value is surplus figures; that's all. The real values are all consumed. There is so much money that it isn't worth anything. It never was worth anything in the first place; if we understood it; and it's worth even less now, whether we understand it or not."

Whatever might be the purchasing power of money the workers stood practically upon the same basis. "It will take you all your fool time working for wages to keep your family from starving to death. You've got to surrender

your life for your grub; and you may not have a chance to do that much longer. Each day, the ruling class is finding it more difficult to employ you.”

Every country was hollering for new channels of trade—“trafficking in the proceeds of your lives.” Trade never went to any country for the food of the people of that country. “The Hudson Bay Company never brought out anything except for the purpose of trimming the Indians and the gang that’s here now. What these have got to hold a pageant for I fail to see. They’d better hold a funeral—over themselves.”

After touching again on the official figures from Washington, showing that in 1918 only one family in five was engaged in essential production, the others being employed on railways, munitions, etc., the speaker observed: “That the fix we’re in as the result of 10,000 years of slavery. Its history can be traced by a trail of blood, whether in periods of war or periods of peace. The war of the last four years was purely a machine war. It was never fought for any less ignoble purpose than that of butchering slaves wholesale and at the least possible cost. That same machine will wipe us off the face of the earth if it is allowed to go its course. I believe it will go its course, and this civilization will be wiped out.”

If, however (and this was a great big “If”), the farmers and workers understood the problem, they would see that, by reversing the process—removing the people back on to the land by the same slow process as they had been gradually converted in industrial centres the problem might be solved without millions of people being destroyed by starvation in the cities. “It is because people don’t understand this that there appears to be no hope,” the speaker added. He ridiculed the folly of strikers, which didn’t solve any problem, and declared: “While cut-throats and bludgeon-weilders [*sic*] are recruited out of your class, you’ve only got what is coming to you. You’re the property of the ruling class; and that ruling class has the right, because it has the power, to do as it likes with its property.” To the returned soldiers he added: “You’ve only got what your masters had a perfect right to give you. If we were men, we’d take our medicine without squealing; but slaves can’t be men.”

This system, he said, grew up in about two centuries. It would go down much quicker than that.

—“Collapse Now Threatened,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 30 Apr. 1920, 7.

On the Bankruptcy of the Capitalist System

1920

Report of a speech by Kingsley at Vancouver's Columbia Theatre on 26 December 1920, at a meeting organized by the Federated Labor Party.

Kingsley Says the Present System Is Now Bankrupt

E. T. Kingsley, speaking at the Columbia theatre last Sunday, presented in a concise manner the logical facts which proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that the present system of wage slavery, from an international viewpoint, no longer performs the function of maintaining the sustenance of the social groups, hence the beginning of the end.

Products are all consumed as fast as they are produced, leaving nothing to pay with only promises to pay, which do not constitute payment. For example, a season's wheat is consumed from harvest to harvest, the product is consumed, but the paper that comes into being with this function, for all time, remains a future charge against the community; wheat production increasing on the ratio of increasing consuming power, the same applying to all commodity production, and then again the charge against the community increases the debt, a debt to which prominent statesmen point to as being "the increased wealth of the world," but in reality being nothing more or less than a stupendous debt that can never be paid.

Present day conceptions of property point out the demarcation 'twixt the "respected member of the community," and the "bum." Property, as an example, with no machinery produced by the slaves, and with no slaves to operate, never did and never will constitute property of utility. On the legs of the wage slaves of the world rest the burden of a world's market, and its productive features. The human slave chattels are bought and sold when

stocks, bonds and debentures change hands, the exploitation of human energy constitutes and determines the value of property.

A man is on his way to a soup kitchen at the moment that he becomes insolvent through lack of collateral; just so are the nations bankrupt. Exchange rates vary, with the United States currency standing at the peak, and at that only worth 50 cents on the dollar, with perhaps Austria at the base, with a situation which is so acute that it requires 60 kronas to purchase a street car ticket, with the countries of the world between the peak and the base currency values, mere promises to pay and the whole shebang is on the road to the International poor house.

The “wealth” of the world wholly consists of promises to pay, continuous charges against the community, the interest on these I. O. U.’s are compounded, which merely adds another set of figures to another mass of paper, which can never be retired. Capital is a lie from its inception to its demise. Its cumbersome machinery is useful only for this present capitalist system, which it works, working to carry it to its own destruction. Machinery that carries the product away from the slave that produced it to the slave in some other portion of the globe, whose slaves in turn are repeating the same process. A world gone mad, rushing the produce around the globe and rushing it back, and starving slaves watch the whole proceedings and say, “How long, good Lord, how long!”

—“Sam Guthrie at the Columbia,” *British Columbia Federationist*, 31 Dec. 1920, 1, 8.

THE GENESIS AND EVOLUTION OF SLAVERY



Showing How the Chattel Slaves
of Pagan Times Have Been
Transformed Into the
Capitalist Property
of To-day

By E. T. KINGSLEY



PRICE 10 CENTS

Figure 3. Cover of *The Genesis and Evolution of Slavery*, Kingsley's sole book-length work, published by the Federationist Publishing Company in 1916. E. T. Kingsley, *The Genesis and Evolution of Slavery: Showing How the Chattel Slaves of Pagan Times Have Been Transformed into the Capitalist Property of To-day* (Vancouver: Federationist Publishing Company, 1916).

Part III

The Genesis and Evolution of Slavery

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The Genesis and Evolution of Slavery

Showing How the Chattel Slaves of Pagan Times Have Been Transformed into the Capitalist Property of To-day

1916

This is the only officially published version of Kingsley's political thought, other than newspaper articles, derived from an article that originally appeared in the *British Columbia Federationist*. Based on a positive response to the original article, Kingsley and Richard Parmater "Parm" Pettipiece subsequently published the work as a pamphlet in the autumn of 1916, through the Federationist Publishing Company. The pamphlet was widely promoted in the pages of the *Federationist* and distributed in batches of 100 to socialist and labour activists around the province and beyond.

Introduction

The history of civilization has been written in letters of blood and fire. The enslavement of man by man was the primal curse, that fundamental crime, from which such a multitude of evils and afflictions have followed that modern society has become a festering nuisance and a stench in the nostrils of crime, corruption and debauchery run rampant in all lands and at all times. The social evil grows in magnitude and spreads its poison over an ever-widening area of the social life. The most open and brazen corruption in public life stalks abroad in the open light of day without danger of anything more serious than passing comment. The most [illegible— . . . ess] indifference to the welfare of the slaves [illegible—by?] industry is manifested throughout the entire employing world, and not the slightest safeguard is afforded the lives and limbs of the workers [illegible—that?] can in any way be avoided. Politicians, professors and press writers lie like horse thieves about mundane matters while pulpiteers weave [illegible—entrancing?] fables

about the heavenly beyond [illegible—for] the purpose of chloroforming slaves into [illegible—forgetting?] their chains and meekly submitting to [illegible—the?] continuation of their crucifixion upon the altar of ruling class plunder.

In all the calendar [illegible—of?] crime from murder down, there is scarce [illegible] even conceivable except as the [illegible—legitimate?] child of slavery. From that fundamental [illegible—lie?] all others follow. It is the prolific mother of the whole detestable brood. No further proof of this is required than the simple fact that [illegible—these/the?] evils were practically unknown until after [illegible—t . . .] of that delectable institution. From that [illegible] this they have been so continually [illegible] increase, and have become, such a part of the every day life of all civilized states, as to be considered a necessary part of the divine plan.

The rulers of the world have frequently been seized with fits of blood madness, that nothing could quell but a plentiful spilling of blood upon the part of their slaves. The slaves have always loyally come through with the goods when called upon. Surfeited with plunder and drunken with the intoxicating fumes of world trade as a means of profitably disposing of that plunder, the rulers and plunderers of half the world are now engaged in conducting a blood fest of such magnitude, that it seriously threatens the complete collapse of the entire structure of ruling class civilization. But whether the present blood letting results in the suicide of capitalism, or merely forces its development to the culminating stage of state capitalism, matters not. That which does matter is that the working class is the only factor in human society that has either the numerical strength or the justification to bring order out of chaos, by the abolition of its own slavery and the placing of the affairs of human society upon a basis that will make it possible for all people to live in fraternal peace, plenty and decency, in the common enjoyment of the fruits of their common labor.

To bring about this consummation so devoutly to be wished it becomes necessary for the workingmen to know something of their class position in present civilization and how and why they are compelled to sweat for their masters in time of peace and bleed and die for them in time of war. The requisite knowledge to enable the workers to act intelligently in the coming crisis in human affairs, which ruling class madness and ambition is forcing upon us, must be gathered by the workers themselves against all of the intellectual forces marshaled in the service of the ruling class. These forces will be used

for the purpose of still further blinding the workers to their class interests, and thus prolonging the rule and power of the master class.

Though the workers are slow to think, and even slower to act in defence of their interests as a class which produces the wealth of the world, I have the utmost confidence in the ultimate triumph of the working class in the age-long struggle against the rulers and the masters of the earth. All the knowledge that is of any value to the human race is possessed by the working class, for it is that class alone that knows how to produce food, clothing, and shelter for all. Without that knowledge there is nothing. When the workers shall have gained a knowledge of their enslavement, and have developed the necessary class solidarity to break the bonds of servitude and assume the mastery of their own means of life on behalf of their class, the battle will have been won and the curse of slavery lifted from the human race. With the hope of being able to assist, be it ever so little, in the good work, I offer the following pages for the consideration of the workers, and all others who may be interested in labor's struggle for emancipation from the bondage of capitalist exploitation.

E. T. KINGSLEY

Vancouver, B. C., September, 1916.

Man

Just how long man has existed upon the earth is not known. It is safe to assume, however, that it has been many thousands of years. The written history of the human race reaches back into the past but a few thousand years, at the most. All that we know of the race prior to that has been gathered through a study of the relics of ancient civilizations and conclusions and analogies drawn from the observation of the more backward and primitive peoples now extant. The result of the most careful research leads conclusively to the fact that man was not always the wonderful creature, as we know him today, with his highly developed faculties and marvelous command over the forces of nature. It is generally conceded that back in remote antiquity he was low in the scale of being, with ill-developed faculties and little, if anything, to distinguish him in habit and instinct from other animals that roamed the earth at that time. But at last he raised himself above the level of the rest, by taking on one peculiar characteristic or habit, which has ever

since been the distinguishing mark separating him from all other animal kind. That characteristic or habit was the making and using of tools with which to obtain his living. All other animals rely solely upon the means with which nature has already supplied them—teeth, claws, etc.

Man, then, is a tool-making and using animal. When he first raised himself above the balance of animal kind, the tools he used must have been primitive and puny things. Very likely a sharp stick or stone, by aid of which he dug a root or killed some weaker animal for the purpose of satisfying his hunger, was among his first ventures along this line. Having, however, adopted this primitive tool he opened for himself a career that was as destined to eventually make him not only master of all animal kind, but master of the forces of nature as well.

The history of the human race is a history of the growth and development of the means and methods whereby mankind feeds, clothes and shelters itself. In fact the history of man can be correctly written only in economic terms. That is in terms of wealth production. Human society and its institutions are but a reflex of this economic basis. Social conventions, morals, ethics and religions of any given period are only of such a character as are made possible and imperative, by the economic development of that time.

As the tool grew from primitive form, with each successive step the productive power of man increased, and by slow degrees the operations of industry assumed a more complex character. Individual production gradually gave way to industrial processes carried on by the collective efforts of an ever-increasing number of persons, resulting in a greatly augmented volume of product. Along with this development there logically followed many changes in social institutions, from time to time, in order that human society might adapt itself to the ever-increasing pressure of this economic development going on within it. That these changes would, as a rule, be brought about by the same slow and imperceptible process that marked the growth and development of the tool of production, goes without saying, but that any interference with such process of change would eventually result in more or less violent upheaval, may easily be understood. Such periods of sudden and violent change are spoken of as revolutionary epochs. The social horizon is now replete with signs and portents of the approach of an epoch of revolution that promises to be more far-reaching in its consequences to mankind than any that have preceded it. It will be accompanied with less of violence and leave less of misery and sorrow in its wake, if every man

bestirs himself to understand the nature of the change that has been made necessary by the industrial development of the past. The more widespread the knowledge of the impending change, and the necessity for it, the less will be the shock incidental to it.

Man as a Savage

Man, then, emerges from the ranks of the lower animals by adapting himself to the making and using of tools with which to gain his living and protect himself against other more savage and powerful animals. The family, the community, the tribe, the nation, government, religion, etc., are unknown quantities to him. His language is, as yet, but the chatter or screech of an animal; his code of morals and ethics that of a beast. He is simply a savage, very low down in the scale of being. By slow and painful experience he develops and improves his means of living. He learns how to make fire and obtain fish for food. He gathers with his fellows into primitive communities along the ocean, stream or lakeside, where fish may be conveniently obtained. A more fixed abode and the learning of how to store food for times of scarcity, lays the foundation of the family, which begins to take form from out of the previous promiscuous sex relations. This is still further hastened by the growth of the spear, stone axe and club, into the bow and arrow, thus adding the products of the chase to his food supply. It is needless to say that this development must have been painfully slow, probably covering hundreds of thousands of years. But it is beyond question that the basis of our boasted present-day industrial power was in this manner laid by our savage ancestors of remote antiquity.

Man as a Barbarian

Emerging from savagery, man entered upon his career as a barbarian. The art of making pottery was acquired. The domestication of animals and the cultivation of cereals followed. He learned how to make garments from textile fabrics; how to build of wood and stone; how to smelt ores and fashion implements of iron and copper. The canoe of the savage was improved upon by adding the sail and rudder. The insignificant savage community grew into the powerful tribe, taking on more and more the character of the nation. The family continued to develop towards the monogamous form.

But the achievements of savagery and barbarism can only be hinted at in this article. Suffice it to say that man's power to produce wealth during these periods had been greatly increased. His wants had, no doubt, likewise increased in similar proportion during the same period. It remained for the closing years of barbarism to bring his power of production up to the point where human slavery was not only possible, but inevitable. So long as it required all of a man's time to provide himself with the necessaries of life, the motive to enslave him would be lacking. Whenever the power of production had passed that point, to any appreciable extent, the motive would be there to prompt the stronger or more cunning to enslave their weaker fellows at the first opportunity. That opportunity came at last, and out of the tribal wars that arose over possession of territory, as tribe crowded upon tribe, arose the custom of the conqueror enslaving the conquered.

Civilization

Civilization announced its advent upon the stage of events by the inauguration of human slavery. Civilization, property, slavery, these are virtually synonymous terms. With the birth of civilization was ushered in the regime of property, and the slave constituted that property. He was owned by the master; he worked for the master and the wealth he brought forth, likewise belonged to that master. The master saw that the slave had food, etc., sufficient to enable him to work on the morrow. If he allowed his slave to starve, he might be unable to get another except at considerable cost.

With slavery there came the possibility of carrying out works of far greater magnitude than was formerly the case. Under the lash of the master the mighty achievements of Assyria, Egypt, Babylon, Greece and Rome were accomplished, tasks that were undoubtedly impossible except by enforced labor. However useless these accomplishments, in so far as conserving any legitimate human need is concerned, through some thousands of years these burdens of civilization were slowly and painfully borne upon the backs of cruelly sweated and tortured human chattels. The tools of labor were by the same token being continually improved upon and made more perfect, thus increasing the productive power of the slave. This continually increasing power to produce wealth eventually surfeited the master class and debauched its institutions until the civilization of that time, rotten to the core, went to pieces at the touch of the barbarians of a more northern clime; and out of

the chaos of its ruins there emerged a slavery wearing a different outward garb, but in essence the same.

Under this later slavery the master became a feudal lord and the slave a serf, and the period of its life is termed the reign of feudalism. The feudal serf worked a part of the time for his feudal lord for nothing. During the balance of his time he was allowed to work for himself, upon land that was set aside for his own use. He kept himself and family by this latter labor. His lord was kept in luxury and magnificence, by means of the former. The time he was allowed to work for himself was, as a rule, very cleverly adjusted to the actual requirements to enable him to work for the feudal lord the balance. His predecessor, the chattel slave, worked for the master all of the time. The feudal serf worked for his master but a part of the time. But inasmuch as neither of them got more than the bare necessities of existence, the difference between them was one of appearance only. The very essence of their servitude was the same in either case. They were both well shackled and well plundered slaves.

For some hundreds of years the feudal system of slavery held sway. The tools of labor were continually being perfected, and the power of production increased. Like their predecessors, the chattel slave masters, the feudal lords eventually became gorged with wealth and rotten with profligacy. Feudal civilization became a nuisance in the pathway of human progress, and therefore doomed. The wealth the feudal slaves could produce in excess of their own keep, became so great that it could not be consumed by their feudal lords. It cried out with ever-increasing insistence to be disposed of, but this was impossible within the confines of the feudal regime. The feudal bonds had to be broken and the power to do so came from the enslaved class below.

Skilled workers in the towns first partially broke loose from feudal rule. Master workmen with their own tools in their hands and these tools ever becoming more perfect and powerful, scented rich returns in the production and sale of their wares, if the restrictions of feudal-rule could be brushed aside and they be allowed to carry their products into the markets of the world. The feudal lords were unable to withstand the pressure of this economic power developing within feudal society, and were forced to surrender the sceptre of rule into the hands of the master work men, who were destined to speedily develop into factory lords. A new master class had been born, the capitalist class, and the slaves discarded the garb of serfs

and gleefully bedecked themselves in the raiment of "free laborers," the wage slaves of modern times.

As the feudal system gave way to the new order a vista was opened up before the workman that had every appearance of being that freedom of which he had long dreamed. But it has long since proven to be a delusion. The individual workman in the individual shop grew into a collection of workmen in a larger shop and the sub-division of labor. The worker no longer made an article entire. He performed a certain part of the work and passed it along to other workers to be finished: The hand tool grew into a machine and the process of production became more complex and the necessary equipment more costly. It became more and more impossible for the individual worker to lift himself from the rank of worker to that of master. Awakened from his dream of freedom, he found himself, held in the grip of a veritable industrial monster that squeezed the last drop of juice from his quivering carcass, even more thoroughly than ever did chattel slave master or feudal lord. Though he appeared to be free, inasmuch as he might refuse to labor if he so chose, he awakened to the fact that he was compelled to surrender his life to his industrial masters, sooner or later, in exchange for the price of that which the chattel slave got at first hands, and the feudal serf was allowed to produce for himself, viz., the bare necessities of existence.

After dreaming of freedom, to be awakened to the stern reality that wage labor is but another name for slave labor, is a rude awakening indeed. The wage slave does for his master precisely what the chattel slave and the feudal serf did for theirs. No one would be impudent enough to assert that either of the latter were paid for their work, yet, in common parlance; the wage worker gets paid for his. The fact asserts itself with the greatest emphasis that chattel slave, feudal serf and wage slave worked for practically the same thing, viz., a bare existence, and this has been rendered continually more insecure and uncertain as each of these successive stages of civilization became more highly developed and rotten.

Property

Reference has already been made to the synonymy of the terms civilization, slavery and property; that civilization began with slavery, and that the slave was property. It is true that property existed prior to the birth of slavery, but it consisted merely of personal belongings, and was entirely

devoid of the attribute of being a means of bringing a revenue to its possessor, without exertion upon his part. The owner of such property could not obtain something for nothing, merely by virtue of such ownership. With the establishment, however, of slavery the term property took on a new or added meaning. It became possessed of the attribute of being able to bring to its owner a revenue, without effort upon his part. It became the means whereby the owner could obtain wealth for nothing. His property—slaves—would produce the wealth. He, as the owner of such slaves, would merely take the wealth they produced. Out of that wealth he would allow the slaves to be fed, so that they might continue the process on the morrow. The balance he would appropriate to his own purposes of comfort and aggrandizement.

The slave bears the distinction of being the only sort of property ever invented that could bring to its owner something for nothing. It is that type of property that rules the world today. There is none other that can be measured in terms of exchange, for the very simple reason that there is none other that can conjure forth something for nothing, for the owner thereof. There is no other property out of which a profit can be made. Consequently there is no other kind that is worth owning. The slave of today little dreams that the entire civilized world worships at his shrine. But it is a fact, nevertheless. The world worships at the shrine of property, and the slave is that property. No god, either Christian or Pagan, ever had so large and devoted a following.

It is true that slaves are not now listed as property in the charts of the world. In fact slavery is not supposed to exist in the highly civilized nations of today. Lands, factories, shops, mines, railways, steamships and all similar things are listed as property and the titles thereto are continually passing from hand to hand. The valuation of these properties runs up into countless billions of dollars, and yet not a foot of land, not a factory, a mine, a railway, or any other part or parcel of this alleged property possesses in itself an iota of exchange value. As a means, however, of commanding the service of enslaved labor, in the processes of wealth production, these listed properties become immensely valuable. But they are valuable only because they become the medium through which the enslavement of the workers is [illegible—effected?] and their life force coined into wealth for the owners. It may be seen from this that the value which lies within industrial processes of modern times, and which is quoted as resting in the physical properties referenced above, lies solely within the ranks of the enslaved workers. The

ownership and control of the aforesaid physical properties carries with it ownership and control of the sole wealth producing factor in human society, the working class. Stocks, bonds, deeds, mortgages and such like paper evidences of title to property, are only title deeds to human slaves, the only sort of property from which an owner ever did or ever could procure a living without effort. The doxology of the modern property owner might very appropriately be, praise slaves, from whom all material blessings flow.

Capital

If anything like a clear understanding of the real meaning of the term Capital was first obtained, a great deal of confusion might be avoided in dealing with the many problems that are continually arising under its baneful rule. There is nothing so very mysterious about it. Once the scalpel of inquiry is thrust into it and it is ripped open for examination, it quickly resolves itself into an exceedingly flimsy verbal covering for an extremely coarse and clumsy piece of rascality. As flimsy as that covering is, however, it has been ample to so mask the rascality as to lead the victims of it to long believe that it did not exist.

The term Capital is applied to the means of wealth production, when those means of production are used for the purpose of making a profit out of the employment of labor. As means of production owned and operated by the same person or persons, could bring to such owners nothing beyond the products of their own labor, it is self evident that such means of production would not, under the circumstances, function as capital. As profit is something gotten for nothing, no profit could accrue from such circumstances. If, however, the means of production were owned by one man or set of men and operated by other persons whose labor power had been purchased, the situation would be entirely changed. Out of the labor so employed a profit might be made. Something could thus be gotten for nothing. In such case the means of production would function as Capital and the owners thereof would be termed Capitalists.

But granting all of this, capital has not yet expressed any definite material thing. In assuming that the means of production referred to have functioned as capital, nothing has been expressed that could be measured in material things, either money or anything else. What, then, has been expressed? Absolutely nothing but the relation of master and slave, existing between

the owner of the means of production and the slaves who did the work. And that is all there is to this mysterious thing called capital. It consists of nothing but the power to command the services of human slaves in the processes of wealth production. It expresses no wealth, but merely the power, vested in the capitalist, to obtain wealth for nothing. Be it money or what it may, that the wiseacres term capital, it never functions as such until this money or other material thing is literally consumed in expressing that relationship between master and slave. That capital is necessary, or in any manner an aid to production, is pure and unadulterated “bunk.”

The chattel slave masters of old owned their slaves, outright; body and soul, and they made no bones about it, either. They never tried to disguise the fact with anything less pretentious than a club. No attempt was made to cover up their rascality in ruling and robbing the producers of wealth. The feudal lords of the middle ages made no pretense of being other than the conscienceless rascals they were. They held their serfs in bondage without attempting to excuse their brutality and rascality by specious and hypocritical pretense. It has remained for the modern capitalist class, however, to mask its rascality under the cover of artfully spun economic fables, not the least of which is the fable of sacrosanct capital.

What is termed the growth of capital is only the extension of the economic empire of the capitalists over an increased number of slaves. The huge corporations that dominate industry and commerce today, have all grown up from small beginnings made by those early pioneers of capitalist production who freed the productive powers of labor from the restrictions of feudal rule. These gigantic combinations of capital now number their slaves by the millions, the holdings of individual concerns in some cases running to upwards of a hundred thousand. And the wage slaves of today are just as truly held in bondage by their capitalist masters as were the chattel slaves of antiquity held by theirs. Though they may leave an individual masters [*sic*] if they so choose, they must needs soon find another or perish. They can not escape the master class. They must surrender their labor power to that class if they would live.

Labor Power and Wages

Prior to the advent of civilization, production was carried on for the sole purpose of supplying the needs of the producer. The resources of the earth

can not be converted into form usable for the satisfaction of human needs, without the expenditure of at least some effort. As the things requisite for the satisfaction of such needs are termed wealth, and these things are brought forth solely by human effort, then it is correct to assert that all Wealth is produced by labor. The labor, if it could be so called, of the savage and the barbarian was expended only for the purpose of producing things for their own use. With the advent of the era of civilization, however, a change occurred in the purpose for which all productive processes were to be carried on. It is manifestly clear that industry operated by the labor of slaves could only be carried on for the purpose of bringing gain to the masters of those slaves. There could be no other motive for slavery. True it is that the slaves have always been fed, that is if they have been fed at all, out of the products of their own labor, but that in no manner alters the fact that production, under slavery, is not carried on for such a purpose. That slaves have to be fed, is, from the masters' standpoint, an unfortunate circumstance incidental to the process, due no doubt to some oversight upon the part of the creator. Production under the regime of capital is carried on for the purpose of profit, and this is more especially true of that portion of it which is operated exclusively by wage labor.

Production for profit necessarily implies production for sale. By thus disposing of the things produced is the only way their values can be transformed into terms of money upon the right side of the owners' bank account. If the owner cannot sell, he can realize no profit. Anything placed upon the market for sale is termed a commodity. All of the wealth of the modern world takes on this commodity form.

Everything is for sale. Foodstuffs, wearing apparel, furniture, tools, houses, lands, stocks, bonds and every conceivable thing in the category is upon the market as a commodity seeking a purchaser. As commodities they pass from hand to hand until, perchance, they fall to the possession of some one who desires to appropriate them to his personal use. Then they cease to be commodities; they disappear from the market and, as a rule, are known no more in the annals of exchange.

A commodity then is anything for which the owner has no use, but must sell in order to obtain the things which he desires to use. A steel mill, for instance, turns out steel products for which the owner has no use. He sells such products in the market and thus obtains the money by means of which he obtains other things which he may require. In this manner he exchanges

steel which he does not want, for such other things as he desires. Now, according to capitalist morality and ethics there is but one legitimate and honorable way to make a living in this world, and that is by selling something. To live by charity is not considered commendable, and to live by crime is severely condemned, that is if the crime be too open and coarse, and the criminal be caught at it. But to make a living by selling something is strictly according to the rule and highly commendable. It makes not the slightest difference what is sold, either, so long as it has been obtained anywhere near in conformity with the rules of the game of getting. The steel magnate lives from the proceeds of the production and sale of steel; the beef magnate, of beef; the oil magnate, of oil and so on down the long line of slave masters and first citizens. He who has nothing to sell is certainly in a bad way, for he will have no alternative but to resort to either crime or charity, or perish by the wayside. And even if he has something to sell and cannot find a purchaser, he is in an equally bad fix.

We now come to the consideration of that large section of the producing class that works for wages. Without ownership or control of any means whereby they can employ themselves in the production of the things requisite for the sustenance of themselves and families, the workers are compelled to offer the only thing they possess as a commodity upon the market, in order to convert its exchange value into the purchase price of the things they needs [*sic*] must have or starve. The only thing they possess that can possibly have any market value, is their energy and ability in industry, that is their labor power. It happens that this particular commodity is the only one in all the category of commodities that is absolutely indispensable to all production. It is the one commodity that upon being consumed in the industrial process, not only reproduces its own exchange value, but actually multiplies it. These additional new values thus, brought into existence constitute the eternal fountain of delight from which comes the intoxicating profit that has brought the capitalist world to a veritable delirium tremens of trade and blood.

The labor power of the otherwise propertyless working man is, therefore, sold as merchandise in the market. Possessing no means whereby he may expend this energy upon his own behalf, he is forced to dispose of it to some one who can utilize it. The price he receives for it is termed wages. Wages expresses the exchange value of the commodity, labor power, at the time of sale. Like all other commodities, the price of labor fluctuates up or

down, according to the circumstances and conditions of the market. As a rule and under normal conditions, commodities exchange, one for another in the market, upon the basis of the relative amount of labor time necessarily embodied in their production. That is to say, for instance, if a pair of shoes of a given quality, and a barrel of flour exchange equally in the market, they do so because it has required as much labor time to produce the one as the other. If this exchange is effected through the medium of a five dollar gold piece, it merely signifies that a similar amount of labor time is necessarily embodied in the gold contained therein. Fluctuations, either one way or the other from such basis of exchange, frequently occur, but as Marx puts it, the average exchange approximates very closely to the point of actual value for value. For instance, if the supply of any article be appreciably in excess of the demand, this condition will tend to have a depressing effect upon the price and if such condition persists, no power on earth can prevent prices falling until the supply is brought down some where near to the actual requirements. The scarcity of any article to the extent of likewise disturbing the balance the other way will send prices upwards until the normal balance between supply and demand has been once more regained.

Now let it be supposed that the wage of the working man is \$3.00 per day. This sum then is the price, expressed in money terms, which he receives in exchange for his labor power, for one day, let us say of 8 hours. Now, if one day's labor power is equal in value to the sum of \$3.00, it must be for the reason that the amount of labor time necessarily expended in the production of one day's labor is equal to that necessarily expended in the production of \$3.00 in gold. Whether the money used in the transaction is gold, or some paper promise or substitute, makes no difference, for the reason that all of the great capitalist countries are under the gold standard, hence gold must be our money reckoning. Into the production of a day's labor power must go some certain quantity of food, clothing, shelter and other actually necessary ingredients. In other words, the human engine must be stoked in order to generate labor power, just as a steam boiler must be stoked in order to produce steam power, the only difference being in the material used in the stoking, and the fact that the former stokes itself while the latter cannot do so. The food, etc., required to generate sufficient energy to enable the workman to do a day's work, has also been produced by labor, previously expended. As the exchange equivalent of our day's labor power is \$3.00, then it follows that the amount of labor time necessarily expended in the

production of the amount of food, etc., sufficient to generate one day's labor power, and the amount necessary to the production of \$3.00 in gold, are equal. That is why \$3.00 will purchase a day's labor power, or a day's labor power will purchase \$3.00, which ever way we care to put it.

To sum this matter up we find: That labor power is a commodity, bought and sold in the market just like any other commodity and subject to the same inflexible, though unwritten, laws of the market and of exchange, as all other commodities; that wages are the money expression of the exchange value of labor power and that upon the average the sellers of labor power get the same close approximation to the correct exchange value of their commodity as do the sellers of any and all other commodities. The logical conclusion is that the seller of labor power gets, as a rule, all that is properly coming to him as a seller of that particular commodity.

The Farmer

The greater portion of that vast volume of agricultural and kindred products that is poured into the channels of capitalist trade, and commerce, is the product of a class of labor whose exploitation is so completely hidden behind the mask of property in land and tools, as to lead the victims themselves in many cases to fancy that their hardships are due to their own shortcomings, or to other causes entirely apart from that of being robbed as wealth producers. This small farming class, consists of a kaleidoscopic array of petty proprietors ranging all the way from the few who still have their holdings free from debt, down through the extended ranks of those who are struggling under loads of mortgage indebtedness, to the ever-increasing number who eke out a precarious existence as tenant farmers. The sole property of these tenant farmers often consists of a span of horses or mules and a few farming implements. When these are lost, the only alternative is to be swamped in the gulf of wage servitude, from which there is next to no escape. As a rule these small farmers carry on their operations chiefly with their own labor and that of their families. If, perchance, they do employ some outside labor at times, this is frequently offset by labor of their own expended elsewhere. Countless thousands of these small proprietors are compelled to depend upon the sale of their labor power or that of some portion of their families, for at least a part of each year in order to be able to hang on to their small properties. Their small property, instead of being the badge of

their independence, becomes a sort of last straw to which they desperately cling in order to avoid being engulfed in the maelstrom of hopeless wage slavery. And well may they struggle against such a fate for the noise of turmoil and strife, the wails of anguish and distress, and the moral stench arising from the wage shambles of capitalism offers no very seductive invitation to any one to seek entrance therein.

The position of the small farmer is a sort of cross between that of the feudal serf of the middle ages and the wage slave of the present. At least a part of his product is consumed by himself and family, but the balance has to be surrendered to the tender mercies of the market, which usually renders returns not calculated to swell the fortunes of the small proprietor. In consuming direct a part of his products, such as vegetables, fruits, meats, etc., which represent at least a considerable portion of his living, he bears a very close resemblance to his feudal serf predecessor. Such portion of his product represents the result of his efforts while working for himself and surrendering nothing to his over-lords. That is what the feudal serf did in tilling the lands set aside for his own use by his feudal lord, only in his case, it covered his entire living, instead of only partially doing so, as in the case of the small farmer. All that the farmer produces outside of that which he and his family consumes at first hand, must be thrown into the market, a veritable funnel through which by far the greater part of the wealth he produces is poured into the coffers of capitalist property. He must be content with the market returns, no matter how small. The capitalists are his over-lords, and are in a position to exact their tribute, no matter how vigorously he may object. That the small farmer is closely related to the wage slave is shown by the fact that both are producers of exchange values which they are compelled to surrender to the hungry maw of their common enemy capital, through the merciless channels of a world's market over which they have no control. Still further confirmation of their kinship is found in the striking similarity that exists between them in the matter of earnings. The total earnings of either is, upon the average, equivalent only to the amount actually requisite for their existence as workers. When the farmer figures up at the end of the year, he is fortunate if he comes out even, and so is his kinsman, the wage slave. The latter sells his labor power as a commodity, and delivers it direct into the market. The former converts his labor power into other commodities, such as wheat, corn, cotton and a multitude of other things, and then turns these commodities into the market. All that he gets out of the

market for these products is, at the best, only the equivalent of the exchange value of the labor power actually requisite for their production. Not the labor power that he may have expended in their production, but the labor power that is necessarily expended in such production when carried on upon a modern scale and with high-class and powerful equipment. For instance, the exchange value of wheat is not determined by the labor expenditure of John Hodge, whose agricultural activities are carried on with an ox team, a walking plow, a sickle, and a flail, but by the labor cost upon the big fields of Canada, Argentina, and the United States, where costly power-driven machinery is used to greatly multiply the result of human effort. It is the small farmer's misfortune that such is the case.

The small farmer then works for just what the wage slave does, that is, upon the average, a bare living. Together the working farmers and wage workers produce all the wealth of the world. They constitute the working class. Their over-lords constitute what is termed the capitalist class. The workers make the wealth, the capitalists take it. The one is useful, the other is not. That is all the difference there is between them. The wage slave is more than often compelled to turn wife or children, or both, over to the tender mercies of the labor market in order to eke out the family subsistence. The farmer is likewise compelled to impress members of his family to the service of his over-lords by utilizing their labor in the fields with himself. But in either case the average family home is equivalent to no more than actual cost of a bare existence. As the wage slave surrenders his labor power directly to the purchaser, the fact of his exploitation is more easily and readily brought to his notice. He is not blinded by any fancied property rights. He soon recognizes his slavery and the chains become galling to his limbs. He soon ripens for revolt and although his efforts are at first directed more especially along rebellious lines, he sooner or later becomes an apostle of the revolution that shall bring an end to slavery by breaking the rule of capitalist property and asserting the rights of the toilers in the control of their products and their lives. With their vassalage masked by their fancied property rights, thousands of small farmers are still strangers to the fact that the struggling wage slaves of capital are, economically speaking, bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh. As common victims of a common crime, they should stand shoulder to shoulder for the common defense and for the purpose of bringing their miseries to an end by freeing their class from the chains of a common bondage. Speaking of property rights, it is well to note that in

spite of such rights, the farmer is compelled to surrender his products into the hands of capital, and he has nothing to say about it, either. This ought to convince most any one as to where the real title to the farmer's property rests. The fact is that slaves can not own property, for they are themselves property. Though they may be in possession of certain things, the real test of ownership lies in the power to absolutely command not only those things, but all else that may issue therefrom. The farmer is not only compelled to surrender his products into the hands of capitalist property, but he always has to sleep with one eye open in order to avoid being dispossessed of that which he hath. Thousands of his kind are losing their holdings every year in spite of all their efforts to hang on. About the only advantage the farmer has over the wage slave is that his job is steady all the year around, while the latter's is subject to dislocation at most any moment. Living in the country away from the smells and hells of congested industry is another modification of the infamy of slavery that is also in his favor.

Profit

The purpose lying behind every business venture is to get more out of it than was put into it. If for every dollar ventured upon any undertaking, there is brought back in the way of returns something in excess of that sum, the venture is said to have been a profitable one. No matter what the circumstances may be that make it possible for this very desirable result to be attained, it is strictly in conformity with all the moral and ethical conceptions of Christian civilization that the recipient of such gains should flaunt his good fortune in the face of all the world and even proclaim himself as moulded from a superior brand of clay to that which has been incorporated into the corporeal substance of his fellow mortals. And he who is successful in gathering much substance in this manner, is looked up to and revered by the gaping multitude just as though his pretensions were based upon the undisputable fact. Individuals and concerns gather to themselves through the schemes of profit, wealth running into such fabulous sums as to be beyond human conception, while the average man in the street, ragged though he may be, seldom dreams there is any connection between these masses of wealth and his own shabby circumstances. Wage slaves sweat, bleed and die in the shambles of capitalist industry, and few of them ever realize that their agony is the price they pay for the magnificence and display of accumulated wealth.

Farmers drift into the cities and stand in speechless awe in the presence of such vast wealth, little realizing that it has been piled up at the expense of their narrow and stunted lives. And what is this thing called profit, that all the world worships and which brings such a plethora of wealth and magnificence to its favored devotees? By what strange alchemy can such splendid results be brought about? Possibly there is nothing mysterious about it, once it is closely examined.

To come right down to brass tacks, as the saying goes, profit is merely something gotten for nothing. Away back in those primitive days when man was a savage, having not yet acquired that moral and ethical excellence and superior culture that is so peculiarly characteristic of our present civilization, an occasional individual no doubt, in obedience to his acquisitive promptings, went forth with a club or other weapon and obtained that which he required by the easiest and simplest method known at that time, that is by knocking some other savage on the head and taking his goods. What he thus obtained, however, could not be termed profit; because he did not obtain it for nothing. He at least had to expend some energy and assume some physical risk. What he got might more properly be termed a reward for his initiative and enterprise, and a reasonable compensation for the risks he was compelled to assume in his venture. It has remained for the civilized man to not only discover and develop the art of absolutely getting something for nothing, but to clothe it with an importance and dignity that commands the admiration and worship of all, including even those to whom all other fine arts are as pearls before swine.

Something cannot be gotten for nothing, without some one getting the worst of the deal. What one gets for nothing, some one else must lose. As profit deals material things only, and those things converted into profit can only be so expressed in terms of money, then every dollar of profit made by any one or more persons must mean an equivalent amount lost, by some other person or persons. Commodities exchange in the market, one with another, upon the basis of their relatively necessary cost. That is value is [*sic*] exchanged for value. Out of such a transaction, no profit can be made. Suppose a farmer sells a bushel of wheat for one dollar, and for the dollar purchases a monkey wrench: Now then he has exchanged a bushel of wheat for the monkey wrench, value for value. Neither he or the merchants with whom he has dealt, have made any profit out of these transactions. The farmer received for his wheat what it was worth at that stage of its journey

from the soil to the consumer's table. He paid for the monkey wrench what it was worth at the end of its journey from raw resources in the bosom of the earth to the hands of a consumer. At each successive step along its line of travel it increased in exchange value, because of the labor time continually being added to it. By the same token will the exchange value of the bushel of wheat increase as it goes through the various stages of transformation into the finished product bread, and its transportation to the hands of a consumer somewhere on earth.

Labor produces all exchange value and as all profit is gathered in the shape of exchange value, in order to fathom the mystery of its gathering, we must delve down into the productive process and discover, if possible, what occurs there. Mention has already been made of the fact that the expenditure of the commodity labor power, in the production of further wealth not only reproduced the value of that labor power, but brought into existence values that did not previously exist. That result is due to the fact that one day's labor in the production of those things that are necessary to the sustenance of a worker will bring forth sufficient food, clothing, shelter, etc., to sustain a worker for a much longer period than one day. This power of production has been brought about as a consequence of the introduction of highly developed tools into the industrial processes, and this power is constantly increasing as the tools are made more perfect. It is safe to say that the average daily product of labor in the production of the actual necessities of life is sufficient to feed, clothe and shelter the ordinary family for a week. But all that a worker gets as wages is just what his labor power is worth as a commodity. All of the value that the expenditure of that labor power brings forth in excess of its value as measured by the wage he receives, constitutes the reservoir from which is drawn all the rich profit of the capitalist world. The wage slave, and the farmer whose slavery is masked beneath his fancied property ownership, constitute the slave army that keeps the reservoir well supplied with the delicious juice.

That which is left after the expenses of production and distribution have been met, is what has been termed by Marx as surplus value. It should be remembered that all the expense of production is embodied in the cost of labor. As there is nothing else that goes into production but labor, this must necessarily be so. The assertion is often made that capital is required in order to carry on production. Capital being nothing but the control of labor, it may be easily seen that its significance in production can only express itself

within a society based upon human slavery. Instead of being an aid to production, it is a scourge upon the backs of slaves. Its iniquities and inflictions are the penalties the workers are called upon to pay for the supreme folly of being slaves.

Trade

It is the function of the slave to produce wealth for the master. It is the master's business to appropriate that wealth and put it to such use as may please his fancy. In the earlier days of slavery it was possible for the master to consume the surplus that was left in his hands after the slaves had been fed. But as the tools of production became more highly developed and the productive power of the slaves thereby increased, there came a time when this surplus became so great that it was practically beyond the power of the master to consume it, no matter how extravagant his tastes. Slavery cannot continue unless its products can be disposed of. As they could no longer be consumed in toto by the master, it became the practice to sell the overplus to others, who might be able to offer something as an equivalent in exchange. By thus disposing of what he could not otherwise use, the slave master converted it into the means of purchasing more slaves, enlarging his establishment and raising himself to a social level above that of his less fortunate fellows. That this method of disposing of the plunder taken from slaves began in a very small way is certain. But that it has long since grown into a gigantic and world-wide process is obvious. Trade has now become the fetich of the whole civilized world. In that alone is found the safety valve through which the more highly developed slave states seek relief from the terrific pressure of their own economic forces, a pressure that must be relieved or dire disaster will follow. It is needless to say that this safety valve of world trade is but a temporary make-shift. The volume of wealth poured out into the world market by the great slave nations, fastens itself upon all to whom it is brought, as veritable tentacles, hopelessly enmeshing them in the net of a world-wide slavery. As nation after nation falls into line and becomes a hive of capitalist industry, pouring its surplus into a world market, the safety valve becomes closed, for the very simple reason that there are no more new fields to conquer. There is no further territory to be brought within the jurisdiction of capitalist property and its wage slavery. There is no longer an economic vacuum into which can be poured the stupendous volume of

plunder taken from a world of slaves. Then comes either the smothering of civilization in its own blood and fat, or a world-wide slave revolt that shall wipe out capitalist property and its baneful rule. Judging from the present outlook, especially in Europe, the blood and fat theory appears to be the more probable.

To extend their trade has long since become the dominating policy of all great commercial nations, and the lesser ones are all animated by a desire to reach the trading status as speedily as possible and join the trade procession. Trade has become an obsession, an overmastering delusion, that casts its baneful spell over its victims as well as its beneficiaries. Thousands of working people are led to believe that their welfare is in some manner conserved by the world's trade. Were they but to give the matter a little thought they should be able to see that trade is called into being solely through the existence of their own slavery. It is the method whereby the masters dispose of the plunder coming into their possession through the unpaid toil and sweat of their slaves. The slave is, therefore, the very basis of trade. As labor produces all wealth and the world's trade is carried on in wealth, then it logically follows that this boasted trade is really a traffic in human flesh. Capitalist property consists of human slaves. Capitalist trade is merely the traffic in their flesh. That this human flesh is first coined into other things by no means alters the fact nor removes the curse.

The State

The State is the instrument of the ruling class. It has grown up with the ruling class. It is really the executive committee of that class. Its function is to conserve and protect the interests of the ruling class, as against the interests of any opposing class or classes in human society. A ruling class implies a class or classes to be ruled. To rule is to enslave; to enslave is to rob. No other motive could prompt man to set himself up as ruler and master of his fellows. No other motive was responsible for the chattel slave master and the feudal lord, and none other has yet been discovered to satisfactorily account for the modern capitalist. The state, with its organized powers of repression, is inconceivable except in connection with a human society that is split into warring factions, through a conflict of economic interests. The advent of slavery into human affairs laid the foundation upon which the state, of necessity arose. Slaves must be governed, otherwise they will not remain

slaves. That they were first governed by the master direct, his own vocal powers delivering the legislative "thou shalt nots," and his strong arm wielding the club that enforced his decrees, is perhaps true, and would be quite in keeping with the crude and primitive beginnings of slavery, itself. But from those small beginnings slavery has grown to world proportions, enmeshing all peoples in its net, and its state has grown into a police force that encompasses the earth. The undisguised ruffianism of the club has long since given way to the soporific influence of courtly pomp, parliamentary profundity, and blue papers, by means of which the victims are ushered into innocuous dreamland with less shock and injury to their corporeal substance. In case they are afflicted with dangerous insomnia, the club, amply reinforced by the bayonet, lies immediately in the background and instantly available. In other words, the hand of ruling class ruffianism now wears the velvet glove, but the glove is easily discarded whenever any rough work is necessary.

The ramifications of government extend down into and encompass even the most sacred private affairs and relations of those over whom its powers are exercised, the enslaved workers. Its "thou shalt not" stares the exploited producer of wealth in the face from the cradle to the grave, always prohibiting him from appropriating anything to himself outside of the pittance that the market of his masters and rulers has decided as ample for his material and spiritual wellbeing. And this pittance is to be obtained only by surrendering his entire life force to his masters, irregardless of the amount of wealth that the expenditure of that life force may bring forth. It requires no very keen perception to be able to discover that the higher a person is in the scale of wealth, the less does government interfere with him. The great dominant capitalist interests of modern times are above the law. This causes much squawking among the lesser capitalists, and that fantastic and frazzled array of cockroach merchants and small fry property owners all the way down to the semi-shirtless proletariat. And even out of this semi-shirtless mob there ascends to high heaven a torrential flood of squawking protest because such and such concerns defy the law. Now it happens that these huge capitalist interests that dominate the field of economic activity today are also in control of the machinery of the state, of government. It is by control of the latter that they hold control of the former. These interests therefore become owners, masters and makers of the law. It is theirs, and as the creator is greater than that which he creates, it logically follows that they must be above the law. They cannot be subjected to its limitations, any

more than could the biblical creator of the universe be subject to the ten commandments that he fixed up for Moses.

The slave masters of the ancient world constituted the state of those days. The big slave masters, not the small fry. The latter were ruthlessly gobbled up by the bigger fellows, in spite of all their squawks of protest, and the big ones got bigger by the gobbling. The feudal lords constituted the state during the middle ages. The big feudal lords, not the petty ones. The smaller ones got put out of business by their bigger and more powerful brethren and the big ones became more powerful, thereby. The big capitalists constitute the state of today. A mere handful of men actually dominate the political and economic life of hundreds of millions of people. They determine what shall or shall not be enforced. They are guided solely in their actions by the requirements of the property interests they control and those property interests consist of, and cover nothing else than the ownership and exploitation of human slaves. Because of their dominant holdings in the great controlling industries, such as iron and steel, textiles, leather, meat, sugar, flour, oil, coal, transportation, etc., along with the banking, insurance, trust and loan adjuncts to the great skin game, these comparatively few men actually own and control all the lesser properties, clear down to the meanest and most humble slave of the lot. It was stated upon the floor of the United States senate not long since that less than 100 men owned and controlled all the wealth within the Great Republic. This statement has not been successfully denied, as yet. The large holdings are rapidly absorbing the smaller and sooner or later there will be none of the latter left. The state will then be in even fewer hands than at present. The real significance of government may by that time become so plain that an occasional slave will be able to see it.

The Class Struggle

The requisite basis then for the state is an economic situation that divides society into warring factions or classes. History records no wars that did not have a distinctly economic basis. A society that is composed of warring factions must possess within itself an economic reason for such friction. The history of human society, beginning with the ending of that period termed barbarism and right down to the present time, has been largely a history of class struggles. That tribe warred against tribe over the possession of hunting grounds or pasture lands, prior to the advent of civilization, is doubtless true,

but it evidently remained for slavery to bring the conditions requisite for an internecine warfare throughout human society, that would not end so long as slavery remained. The irrepressible conflict of interest between the masters and the slaves afforded the conditions out of which such a struggle must and did come, and which still remains to be fought out in the future. There can be no peace within human society as long as a slave remains shackled, for that slave will rise in revolt and though beaten into submission a thousand times, will yet revolt again. During the centuries that slavery has cursed the earth millions of slaves have been slaughtered in revolt, and yet the spirit of manhood still survives in the breast of those who are yet in chains. The revolt of countless millions against their masters during the past, and the revolt of more millions now living, has been directed along lines that could bring no permanent relief, but even at that the case would have been utterly hopeless had that spirit of revolt, that stubborn determination to fight, against no matter what odds, been lacking. Some day, and the signs upon the horizon indicate its near approach, that spirit of revolt will be directed along intelligent lines and slavery will be speedily brought to an end.

Between the slave and his master there never existed an interest in common. The interest of the master is to hold the slave in subjection, and get as much out of him as possible. The interest of the slave is to break away from the master and regain his freedom. So long as he is held by the master the slave's interest is to do as little as possible, and get away with as much as he can. The more he does and the less he gets for himself, the more does he further the master's interest, at the expense of his own. This was true of the ancient chattel slave, it was true of the feudal serf, and it is equally true of their legitimate successors, the working farmers and wage slaves of today. Having no interests in common there is bound to be friction and continual ill-feeling between masters and slaves, and it does not lessen the trouble by terming them employers and employees. That this irrepressible conflict of interest should frequently result in violent displays of temper upon the part of the belligerents and the severance of diplomatic relations, either by the masters declaring a lockout or the slaves going on strike, is not to be wondered at under the circumstances. But whether such outbreaks are finally quieted through concessions granted by either side, or merely by having burned themselves out, nothing has been settled. The resumption of relations is merely the hoisting of a flag of truce. The same old underlying cause

is still there and future outbreaks of ever-increasing frequency and greater magnitude will inevitably occur, while that cause remains.

The class struggles of the past have been fought between sections of the exploiting class; the nobility against the autocracy; the uprising capitalists against both; the capitalist class of the north against the chattel slave oligarchy of the south, etc.; but in every case the enslaved workers were used plentifully as cannon fodder by both sides to the controversy. The ruling class has always depended upon its slaves, not only for its living but also for its blood and butchery entertainments. And that dependence has not been in vain. A vast majority of the slaves still respond when either the factory whistle or the bugle blast calls them to the sacrificial shambles.

A class struggle can have but one purpose. Upon the part of an oppressed class that purpose must be to break the rule of its oppressor and lift itself to the position of mastery, thus relieving itself of the burdens forced upon it by that oppressor. Upon the part of the opposing class the purpose must be to thwart the efforts of the oppressed class to break its chains. The enslaved producers of wealth, the workers, constitute a distinct economic class in human society. This class constitutes the wealth of the world, because it alone brings forth all that vast multitude of things requisite to the continued existence and well-being of human kind. It lives by producing what is commonly termed wealth. All the rest of mankind lives by taking what the workers produce. It in no manner aids in production, but is a drag upon it. It constitutes the master class, the capitalist class. Its ranks may be split into various quarreling factions and at times their quarrels may become fierce, but when it comes down to a matter of the slaves becoming animated with a spirit of unrest and demanding some alleviation of the burdens pressing upon them, these factions forget their differences and become a harmonious whole in defence of the right of their class to rule and rob the working class. In the presence of a common danger they stand as a solid phalanx against a common foe.

The struggle of enslaved workers against their masters has down to quite recent times been confined exclusively to efforts of more or less isolated bands of workers against their individual employers or employing concerns. The purpose of the struggle has been loudly acclaimed as that of obtaining "better conditions" for labor. This betterment is to be attained through increased wages, shorter hours and other improved conditions of employment, without disturbing the relation of master and slave now existing

between the capitalists and the producers of all wealth, the workers. In other words the struggle has been in the nature of a protest against some of the inevitable evils of slavery, instead of an attempt to overthrow the institution itself. It has been but a feeble and ineffective attempt to palliate the ills of slavery, rather than a manly effort to wipe it out. The entire old line labor movement does not for a moment question the right of capitalists to own and control the means and avenues of employment, in spite of the fact that such ownership and control carries with it the ownership and control of the working class itself. If the confirmation of such ownership and control of the working class is required, it can be found in the fact that the capitalist class is the owner of all of the product that the workers bring forth through the operation of industry. Labor then is merely a mill grinding out wealth for capitalists, and who else can be the owners of a mill except they who have the power to appropriate the product turned out?

The class struggle of the enslaved workers against their masters must be for the purpose of destroying the right of those masters to rule and rob. As they do so now under the guise of property rights in the means of production, it may easily be seen that their power cannot even be threatened except by an attack upon those property rights. So long as those rights remain intact their power is not diminished, no matter what petty regulation may be furthered for the purpose of pleasing the slaves. The evils of which slaves complain are the inevitable consequences of slavery itself, and not the result of the moral delinquencies of slave owners and masters. No attack upon the property rights of the capitalists can be made through other than political channels. The class struggle is purely a political struggle. To gain control of the capitalist state is the goal aimed at, so that its guns, which are now trained upon the working class, may be spiked, as against that class. The state, with its terrific repressive powers, is the sole instrument upon which the capitalists rely for the continuation of their golden regime. It is by means of these powers that the workers are withheld from all control over industry and the shackles of bondage kept riveted upon their limbs. In most countries the workers possess some semblance of a franchise, and to that extent at least they have the legal right to conquer the state for their own purposes. In countries where the workers do not possess the franchise, or where there are such limitations placed upon it as to nullify their superiority of numbers, they are justified in exercising their political power in any other manner they may choose for the attainment of the end in view. In Canada and the United

States, there is nothing in the way of a working class conquest of the public powers at the polls at the present time, except that peculiar perspicacity of the slave that usually enables him to readily discern his master's interests, while at the same time remaining blissfully blind to his own. The stability of slavery has always depended upon the ignorance and docility of the slaves and the foundation is still in fairly good repair.

What of the Future?

The golden age of Labor does not lie in the past. It is just ahead of us, and still to be, gained. It will be, and can only be, gained by and through the triumph of the enslaved working class over its constitutional enemy, the modern capitalist class. That triumph will mark the demise of property and the birth of man. It will not be attained through petty squabbles over the amount of rations that shall be measured out to slaves, or the length of time they shall tug in harness for their stipend, but by open and honorable battle against the accursed institution itself that forces the only useful members of human society into the ignominious position of slaves chained to the galley's [*sic*] of capital and driven to their tasks under the lash of necessity, because, for sooth, by no other route may they obtain the sustenance they needs must have or perish. It is not a battle for wages, hours and better conditions of servitude within the sacred precincts of capitalist property. It is a fight to a finish upon the part of the working class against the master class, for the purpose of bringing the regime of capital to an end and freeing the working class from the curse that has rested upon it ever since the birth of civilization, property and slavery, that trinity of evil, that three in one, and one in three.

And what has Labor gained through its long struggle to obtain an amelioration of its conditions under slavery? We might as well be honest with ourselves and admit that Labor has gained nothing at all commensurate with the efforts put forth, even if it has gained anything at all. The conditions of the workers all down through the ages of slavery have fluctuated all the way from bad to a condition of badness that could be adequately described only through use of adjectives that would not meet with the approval of the piously inclined. They were never good, unless judged from the premises that anything is good enough for slaves. The average status of the slave of today is little if any above that of his predecessors of centuries ago. It is doubtful if his hold upon the means of warding off starvation was ever more insecure

than at present. And it can never be made more secure under the rule of a master class, for the slave's condition is at all times at the mercy of such fluctuations and changes as may occur in the slave market. These ups and downs are not altered by calling it the labor market.

What has Labor to lose by conquering the capitalist state in its own behalf! It has nothing of value to lose, for the very simple reason that it has nothing possessing that attribute. Surely even the crassest stupidity upon the part of an administration composed of the most unlettered workingmen in all the world, could not make working and living conditions any worse for the working class than they are at present. It is inconceivable that any more damnable result could possibly be reached than the conditions surrounding the workers today, and which by the way, are the very best that has been possible, of realization as a result of ten thousand years of slavery, powerfully aided during recent years by innumerable boosts and battles for higher wages, shorter hours and "better conditions." It is positively terrifying to contemplate the awful conditions that would have prevailed had this powerful aid not been available. Either that or the whole thing is a joke. The size of the matter is that the working class of the world has nothing to lose but its chains, as Marx has tersely put it. And the sooner it loses those chains the sooner will it begin to live, instead of merely vegetating as at present.

Every effort that is made by any body of workers to ward off any of the brutal exactions of their masters and ease the harness galls of slavery, calls into immediate activity the forces of the state. The first yelp of rebellion calls into requisition the soothing policeman's club and the mollifying court injunction. Gunmen, thugs in plain clothes and thugs in uniform quickly follow. All are garbed with the authority of the state. All of this power is utilized for the purpose of holding the slaves in quiet subjection to the merciless dictum of the labor market, the masters knowing full well that the conditions of that market are at all times such as to preclude the possibility of any dangerous gratification of the appetite of slaves for more fodder. Against a well-supplied, and more especially an over-supplied market, no movement for increased prices can prevail. That is the chronic condition of the labor market, in spite of all pretensions to the contrary notwithstanding. And for that reason wages cannot be forced up. So long as workers will insist upon remaining slaves, they must submit to the conditions that slavery imposes upon them. As long as they do so insist, their protests against the logical results of slavery sink to the level of puling impudence.

To seize the reins of public power in their own behalf becomes the mission of the workers. It becomes a class shibboleth and a class fight. The downfall of capitalist property and the uprising of Labor to the supreme command of the production of wealth in behalf of the working class, will destroy the world's market, that sink of iniquity into which slaves and their products are now poured, and turn those products to the comfort and use of those whose labors bring them forth. The erstwhile slaves will be transformed into free men and women, free because they are no longer ruled and robbed. To accomplish that result requires the best efforts of the working class, and it is well worth the price. Whatever is worth having in this world is well worth the taking, no matter what the cost. Without liberty all is lost and life is not worth living. The history of the last ten thousand years is but the history of a hideous nightmare to the working class. The chains of slavery have been continually upon their limbs. They have not lived, they have merely died lingering deaths. Millions are even now being ground ruthlessly and recklessly into profit in the industrial torture chambers of modern slavery in order that a few already hog-fat capitalists may still further increase their fat. And the only rainbow of promise upon the social horizon presaging the coming of a better day is seen in the slowly but surely awakening consciousness of the workers to the hideous wrongs that slavery has heaped upon them; and their stubborn determination to wipe it out. It is a cause that must eventually enlist the energies of every worthy member of the working class. To enlist under its banner for the very culmination of the long drawn out battle for human freedom, is a duty that every slave who loathes his chains, should hail as a blessed privilege. In the words of a good Canadian comrade: "What grander, loftier motive could stir the heart; inspire the brain; nerve the arm; or touch as with a live coal from liberty's altar the lips, than to do all and dare all in this glorious struggle."

—E. T. Kingsley, *Genesis and Evolution of Slavery*.

Part IV

On the World Situation

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On the World Situation

1919S

This is an abridged version of a series of two essay-length articles by Kingsley that he published in the *Labor Star* in February 1919 and that he indicated would subsequently be published in pamphlet form. In some ways, it anticipates some of the arguments made in Karl Polanyi's 1944 masterpiece, *The Great Transformation*. There is no evidence that the pamphlet ever appeared.

A Size-Up of the World Situation—The Result of the War

(This Series of Articles Will Be Issued in Pamphlet Form as Soon as Concluded.—Editor Labor Star.)

The feudal survival of Central Europe has fallen. Capitalism stands triumphant over its fallen foe. The absolutism of open brutality has been broken; the absolutism of cant and hypocrisy is now in the saddle. But its reign promises to be short, for the Morning Star of Labor is rising red in the east, proclaiming the approach of Freedom's dawn. The Red Spectre that has long disturbed the dreams of king ruffians; has sorely affrighted political clowns and diplomatic mountebanks and terrorised the bargain-hunting bourgeoisie, is looming ever more threateningly in the foreground. The proletarian hosts, awakening to consciousness, are rising in every land. The Red Flag of human brotherhood is flung defiantly to the breeze and with the songs of revolution upon their lips ever increasing millions are marching beneath its folds, to the overthrow of the ruling class state; to the release of its victims from the thralldom of exploitation and torture; to the ending of the long, dark night of Slavery and the ushering in of Freedom's morning.

* * *

With the signing of the armistice by the Central Powers the real trouble of the ruling class the world over begins. The social atmosphere is already

surcharged with the electricity of the coming storm that shall wreck this slave civilization and sweep its ruins into oblivion. The gathering of the hungry vultures of exploitation and its aftermath of trade, commerce and finance, at the victor's banquet board to invoice the assets and apportion the plunder, will not calm the storm, but increase its fury. The disbanding of armies and the incitement of an ignorant soldiery and an equally ignorant citizenry to deeds of violence against those who raise their voices against tyranny, oppression and murderous brutality, will not exorcise the ghost of retribution that persistently camps upon the trail of the callous and bloodthirsty class that still rules and robs the world. The frantic lying of the scurrilous press of the ruling class; the unblushing hypocrisy and deceit of its alleged statesmen and diplomats; the canting sophistry and hollow prayers of its priests; the utterly false teachings of its professors; the deliberate swindling of its economists and financiers, and, on top of it all, the ruthless use of the military and police powers of the ruling class State, will not still the furious elements nor bring peace to the troubled waters.

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Nothing in the history of governments has been more unprincipled, impudent, vicious and intentionally destructive of all human liberty, than the orders-in-council, military service acts, war time election acts, espionage acts, and other similarly sinister federal edicts promulgated by the self-touted democracies of this western hemisphere since the breaking out of the ruling class family row in Europe in 1914. Never were more deadly blows struck at democracy. Never were more complete and sweeping repudiations of all liberty and democracy registered among nations. Not even in the black and bloody history of the British Isles—and candor compels the admission that it has been black and bloody enough—has anything ever been recorded to equal in infamy the “espionage act” in the U.S., or the “orders-in-council” wiping out and destroying the freedom of speech and press in Canada. The banning of scientific literature, much of which has been long and universally acknowledged to be of the utmost value, is a distinction in intellectual bankruptcy and vulgar reaction without other justification, that has been left to the brilliant statesmen at Ottawa, who hold their high office by virtue of their deliberately concocted “War Time Election Act,” and not by the freely expressed will of the Canadian electorate. It is but fair to acknowledge that even the unscrupulous and brutal kaiser of Germany and his autocratic

school of "kultur," never put anything over that was any more viciously criminal and destructive of all liberty and democracy, than have our own precious political tools of the ruling class. In that, as in most everything else, this western continent may justly lay claim to being in the lead.

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What a grand and harmonious chorus of deliberate lying is now rising full-throated from the kept-press prostitutes of our rulers and masters, in regard to world events, more especially as they appertain to the actions of the enslaved working class of the earth. Alongside of such achievements old Ananias himself belongs in the George Washington class of falsifiers. It is doubtful, it is much more than doubtful, if a single word of truth in regard to the so-called European Bolsheviki has intentionally found its way into the columns of the lying press of capitalism, since the Russian Revolution occurred. Although the term "Bolsheviki" means nothing more dangerous and dreadful than "majority," and has been adopted to signify the majority faction in the Socialist movement of Russia, it has been magnified and distorted into a word of terror by the defenders and stool pigeons of the ruling class, and is especially used to arouse the prejudice and incite the ignorance of the unthinking mob to deeds of violence against those who battle against autocracy, tyranny and oppression, and on behalf of real democracy, and freedom. In loyal response to the incitement ignorant blackguards and cowardly ruffians answer the call and are acclaimed as heroic souls who spontaneously rose in defense of king and country and chastised the seditious. Any brutality and infamy may be safely pulled off at a moment's notice, provided it be done in the name of patriotism and its victims be accused of "sedition."

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In spite of all efforts of the apologists and defenders of the present order, to justify its existence and bolster up its regime of slavery and rapine, its perpetuation becomes more and more impossible. It becomes more and more unsteady upon its legs. No sooner is the bloody deluge of war halted by an armistice and the certainty of peace assured, than there sets in a veritable financial and commercial delirium tremens that threatens to culminate in an industrial collapse, and bring our boasted civilization tumbling in ruins about our ears. Even the greatest financiers stand appalled at the impending

bankruptcy of the capitalist world. The accursed thing that has grown from the shackling of the first slave and the rise of the first master, to the stupendous world-dominating and world-terrifying force that now so sorely afflicts the earth; the slave civilisation that has made of the earth a shambles and a torture chamber for the last ten thousand years, has now become a veritable Frankenstein Monster, that is destined to destroy its creator by tumbling in one common ruin both the ruling class and its enginery of exploitation, slaughter and rapine.

* * *

Turn which way they will the rulers of all lands are faced with overwhelming disaster. They can neither maintain great standing armies nor yet disband them. To maintain them spells the swift completion of the bankruptcy that is already imminent; to disband them brings immediately in its train the greatest industrial collapse imaginable with its accompaniment of huge armies of unemployed, that are almost as costly and far more dangerous than armies of war. In either case bankruptcy and collapse will quickly ensue. The liquidation of slavery is inevitable; the maudlin and meaningless talk about "reconstruction"; the utterly impossible speculations about huge indemnities to be collected from enemies that are already bankrupt; the blind fury of the military maniacs and the insipid vacuity of the utterances of the alleged statesmen and ridiculous diplomats of these glorious days, heralds to the world that this slave civilisation is already on the rocks of adversity and pounding to pieces under stress of a storm it can not weather. As the rotten old hulk has neither chart, compass nor rudder, and the crew can neither navigate nor swim, small wonder that signals of distress are being sent up and weird calls for help are heard.

* * *

What is slavery? It is that social condition wherein one part of the population is robbed of that which it produces, by the other part of the population. Chattel slavery, feudalism, and the present so-called system of "free labor," are identical in that one respect. Under each the producers of wealth were robbed by their masters. Nothing was left to the producers beyond just sufficient upon the average to keep them in working condition. The slave was the cornerstone of civilisation down to the collapse of the Roman Empire. Feudalism rose from the ruins of that Empire, and slavery was its cornerstone.

The slave was termed a serf. Capitalism was born from the loins of feudalism, and the slave was, and still is, its cornerstone. The slave is now termed a free laborer or an independent producer, but he is none the less a slave. He is more completely and ruthlessly exploited than ever was chattel slave or feudal serf, for the gigantic industrialism of this age represents the very apex of the development of human slavery, the highest achievement in the exploitation of slaves for the profit and glory of their owners and masters. It represents the utmost that it has been possible to attain during the ten thousand or more years of the evolution of human slavery from its primitive beginnings to its now well nigh perfect state.

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What is freedom? It is the opposite of slavery. It is that social condition wherein there is neither exploiter nor exploited; where there is neither robber nor robbed. It is the complete negation of all that exists under this civilisation. It is the message of the Revolution. And that message will be delivered.

Capitalist Civilization

If we are to believe what the spokesmen and apostles of the present order tell us, civilization has been saved from the forces of evil that sought to destroy it. It seems that while the death of one man upon the cross was all that was required to save humanity from paying the penalty of its transgressions and sins, it has cost the lives of more than ten million, the mutilation of probably twenty million more and the misery and agony of a countless multitude besides, to save this glorious civilisation from the fell designs of a certain Mr. Hohenzollern, who, however, has thus been happily frustrated in his wicked purpose. Now, if it be true that this glorious civilization has been saved, it would perhaps be well to know what it has really been saved from, and for how long a period that salvation, may be assured.

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Capitalist civilisation is the third stage in the evolution of human slavery, that form of human society that has followed in the footsteps of what has been termed barbarism. The first stage of that evolution is commonly referred to as chattel slavery. During that period, the slave was owned openly and outright by the master, just like a horse, an ass, or an ox. For thousands of

years that type of slavery and the civilization built upon it held sway. Its reign extended over practically all of the then known world. Great empires rose from the toil, sweat and agony of the cruelly-driven slaves of those times, and each in turn crumbled to decay. All fell to ruin through the corruption and rottenness bred from the foul crime of slavery upon which they were built. Human institutions, human society, a civilisation based upon that parent of all lesser crimes, slavery, can be no less criminal than that from which they spring. That which is based upon crime cannot long survive. It will inevitably perish from its own poison and corruption if not sooner brought to its end by other means; it will eventually meet dissolution by its own hand if it be not otherwise destroyed. Practically the last trace of chattel slave civilisation has long since passed away.

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Let it be noted that the next succeeding form of slavery was not born from the womb of chattel slavery. It rose from the ruins of Roman civilisation when that rotten old slave empire had fallen to complete decay. Out of the ruin and chaos eventually arose the new slavery, out between the downfall of the old and the birth of the new a considerable period elapsed, that is all but a blank in human history. The new slavery was not a child of the old, but was rather a resurrection of its spirit garbed in more deceitful habiliments. Though changed in outward appearance its essence was the same. The slaves were either trimmed of the result of their labor in times of peace or fed into the furnace of hell in times of war, by their overlords and owners, just as had been the lot of their predecessors the chattel slaves.

* * *

The second stage of slavery is known as feudalism. The slavery of the toilers was thinly camouflaged under the guise of being attached to the land and bound by ties of fealty to the lord thereof. Feudal serfs were not sold from hand to hand as were chattel slaves. They remained within their lord's domain, however, and were not allowed outside thereof without proper permission. Within that domain they were allowed certain privileges and so-called rights that were unknown to their chattel slave predecessors. But like the latter they were compelled to work for their feudal lord without payment therefor. Out of their unpaid toil and sweat the pomp and magnificence of feudal civilization was built. In time that stage of development of human

slavery passed away and the era of capitalism followed. The late delightful ruling class family row in Europe, and which is perhaps not yet entirely finished, is but a part of the cleaning-up process that is sweeping away the surviving remnants of the old feudal regime that preceded capitalism. The mid-European survival of feudalism having been tumbled to ruins under the lusty strokes of the child of its own loins, practically clears the world stage of the last feudal rubbish, with the exception of an oriental remnant that is now courting the same fate. Capitalism is now supreme in so far as its erstwhile feudal parent is concerned. Capitalist civilization has thus been saved from being strangled by its wicked progenitor. All this talk about France and other allies having “found their souls” in the late bloodfest is pure nonsense, but they did at last find the requisite stranglehold to prevent the wicked parent from destroying its virtuous offspring.

It has been left to the third stage of slavery—capitalist civilisation—to put the last and finishing touch to the art of exploiting slaves to the supreme limit. Alongside of the achievement in this line of the last hundred or so years, those of ancient chattel slavery and the feudalism of the medieval age appear like the work of unskilled amateurs. Never before were such gigantic undertakings accomplished; never were such tremendous fortunes garnered; never were such magnificent and luxurious military spectacles of slaughter and rapine possible; never before was it within the power of the ruling class to recklessly and deliberately cast ten million slaves to the slaughter and cripple and damage probably twice as many more, without suffering any material loss. The highest efficiency of a civilisation based upon human slavery is measured by the stern repression and exploitation of slaves in times of peace and their wholesale conscription and slaughter in times of war. Ruling class efficiency can be expressed in no other manner. The high-water mark of achievement in this line has easily been attained by the splendidly-efficient ruling class of this most glorious age. Never in all of its bloody history did a ruling class ever succeed in pulling off such a magnificent spectacle of blood, guts, gore and devastation as that staged during the past four years. And there is every reason why it should have been a grand spectacle for it represents all the knowledge the ruling class has been enabled to acquire during the last hundred centuries in the noble art of human butchery, rapine and devastation. It is a splendid display of the full flower and fruitage of a crime ten thousand years old. That countless millions of slaves could thus be made to go gaily forth to kill and be killed, for no more noble purpose

than that of perpetuating their own slavery and incidentally composing the quarrels of their bloodthirsty and unscrupulous owners and masters, speaks volumes for the efficiency of the ruling class in training slaves to act as good slaves ought to act, when the word of command is spoken by authority. Under no form of slavery were the slaves more docile and well behaved than under capitalism, and at no period in history were they so productive of wealth and grandeur for their owners and masters. Especially is this true of the slaves of this western continent. All of which is no doubt due to the fact that their slavery is so completely camouflaged with the outward appearance of freedom that the slaves actually believe they are free indeed.

Wealth Production under Capitalism

The so-called wealth of the world today is estimated in figures that are staggering in their magnitude. It is a common boast that the power to produce wealth has been multiplied, many times within the last couple of centuries and that as compared to our forefathers of long ago we are infinitely better off in so far as obtaining the necessary things of life is concerned. In fact the history of the past, and more especially that of the last few centuries, is commonly spoken of by those who pass for the economic wiseacres of our time, as the story of the uplift of the human race from the penury of slow and laborious production of the things of life by the primitive methods once in vogue, to that lofty pinnacle of affluence that has now been reached through the advent of power-driven machinery and socially-organised labor into the productive processes. And, according to the wise ones, as the present capitalist system of property in slaves and driving of these slaves in production for the sole purpose of bringing gain into their owners and masters, the capitalists, grew out of the preceding, or feudal system of slavery, it logically follows that the next succeeding order of society must likewise grow out of the present one and carry on the glorious work of evolution and uplift of the race to still higher planes of civilization. It is particularly noticeable that almost without exception, if not entirely so, the advanced thinkers of the world along economic lines, look upon chattel slavery, feudalism and capitalism merely as evolutionary stages in the growth and development of the human race from the so-called savagery and barbarism of the past, to something infinitely higher and better in the perhaps dim beyond, and whether we term it Socialism or "Bolshevism" it must be based upon the

method of production in vogue today, i.e. the giant industrialism of the capitalist regime. Lenine, the present head of the Russian Soviet Republic, has so stated the case quite recently, and no objection thereto has yet been heard.

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There is one weakness that is universal among the sons of men, and that is to accept the average plausible statement as the gospel truth, and having learned to parrot it nicely, proceed to promulgate it as an indisputable fact. We are altogether too prone to parrot the conclusions of others rather than to be put to the bother of doing a little thinking on our own account. But however, if we do thus fall into error and such error has eventually been disclosed to us either through our own efforts or by that of others, it is our first duty to acknowledge our mistakes and be henceforth more careful where we tread. He who takes the precaution to weigh most carefully the premise and conclusions of others before accepting them, will stand a much better chance of not getting lost in the fog and confusion that blind ignorance often stirs up around matters and problems that are in themselves quite simple.

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Chattel slavery, feudalism and capitalism are, no doubt steps or stages of evolution, but it is the evolution of human slavery from the crude and simple to the efficient and complex. There is no clear connection between the two former stages, other than that they are in essence alike. As has already been mentioned, the one did not issue from the womb of its predecessor, but rose from its ruins and ashes at a considerable period after its dissolution. Capitalism, however, is the direct and legitimate child of feudalism, its foundations were laid in the bosom of the parent and the child came forth in due course and has carried forward the development of human slavery to what appears to be the very zenith of its growth and power. But that the evolution of slavery has anything to do with the attainment of freedom, except that it may sometime crumble to ruin because it can evolve no farther, as was evidently the case with the ancient slavery of Roman days, or be destroyed by a slave revolt and thus enable the race to regain its ancient freedom, is so ridiculous as to scarce be a matter for discussion. That a society of free people, call it Socialism or what we will, can be based upon the methods and mechanism of production that have been designed and brought into being solely for the purpose of exploiting slaves and erecting a ruling class empire

of material substance out of the plunder, is, to say the least, a conception bordering upon the grotesque. Under any form of society based upon the exploitation of robbery of the wealth producers, every institution, whether economic, political, spiritual or educational must have for its life principle the same motive and purpose of that from which it springs. The method of industry must be made to conform to that purpose. Nothing which could in any manner lessen the slavery of its exploited victims and, thereby, enlarge their freedom, could be for a moment incorporated into the mechanism, methods, and institutions of such a civilization, for to do so would be equivalent to allowing that which would eventually nullify the very purpose of such a civilization and destroy it. Institutions, methods and mechanism of industry calculated to serve the purposes of a ruling class, cannot be made to conserve the interests of a society of free men. Slavery and freedom are direct opposites. The one is the complete denial and negation of the other. Consequently, the institutions, of whatever character, the methods of industry, the very mechanism thereof, the morals, the ethics of the one, must be an equally complete denial and abnegation of the institutions, methods of industry, the morals and the ethics of the other.

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Every institution in ruling class civilization, as well as that of civilization itself, is a complete denial of all liberty upon the part of the wealth producers of the world. Every institution, whether it be government itself, that Institution into which all others merge, or those of power subsidiary thereto, is a complete denial of freedom and an emphatic affirmation of human slavery as the corner stone upon which they all rest. And this is no less true of the method and machinery of capitalist industry than of any of the balance of the paraphernalia of the grand process of ruling and robbing slaves. In every sense of the term wealth production under the present capitalist regime is production carried on by enslaved human beings for the enrichment, and aggrandizement of rulers and masters. Nothing is or can be produced under such a regime that does not in some manner conserve the interests of those rulers and masters and add to their power over their victims, the slaves. If perchance something, along educational lines for instance, does surreptitiously creep in, it is soon expelled by the censor. Not a mechanical device has been invented, adopted and incorporated into the industrial and murder mechanism of ruling class society since its birth, that did not add to

the power of rulers and intensify the slavery and misery of their exploited victims. It has evidently been the mission of the capitalist era to bring the development of slaves by machinery to its highest possible stage of development. Let our revolutionists, who expect to base their Socialism upon the gigantic industrialism of today, not overlook the fact that this industrialism, with all of its powerful and complicated machinery and methods, has been designed from its very incipency for the specific purpose of exploiting slaves, and not for the purpose of emancipating them from their chains.

Production of Essential Things

The essential things of life, those things which are actually requisite to the comfort and welfare of every human being, and which must be forthcoming before the production and enjoyment of superfluous things may or can be realized, do not really constitute a very lengthy list. Food, clothing, housing, household utensils and furniture and the tools and animals requisite for their maintenance pretty well cover the list. With the knowledge long since acquired by the human race of how to domesticate, breed and care for the useful animate, till the soil and convert its products into articles of domestic use, and with a suitable allotment of land upon which to operate, the matter of providing an ample and healthful living for the average family would be an extremely simple and easy matter, if it could be done without the family being compelled to surrender any part of its products to others who take no part in the production thereof, in other words, if the production of the essential things of life was carried on solely for the purpose of providing the producers thereof with those essential things, all that is or can properly be implied by the term human freedom would be realized. The freedom enjoyed by our primitive savage and barbaric ancestors, before the glorious institution of slavery was born, consisted solely of freedom from exploitation, which is but a polite way of saying, freedom from being robbed. Exploitation and robbery are synonymous terms, but the former is less shocking to the ears of the class that exists only by ruling and robbing slaves.

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Now there is something that is strikingly peculiar to the production of the essential things of life, that seems to have been overlooked by the average student and observer of things economic, and that is, that there has been but

little if any improvement in the production of such essentials during the last five hundred or more years. Of course the surface skimmer will immediately be thrown into high dudgeon at the assertion, but let him calm himself for a moment and make at least a cursory examination of the facts before passing judgment as to the sanity or otherwise of he who makes the assertion. It is a fact easily of demonstration that horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, vegetables, fruits, etc., are not and cannot be raised by machinery. It is also a fact that the production of wheat oats, rye, barley, corn, buckwheat, cotton, wool, leather, etc., is expedited only to an insignificant extent through the application of machinery to the productive process, and it can be clearly proven beyond all reasonable doubt that with the application of machinery, the cost of production is increased rather than lessened. If the production of these essentials was carried on for use instead of for the present ruling class purpose, the use of complicated and costly machinery would be absolutely barred because of the tremendously increased cost of production that would result therefrom.

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A pound of anything like good woolen yarn will cost in Vancouver today from three to four dollars, and a yard of men's suitings of first quality will cost close up to ten dollars. Just what the producer of wool got for his product the past season is carefully hidden from view, but it is a safe bet that he did not average fifty cents per lb. And yet the old time weaver with hand card, spinning wheel and loom, would have soon accumulated a fortune could he have gotten but one quarter of the difference between fifty cents and ten dollars for converting each pound of wool into a yard of cloth. It is no doubt true that a modern textile mill can turn out a much greater quantity of cloth in a given length of time with a given number of employees than could be turned out by a similar number of hand spinners and weavers, but it should not be forgotten that the present method of producing cloth and other things entails the services of a vast number of slaves outside of those directly employed in the cloth mills and other factories. A vast number are involved in the making of the machinery and the transportation and handling incidental to the factory processes. If all the labor that is involved in the making of cloth is counted in it would no doubt be made plain why the cost per yard is greater than it was in the days when its production was merely a hand process. At least in so far as the production of the essential things of

life are concerned the introduction of machinery into the process has had the opposite effect to that of economy.

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It is a perfectly safe conclusion that there has as yet been no way devised by man whereby the essential things of life; food, clothing, shelter, etc. can be more easily and cheaply obtained by the producer than by confining himself to the production of that which is necessary to satisfy his own needs and that of his family, and doing so by the use of only such tools and implements as he may be able to operate with his own hands. At no period in human history has the producer so easily supplied himself with these essentials as he did before Slavery was born and machinery invented. While it is true that a man could dig up the ground and plant potatoes to better advantage with a spade and hoe than he could with a sharp stick, it is by no means true that he could still further improve upon his methods by equipping himself with a steam plow and a high power potato planter, that is if his purpose was to raise spuds for his own use. It would cost far more labor to thus equip himself than it would to raise all the potatoes he would require during a lifetime. And so it is with all other essential production. The amount of labor required, that is provided the laborer be not robbed, in order to produce all the essential things for himself and family is so small, that he can ill afford to expend a greater amount of labor in providing himself with tools and machines that can only make his task the harder. Just who invented the term “labor saving” for the machines of capitalist exploitation is not known, but he at least must have possessed a certain sense of humor. He evidently knew the peculiar psychology of the slave, and fully realizing his overmastering propensity to absolutely believe the impossible and the false, rather than [*sic*] the possible and the true, our inventor dubbed his contraption a “labor saver” which it is not, rather than a labor waster which it usually is. The real purpose of machinery and the part it plays in the capitalist empire of plunder, magnificence and slaughter, is not generally understood.

Interpretation of the World Situation

(This Concludes a Series of Articles Which Will Be Reproduced in Pamphlet Form at an Early Date—Editor Star.)

The Supreme Illusion

The last century and a half has marked far greater strides in the evolution of human slavery than witnessed by all of the preceding centuries since that delectable conception became the cornerstone of the so-called social structure. With the invention of the steam engine, the spinning and weaving machinery, etc., during the latter half of the eighteenth century, a vista of illimitable possibilities was opened to the delighted vision of the slave masters of the world, and the realization of an empire of power and magnificence beyond their wildest dreams announced its swift approach. Instead of their previous petty and narrow empires, confined to more or less circumscribed limits, the whole earth was to be speedily laid at their feet and every human being thereon compelled to pay them tribute. The means of accomplishing this had been discovered. The magic key that was to unlock the most gigantic treasure chest of all time had been found. The means whereby an ever increasing number of slaves could be released from the production of essential things of life and turned to the upbuilding of such a ruling class empire as the world never saw before; an empire embellished with pyramids of human achievement alongside of which the stone piles of ancient Egypt would appear like unto the mudhouses of little children in comparison; an empire that would bring misery and degradation to the uttermost parts of the earth and eventually spread pestilence, death and destruction broadcast by the bloody hand of war, upon a scale of magnificence and prodigality such as the world had never known before. And the splendid possibilities opened to the ruling class of the world by the fortunate discovery of how to harness the forces of nature to do the bidding of slave masters and rulers has been taken advantage of to the utmost. The mightiest and most potent slavery the world has ever known has been brought to its grand culmination in the most prodigal display of blood spilling and human slaughter imaginable. In war as well as in industry the factory process is complete and at least in the noble art of human butchery and devastation it must be acknowledged that the machine has brought about a tremendous economy over the clumsy and primitive tools and methods of the slave civilization of long ago. And no doubt this splendid development has brought great joy to the rulers and masters of all lands. The slaves also appear to take quite kindly to the improved method of killing each other.

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There is no more food produced now per inhabitant of the globe than there was before a mechanical device was introduced into the processes of agriculture. It is doubtful it is more than doubtful, if any less human labor is required to produce the food, clothing and shelter requisite for the comfort and well-being of all, than was the case before machinery was invented. In fact it is a matter capable of proof that in so far as the actually essential things of life are concerned there has as yet been no method discovered whereby they can be more easily obtained by the producers thereof, than by the simple and so-called primitive tools and methods in vogue 500 years ago. As a matter of fact it has never cost the wealth producers of the earth so dearly in labor to feed, clothe and shelter themselves as it does now. Never did it require so many day's [*sic*] labor per year upon the part of a workman to provide himself and family with bread as now; never did it cost him so much labor to clothe his family as now; never did he have to work harder and longer in order to make a living than in these glorious days when it is alleged that the productive power of labor has been tremendously increased, because of the introduction of power driven machinery into the productive processes.

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It would seem that the first thing that should occur to us would be, that, given a civilization based upon the enslavement of the producers, nothing could be introduced into such a civilization and incorporated into its very being, unless it in some manner conserved and furthered the basic principle of that civilization. Civilization spells human slavery. The period known as the civilized period is that which began with the introduction of human slavery and has continued down to the present. There has been nothing devised by man and incorporated into this civilization that did not directly conserve the interests and requirements of the ruling class. If it could in any manner be utilized to relieve the slavery imposed upon those over whom rule was exercised, it could not, and most certainly would not be tolerated. No improvement of the tools whereby slaves have produced wealth was ever yet devised and adopted, if the slightest benefit could possibly accrue to the slaves thereby. All there is to evolution is growth and development to a higher form of life, for that which is under consideration. The industrial evolution—or revolution—that has occurred since slavery was born, has

been put [*sic*—but] a part of the evolution of that slavery from its primitive beginnings to its present highly perfected state.

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In regard to the essential things of life there is a limit beyond which production cannot go without incurring an expense and waste that soon reaches prohibitive proportions. For instance in the matter of food, the amount grown in one year is only calculated to last until the following year's crop comes in. To produce sufficient in one season to last for several years would only result in loss through deterioration and the expense and risk attendant upon storing and caring for such stocks. The greater the quantity thus stored up for future requirements, the greater the added cost entailed. The ultimate of economy lies in providing a quantity that is safely sufficient to carry over until the next crop comes in. The same rule holds good in regard to clothing, housing, and in fact all other of the essential things of life. The world's yearly output of these essential things of life is never above the requirements of the population for a similar period. As far as the "accumulation of wealth" is concerned it at least does not include the essential things of life, for no such accumulation is at all possible. It may be classed along with all other similar fables, such, for instance, as that equally absurd yarn about getting rich through saving. To sum it up the production of each year is used up within a corresponding period.

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When it comes to the production, however, of those things that measure the wealth and magnificence of the ruling class, it is a different story. To this sort of production there is no limit except the capacity of its army of slaves. And the increasing of the capacity, or power, of slaves to produce ruling class requirements, is the sole function of the gigantic power driven machinery of industry that has been conjured forth by the capitalist successors of the feudal lords of old. In the ancient chattel slave days it required the labor of a hundred captive Jews for 20 years to build a single pyramid upon the banks of the Nile for their brutal rulers. The slaves of these days, armed with the mechanical contrivances that have been designated for the purpose of exploitation, can turn out far greater pyramids in endless profusion, almost in the twinkling of an eye. But one glance at the myriad of cities, great cities and cities small, with their miles upon miles of streets lined with shops,

warehouses, factories, mills, foundries, banks, sky scraper office buildings, spiritual dope shops, brain embalming institutions, bawdy houses, prisons, barracks, reformatories, court houses, street railways, telephones, water works, sewers, scavenger carts, and all that is implied therein and connected therewith, and at least some idea may be gained of the magnitude of labor that is expended in these days building pyramids that are no less useful nor more ornamental than the pyramids built by the slaves of ancient Egypt. For let it be known to all men that nothing is done in these great cities, these pestholes of human slavery, that aids in any manner in bringing forth the essential things of life. Not a thing is done in these cities that lessens the burden of toil upon the slaves either of city or country, but on the contrary these are entirely builded at the expense of those slaves and they conserve no other purpose than that of rulers and masters. True it is that cities were builded before the age of machinery arrived, but the building of them was an infinitely slower process. They were built by slaves who had not yet been armed with highly developed and powerful tools devised in the interest of their masters and especially designed to multiply the productivity of their labor. Now these great cities spring up like "a mushroom in the night." Such mighty achievements were never known until down within the last century or so, but all of these great achievements are great to the ruling class alone. To the slaves the building and maintenance of them is but a long drawn out agony, a veritable nightmare of horror. There is no great city that is not a reeking cesspool of moral degradation and vice. They poison and pollute the social atmosphere, so that not even the most remote districts escape the evil results. Their very existence is unthinkable except as part of the phenomena of human slavery.

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The transportation system, the ramifications of which reach even to the uttermost parts of the earth, affords another striking illustration of the part that machinery plays in the world wide game of plundering slaves and rearing an empire of ruling class magnificence out of that plunder. The pulse of every slave in the land beats the quicker at the sight of a train loaded with rich products of our time rushing with the speed of lightning across the land, or of a mighty ship plowing the seas rich freighted with wares and merchandise of trade. And it never occurs to any one of them that the sole purpose of railways and ships, the sole purpose of the entire world transportation

system in fact, is that of taking away from the producers that which they produce, and never under any circumstances returning anything to them unless it be something that is imperatively necessary so that they can produce still further quantities of wealth to be despoiled of. Whether a car or ship is loaded or otherwise always determines which way it is going. If loaded it is going away from the slaves who produced that with which it is loaded; if empty it is always returning for another load.

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Another thing might be mentioned that should throw at least some light upon the motive that prompted the introduction of railways and ships into this civilization that many look upon as something delightfully grand and uplifting. All transportation schemes and enterprises originate in the cities. The cities produce practically nothing that the country districts need or can use. The country, however, does produce what the ruling class of the city must have, not only for its own sustenance but for the sustenance of the slaves upon whom it depends for the rearing and maintaining of its empire of plunder and magnificence. City workers almost in their entirety are engaged in ruling class service other than the production of the essential things of life. All such production is purely parasitical. Just as the ruling class is parasitical so it is all of that vast bunch of slaves in its service, who in no manner aid in the production of the essential things of life. The slaves of the country districts, they who produce all of the agricultural products, the grain, meat, fruit, vegetables, wool, flax, cotton, leather, building material, ores, etc., that constitute the essential things, are compelled to feed the whole lot. And that they get nothing for it goes without saying. As they produce all the food they surely cannot be paid in food, and everybody knows that they do not get paid in sky scrapers and other city buildings, in railways, rolling mills, canals, battleships, submarines, or any other ruling class junk. As the seat of ruling class power is in the cities and the cities produce nothing in the way of food, etc., it should be easily seen that there is every reason why all kinds of schemes should spring up in the city that would be calculated to bring the products of the country within reach of the city dwellers. Whenever any scheme is sprung it is a safe rule to follow, before investing in or approving of it, to find out from whence it originates. If it is a city scheme let the denizens of the country districts look out that they do not get stung. The reader may have noticed that all kinds of schemes of "reconstruction"

and adjustment are now being touted in the cities. We may rest assured that whatever may be suggested will not be calculated to militate against those interests that are invariably centred in the cities.

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The enormous significance of this ruling class production—the production of things that are nonessential to the wealth producers themselves—is little realized by the average person, including even those who pose as authorities upon the matter of economics. And, there are none so ignorant as the professional economists of the ruling class. But in all of the statistics of wealth production furnished by and through the official channels of ruling class governments, there runs a perfectly plain story of the magnitude of the robbery perpetrated upon the wealth producers under the present regime of gigantic industrial production. And the story is so plainly written that it would seem that even a school boy ought not to fail to understand it. For instance the U.S. government is authority for the statement that there was mined in that country last year nearly seven hundred million tons of coal. Now if that means anything it is that about seven tons per head of population was mined during the year, or close to thirty-five tons per family. At least half, and probably more than half, of the people of that country never use a pound of coal in their lives. And it is a safe presumption that the balance do not use an average of thirty-five tons in each decade, and even they who do use coal for fuel purposes only do so because they are principally cooped up in cities and compelled to do so. At any rate we will be safe in assuming that thirty-five tons per family, counting all the families in the land, is not used up in a whole generation. And what is more not one-half of that amount could be used up for really essential purposes. The fact of it is that nearly all of that huge production of coal is used solely for ruling class purposes and not for any purpose that is essential to the comfort and welfare of the producers of wealth. It is used for the upbuilding and upkeep of the ruling class establishment of pomp, magnificence and power. The most of that coal production, as well as all the rest of the nonessential production of capitalism during the last four years has been utilized for the glorious purpose of staging the most gorgeous display of ruling class ferocity and blood lust that the world ever saw, and incidentally the grandest wholesale slaughter of slaves yet recorded in history.

The same authority asserts that the production of iron in the United States for the same year period was seventy-five million tons. This would be approximately three-fourths of a ton for every head of population, or about four and a half tons per family. It would be next to impossible for a family to use up one ton of iron in a whole generation if it were used only for really essential purposes, that is for such tools and utensils as would be required to equip and conduct the family establishment and its necessary operations. Yet this enormous amount of iron was produced in one year and, presumably, it was mostly used for the eminently laudable purpose of making the world safe for ruling class democracy by killing several million slaves and other animals. Neither the amount of coal or iron mentioned could have been produced in that length of time had it not been for the machinery that has been brought into existence to serve the interest of the class that rules and robs, and the highest efficiency of which is exemplified in war, slaughter and devastation. In times of peace—only there are no such times under class rule, and what is more there can be none—practically all of this huge production of coal, iron, copper, oil, lumber, chemicals and a thousand other things that contribute to ruling class power and glory, are lavishly poured out for the enlargement of the empire of trade, commerce and finance, and in preparing for war. In time of war, which is practically all of the time, a tremendously large part of it goes into the upbuilding of armies, navies and all that that implies as against the day when freedom and democracy shall be imperilled at the hands of wicked autocracy and other evil shapes. And now it has so become that even the noble art of slaughter is no longer a hand process as of old. The art of human butchery has been so brought to a high efficiency that is carried on almost exclusively by machinery. Being really and truly a ruling class enterprise it is indeed meek and proper that it should keep abreast of, or even ahead of, all other branches or ruling class industry. There is every reason why it should become the most highly developed and powerful part of the great factory system, a distinction that it has long since gained for war, glorious war, is the crowning achievement of the ruling class regime, an achievement beyond which it cannot go. It is the supreme attainment, and to hear the disciples, the lickspittles, the apologists, the pimps, the defenders and the hypocrites of ruling class blood-lust and ferocity prate about “last wars” and “war to end war” is enough to make a

mule laugh, let alone a horse. A slave civilization inevitably breeds war, for the enslavement of one man or set of men by another or others, is in itself an act of war. It is a war of masters against slaves, and no matter whether such a civilization exists for one year or ten thousand it must inevitably express itself in continuous turmoil, trouble and conflict. There can be no peace. Liberty cannot exist. Democracy can be nothing but a joke.

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And what did these agricultural workers get for all this? The answer is easy. They got nothing. That is all that exploited people ever get for what they do. There is a very simple reason for this. The producers of wealth produce all there is wherewith anything like payment can be made. As this wealth is taken from them it does not require a set of baby's building blocks to clearly demonstrate that they can receive no payment, for there is nothing to pay with. There being nothing wherewith to make payment it stands to reason that if the wealth is taken from those who bring it forth by their labor, it can only be taken for nothing. In the olden time it used to be taken away by the persuasive influence of a promise to pay that which is impossible of payment, because there is nothing on earth nor in the waters under the earth wherewith to make payment.

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As has already been said there is no more of the essential things of life produced now, according to the population, than was the case 500 or a thousand years ago. There has been very little if any improvement in the method of production of these essential things. But there has been a very decided improvement in the method of production of the ruling class things of empire and power. The simple and easily acquired hand tools of freedom, have been transformed into the powerful, complicated and costly machinery of a highly developed human slavery, and the task of producing the essential things of life has, gradually been forced upon a decreased percentage of the population by compelling them to work all of their time when their primitive and free forebears did not work at all, while another ever increasing percentage of the population has been turned to the production of purely ruling class things, things neither essential or of any use whatever to the wealth producers, but out of which an empire of vulgar magnificence and unbridled power has accrued to the rulers and masters of slaves. The tools of

free men did not and could not serve the interests or satisfy the ambitions of rulers and masters. The mighty industrial machinery of the ruling class, that has so greatly multiplied the productive power of slaves in the production of ruling class requirements, can no more conserve the interest of free men and satisfy their requirements, than could the simple tools of freedom satisfy their masters and rulers.

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As the great industrial mechanism of the ruling class has been developed it has gradually drawn the one-time free agriculturalists into its fatal net. Just as rapidly as they were led to imagine that the machine for reaping grain, for threshing grain, for planting seed and for cultivating the field was designed for their benefit and they adopted it, just so rapidly were they enmeshed in the gigantic web of slave production of wealth, upon the masters' plan, and all of their one-time liberty was lost. Production for use gave way to production for profit and that profit was always the profit of the masters of the great dominant industrial mechanism of the day. Step by step the diversified agriculture of the olden time has largely given way to the production of some special crop, under the fatal lure that riches might be accumulated more speedily by that route than by any other. The less the variety of products raised by the agriculturalist the more does he become compelled to purchase from the market, and once in the clutch of that method of getting the things he needs must have or perish, the more completely is he at the mercy of the ruthless masters of exploitation and rapine. The more completely is he enslaved.

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When one comes to realize that from a very few acres of decent soil and with but a few simple and easily acquired tools practically all of the essential things of life can be obtained without the expenditure of one-half the labor now required by the city and country laborer, it becomes difficult to account for the fatal illusion that possesses the minds of men, that the great machinery of production of this slave age marks a tremendous advance over the days of our forebears. And yet the fact stares us in the face that the worker now, whether in the country or the city, is compelled to work all the time in order to make his living. If the boasted mechanical achievements of the last century and a half measure any degree of human progress and the producers

now have to work all of the time to make a living, how long must the worker of the olden time have been compelled to work in order to live? The fact of it is that he never did work until he was enslaved. The word “work” was not invented until the slave was shackled and then it became necessary to invent some term to describe his state of beautitude [*sic*]. Slaves, either biped or quadruped, work. Free animals never work. Man is an animal, and probably the most stupid of the lot.

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That machinery has lightened the labor of man is the great illusion. It has been the means of perfecting his enslavement and bringing it to its supreme culmination. It need not be inferred from this that no machine could be devised that could serve the purpose of free men. Machines may be of such a simple character as to be easily made and operated by a single person and enable him to gain by their use. But the real machines that have been called into being by the master class to conserve its interests and enlarge its power, cannot be utilized by wealth producers to secure their freedom and perpetuate it, for the simple reason that such machinery practically in its entirety is designed for and used only in producing that which is absolutely useful to a ruling class only.

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If this useless production could be cut out and the production of the necessary things of life be distributed, as it should be, among all the people, so that all should once more produce their own living, the day of human freedom would have returned. The long dark night of “work” would have ended. But the great illusion that machinery has improved the condition of man, or that it is easier to get a living by means of this huge, complicated and enormously costly and cumbersome mechanism than by the simpler, less costly and less cumbersome tools and methods of the freedom of long ago, must first be removed from the minds of men. It is painful to note that this fatal illusion is yet as firmly fixed in the minds of those who call themselves Socialists and rate as the most advanced thinkers of our time, as it is in the mind of the dullest wage slave that ever affirmed his freedom by bawling for a job.

Change the Ownership

The stock phrase dealing with the ownership of the modern machinery of production indulged in by the average alleged Socialist is “change the ownership so that all may enjoy the benefits of the machine.” Of course this change of ownership is to be from the capitalists to the people as a whole. Now that all sounds fairly good, but will it make any difference who owns and controls and operates an industrial machine that has been built from the ground up to conserve the interests of a band of brigands? If so how? If the purpose for which a certain part of this boasted industrial mechanism has been designed and created has been to bring forth 75,000,000 tons of iron per annum, all but one million tons of which is to be used solely for ruling class purposes, what sort of a change of ownership will be required to turn the entire output to the purposes of the new owners, the “people,” who having dumped their rulers are now busily engaged in “running the iron business?” As the iron output has previously been used chiefly for the purpose of building railways, factories, bridges, ships of war and ships of trade, cannon, rifles, bombs, shells, prisoner’s cages, skyscrapers, tunnels and a multitude of similar junk useful to the ruling class only, what things other than those already mentioned are the new owners going to turn out for the benefit of themselves and their heirs and assigns forever after?

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The only sort of things that can be produced upon a gigantic scale and by the use of machinery is that which is being produced today. And that production implies a ruling class at the top and a slave at the bottom. It means powerful exploiters in the saddle of authority and miserably exploited and tortured working animals eking out a narrow existence under the lash of necessity. Either the slaves will rise, seize the reins of power, take charge of the capitalist machine of exploitation and murder, and dismantle it piece by piece and step by step, sloughing off that which is no longer essential and turning the workers hitherto employed in useless ruling class production to the production of their own essential things, or the whole establishment will soon be in collapse and all will go down in one common ruin. There must be an ultimate beyond which human slavery cannot go. Then it must

perish. There are many signs upon the social horizon that indicate the end is close at hand.

The Financial Problem

If there is a greater pleasure in life than can be found in buying things cheap, it is in selling them for more than they cost. It is especially pleasant and soothing to the bourgeois soul, for it is the only way that has ever yet been discovered to get something for nothing and do it honestly. For instance if the labor power of a slave is bought for a dollar per day and the product of that labor power is sold for two dollars, the enterprising purchaser of labor power has cleared a dollar through his business sagacity, the slave has been paid for what he did, no one else has been wronged. Then again, our enterprising trader may purchase other goods than labor power and sell them for more than he paid and thereby turn more honest dollars or pennies, as the case may be. Probably the most interesting and satisfactory feature of all this buying and selling is that everything, apparently, is either paid for on the spot, or arrangements mutually satisfactory are made whereby payment will be forthcoming later on. As to the final payment, however, there seems not the slightest doubt, and because of this there is probably no word in the language of men that hath a more satisfying sound than the very word "payment."

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One of the greatest discoveries ever made by man is that of how to pay for things when there is nothing on earth wherewith to make payment, and at the same time make the recipient of such payment actually believe that payment has been rendered. This has happily been provided for by the invention and use of what is termed money. The story of money is a tale of one of the most interesting and widely prevalent superstitions that has ever fastened itself upon the mind of men.

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The earliest form of exchange of which we have any knowledge consisted of the direct barter of one thing for another, but as trade spread its tentacles over an ever widening field it became more and more impossible for the owner of a given commodity who wished to acquire some other specific

commodity in exchange thereof, to find an owner of the desired commodity who would be agreeable to such an exchange. It then became necessary to select some specific commodity to function as a sort of go-between in the matter of the exchange of commodities, a commodity that would be of universal acceptance for that particular purpose. Many different commodities have been used at different times and in different countries, but gold has long since become the universally accepted commodity for the purpose of exchange. All other commodities are now compared to gold in order to translate their exchange value into the monetary terms with which the various governments of the earth have endowed that particular metal.

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The production of the metal, gold, at no time constitutes in value more than an infinitesimal portion of the total commodity values produced. Such being the case no argument is necessary to clearly show the utter impossibility of gold being capable of being used as a means of payment. If a million dollars' worth of commodities were produced and sold, including say 350,000 in gold, it is manifestly apparent that the gold could not pay for what had been produced and sold. And it should not be forgotten that the gold is produced by the same enslaved labor that produces the other commodities. In itself the gold is but one commodity in an extended list of commodities. All the function it ever did play, or plays yet, in trade, commerce and exchange, is as a generally accepted means of determining the relative exchange values of commodities, itself among the number. Every time the exchange value of a commodity is translated into terms of gold, at the same time the exchange value of gold is translated into the terms of that commodity. For instance, if a barrel of flour is quoted in the market as worth \$10, it is equivalent to quoting that amount of gold as worth one barrel of flour.

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The products of labor enter the market in endless procession as commodities for sale and they continue to loiter or wander about as commodities until some purchaser lifts them from the market by acquiring possession for the purpose of consuming them. In the market there is a perfect babel of buying and selling, every one is trying to buy cheap and sell dear. There is haggling and trickery and cheating and swindling and every other sinful thing imaginable, but there is no honesty. In fact the market is no place for

an honest man. Above the gates of the world market should be writ large the words "Abandon honesty, all ye who enter here." The reason of it is not far to seek. In the first place goods, merchandise, commodities can not enter the market except they are first produced, and all are produced by labor. And it requires a peculiar type of labor to bring forth commodities, things for sale in a world market. It requires an enslaved, an exploited labor, to do it. The market, the trade and commerce of the world is but the means whereby the masters of slaves realize on the plunder they take from those slaves, by transmuting it into an ever extending empire of pomp and power throughout the earth. Without trade and commerce to spread their plunder and convert it into continually increasing means and power of further exploitation, even to the uttermost parts of the earth, this capitalist civilization whose boasted grandeur is based solely upon the plunder of slaves, would collapse like a house of cards.

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If the workers, the slaves of modern industrialism and of the field and forest, produce all the wealth that is poured into the markets of the world, it is manifestly impossible that the producers, the enslaved workers, can receive any payment therefor. As they produce all exchange value and it is taken from them, it must be taken without payment, there being nothing outside of what they produce wherewith to make such payment. As there is nothing wherewith to make any payment to the producers of all wealth, by the same token is there nothing wherewith the trading fraternity, whose delectable function it is to dispose of the plunder, can render payment one to another when transferring this wealth from hand to hand and disposing of it. As there is nothing to pay for the wealth produced in the first place, there can be nothing with which to make any payment whatsoever at any subsequent time. The plain fact is that slaves produce wealth for their masters for nothing, and the trade and commerce of those masters is the means whereby that wealth is turned to ruling class purposes, either by being eaten up, worn out, shot away, or turned into additional capital for the purpose of extending the empire of exploitation and torture more completely over the earth.

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Under the earlier forms of slavery the slaves were shackled and driven under the lash without any other pretense than that of the power to do so. It has

been left for this last stage of slave civilization to cover up its loathsome tracks of rule and robbery under the lying and hypocritical pretense of payment. The slaves are taught to believe that they are paid for their misery, and the world of trade, commerce, finance, diplomacy and government seems to be as completely deluded as the slaves themselves. Either that or our statesmen, business magnates, big and little, financier, professors, preachers and all that rag-tag and bobtail intellectual horde that boosts for the ruling class and defends its crimes, are the veriest liars and hypocrites that ever went unhung. All the pretense of ruling class civilization are false, but none more completely so than the pretense that anything in the nature of wealth produced by labor is ever paid for except by the seat and misery of the enslaved workers who bring it forth. This bloody war that has been on for the last four years has been paid for in full by those who fought it and those whose labor brought forth the wherewith to carry on its glorious work. Millions died upon the battlefield and millions more have been crippled for life. Other millions worked themselves to the bone in order to keep up the murderous game. And still other countless millions have been starved and trampled under foot without mercy by the ravaging host of heroic souls bent upon murder and devastation at the behest of conscienceless rulers and military ruffians. And half the world or more has been and is still being swept by pestilence, taking deadly toll for the iniquities of ruffianly rulers and their bloody regime. Pay for the war? The bill has already been paid in full in the misery, the agony, the suffering, the death and devastation that has already been inflicted upon the sons and daughters of men, and it will be paid again and again by the agonies yet to come to the countless crippled victims of the awful holocaust and the endless train of evils that will long follow in its bloody and devastating wake. And that is all the payment that can ever be made.

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Outside of the very limited amount of so-called metal money in existence all money is merely an unredeemable promise to pay. Metal money such as gold, silver, copper, etc., carries the commodity value of the metal of which it is made, but even this exchange value in no case functions as payment. It is merely an equivalent in exchange for some other commodity. In spite of all the efforts of rulers and their financial sharps to endow gold and silver with supernatural and mysterious powers, they still remain in the category

of simple and ordinary commodities, just like iron, flour, leather or any other. Paper money is nothing but a promise to pay, that can never be redeemed. No matter how many times it may change hands in the processes of exchange it still remains as persistently unredeemable as before, and continues serenely upon its way as an immortal falsehood. The reason that payment can not be made and the promise made good, is the same as that which first called it into being. There is nothing and there can be nothing wherewith payment can be made. Paper money carries no commodity value in exchange, for it costs next to nothing to produce it. Once issued it remains forever as a demand against such products as the slaves of a ruling class production may bring forth, of the amount indicated by the figures upon its face. It functions as a perpetual order upon the ruling class warehouse, the contents of which are so perpetually replenished, for nothing, by the toil and sweat of the enslaved producers of all wealth. It has been wisely ordained by the benign providence that presides over the destinies of the grand game of exploiting slaves and building vulgar and grandiloquent empires out of the plunder, that only sufficient money (orders on the warehouse) shall be allotted to the slaves to enable them to lift therefrom just enough food, etc., to keep them in reasonably good working condition, upon its same principle that a horse, ass or ox is allowed only the amount necessary to enable them to efficiently draw the plow or cart. The mule is also treated in the same judicious and commendable manner.

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This immortal falsehood called money, this accumulation of promises to pay that can never be kept, this flimflam and subterfuge well calculated to camouflage the coarse and ruffianly art of ruling and robbing slaves with a semblance of decency and freedom, constitutes the sacrosanct capital of the world. Issued by authority of the masters of the slaves and the warehouse, as rapidly as it is issued and sent forth upon its pretended mission of "payment" it returns with equal rapidity to the source from whence it came, even as a "dog returns to his vomit," there to be recorded to the credit of its individual owners, the industrial, commercial and financial brigands and pirates who stand supreme masters of the slave camp of ruling class civilization. All bonds, stocks, deed, debentures, loans, investments, and others paper evidences of so-called property ownership belong in the same category as paper money. They are all in the nature of orders upon the production of

the future, that can never be met and can only be gotten rid of by complete repudiation.

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The alleged payment of a note, bond or any other form of debt, pays nothing. It merely transfers an order upon the future from one person or persons to another or others. The debt still remains unpaid. The order upon the future still pursues the “even tenor of its way” as an immortal flimflam. The so-called payment of a note or bond, or any other obligation always sets up other obligations in its place so that the result upon the sum total of the world debt, capital, investment or money, whichever you prefer to call it, remains nil. Cheques drawn upon banks merely transfer evidence of debt from one account to another. A. draws a cheque in favor of Z. in payment for merchandise, let us say. Upon presentation of the cheque at the bank the amount called for is charged to A. and credited to the account of Z. The bank now owes Z. what it formerly owed A. There is neither more nor less wealth in existence than before and the total debt of the world remains unchanged. All financial transactions are of the same character, no matter whether they are carried out by the exchange of cheques, currency or other means of financial jugglery. The raising of the huge “Victory” and “Liberty” loans, even if it be granted that either victory or liberty could be yoked up with a pawnshop device, neither increased or decreased the sum total of the world’s debt. What the governments borrowed was debt already in existence: promises to pay that could never be met. These figures, either upon bank notes held by individuals or upon bank ledgers to the credit of individuals, were transferred to government account. Instead of the banks then owing the individuals who purchased the bonds, the governments owed such persons. Where the banks were formerly debtors to depositors and note holders, the governments assumed the obligation and the banks were released. The world’s debt had not been either increased nor lessened. The governments at once proceeds [*sic*] to turn loose the brave array of figures representing debt that can never be paid, by making payments for supplies in the shape of war materials, cannon food, etc., and, lo and behold! These brave figures representing wealth that has been wrung from slaves without recompense or reward, march solemnly back via the channels of exchange and once more perch with “grave and stern decorum” in orderly column upon the same old roost from which they were sent forth to do battle for

“victory” and “liberty,” viz., the pages of the bank ledgers. The debt of the world is neither more nor less than before. Not an order upon the future toil and sweat of slaves has been canceled. The magnitude of the impossible is in statu quo. The greatest loans in all history have been successfully “floated” by the eminent financiers whom divine providence hath appointed to finance us and the sacred cause of “victory” and “liberty” has thus been happily advanced, as far at least as it is possible to do so by means of “bonds.” The term “floated” is used advisedly, for we are not unmindful of the fact that it is only those things that happen to be properly ballasted with specific gravity, that can be “floated” at all. The trade of financing being so very simple and so much more easily learned than hand-soling shoes or pressing pants, it is a matter of wonder why so many keen and intellectually capable men persist in learning and following those intricate and difficult trades, in preference to the comparative sinecure of merely shuffling figures upon scraps of paper and bank books. And then too, the half-soler of shoes might, through an unlucky slip of his knife, cut his thumb and thus incapacitate himself for a considerable period, or the pants-presser might spoil his customers’ breeches with too hot an iron, thereby causing at least some material loss, but the financier, the juggler of figures, might so mess up the whole lot that they could never be again properly rearranged and sorted out, and not a penny of material loss would occur, not even as much as a cut thumb would result.

* * *

If the total capital in the world at a given time amounted to let us say \$1,000,000,000, and the result of the exploitation of the slaves during the next twelve months increased that capital to \$1,500,000,000, that increment would represent what Marx has termed “surplus value.” The following year would register a still further increase, for it is an axiom that “capital” must bring to its owners a profit or it can not continue to function, and the world would thus be left in a terrible plight. At least that is what we are told by those who are supposed to know all about it, and who are we that dare dispute it? Now as all money, bonds, stocks, debentures, mortgages, investments, titles of ownership and paper evidences of property constituting what is termed capital, happen to all be merely evidences of debt held against the future, and debt that can never be liquidated, as has already been shown, and as all of this heretofore mysterious ruling class junk steadily increases each year in volume, it may readily be seen that the great problem forcing itself

upon the so-called financial world, is not how to provide "capital" sufficient to meet all requirements, but how to prevent the complete bankruptcy of this slave civilization, through the accumulation of such an overwhelming mass of this debt (capital) that ultimately the hoax of its pretended value will expose itself to even the dullest slave that ever worshipped at the shrine of his masters. And that accumulation of debt can not be stopped or even checked, for the more highly developed becomes the art of skinning slaves and converting their hides into "surplus value," the more rapid becomes the augmentation of capital; the greater in magnitude becomes the total of the world's debt. Every dollar of capital, of debt expressed by the paper flimflams already enumerated, represents wealth that has been wrung from the exploitation of slaves in the past without recompense or reward. The volume of it now in existence, great though it be, measures but a tithe of that which has been squeezed from the slaves of the past, for each dollar, each lying promise, repeats over and over again the process of relieving slaves of their labor power and products, without the rude necessity of first hitting them over the head with a club. The sum total of this debt, which even great statesmen like Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson often refer to as "our national wealth," is the sum of the accumulated "surplus value" that ruling class cunning and brutality has realized from the wine press of slavery, since the mailed fist and the jackboot of feudalism gave way to the hypocrisy of "democracy" and the lie of payment. And the sum grows greater each year with a regularity that is, figuratively speaking, terrifying to the financiers of the world. And it is nothing but figures. Figures on bankbooks, bonds, stocks, currency, and such articles and subterfuges that pass for real wealth, in the minds of diplomats, financiers, and wise guys generally. There are schoolboys not above the age of ten, who are capable of understanding that a promise to pay a bushel of wheat, is not a bushel of wheat, and more especially if the wheat has not even been planted yet. But there are millions of adults running around loose who haven't sense enough to know that a promise to pay, when there never was anything, is nothing now, and can never be anything to pay with, is not payment, but a d___d [damned] lie. There are millions who believe that figures representing huge amounts of wealth that have been taken from slaves in the past, without so much as by your leave, and that has long since been consumed and forgotten, are really wealth. Some there are who fancy that one who accumulates those figures to any considerable extent is guilty of accumulating wealth. But the truth is that if all those figures were

wiped off the slate, and could never be resurrected, there would be just as much wealth in existence as before. The whole thing is a swindle, a hoax, a grotesque farce, a clumsy camouflage, that has long done good and deluding him into a lusty belief in his own freedom. While it is the frailest yoke ever put upon the necks of slaves, the pretense of freedom and the lie of payment has done, and is still doing, better service in holding them in docility to the torture chamber and shambles of exploitation, than any previous method known to the owners and rulers of human chattels.

The financial problem is indeed some problem when you once begin to understand it. The world's wealth, measured in figures of debt is rapidly becoming so great that even the greatest financiers are puzzled to know how to longer successfully administer it. Everybody must admit that they have done an excellent job so far, but it may be easily possible that it will prove to be beyond even the ablest financial brains to make such an enormous mass of figures representing nothing but a material impossibility, forever continue to so comport themselves as not to disclose the fact that there is nothing behind them but nothing, and that even the realizable value of that is of most doubtful certainty, for no one can look far enough into the future to accurately determine what nothing will be worth then. At any rate it is some financial problem for those brainy financiers of the world whose mission in life is to demonstrate how a ruling class can get everything for nothing, pay everybody for everything they either do or sell when there is nothing to pay with, and at the same time amass hundreds of billions of dollars of wealth although all that is produced is consumed as fast as brought into being. Also how nations, either singly or collectively, can get rich by accumulating figures of what does not exist because it has all been consumed, and if so why are not all of the nations lately engaged in the "Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man" now, actually far richer now than they were before that christian love feast broke loose? They surely never had so much figurative wealth before, but they will later on, no doubt. A great problem, that financial one. The more it is probed into the greater it becomes. That is, the greater joke it becomes, but the slave is the butt of the joke. There is little doubt about that.

—"A Size-Up of the World Situation—The Result of the War," *Labor Star* (Vancouver), 6 Feb. 1919, 6, 7; "Interpretation of the World Situation," *Labor Star*, 13 Feb. 1919, 2, 3, 5.

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APPENDIX

Partial Record of E. T. Kingsley's Public Speeches and Lectures

Note: This is not an exhaustive list, confined to Kingsley's speeches that were reported in articles we consulted in the socialist and non-socialist press. In particular, speeches from outside the Lower Mainland of British Columbia—for example, during Kingsley's organizing tours on behalf of the SPBC, SPC, and FLP in 1902 to 1904, 1905 to 1914, and 1918 to 1920, respectively—have not been comprehensively documented because of the editors' selective review of the small-town press in British Columbia and Alberta. Kingsley's speeches on behalf of the SLP in California in the 1890s and the Revolutionary Socialist League in Seattle in 1901 are also not comprehensively documented here owing to a paucity of archival material.

1895

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|------------|---|
| 18 March | San Francisco, 1153 Mission Street, meeting of unions re: San Francisco City Charter |
| 28 April | San Francisco, Metropolitan Labor Temple, SLP lecture course |
| 1 May | San Francisco, Metropolitan Labor Temple, re: International Labor Day |
| 1 October | San Francisco, corner of Market and Seventh, open-air meeting resulting in Kingsley's arrest |
| 12 October | San Francisco, corner of Market and Seventh, SLP American Branch open-air meeting with Mrs. A. F. Smith and others, re: Free Speech |
| 27 October | San Francisco, Pythian Hall, SLP meeting: "The Aims of Socialism" |

1896

- 16 February San Francisco, Pythian Hall, SLP meeting: "How and to What Extent Do We Now Co-operate?," with T. E. Zant
- 18 March San Francisco, Metropolitan Labor Temple, SLP meeting re: anniversary of the inauguration of the Paris Commune
- 1 May San Francisco, Metropolitan Labor Temple, SLP May Day demonstration
- 30 June San Francisco, SLP Jewish Branch Headquarters, 970 Folsom Street, organizing meeting for Thirteenth Assembly District Branch
- 8 July San Francisco, Metropolitan Labor Temple, SLP Liberty Branch meeting: "Economic Errors"
- 9 July San Francisco, SLP Jewish Branch Headquarters, 970 Folsom Street, 1896, SLP Jewish Branch meeting re: labour unions and party politics
- 8 August San Francisco, corner of Market and Seventh, open-air meeting, with William Costley and George Speed
- 15 August San Francisco, corner of Market and Seventh, open-air meeting resulting in Kingsley's arrest along with seven other socialists
- 19 August San Francisco, Metropolitan Labor Temple, SLP meeting protesting the arrest of Kingsley and others
- 31 August San Francisco, corner of Pine and Kearney, open-air meeting to protest the arrest of SLP leaders and police incursions on free speech
- 6 September San Francisco, Pythian Hall, SLP meeting: "Confusion"
- 14 September San Francisco, corner of Pine and Kearney, open-air meeting, with Sunflower and Barnaby
- 26 September San Francisco, Fifth Street, open-air meeting, with William Costley and George Aspden

1897

- 18 March San Francisco, SLP meeting re: anniversary of Paris Commune, with George Aspden, George Benham, Paul Grottkau, and M. W. Wilkins
- 4 April San Francisco, SLP propaganda meeting, with William Costley, George Speed, S. Seller, and W. M. Wilkinson
- 1 May San Francisco, Metropolitan Labor Temple, SLP May Day celebration, address on the topic of "The Modern Labor Movement"

1898

- 31 July San Francisco, SLP meeting: "Surplus Value"
- 13 November San Francisco, Washington Hall, Eddy Street, SLP meeting re: 1898 Election Campaign

1899

- 30 May San Francisco, Metropolitan Labor Temple, SLP meeting protesting US imperialism in Cuba and the Philippines
- 14 July Salinas (California), Good Templars' Hall, SLP meeting re: practical means to improve the condition of the masses

1902

- 16 March Victoria, Canadian Socialist League (CSL) Victoria Branch meeting
- 19 March Victoria, Labour Hall, CSL meeting: "The Labour Problem from a Socialist Standpoint"
- 20 March Victoria, Labour Hall, CSL meeting: "The Capitalist and Labourer"
- 22 March Nanaimo, Nanaimo Socialist Club open-air meeting
- 23 March Nanaimo, Free Press Hall, Nanaimo Socialist Club propaganda meeting
- 15–16 April Kamloops, Raven's Hall, Convention on Labour Political Action
- 4 May Nanaimo, Nanaimo Socialist Club meeting re: International Labour Day
- 12 May Victoria, CSL meeting: "The Earth and Man"
- 13 May Victoria, CSL meeting: "Man as Savage and Barbarian"
- 14 May Victoria, CSL meeting: "The History of Civilization"
- 15 May Victoria, CSL meeting: "The Capitalist System"
- 16 May Victoria, CSL meeting: "The Class Struggle"
- 17 May Victoria, CSL meeting: "The Politics of Labor"
- 23 June Vancouver, City Hall, chaired meeting with American socialist leader Eugene Debs
- July Nanaimo, Socialist Hall, RSPC inaugural meeting: "Lessons for the Workers in the Great Coal Strike and Its Relation to the Class Struggle"
- 1 September Nanaimo, Opera House, Labour Day demonstration
- 6 December Ladysmith, Gould's Hall, re: provincial by-election, with Hawthornthwaite and Parker Williams

1903

- 1 February Victoria, Labour Hall, SPBC meeting: "The Labour Problem"
- 19 February Nanaimo, Opera House, re: railway expansion
- 17 March Nanaimo, Opera House, SPBC meeting: "Socialism"
- 1 May Vancouver, Labour Hall, re: International Labor Day
- 2 May New Westminster, open-air meeting, re: International Labor Day
- June Cumberland, SPBC propaganda meeting: "Evolution of Man"
- June Cumberland, SPBC propaganda meeting: "Economics"
- June Cumberland, SPBC propaganda meetings: "Working Class Politics"
- June Courtenay, SPBC propaganda meeting: "The Condition of the Small Farmer"
- 20 June Cedar (Vancouver Island), Wheatsheaf Hotel, SPBC propaganda meeting, with Hawthornthwaite

5 July	Ladysmith, SPBC campaign meeting: "The Coming Campaign"
25 July	Vancouver, open-air meeting, SPBC propaganda meeting
26 July	Vancouver, Socialist Hall, 44 Hastings Street West, SPBC propaganda meeting
August	Texada Island, SPBC propaganda meeting
August	Fernie, SPBC campaign meeting, with Pettipiece
19 August	Greenwood, SPBC campaign meeting in support of Ernest Burns
13 September	Phoenix, Miners' Union Hall, SPBC meeting re: Socialism
16 September	Phoenix, open-air meeting, Labour Day demonstration
22 September	Victoria, corner of Yates and Broad Street, SPBC open-air meeting
23 September	Victoria, Spring Ridge Odd Fellows' Hall, SPBC campaign meeting for J. C. Watters
26 September	Victoria, Corner of Yates and Broad Streets, SPBC open-air meeting: "The Labor Problem"
27 September	Victoria, Spring Ridge Odd Fellows' Hall, SPBC campaign meeting for J. C. Watters
30 September	Nanaimo, Opera House, SPBC propaganda meeting
18 October	Vancouver, SPBC propaganda meeting
8 November	Victoria, Labour Hall, SPBC meeting: "Karl Marx's Definition of Capital"
9 November	Saanich, organizational meeting to establish a Gordon Head Branch of the SPBC

1904

20 March	Vancouver, Crystal Theatre, SPBC meeting re: anniversary of inauguration of Paris Commune
14 August	Vancouver, Sullivan Hall, SPBC educational meeting
22 August	Ladysmith, Pavilion Green, SPBC lecture re: Socialism
4 September	Victoria, Crystal Theatre, SPBC lecture: "The Labor Problem"
5 September	Victoria, City Hall, Victoria Trades and Labor Council-sponsored Labour Day mass meeting
12 October	Ladysmith, Opera House, SPBC campaign meeting for federal candidate William Fenton, with Hawthornthwaite
27 October	Victoria, AOUW Hall, SPBC campaign meeting for J. C. Watters and other federal candidates
31 October	Vancouver, City Hall, SPBC campaign meeting for J. T. Mortimer and other federal candidates

1905

26 March	New Westminster, Eagle Hall, SPC propaganda meeting
29 July	Vancouver, City Hall, SPC debate: "The Single Tax vs. Socialism," with John Z. White
31 July	Nanaimo, Opera House, SPC debate: "The Single Tax vs. Socialism," with John Z. White

- 4 August Victoria, SPC debate: "The Single Tax vs. Socialism," with John Z. White
- 3 September Vancouver, Sullivan Hall, SPC propaganda meeting
- 23 September Seattle, Socialist Hall, 406 Pine Street, Socialist Party Seattle Local meeting (afternoon)
- 23 September Seattle, Socialist Hall, 406 Pine Street, Socialist Party Seattle Local meeting (evening)
- 5 November Vancouver, City Hall, SPC meeting re: Russian Revolution
- 17 December Seattle, Temple, Socialist Party of Washington State propaganda meeting
- 18 December Vancouver, City Hall, SPC meeting: "The Mission of the Working Class"

1906

- 21 January Vancouver, City Hall, SPC meeting re: anniversary of Bloody Sunday massacre, St. Petersburg, Russia
- 18 March Vancouver, Sullivan Hall, SPC meeting re: thirty-fifth anniversary of Paris Commune
- 29 April Vancouver, SPC meeting: "The Politics of Labour"
- c. April Crownsnest Pass, SPC propaganda tour
- c. April Boundary district, SPC propaganda tour
- 26 August Vancouver, Grand Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 2 September Vancouver, City Hall, SPC propaganda meeting
- 23 September Vancouver, Grand Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting, with James Simpson, Toronto
- 6–8 October Nelson, Miners' Union Hall, SPC fourth provincial convention
- 7 October Nelson, Fraternity Hall, SPC meeting re: Socialism
- 11 October Revelstoke, Selkirk Hall, SPC meeting re: Socialism
- 2 December Vancouver, Grand Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting: "The Carnival of Crime"

1907

- 19 January Nanaimo, Opera House, re: SPC provincial campaign, with J. H. Hawthornthwaite
- 3 March Vancouver, Sullivan Hall, SPC meeting re: evolution of human society
- 17 March Vancouver, Grand Theatre, SPC meeting re: anniversary of the inauguration of the Paris Commune
- 2 August Vancouver, Recreation Park, SPC open-air mass meeting with Keir Hardie, leader of the British Labour Party

1908

- 9 February Vancouver, City Hall, SPC propaganda meeting
- 1 May Vancouver, City Hall, SPC May Day celebration
- 23 May Fernie, Miners' Hall, SPC interprovincial convention

27 May	Calgary, SPC propaganda meeting
28 May	Winnipeg, Hay Market, SPC open-air meeting, joined by Polish and Ruthenian speakers
29 May	Winnipeg, Trades Hall (James Street), SPC public lecture: "Socialism"
12 June	Port Arthur, SPC propaganda meeting
14 June	Cobalt, SPC propaganda meeting
21 June	Toronto, Labour Temple, SPC propaganda meeting
c. June	Montreal, SPC propaganda meeting
c. June	Peterborough, SPC propaganda meeting
c. June	Allandale (Ontario), SPC propaganda meeting
c. June	Toronto, SPC propaganda meeting
c. June	Hamilton, SPC propaganda meeting
c. June	Berlin (Ontario), SPC propaganda meeting
c. June	Galt (Ontario), SPC propaganda meeting
c. June	Guelph, SPC propaganda meeting
c. June	Lindsay (Ontario), SPC propaganda meeting
c. June	Sarnia, SPC propaganda meeting
c. June	Port Huron, SPC propaganda meeting
18 July	Winnipeg, Ruthenian Hall, SPC propaganda meeting
28 July	Winnipeg, Trades Hall, SPC propaganda meeting
2 August	Calgary, Trades and Labor Hall, SPC meeting re: Socialism
12 August	Edmonton, Club Hall, SPC propaganda meeting
24 August	Lethbridge, Oliver's Hall, SPC meeting: "Labour and Its Economies"
18 September	Denoro (near Greenwood, BC), Peoples' Dinner Hour address re: Socialism
c. 19 September	Kaslo, SPC propaganda meeting
20 September	Revelstoke, Opera House, SPC meeting: "The Cause of Strikes"
30 September	Vancouver, City Hall, SPC candidates' meeting during federal election campaign
7 October	Vancouver, City Hall, SPC campaign meeting during federal election
19 October	Vancouver, Opera House, VTLC meeting during federal election campaign
21 October	Vancouver, City Hall, SPC campaign meeting during federal election
23 October	Vancouver, Opera House, SPC campaign meeting during federal election
11 November	Revelstoke, Opera House, Liberal Rally meeting re: Socialism
13 December	Vancouver, Rose Theatre, SPC meeting
1909	
24 January	Victoria, Grand Theatre, SPC meeting
28 February	Victoria, Grand Theatre, SPC meeting: "Signs upon the Horizon"

- 18 March Vancouver, City Hall, SPC meeting commemorating the thirty-eighth anniversary of the inauguration of the Paris Commune
- 10 April Vancouver, City Hall, VTLC mass meeting re: Eight-Hour Day
- 1 May Vancouver, Cambie Street Grounds, May Day Celebration hosted by SPC
- 2 May Vancouver, Cameraphone Theatre, May Day Celebration hosted by SPC, with W. Dreaver and L. T. English
- 17 May Vancouver, City Hall, SPC protest meeting against arrest of street-corner orators during Vancouver Free Speech Fight, with Beamish, McVety, and English
- 6 September Revelstoke, Revelstoke Trades and Labor Council–sponsored Labor Day Celebration: “The Labor Question”
- 12 September Vancouver, National Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 17 October Vancouver, National Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 17 November Vancouver, City Hall, provincial candidates’ meeting for Vancouver City, hosted by SPC

1910

- 23 January Victoria, Romano Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 10 April Vancouver, SPC propaganda meeting re: control of the state
- 1 May Vancouver, Cambie Street Grounds, SPC May Day Demonstration, with Hawthornthwaite, Williams, and Pettipiece
- 11 September Nelson, Crystal Theatre, SPC meeting: “The Class War”
- 25 September Vancouver, Empress Theatre, SPC meeting: “The Class War”
- 30 October Vancouver, Empress Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 27 November Victoria, Grand Theatre, SPC meeting
- 4 December Vancouver, Empress Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting

1911

- 8 January Vancouver, Empress Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 5 February Vancouver, Empress Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 19 March Vancouver, Empress Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 9 April Vancouver, Empress Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 4 June Vancouver, Crystal Theatre, SPC Local 15 meeting
- 6 September Vancouver, Pender Hall, SPC campaign meeting: “Enslavement of Workers”
- 8 September Eburne (South Vancouver), Oddfellows’ Hall, SPC campaign meeting, re: Socialism
- 19 September Vancouver, Horseshow Building, federal campaign meeting with J. H. Senkler and H. H. Stevens

1912

- 1 February Vancouver, Dominion Hall, protest meeting sponsored by the SPC and IWW against the “Bloody Sunday” attacks and incursions on freedom of speech

- 3 February Vancouver, Horseshow Building, protest meeting attended by 2,500 people and sponsored by the SPC, IWW, and VTLC against the “Bloody Sunday” attacks and incursions on freedom of speech
- 18 February Vancouver, Grand Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 17 March Vancouver, Electric Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 24 March Vancouver, Electric Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 21 April Vancouver, Electric Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 1 May Nanaimo, SPC May Day celebration
- 6 October New Westminster, City Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 20 October Nanaimo, SPC propaganda meeting

1913

- 26 January Vancouver, Labor Temple, SPC propaganda meeting: “Socialism”
- 2 March Vancouver, Empress Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 16 March Vancouver, Empress Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 10 November Vancouver, Dominion Hall, Miners’ Liberation League meeting re: Vancouver Island Miners’ Strike
- 8 December Vancouver, Horseshow Building, Miners’ Liberation League meeting re: Vancouver Island Miners’ Strike
- 14 December Nanaimo, Athletic Club, SPC meeting re: Socialism

1914

- 22 March Vancouver, Empress Theatre, SPC meeting re: anniversary of Paris Commune
- 3 May Vancouver, Empress Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 21 May Cumberland, SPC propaganda meeting
- 24 May Nanaimo, SPC propaganda meeting
- 28 June Vancouver, Empress Theatre, SPC propaganda meeting
- 26 July Vancouver, Empress Theatre, SPC meeting re: the *Komagata Maru* incident and “The Battle of Coal Harbour”
- 17 August Vancouver, SPC meeting re: the world situation and the revolutionary movement

1916

- 11 September Vancouver, Labour Temple, with Robert Gosden re: corruption in provincial politics

1917

- 3 June Vancouver, Orpheum Theatre, against conscription
- 13 June Vancouver, Empress Theatre, against conscription, with William Pritchard, James McVety, Parm Pettipiece, and Wallace Lefeaux
- 26 July Vancouver, Avenue Theatre, against conscription, with Helena Gutteridge and Jack Kavanagh

- 10 November Victoria, Knights of Pythias Hall, in support of federal Labor candidates, with Albert Wells and Joseph Taylor
- 23 November Saanich, St. Marks Hall, in support of federal Labor candidates Joseph Taylor and Albert Wells
- 24 November Victoria, Princess Theatre, in support of federal Labor candidates Joseph Taylor and Albert Wells
- 25 November Chase River, in support of federal Labor candidates Joseph Taylor and Albert Wells (afternoon)
- 25 November Nanaimo, Dominion Hall, in support of federal Labor candidates Joseph Taylor and Albert Wells (evening)
- 28 November South Vancouver, McBride School, in support of federal Labor candidate J. H. McVety
- 12 December North Vancouver, Knights of Pythias Hall, in support of federal Labor candidate Victor Midgley

1918

- 1 February Vancouver, Labor Temple, FLP founding meeting
- 23 February Vancouver, Labor Temple, first FLP public propaganda meeting
- 9 March New Westminster, St. George's Hall, FLP propaganda meeting
- 14 March Vancouver, University of British Columbia Assembly Hall, Vancouver Institute meeting: "Capital, Labor, and the State"
- 17 March Vancouver, Colonial Theatre, FLP meeting: "Paris Commune and the Bolsheviks"
- 31 March Vancouver, Colonial Theatre, FLP meeting: "Civilization: Its Cause and Cure"
- 14 April Vancouver, Rex Theatre, FLP meeting: "The Collapse of Capitalism"
- 12 May Vancouver, Rex Theatre, FLP meeting: "The Civic Employees Strike and Bigger Things"
- 28 July Vancouver, Rex Theatre, FLP meeting: "Road to Freedom"
- 13 October Vancouver, Rex Theatre, FLP meeting: "Reconstruction of Society"
- 24 November Vancouver, Rex Theatre, FLP meeting: "Now! What?" following the Armistice in Europe
- 1 December Vancouver, Empress Theatre, FLP propaganda meeting
- 29 December Vancouver, Empress Theatre, VTLC meeting, re: censorship regulations and Allied intervention in Russia

1919

- 5 January Vancouver, Rex Theatre, FLP propaganda meeting
- 26 January Victoria, Columbia Theatre, FLP Victoria Local: "The Bolsheviks"
- 2 February Vancouver, Dominion Theatre, FLP propaganda meeting
- 2 February Vancouver, Broadway Theatre, FLP propaganda meeting
- 16 February New Westminster, Columbia Theatre, FLP meeting: "Problems of the Hour"
- 23 February North Vancouver, Knights of Pythias Hall, FLP propaganda meeting

- 2 March Nanaimo, Dominion Hall, FLP meeting re: the Russian and industrial situation
- 30 March Vancouver, Theatre Royal, FLP meeting: "One Big Union"
- 20 April Vancouver, Royal Theatre, FLP meeting: "The Class Struggle"
- 27 April Revelstoke, FLP meeting re: the world unrest and its causes
- late April Silverton, FLP propaganda meeting
- late April Nelson, FLP propaganda meeting
- 1 May Fernie, Grand Theatre, Gladstone Local May Day Celebration
- 4 May Victoria, Crystal Theatre, FLP meeting: "The Machine"
- 1 June Vancouver, Columbia Theatre, FLP meeting: "Capitalism"
- 3 June Salmon Arm, FLP propaganda meeting
- 4 June Summerland, Campbell Hall, FLP propaganda meeting
- 6 June Nelson, FLP propaganda meeting
- 8 June Fernie, FLP propaganda meeting
- 15 June Lethbridge, FLP propaganda meeting
- 22 June Calgary, FLP propaganda meeting
- 13 July Vancouver, Columbia Theatre, FLP meeting: "Labour and Political Action"
- 31 August Vancouver, Columbia Theatre, FLP meeting: "The Machinery of Slavery"
- 23 November Vancouver, National Theatre, FLP meeting: "Civilization"

1920

- 2 February Vancouver, Royal Theatre, FLP meeting: "The Ruling Class Debacle"
- 21 March Vancouver, Royal Theatre, re: anniversary of the Paris Commune
- 25 April Vancouver, Royal Theatre, "The End of an Epoch"
- 24 October Vancouver, FLP Hall (Cordova Street West), "The Break of Capitalism"
- 26 December Vancouver, Columbia Theatre, re: bankruptcy of capitalism

1921

- 29 May Vancouver, FLP Hall (Cordova Street West), FLP propaganda meeting

1925

- 29 March Nanaimo, McGarrigle Hall, "Civilization versus Nature" (afternoon)
- 29 March Nanaimo, Foresters Hall, "Civilization versus Nature" (evening)
- 26 August Summerland, Log Cabin, Summerland School of Social Science lecture: "The Case of the Farmer"

1926

- 9 September Vancouver, Hamilton Hall, re: federal election campaign
- 12 September Vancouver, Royal Theatre, re: federal election campaign

KINGSLEY'S SPEECHES

A selection of Kingsley's speeches on behalf of the Socialist Labor Party in California in the 1890s:

- "Discussed the Charter," *San Francisco Call*, 19 March 1895, p. 4
- "To Celebrate Labor Day," *San Francisco Call*, 9 April 1895, p. 11
- "The Socialists," *San Francisco Call*, 19 March 1896, p. 9
- "Will Carry a Red Flag," *San Francisco Call*, 26 April 1896, p. 21
- "Socialists Celebrate," *San Francisco Call*, 2 May 1896, p. 5
- "Socialism and the Economy," *San Francisco Call*, 9 July 1896, p. 9
- "The Socialists," *San Francisco Examiner*, 10 July 1896, p. 10
- "Socialist Open-Air Meeting," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 August 1896, p. 32
- "Eight Socialists Arrested," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 16 August 1896, p. 28
- "Socialists Explain Their Principles," *San Francisco Examiner*, 17 August 1896, p. 4
- "The Right of Free Speech," *San Francisco Call*, 16 August 1896, p. 16
- "Socialists in Public Protest," *San Francisco Call*, 20 August 1896, p. 8
- "Labor Day at the Big Temple," *San Francisco Call*, 7 September 1896, p. 12
- "They Were Not Disturbed," *San Francisco Examiner*, 15 September 1896, p. 8
- "Socialist Labor Party," *San Francisco Call*, 27 September 1896, p. 4
- "Socialists in the Country," *San Francisco Call*, 8 March 1897, p. 12
- G. B. Benham, "California," *The People* (New York), 4 April 1897, p. 1
- "The Socialists," *San Francisco Call*, 5 April 1897, p. 5
- "International Labor Day," *San Francisco Call*, 16 April 1897, p. 9
- "Socialists Keep Labor Day Holy," *San Francisco Call*, 2 May 1897, p. 9
- "Socialist Labor Party Is Working," *San Francisco Examiner*, 1 August 1898, p. 5
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- “Nothing Good but Reign of Socialism,” *Victoria Daily Times*, 12 Nov. 1917, p. 17
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- “Suburban News—South Vancouver,” *Vancouver Daily Sun*, 29 November 1917, p. 3
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- “Beware of That ‘Glad-Hand Shake,’” *Vancouver World*, 13 December 1917, p. 14
- “Closing Campaign Rally,” *Federationist*, 14 December 1917, p. 1
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- “Saturday, Feb. 23, Opening Meeting of Federated Labor Party,” *Federationist*, 15 February 1918, p. 1
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- "Federated Labor Party," advertisement, *Vancouver World*, 27 July 1918, p. 9
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- “Kingsley on the O.B.U.,” *Federationist*, 4 April 1919, p. 1
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- “Kingsley on Class Struggle,” *Federationist*, 25 April 1919, p. 3
- “Labor Party at Columbia,” *Federationist*, 25 April 1919, p. 1
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- “Federated Labor Party—Advertisement,” *Federationist*, 22 October 1920, p. 1
- “E. T. Kingsley to Speak on Sunday,” *Federationist*, 22 October 1920, p. 1
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