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Combined with "THE NEW LIGHT" January 1, 1901.

The Socialist Educational Union,

220 UNION ST., SEATTLE, WASH., SUNDAY, JAN. 20, 1901.

VOL. V. NO. 24.

THE SOCIALIST PRESS OF AMERICA



The Workingman's Vision of the Socialist Century

THIS PICTURE, SUPPLIED BY THE ENTERPRISE OF "THE PEOPLE", EMBODIES AN INSPIRING THOUGHT. THE NEW CENTURY IS THE SOCIALIST CENTURY. THE ENSLAVED WORKINGMAN SEES RISING FROM THE WORKSHOPS OF THE WORLD, THE SPLENDID VISION OF SOCIALISM, BRINGING LIGHT AND HOPE TO HIS DARKNESS AND DESPAIR. THIS IS A NEW LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD. SHE HOLDS ALTOGETHER THE TORCH, EMBLEM OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. WORKINGMEN, GREET THE VISION WITH A CHEER!

"ONE HOSS" BALKS A BIT.

The Appeal to Reason in its last issue is sorry so many Socialist papers are arising, especially those that aspire to cultivate the national field. Brother Wayland thinks he is quite competent to

think the whole of the national field with his "One Hoss" all by his own self. Well, we don't. We think the N. Y. People, for instance, whose New Year's souvenir and greeting we reproduce on this page, has as good a right, in fact, decidedly a better right to speak for American Socialism in all these states than our Kansas contemporary.

The Socialists of America have formed a great party in affiliation with International Socialism. That party has several accredited papers any one of which may be selected by the members in return for their quarterly dues. These six papers are our chosen party representatives for the "entire country. The Appeal is not one of these six, and could not be, for of these six, and could not be, for the very good reason that it does

stand for International Socialism and does not pretend to.

By its own statement, made last summer, it advocates "State Socialism," as distinguished from Revolutionary or International Socialism.

Now we do not object to Brother Wayland's zeal and success in pushing his own paper, but he must not object to others doing likewise, and especially he must not expect to exclude from this great field those papers which stand for Socialist Socialism as against Capitalist Socialism.

NEW PAPERS DAILY.

The Socialist press is multiplying rapidly. Almost every day's mail brings a new comer. Some are clear Socialists, others are Socialist only in name, being recent offspring of the dying Populist party. But even these latter are ready to learn and not as hopeless as the Appeal, which knows its own mind quite well.

We devote this page to notices of the Socialist papers and to quotations from them. The list in-

cludes only those in English, and only those on our exchange list.

The Official Papers.

The six party papers referred to above are the People, the Workers' Call, the Haverhill Social Democrat, Municipal Ownership, the Advance and the Social Democratic Herald. All of these are clear-cut, wide-awake and well worthy of support.

From our point of view, some of them are too much disposed to do the work of a magazine, printing long dissertations instead of following Marx's habit of teaching Socialism from current events.

However, we have only one magazine, the International Socialist Review, and elaborate arguments for the present need to be presented in all Socialist papers occasionally.

THE CLEVELAND CITIZEN.

The Cleveland Citizen is unique in being a straight Socialist newspaper and an official labor union organ. It ought to be on the official list. Its "Notes and Comments" are a good illustration of

what we mean when we speak of Socialism, taught and illustrated from current events. Pictures are more effective than descriptions.

Here are three of the "Notes": The state labor commissioner of Massachusetts reports that of the 33,000 cotton mill operators in that state about one-half are women and children. Skilled men average \$1.10 per day; unskilled, 70 cents; skilled women, 65 cents; unskilled women, 47 cents, and children, 21 cents—working from ten to twelve hours a day. At these wages a man and wife and three children could earn \$1.75 per day. Here is a hint to those notoriety-seeking reformers who loudly bawl about the social evil.

The Outlook for December, reviewing the vote of the late election, says: "The only party which made a decided gain was the Socialist. The aggregate vote of the Socialists this year was approximately 140,000, or just four times their vote in 1896." The Outlook claims the old S. L. P. received less than 30,000, or 10 per cent. less than cast in 1896.

Prof. Henry Davies, of Yale University, says that "socialism is the next great political creed to occupy our attention, and the central problem in this creed is the question of the distribution of wealth."

THE SAN DIEGO CHIEFTAIN.

Is another which might well be on the official list, so far as its Socialism is concerned. But it is so largely "local" in most of its matter that even Brother Wayland would not complain nor be afraid.

Here is a sample of Editor Helpling's:

"It takes some people forever to learn that populism is not Socialism, nor even 'one step' towards it. One is a reform proposition, while the other is revolutionary. Some men have all sorts of visions about the issue of paper money and 'Coin' Harvey stuff, and think it is Socialistic. All such rubbish has long since been laid upon the shelf as a back number, and when people call on Socialists to join in fiblets with such a job lot of stuff it makes me mad.

"However, when I look back, and reflect a moment, and realize what a blankety blank fool I have been myself all these years, I would not willfully say anything in the discussion of the social problem which would touch the feelings of the most sensitive, yet we are constrained to say—boys read up."

MISSOURI SOCIALIST.

Our list of true-blue Socialist papers is not long. No doubt that is the reason the Socialist vote was not so large as many hoped. Reform papers, called Socialist, do not make Socialist votes.

But the New Year brings No. 1 of the Missouri Socialist, which is O. K. It starts out as a big four-pager, is rather magaziney and hard to read, but is full of first-rate stuff. Here are two tastes:

"Now, all you democrats who said during the campaign that you were 'Socialists too' will please read up on Socialism, and get in line. You have only a faint idea of it, and when you read a few

books on the subject you will be astonished. You are pretty good fellows, but you were in an aimless movement and were very, very much confused. Join a movement that knows what it is about, and that is not controlled by your economic masters."

"In 84 organized trades in the United States there are only 29 in which the workers are employed 300 days in the year. Through trades unionism we can increase wages and reduce the daily hours of toil, but we cannot dictate to the capitalist class how many days in a year they must employ us."

THE CHALLENGE.

Another that begins boldly with the last Christmas of the old century is The Challenge, from Los Angeles. In method of publication and ownership, The Challenge is quite the opposite of the Missouri Socialist. The latter is owned and published by Local St. Louis of the Social Democratic Party of Missouri. On the other hand, The Challenge is a personal paper. Its editor and publisher is H. Gaylord Wilshire, just as Wayland owns and edits The Appeal. Both Wilshire and Wayland are rich men and can afford the luxury. Such papers will always be open to the danger that they may be delivered over, with all their influence, by the will of a single man, to capitalist control.

On the other hand, ownership by a single local renders a paper subject to local influences, and especially liable to be involved in local dissensions.

The People and The Socialist illustrate a medium course, being owned and controlled by an incorporated body, organized for the express purpose of publication, composed wholly of members of the party, and widely distributed, bound strictly by its articles of incorporation to advocate the class struggle, and to devote all revenue to Socialist pro-

paganda. We believe this method avoids the difficulties and objections of both the others.

To return to The Challenge. It is more constructive than most Socialist papers. It boldly welcomes the trusts with the motto and challenge, "Let the Nation Own the Trusts." Yet the point of view is revolutionary, as shown in the following:

"There is a critical point in all natural movements. Hydrogen and oxygen, if mixed in exact proportions of two to one and brought into contact with an electric spark, will explode and form water. When water is heated to 212 degrees it boils and becomes steam. After the hen sets on her eggs three weeks they are hatched into chickens. Apparently in each of these cases there was no outward change until the critical point was reached, and then there was a sudden transformation."

We believe that society is approaching its critical point and that a transformation must ensue. That the present competitive system, embracing the private ownership of capital, is simply like the shell of an egg and is protecting the formation of a new and better society within itself. When this new society is ready to be born it will burst its shell and step forth, Minerva-like, fully formed and completed."

LOOK OUT IN OUR NEXT ISSUE FOR THE MOST GENEROUS PROPOSITION EVER MADE TO SOCIALISM IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON.

A WOMAN-SOCIALIST MAKES THIS PAPER A SPLENDID OFFER.

HINTS FOR OUR AGENTS

Agents securing subscriptions for The Socialist, this is for you. Remember every trade must be learned.

1. Go from house to house. Prefer the working people's homes, but don't overlook the others. Almost everybody wants to know now what Socialism means. It is a novelty. Take advantage of this and get everybody to try a subscription.

2. Always be good natured. Some people will try you and abuse you. But keep your temper.

3. Say, This is a Workingman's Paper. It stands for the only Workingman's Party, Say, too, The Socialist stands for the Labor Unions always. It is not an S. L. P. paper, not a "Union Smasher."

4. Tell them they ought to learn about Socialism, the coming party in America. Tell them, no well-informed person can afford to be ignorant on this subject.

5. Tell how cheap a paper it is, only 50 cents a year. Don't talk anything but "yearly," until you see it is no use. But get the "10 cents to weeks" anyhow, just for a taste. "They'll never you that to get rid of you. Don't be too sensitive. What we want is to have them read about Socialism."

6. Carry plenty of sample copies with you. Tell them a single copy is worth five cents, and show it by opening up the paper with its map and pictures. Then say, Ten of these for ten cents. If it is not possible to get any subscription out of them, give them a copy and with them the luck of becoming Socialists.

7. Even if you do not get many subscriptions, you will find you have drawn attention to Socialism, preached it to scores of people, advertised The Socialist, and improved your own powers of speaking.

8. Use the subscription postal cards, if you can afford to buy them. If not, send to the Business Agent for Receipt Cards. People will want you to give them something to show they have paid, and to show that you are authorized to take subs.

9. Go ahead and do it, whether you feel like it or not, or whether you think you are or are not. You will be astonished to find how much you will accomplish.

If you want to help Socialism, push The Socialist.

LABOR COLUMN.

Conducted by CHAS. L. DE MOTTE.

One of the most patent evils that organized labor has to deal with is the labor factor. He is ever alert and assiduously instimates himself into the good graces of the working classes only to throw them down in their hour of need. It behooves labor to keep a very sharp eye on all self-appointed leaders, and when detected in any questionable methods, pick the scorpion up and deposit him in some convenient garbage box, consigning him to that obscurity from whence he sprang.

Moran Bro's, in order to secure the contract for a battle ship had to scale their bid down something over two hundred thousand dollars. The next thing in order will be to scale down the price of labor and lengthen the hours of servitude.

What a consummate ass is that man who will run from job to job offering to work for less money than his brother is receiving. Under a socialistic government a man would not be allowed to thus debase his manhood.

Great Britain is spending \$20,000,000 a month to carry on the war in South Africa. This amount if diverted into the proper channels at home, would alleviate all the misery and want in the British islands. But brutal commercialism demands more misery and distress, in order that the working class may be more easily exploited.

The great industrial corporations of the United States are about to distribute \$150,000,000 in dividends among their stockholders. Is it supposable that the great army of industrial slaves who produced this enormous profit have received anything like a fair division of the spoils? If so, why is it that they do not build fine mansions, enjoy colonies and make gifts of princely libraries. That they do not is self evident, and why they do not is because the great industrial corporations de-fraud them of their product.

In the event that Moran Bro's, build the battle ship, it is claimed their pay roll will amount to \$60,000 a month for three years, which exceeds \$2,000,000. At this rate, deducting the cost of material, and considering the contract price at about \$3,500,000, where are the poor contractors to get off at?

In the passing of P. D. Armour the greatest skinning industry in America has lost its head and chief director. Not only are sheep, cattle and horses skinned by this mammoth institution, but the wage slave has been and is being skinned by the most scientific methods known to human ingenuity. It is very possible that Mr. Armour before he succumbed to the grim terror, was very careful to transmit his cuticle removing privities to his successor, consequently the same old skin game will continue indefinitely. If the great abattoirs were operated by the people, the skinning business would be confined to sheep and cattle.

Don't fail to read our Treasurer's Report each week. We have nothing to conceal.

MORAN'S BATTLESHIP. How Does it Help Washington—Randolph's Spicy Comments.

I treat some human men experts on their glaze at the securing of the contract for a battleship by Moran Brothers, but as for me, I am not built that way.

It is enough for me just to look back a year or so ago and see how Moran has dealt with their employees.

First and most important, they have never paid going wages, all ways had to cut below what a man worth only \$500 was willing to pay, and they have forced their men to work 9 or more hours, even while there is a government law that makes it a misdemeanor to work the men more than 8 hours a day on that sort of work. But Moran are above the law. Laws may be all well enough for common folk, but as for Moran Brothers, they want "none of it in them."

More than this, they have all ways showed on open and undisguised hostility toward the unions.

Never did they hire a man as long as there was a man standing around with life enough in him to scratch when he itched, and the few times when they have been compelled to hire union men, they were the first to be discharged when the rush was over, no matter if they were head and shoulders above the disorganized hood lums.

I have heard some carpenters say that the Morans would advertise for men at a stated wage, and when pay day came they would pay off at a less price, and if a protest was made they would say, "Well that's what we are paying, and turn and leave you."

"Moran's pentitentiary" is an expression familiar to all the "water front" men in Seattle, and an apt term it is, too. A few weeks ago they posted notice of a reduction in hours to less than the union work a day, with a corresponding cut in wages. The carpenters indignantly protested against this additional evidence of "prosperity," but Moran told them that "We are running our own business to suit ourselves," and gave the carpenters a cordial invitation to emigrate to a warm climate if they did not like it.

Now my union brothers, in view of the foregoing facts, the accuracy of which cannot be challenged, just keep in mind what sort of a company is asking a donation of \$100,000 to enable them to get control of the means by which thousands of men must make their living and then see if you can enthuse over the prospect of a confinement in "Moran's pentitentiary."

"Oh," you will exclaim, "the building of the battleship will help Seattle." Just think of hundreds of thousands of dollars being paid out here for wages. Will not that help the laboring class?

But without enthusing any, I answer, yes, it will help the working class—a little. But we socialists would help them immensely more. You talk about the money that would be paid out for wages, and we point out to you that for every cent we get for wages under the "Moran" system our labor actually creates about five times as much wealth! Don't you see that? Are you aware of that fact at all? If according to Moran's way are benefited to cents' worth, then according to socialism we would be benefited a dollar's worth.

Now, we have got 160 much sense of justice to sling up our hats and hurrah for to cents when we have just earned a dollar and been cheated out of it.

Oh, yes, the building of the battleship will help Seattle—like the potato bug helps the potato vine. It is an exact parallel to the building of the trans-continental railroads—they "helped the country," even though they were built under such satanic conditions that the financial crooks who engineered the steals helped themselves to the country, or whatever they wanted of it.

And the railroads helped the country, but where is the lunatic

that would say that the way they were built helped the country any? And that's just the case here.

If that battleship were built by the day, with a competent man in charge, and mechanics hired directly by the government and paid regular union wages or more, and treated gentlemanly, would not this plan help working men infinitely more than to let it out to slave drivers and wage skimmers? Boys, think it over once just to surprise your brains.

GOOD ADVICE FROM (ALMOST) MAYOR CLOAK.

Fairhaven, Wn., Jan. 6, 1901. ED. THE SOCIALIST:—What the great majority of Local No. 4 regard as the cause of our success in the way of reaching the working class and obtaining their good will as well as support may be of interest to our Comrades in other parts of the state.

We began our movement by getting their interest awakened in the conditions surrounding them. We then gave them something to read, such as "Imprudent Marriages," followed this with "The Man Under the Machine." Then you can almost always get a year's subscription to a Socialist paper, and the work is done.

Always get to it that they read the books, ask them for their opinion, etc., explain anything that may remain a mystery to them. When you meet them, fan the spark already kindled, keep at it until it flames, until those who have been chilled by competition will be drawn to it for consolation and advice. Recruits thus obtained will not need looking after, for you will always find them in the front fighting for the cause.

We are opposed to the use of money in any manner to control the election, and if by the use of \$5,000 we could have triumphed with a full ticket, we would not supply the funds. We will not allow a candidate to solicit votes for any office. We do not want office. We want principle. And when principle predominates the office will be its reward. Until that time, to succeed would be positively injurious in my opinion, for it will give to those not posted in our aims a set back as they would expect some of the results of genuine Socialism.

I would like to just keep our cause so close to the winning point as to create excitement on the question. It was the general topic of conversation about the city for a month. More people are thinking. The old members are more eager, the younger more enthusiastic. Yours, JOHN CLOAK.

P.S.—The new issue is fine, best in the country.

John Workman—I object to Socialism.

Socialist—Why so?

J.W.—Because it would destroy the home.

S.—Do you have it home?

J.W.—Oh, no, I do not own one, but I can see that Socialism would destroy the home.

S.—Does the getting of good wages endanger the home?

J.W.—No, oh, no!

S.—Well, Socialism will enable the worker to get practically all he creates, and as he would use the best machinery, his effectiveness would be multiplied many times, thus enabling him to live a decent life. But this surely would not endanger the home. Or do you think it makes your home safer to create wealth and then let the other fellow have it to make a fine home for himself?

The Survival of the Fittest.

In northern zones, the raging bear protects himself with fat and hair. Where snow is deep, and ice is dark. And half the year is cold and stark. He still survives a climate like that by growing fur, by growing fat. These traits, O Bear, which thou transmittest to thy cubs, prove the survival of the fittest!

To polar regions, waste and wan. Comes the encroaching race of man. A puny, feeble little laborer. He had no fur, he had no blubber. The scrawny bear sat down at gaze. To see the stranger stare and freeze. But lo, the stranger slew the bear. And ate his fat, and wore his hair! These deeds, O Man, which thou com-mittest, prove the survival of the fittest!

In modern times the millionaire protects himself as did the bear. Where Poverty and Hunger are, he counts his billion by the ear. Where thousands suffer, still he thrives. And after death his will survives. The wealth O Crosses, thou transmittest, prove the survival of the fittest!

But lo! some people odd and funny. Some men without a cent of money. The simple common Human Race. Close to improve their dwelling place. They had no use for millionaires. They calmly said the world was theirs: They were so wise, so strong so many. The millionaire? There wasn't any! These deeds, O Man, which thou com-mittest, prove the survival of the fittest!

—Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Receipts. Previously reported \$382 78 January 14 1 00 John Downie, dues 1 00 Subscriptions 17 49

Total \$601 18 Expenses. Previously reported \$581 94 January 10 30 G. Carroll, com subs 30 January 14 3 00 Extra on printing 3 00

Total \$854 24 Balance on hand 15 94 Total \$900 18

Plant Fund.

Receipts. Previously reported \$114 10 Expenses. January 14 100 65 Chases 11 05

Total \$117 70 Balance on hand \$2 40

We make it possible from this date for a Socialist, however poor, to secure for himself what is indispensable for a Socialist, a good Socialist library. For one subscriber, for two subscribers, for three subscribers, and so on, you can secure the best books published on the subject of Socialism. What we need, all of us, especially those who have lately joined the S. D. P., is education. We must learn, so as not to be led astray ourselves, and so as to be able to teach others.

We make it our business to read all the Socialist books published. Some are not worth much. Others are good for a lifetime. We only carry those that will stand the test of the most critical. Those we offer here as prizes, you can depend upon.

List No. 1. For one yearly, 2 semi-yearly, or 5 10-weeks' subscriptions we will give you any 4 of the following books: Bellamy, Putocracy or Nationalism, which?

Brown, The Real Religion of To-day. DeLeon, Reform or Revolution. Harriman, Class War in Idaho. Herron, Why I Am a Socialist. Knutsky, The Class Struggle.

List No. 2. For one yearly, 2 semi-yearly, or 5 10-weeks' subscriptions we will give you any 4 of the following books: Bellamy, Putocracy or Nationalism, which?

List No. 3. For one yearly, 2 semi-yearly, or 5 10-weeks' subscriptions we will give you any 4 of the following books: Bellamy, Putocracy or Nationalism, which?

List No. 4. For one yearly, 2 semi-yearly, or 5 10-weeks' subscriptions we will give you any 4 of the following books: Bellamy, Putocracy or Nationalism, which?

ATTENTION; LOCALS!

Does Your Local Meet Every Week? If Not, Why Not?

Are you too small? No, for you must have at least two members. Can't you find time? But Sunday is the workingman's day. Take Sunday afternoon or evening. Fix an hour. Fix a place. And then so.

The real reason is you lack energy, push, determination. Begin and see how easy it is.

We will furnish "Lessons In Socialism," beginning February 3, to form a basis for your meeting.

In the country, Sunday afternoon will probably be the best time. In the city, perhaps Sunday evening.

Never mind how many are present. Two are plenty. Study Socialism together. You will soon have three. It is association which warms you up. Try it. Arrange for it the very day you read this.

All you want is VAIL'S PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM. You can get it for nothing. Three yearly subscribers for THE SOCIALIST, or six for six months or fifteen for 10 weeks, or any number which amounts to \$1.50 will procure a copy.

Tell you what you do, right now. Go see another Comrade. Agree upon a place, your house, if convenient. Then agree upon a time, Sunday, February 3, 2 p. m. Then you two hustle for those subs. Enough to make the \$1.50. And the thing is done.

On Sunday, February 3, you will meet at your house at 2 p. m. with a copy of SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM and THE SOCIALIST of the same date. The paper will tell you just what to do to make an interesting and profitable meeting.

Then keep at it—every Sunday at 2 p. m.

JUDGE RICHARDSON'S SELECTION OF BOOKS

Premiums on Eight Subscriptions Sent in by Him. If all our Subscribers Would do as Well, We Should be O. K.

Spokane, Jan. 1, 1901. SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL UNION, 230 Union St., Seattle, Wash., Gentlemen:—I acknowledge receipt of the following books: Civil War in France, Woman and The Social Question, No Compromise, Putocracy or Nationalism, Why I Am a Socialist, The Real Religion of Today, Socialism, What It Is, etc., 18th Brumaire of L. Bonaparte, The Attitude of the Socialists Toward Trade Unions, The Proletariat, etc., The Class Struggle. This completes my order except the two books by Deville, which I understand you will send as soon as you have them in stock. Very Respectfully, WILLIAM E. RICHARDSON.

Comrade A. T. Lindwall, another of our "founders," is at his mother's home in Bishop Hill, Ill. In the spring we hope to see him again with us.

About February 1st we expect to begin with a few columns of advertising to help out our finances. They will be such only as we can recommend, and the income from them will be printed in our weekly Treasurer's Report.

Hold there, Comrade Abbott, the name "The Socialist" is pre-empted. If your effete East want to be printed in our weekly Treasurer's Report, its name, it must be "The Socialist No. 2."

Leonard D. Abbott writes to The People, of New York, proposing a change in its name. He says: "Let us hoist the standard of 'The Socialist,' or 'The Beacon,' or 'Justice'."

Hold there, Comrade Abbott, the name "The Socialist" is pre-empted. If your effete East want to be printed in our weekly Treasurer's Report, its name, it must be "The Socialist No. 2."

These last two books will be made the basis of "Lessons in Socialism," to be begun in The Socialist, No. 25, Feb. 3.

For 3 yearly, 6 six-months or 18 ten-weeks' subscriptions we will give one copy of VAIL'S PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM, the best of annual manuals of Socialism obtainable in England.

For 4 yearly subscriptions, or any number amounting to \$200, we will give a copy of THE PEOPLE'S MARCH. (The price of this book is 75 cents, or any 2 of the books in list No. 3.)

For 8 yearly or subscriptions to \$4 we will give a beautiful cloth bound copy of The People's March (price \$1.50) or any other of list No. 3. For 8 yearly, or for any combination which makes Four Dollars, you can also get any of the books offered for the lower numbers. For example you could select thirty-two books from List No. 1; or 16 from List No. 1 and 8 from List No. 2; or 8 from List No. 1 and 4 from List No. 2; and 1 from List No. 4, etc., etc. The same way of combining can be made for four years or 42 weeks. Our aim, besides getting subscribers for The Socialist, is to put some best literature into the hands of all Social Democrats in this state.

The Best Socialist Books for Nothing!

A. M. Simons, The Man Under the Machine. A. M. Simons, Socialism and Farmers Stone, The Attitude of Socialists towards the Trades Unions. Vail, The Mission of the Working Class.

List No. 2. For one yearly, 2 semi-yearly, or 5 10-weeks' subscriptions we will give you any two of the following books: Blatchford, Merrie England. Deville, Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism. Deville, Socialism and the State. Engels, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.

List No. 3. For one yearly, 2 semi-yearly, or 5 10-weeks' subscriptions we will give you any two of the following books: Lafargue, The Right to be Lazy. Liebknecht, Socialism, what it is and what it seeks to accomplish. Liebknecht, No Compromise, No Political Trading. Marx, Wage-labor and Capital.

List No. 4. For one yearly, 2 semi-yearly, or 5 10-weeks' subscriptions we will give you any two of the following books: Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. Marx, The Civil War in France. Rogers, Six Centuries of Work and Wages. Simons, and others, Socialist Campaign Book for 1900.

CAPITAL AND WAGE LABOR.

True Definition of Capital---Economists, Writing in Capitalist Atmosphere, Give a Foolish Definition---Capital a Condition of Modern Production Inseparable From Wage Labor---The Essence of Capital is to Feed on Labor.

ARL MARX has no "theories" about life and his theory. He simply draws attention to facts and points where they are leading. Capital and wage-labor are now brought to light in the nineteenth century. They never before except in very small insignificant instances. It is the central and significant fact of production in the days of the world. Men take things for granted without study. Most men think things remain as their fathers thought. It takes a great man to see the true and broadest truth to describe society as a whole and discover the direction of its current.

Such a scientific observer and thinker was Karl Marx. Such a man was to chemistry or Kepler to astronomy. Marx was to politics. As they studied the earth and the heavens, he studied man and society. As they prophesied what oxygen and hydrogen would make combined, or when a planet should appear, so he prophesied the advent of the new era and also foretold the manner of their death and the appearance of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Therefore we urge the most careful perusal of his works to the Socialists of America. They know what to do when the powers of government shall be committed to their hands.

"Wage Labor and Capital" was delivered as lectures to workmen in 1847, one year before the "Manifesto" appeared. It was committed to writing and published in 1849, as a series of articles in his paper published at Cologne. It was suppressed by the government before the series was completed; so that the pamphlet is somewhat of a fragment. But it is most interesting and significant showing the development of Marx' thought--which finally culminated in "Das Kapital" in 1867. We shall close this series of relations from Marx with selections from "Capital", and all should appreciate the various aspects in which his fundamental conception is stated.

Last week we printed his masterly delineation of Labor Power as a commodity, subject to the same price as other commodities. It is shown to be simply the use of the only commodity the worker has, his labor power; as he carries on the market a store of battery of electricity and sends it to the highest bidder.

It also proves that the price of commodity, labor power, is determined, like all commodities, by its cost of production. That the laborer's wages can amount to no more than the cost of subsistence and propagation which appears this week gives the Socialist or Realist of Capital as opposed to the Capitalist economists, fluctuations the price of labor is regulated by its cost of production, that is, by the duration of labor which is required in order to produce this commodity, labor power.

Many Socialists employ the word Capital, in the sense which is most common and which Marx rejects.

To admit and use the word in the capitalist sense is a surrender of our strongest weapon. Insist that capital is no mere dead mass of instruments of production, but it is always and inevitably those instruments in use and action constituting the exploitation of those laborers who work them. Never acknowledge that capital exists without wage-labor. They are inseparable twins. They form the characteristic feature of the present age of production.

Study away till you grasp this idea of capital, and you will never be led astray by superficial theories and temporary expedients. You will then have a key and interpreter of events which our "statesmen" are quite ignorant of.

We see, then, how it is that capital is always immigrating and emigrating from the province of one industry into that of another. High prices bring about an excessive immigration, and low prices an excessive emigration.

We might show from another point of view how not only the supply, but also the demand, is determined by the cost of production; but this would lead us too far from our present subject.

We have just seen how the fluctuations of supply and demand always reduce the price of a commodity to its cost of production. It is true that the precise price of a commodity is always either above or below its cost of production; but the rise and fall reciprocally balance each other, so with in a certain period, if the ebb and flow of the business are reckoned up together, commodities are exchanged with one another in accordance with their cost of production; and thus their cost of production determines their price.

We gather, therefore, that the price of a commodity is determined by its cost of production in such manner that the periods in which the price of the commodity rises above its cost of production are compensated by the periods in which it sinks below this cost, and conversely. Of course this does not hold good for one single particular product of an industry, but only for that entire branch of industry. So also, it does not hold good for a particular manufacturer, but only for the entire industrial class.

The determination of price by cost of production is the same thing as its determination by the duration of the labor which is required for the manufacture of a commodity, for the cost of production may be divided into (1) raw material and implements, that is, products of industry whose manufacture has cost a certain number of days' work, and which therefore represent a certain amount of work time, and (2) actual labor, which is measured by its duration.

Wages, the Price of Labor Regulated by Cost of Production.

Now, the same general laws, which universally regulate the price of commodities, regulate, of course, wages, the price of labor. Wages will rise and fall in accordance with the proportion between demand and supply, that is, in accordance with the conditions of the competition between capitalists as buyers and laborers as sellers of labor. The fluctuations of wages correspond in general with the fluctuations in the price-minimum of commodities. Within these

fluctuations the price of labor is regulated by its cost of production, that is, by the duration of labor which is required in order to produce this commodity, labor power.

Now, what is the cost of production of labor-power? It is the cost required for the production of a laborer and for his maintenance as a laborer.

The shorter the time requisite for instruction in any labor, the less is the laborer's cost of production, and the lower are his wages, the price of his work. In those branches of industry which scarcely require any period of apprenticeship, and where the mere bodily existence of the laborer is sufficient, the requisite cost of his production and maintenance are almost limited to the cost of the commodities which are requisite to keep him alive and fit to work. The price of labor is therefore determined by the price of the bare necessities of his existence.

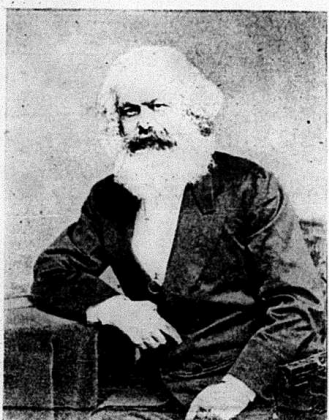
Here, however, another consideration comes in. The manufacturer, who reckons up his expenses of production and deter-

mines the price of commodities in general, not for the particular individual, but for the species. Individual laborers, indeed millions of them, do not receive enough to enable them to subsist and propagate, but the wages of the working class, with all their fluctuations, are merely adjusted to this minimum.

Now that we are grounded on these general laws which govern wages, just as much as the price of any other commodity, we can examine our subject more exactly.

Economists' Definition of Capital No Definition at All.

"Capital consists of raw material, implements of labor, and all kinds of means of subsistence, which are used for the production of new implements and new means of subsistence. All these factors of capital are created by labor, are products of labor, are stored up labor. Stored-up labor which serves as the means of new production is capital."



KARL MARX, Scientific Prophet.

Marx was one of those profound thinkers and tireless workers who write for thinkers and patient investigators rather than for the multitude. To him men of strong intellectual grasp have come as philosophers during the last 25 years have gone to Plato; nor have they gone away unsatisfied. We are only beginning faintly to realize the influence that Marx is even this early wielding upon civilization.--Avenir, Dec., 1900.

So say the economists.

What is a negro slave? A human creature of the black race. The one definition is just as valuable as the other.

A negro is a negro. In certain conditions he is transformed into a slave. A spinning-jenny is a machine for spinning cotton. Only under certain circumstances does it become capital. Outside these circumstances it is no more capital than gold is intrinsically money, or sugar is the price of sugar.

Production a Social Act.

In the work of production men do not stand in relation to nature alone, but also to each other. They only produce when they work together in a certain way and mutually enter upon certain relations and conditions, and it is only within these relations and conditions that their relation to

nature is defined, and production becomes possible.

A Change in Production Makes a Change in Society.

These social relations upon which the producers mutually enter, the terms upon which they exchange their energies and take their share in the collective act of production, will of course differ according to the character of the means of production. With the invention of firearms as implements of warfare the whole organization of the army was of necessity altered; and with the alteration in the relations through which individuals form an army, and are enabled to work together as an army, there was a simultaneous alteration in the relations of armies to one another.

Thus with an alteration and development of the material means of production, i. e., the powers of production, there will also take place a transformation of the social relations within which individuals produce, that is of the social relations of production. The relations of production collectively form those social relations which we call a society, and a society with definite degrees of historical development, a society with an appropriate and distinctive character. Ancient society, feudal society, bourgeois society, are instances of these sum-total of the relations of production, each of which also marks out an important step in the historical development of mankind. Capital implies certain relations among men.

Now capital also is a social relation of production. It is a bourgeois relation of production, a condition of the production of a bourgeois society. Are not the means of subsistence, the implements of labor, and the raw material, of which capital consists, the results of definite social relations; were they not produced and stored up under certain social conditions? Will they not be used for further production under certain social conditions within definite social relations? And is it not just this definite social character that transforms into capital that product which serves for further production?

Capital, a Sum of Commodities.

Capital does not consist of means of subsistence, implements of labor, and raw material alone, nor only of material products; it consists just as much of exchange-values. All the products of which it consists are commodities. This capital is not merely the sum of material products; it is a sum of commodities, of exchange values, of social quantities.

Capital remains unchanged if we substitute cotton for wool, rice for corn, and steamers for railways; provided only that the cotton, the rice, the steamers--the bodily form of capital--have the same exchange value, the same price, as the wool, the corn, the railways, in which it formerly embodied itself. The bodily form of capital may change continually while the capital itself undergoes not the slightest alteration.

Not Every Sum of Commodities is Capital.

But though all capital is a sum of commodities, that is, of exchange-values, not every sum of

commodities, of exchange-values, is capital.

Every sum of exchange-values is an exchange value and inversely, each exchange value is a sum of exchange-values. For instance, a house worth a thousand pounds is an exchange-value of a thousand pounds. A penny-worth of paper is the sum of the exchange-values of a hundred-hundredths of a penny. Products which may be mutually exchanged are commodities. The definite proportion in which they are exchangeable form their exchange value, or expressed in money, their price. The amount of these products can do nothing to alter their definition as being commodities, or as representing an exchange value, or as having a certain price. Whether a tree be large or small, it remains a tree. Whether we exchange iron for other wares in ounces or in hundredweights that makes no difference in its character, as a commodity possessing exchange-value. According to its amount it is a commodity of more or less value, with a higher or lower price.

How, then, can a sum of commodities, of exchange-values, become capital?

Commodities Exchanged for Wage Labor, Become "Capital."

By maintaining and multiplying itself as an independent social power, that is, as the power of a portion of society, by means of its exchange for direct, living labor-power. Capital necessarily presupposes the existence of a class which possesses nothing but labor force.

It is the lordship of past, stored-up, realized labor over actual, living labor that transforms the stored-up labor into capital.

Capital does not consist in the fact that stored-up labor is used by living labor as a means to further production. It consists in the fact that living labor serves as the means whereby stored-up labor may maintain and multiply its own exchange-value.

What is it that takes place in the exchange between capital and wage-labor?

Secret of Capital's Gain.

The laborer receives in exchange for his labor-power the means of subsistence; but the capitalist receives in exchange for the means of subsistence--labor, the productive energy of the laborer, the creative force whereby the laborer not only replaces what he consumes, but also gives to the stored-up labor a greater value than it had before. The laborer receives from the capitalist a share of the previously-provided means of subsistence. To what use does he put these means of subsistence? He uses them for immediate consumption. But as soon as I consume my means of subsistence, they disappear and are irrecoverably lost to me; it therefore becomes necessary that I should employ the time during which these means keep alive in order to produce new means of subsistence, so that during their consumption I may provide for my labor new value in the place of that which this disappears. But it is just this noble reproductive power which the laborer has to bargain away to capital in exchange for the means of subsistence which he receives. To him therefore, it is entirely lost.

