

# The Socialist

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The Socialist Educational Union.

220 UNION ST., SEATTLE, WASH., SUNDAY, JAN. 13, 1901.

VOL. V. NO. 23.

## LETTERS AND COMMENTS

**THE SOCIALIST.** Dear Comrade—The following communication was sent to the Whatcom local in answer to Comrade Curtis' letter regarding state organizer, and was unanimously endorsed and ordered forwarded for publication:

Comrades of Washington, we are opposed to the proposition of organizing an organizer in the field as proposed by the State Committee, and we think all locals ought to be for the present. \$50 and expenses means an outlay of \$100 for a six months term. That money put into literature we believe will do more effective work. It will send THE SOCIALIST to 2,000 workmen for three months, that will educate. No use organizing when there is nothing to organize. After a national campaign political interest is dull, and we had better gather our strength for the time when it will do more work. It is wholly incomprehensible to us how the S. E. C. can send out an organizer costing twice as much as its income. The extra cost would have to come out of the few militant members who ever rally to help.

We believe some money ought to be spent on the improvement of our state organ, THE SOCIALIST. Let us do one thing well. We should it would be a propaganda paper. We do not like to see its pages filled with matter immaterial to the public and of little interest to the Socialists.

We are united in this state, why this fuss about unity? When they will understand Socialism elsewhere they will unite, and until then we cannot help them. Capitalist society is making progress, and unless we keep abreast of them we will not and ought not to get the people's support.

To edit a paperably requires more time and vitality than any man can be expected to give for nothing. Papers, magazines and books contain all the gems of thought and quality needed, to fill our paper, but to extract them, to show the moral of them it is hard work. Every comrade ought to assist our editor by pointing out valuable material, send clippings or pen some bright idea of his own and put it at the editor's disposal. Let us pay him for his name. Let us raise the subscription list to 25,000. Let us make it so spicy and rich in contents that no one will be without after having perused it, that every one can go to his neighbor and proudly say, here is a good thing, partake of it. Yes, call in the organizer and build up the paper with your services and we will have something to organize when something is educated.

Submitted by Whatcom Local.  
E. Lux, Secretary.  
1363 F street.

We print this communication from Whatcom, not because we agree with it, but in order to give a fair hearing to all Comrades. THE SOCIALIST is not an organ with only one tune to play. It is intended to represent the views of all Socialists, especially members of the Social Democratic Party. No communication will be excluded from these columns simply because its sentiments are not the editor's sentiments. The editor does not think all wisdom will die with him. It is the consensus of opinion, after an honest interchange of arguments, that we should all seek.

A correspondent last week expressed his surprise that Comrade Burgess' letter, expressing dissent from the well-known position of this paper, should have been printed. But why not? What did you take us for? We expect to be a voice to all honest opinions from Socialists in this state and nation, to be a sort of public hall in which fair debate may be had, and just conclusions reached.

With such an end in view, THE SOCIALIST has made a specialty of "Correspondence," devoting whole pages to these reports from the field.

We do not deal in dreams, but facts, and letters are facts of life.

So continue, Comrades, to send in your views, no matter whether they speak our views or not. We shall not hesitate to disagree with you, taking our part in the debate. But you will be treated fairly, be assured of that.

But don't try to write fine writing, just for the sake of saying something or of seeing yourself in print. We have a sharp nose for that sort of nonsense and shall have no use for it.

But when you have something you must say, just put it down in straightforward language and send it along. It won't make any difference whether it is spelled right or not, or punctuated right or not, or in grammatical or ungrammatical sentences. The real thing is to say something, to get out an idea. We will see that it is printed in good form, with periods and commas and capitals where they belong. We do not think a man is any better man because he happens to wear a tailor made suit, nor because he knows where to put a semicolon.

**The Whatcom Resolution.**  
Now a few words on the resolution from Whatcom sent in by Secretary Lux.

You are in error as to the expense of the organizer. "\$50 and expenses" will not amount to \$600 in six months. Comrade Spring has not used \$50 a month on "expenses." That item must be reduced at least one-half, so

that the six months outlay will amount to about \$450 only.

The state committee did not act without due consideration in putting the organizer in the field at this time. They knew what was needed better than others who were not so well acquainted with all the conditions.

It is true we need and must support a state paper to educate the Comrades and people as to the meaning of real Socialism. A paper makes fifty-two speeches a year to all the Comrades in all parts of the state, and covers and discusses a great variety of subjects and situations. We regard the paper as indispensable, else we should not be working so hard to establish and sustain it.

On the other hand, no paper or cold print can take the place of a living person, face to face with the Comrades in their peculiar conditions.

need organization and education. The coming to them of a man with clear, vigorous speech, knowing and representing the vast Socialist movement, is of enormous importance just at this juncture after an election which did not result as "big" as they expected and when they might easily be discouraged.

We must keep what we have in the way of organizations and compact them into a fighting body to push on into new territory.

We must indeed "do one thing well," but must not overlook the fact that the paper and the organizer are parts of the "one thing."

We are poor, yes. But not too poor to accomplish these two parts of the one organizing act that is essential at the present moment. You will never accomplish great things unless you undertake them.

**That Unity Question:**  
Is it so, that we in Washington do not care what becomes of the

to correct it. We might as well say the well hand has no interest in the sore foot of the same man, as to claim that Washington has no interest in the unhappy condition of the National Social Democratic Party. We must do our best to compel the Eastern leaders to come to an understanding. Our one aim should be to secure union. Whatever method is best for that end, we should adopt.

## Organizer Spring On the Jump

**Whatcom Comrades, What Do You Think of This?**

When our Comrade Spring gets agoing he's hard to stop. Whitman County will soon sound like Whatcom in Socialist

Those in the convention arranged for meetings in eleven towns in Whitman County. They will see to all the arrangements and promised to defray the expenses. I will start in at Rosalia Jan. 14, and end with Tekoa on Jan. 24. Tomorrow I will visit Milan and one or two other towns in Spokane County, and feel confident I will effect organizations in all of them. Next Sunday I will hold a meeting in Spokane. I have already held three meetings here, and have had large crowds. Increased membership by ten, and have quite a number ready to come in soon. I want to leave the Spokane Local with at least 20 new members. They they will be in good shape to carry on their work.

Yours Fraternally,  
F. J. SPRANG.

Here is the P.-L.'s account of the Whitman County convention. It omits all mention of the Social Democratic Party, and you would think it was a new party that was formed there.

But that is about as close to the truth as you could expect from what one of our correspondents calls The Public Insult.

Colfax, Jan. 6.—The Socialist party of the state of Washington was organized here Saturday by F. J. Spring, state organizer, assisted by several Socialist leaders of Whitman county. The meeting was held in the courthouse, about fifteen Socialists being present. C. B. Kegley, of Guy, occupied the chair. Mr. Spring made an address in which he dwelt briefly on the social and political conditions of the people of the state and nation, and told what was being done in the state toward organizing the advocates of socialism. Whitman county is to be thoroughly organized, and dates were announced for the state organizer.

C. B. Kegley, the chairman, and one of the most active spirits in the convention, was a Populist leader when that party was in power. J. G. Elliott, another of the Socialist leaders, was formerly a Populist and deputy county clerk under C. A. Ross, whom the Populists elected to office. Mr. Ross was also present and took part in the meeting. J. H. St. Lawrence, one of the leaders of the middle-of-the-road wing of the Populists, was invited to be present and take part in the meeting, but refused, giving as his reason that he is a Populist and will always remain so.

**MORE YET.**  
Colfax, Wash., Jan. 5, 1901.

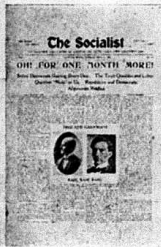
**EDITOR SOCIALIST:**—Comrade Spring we very much admire and commend the wisdom of the State Board in their selection of state organizer. Results will follow.

The ground in Whitman County has been fallowed and is ready for the seed of Socialism from which we will reap such a harvest in 1902 as will enable us to carry the county. No other county shall exceed us in good works for a cause, upon the success of which hangs the fate of humanity.

J. G. ELLIOTT.

## FIVE MONTHS OLD

The last report of the National Committee records 28 new Locals in the United States Eight in Washington



## What do you think of the child?

It is impossible for us at Seattle to ascertain just what is needed at Whatcom or Everett or Hoquiam or Spokane.

Organizer Spring's reports, after his personal visits and inspection of different localities, have informed the State Committee of numerous conditions otherwise unknown.

Then the influence of a strong man must never be underrated. Many a Local is unsuccessful for the lack of a leader, an earnest, energetic worker with executive ability and personal influence over other men.

Organizer Spring is such a man, whose presence will not be forgotten and whose inspiration will be continuous. He also is able to suggest and encourage the best men for the Locals, so that they may not be temporary and become discouraged.

You should not forget the fact all our organizations in this state are new and untried. They

party in the rest of the nation? Because we are united happily, let the Socialists in Illinois and Massachusetts and New York be damned?

No, we in Washington, needing no help for ourselves, must lend them our strength. In fact, however, there are many Socialists in this state who will not join us because of this very division in the national party. We who get news from all parts of the state are aware of this, when others, like the Whatcom Comrades, may not have heard of it. Yet Comrade Lux has only to take his wheel up to Lynden to discover that the relatively strongest body of Socialists in the state are no longer in connection with the state organization chiefly because of this split in the national party.

Scores of new Locals are hindered from organizing by the same condition of dissension.

There is no use in our trying to ignore or hide this condition. We must face it and do our level best

fact as well as in name. Up in Whatcom we have captured Tobissen and Cline from the old Populist and now over in Whitman Kegley and Elliott and Ross keep step and join the Socialist march.

Populists must do one of two things, go back to the Reactionary and Capitalist Democratic Party or advance to the Socialist Party which is the Party of the Future.

Democratic or Social Democratic, which shall it be, Populists? Backward march or forward march?

You will have to choose, and choose soon. The age will not wait, but nor wait for you. You can join an army on its way to certain victory, or you can fall by the wayside and be forgotten. Which?

Spokane, Jan. 6, 1901.

**ED. THE SOCIALIST, Comrade:**  
On Saturday I visited Colfax and attended the convention. I met with splendid success.

# GOOD NEWS FROM SPOKANE

## Report of Organizer Spring.

Spokane, Jan. 4, 1901.

At Spokane the Comrades are still holding forth at 242 Main Ave., where they hold propaganda meetings every Sunday eve. Their great need is speakers, but notwithstanding their lack of propagandists they continue to wage war against capitalism.

When I arrived in Spokane, last week, we arranged for a meeting on the following Sunday. We distributed circulars announcing same, and our meeting was a success, from every point of view, large attendance, good collection and the closest attention paid to what we said on the question of Socialism. We announced at that meeting that we would hold one on the following Wednesday. Then I secured permission from the Mayor to carry a banner on the street and Comrade Wieck carried it on the main streets Wednesday afternoon, and in the evening we had the hall packed. (The meeting was an enthusiastic one and at the close six applications were made for membership in the Local. And yet some people tell us that Socialism will never come. "These are the blind who see not the signs of the times.")

I have made arrangements to speak in several towns in Spokane County, when I return from Whitman County, where I intend to spend the next week or ten days.

Last Tuesday, having a little spare time on my hands, I decided to utilize it by interviewing the Captain of the Salvation Army who I had learned was making an effort to assist the poor people of Spokane to a New Year's dinner. I learned from him that there were in the city of Spokane about 400 families in need, beside several hundred men and boys who came to the dinner which he gave at the Salvation Army hall.

I said to him, "Captain, if these people for whom you are collecting food and clothing, can secure work, of which our capitalist press tells us there is plenty, and will not work, then you are committing a crime against society by giving them assistance. But if they are willing to work and there is no work for them to do, then society is committing a crime against those people by depriving them of the opportunity to work. For all men should have access to the natural resources from which are drawn by labor power the things necessary to sustain human beings, and who will dare to say that all men have not the right to draw from Mother Earth the things necessary for their physical comfort, namely, food, clothing and shelter? And yet, Captain, according to your report, there are 400 families here who are deprived of that right or else the heads of these families are lazy or dissolute persons, which is it?"

His answer was that they were deprived of the opportunity. "For," said he, "before we assist any one we make a thorough investigation regarding the character of said person, and unless they

are worthy we do not help them. Besides we furnish some work in our wood yards and though we pay small wages, yet very few refuse to work who apply to us for help, and we try to secure work for them from the big men and whenever we do send a man to the job, we invariably learn that they are good workers and give entire satisfaction.

No, it is hard to fool us, and it is only on rare occasions that the imposter is able to work us. So I can say without hesitation that the vast majority of those idle in Spokane are not so by choice."

Then the Captain related some cases of extreme destitution in the city. Then I explained to him the reason why those conditions existed, telling him that so long as the capitalist system of production continued, the conditions would become worse, rather than better; that so long as we had a system by which one class in society by virtue of their ownership of the means of production and distribution, viz: the land, the mills, factories, railroads and steamboats, etc., were able to rob the producing element of society of the greater portion of their product, just so long we would have the pleasant aspect of little children crying for bread, fathers committing crime to provide them with it, mothers prostituting their bodies in order in order to feed their children, young women leading lives of shame to provide themselves with the necessities of life, and young men going to the Devil on every hand in the struggle for an existence.

But when we substitute for the present form of government the Co-Operative Commonwealth, in which the machinery of production shall be owned collectively, each one doing his or her share of useful work, each receiving the full product of his or her labor, then will these conditions of misery, want and crime be swept away forever and in their place happiness, plenty and morality will reign.

The wage earning class in society is the class historically ordained to change these conditions, because they are the class who bear the burden of the world; they are the class who suffer by the present robbing system. So the Socialist appeals to them to unite for definite political action, standing upon the S. D. P. platform which demands the unconditional surrender to society of the means of production and distribution.

Wage slaves, unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain.

Come, let us work with voice and pen.  
Tearing a little sunshine into the lives of men.

F. J. SPRING.

"Oh, that is a good company; it gives employment to a great number of men," said a citizen of our town who is rapidly growing wealthy.

He does not seem to understand that the workers not only support themselves, but that they give to the capitalists nine out of every ten dollars which they create.

It is not very strange that these workers are so much more generous to the wives and children of their employers than to their own.

The workman says: "We must have the rich to employ us." He evidently thinks the rich sweat money with which to pay the toil-

# Full Text of Letter FROM Springfield to Chicago

Springfield, Mass., Dec. 15, 1900.  
Chicago National Executive Board,  
Theo. Debs, Secretary,  
126 Washington Street,  
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrades:—  
The national campaign just closed has demonstrated the fact that the rank and file of the Social Democrats of this country are possessed of a much sounder instinct and a greater foresight than many of the men who feel called upon to "lead" them.

While these leaders were busy arguing on the line of rejecting union for the sake of unity and analyzing the spirit of their fellow workers in the field of Socialism, the rank and file of the Social Democrats saw nothing but the approaching national campaign, and joined hands in the battle against their common foe—capitalism. The movement was spontaneous and irresistible. State after State and Local after Local united, and refuted the claim that the "time was not ripe for union" by a practical demonstration to the contrary.

So strong was the movement for union, that even the center of the contest, the state in which your committee has its seat, Illinois, could not escape it. The rank and file of the Socialist voters of Illinois forced a complete union for the state and county elections, and one of the members of your own committee, yielding to the general sentiment, introduced the resolution declaring for ORGANIC NATIONAL UNION IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CAMPAIGN.

The joint and harmonious work of the campaign fastened the bonds of solidarity still tighter around all true Socialists; the enthusiasm of the members achieved what the diplomacy of the leaders could not accomplish—a practical union of the Social Democrats of the United States. The final unification now seemed almost a matter of course, and urgent demands for an early joint convention for formally effecting the same commenced coming from all parts of the country, when we were apprised by your official organ that your committee had called into your headquarters a separate national convention of your members, for January 15.

Comrades, we do not know the exact purpose of your convention, but from the fact that it was called in such haste and without consulting even your own adherents, and from the further fact, that according to the report of your official organ, the convention was decided upon at a meeting of one of your locals, characterized by violent abuse of our organization and our members, we assume that it was not called in the interest of Socialist unity, and let us be frank, we suspect it to be a move to head off the threatened avalanche in favor of union.

In the face of these facts, we feel it our duty towards members of our party as well as towards the members affiliated with your committee, to define once more our attitude on the issues between us:

Comrades, we are for union of the Socialist forces of this country today as strongly as we were, ever since the joint unity committee journeyed. We are willing to forget the many unpleasant incidents of the past, we are ready to surrender our mandates, officers and organization to the entire membership of the Social Democratic party represented at the joint convention, and we demand the same of you. We cannot afford to waste our time on mutual recriminations over imaginary grievances at a moment when energetic and concerted action of all earnest Socialists is required more than ever, in order to appropriate the favorable field now open to our propaganda.

To wantonly split our movement just now, is an act against our great obligation, a crime against this country, and you are apparently willing to doubly commit this iniquity in your manifest efforts to make the discord in the Socialist ranks permanent.

If you expect to inaugurate another era of personal abuse and controversies in our movement we must refuse to follow you, and if you endeavor to keep alive the unfortunate petty-controversies and divisions within the party, the membership will still bring about complete unity of all active and earnest Socialists, in spite of all.

We request you to postpone the calling of a national convention until the rank and file of the entire membership of the Social Democratic party as constituted during the recent campaign has had a chance to pass upon the matter, and should you pay no heed to this request, we shall be called upon to address a similar communication to the convention summoned by you. Yours for the cause,  
The Provisional National Executive Committee.

WM. BUTSCHER, Nat'l Sec'y.

**SOCIALISM** is the coming issue in politics. You may be for it or against it, but in either case you are bound to understand it. Read **The International Socialist Review**. Ask your newspaper dealer, or send 30 cents for a three month's subscription, and a copy of Socialism to **CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers** 58 FIFTH AVENUE, CHICAGO

# National Referendum Submitted.

Shall the N. E. C. at Springfield Be Authorized to Call a Convention of All Socialists in the U. S.

Springfield, Mass., Dec. 29, 1900.

Comrades—The National Executive-Committee has received a number of resolutions on the subject of unity from various Locals of the Party, and it now becomes our duty to submit the propositions contained in the same to a general vote of the members in accordance with the provisions of our constitution.

The resolutions referred to are partly original and partly indorse those coming from Boston, Chicago and other Locals and those adopted by Seattle, Wash., and Saginaw, Mich.

In order to give the membership an opportunity to pass upon all questions involved in said resolutions we hereby summarize them in the following:

Vote Yes or No on each of the following questions.

Question 1—Shall a National Convention of the Socialists of the United States for the purpose of effecting a union of Socialist forces and establishing a solid party organization be called for an early date?

Question 2—Shall all Locals of the Social Democratic Party affiliated with the Springfield N. E. C. be invited to participate in such convention?

Question 3—Shall all branches of the S. D. P. affiliated with the Chicago N. E. B. be invited to participate in such convention?

Question 4—Shall all Sections of the Socialist Labor Party be invited to participate in such convention?

Question 5—Shall all Socialist State organizations not affiliated with any National Committee be invited to participate in such convention?

Question 6—Shall all other Socialist organizations recognizing the class struggle and the necessity of independent political action of the working class be invited to participate in such convention?

Question 7—Shall the only condition of participation in such convention be a pledge to abide by the decisions of the convention?

Question 8—Shall the basis of representation for all such organizations be one delegate for each local organization and one additional delegate for each one hundred members or the major fraction thereof?

Question 9—Shall two or more organizations be permitted to operate for the purpose of sending delegates on the above basis?

Question 10—In what city shall the convention be held? Name the city.

Question 11—Shall the N. E. C. be authorized to fix the date and change the place and basis of representation of the convention with the Chicago N. E. C. or any state organization if requested by such organization?

Respectfully,  
The Provisional National Executive Committee,

WM. BUTSCHER, Nat'l Sec'y.

NOTE—Any person or organization desiring copies of the above can have them by applying to the National Secretary, Court Square, Springfield, Mass.

At one of our meetings a ranchman in despairing tones: "Will you take our ranches from us and not from them?"

Your ranches are one factor in the production of wealth.

By the use of farm implements to the application of your labor you produce a given amount of hay, potatoes, etc. Simply to own the land cannot benefit the owner; it must be used, and all ranchers have heard that the use of large machinery indispensable to the highest success in farm operations, but few ranches can own the best, and most profitable labor saving machinery.

Hence their success is very limited. Under Socialism none but the best machinery need be used, and the cooperative use of the best would multiply the effectiveness of each man's effort and as each will get the entire product of his toil you can readily see that soon as you ranchers realize how much you will be benefited by Socialism you will voluntarily give up your ranches—exchange them for the enlarged opportunities given you.

# The Best Socialist Books for Nothing!

We make it possible from this date for any 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:  
Belamy, Plutocracy or Nationalism, which?

Brown, The Real Religion of Today.  
DeLeon, Reform or Revolution.  
Harriman, Class War in Idaho.  
Herron, Why I am a Socialist.  
Kautsky, The Class Struggle.

"The Capitalist Class."  
"The Proletariat."  
Cooperative Commonwealth.  
Noyes, Evolution of the Class Struggle.  
May Wood Simons, Woman and the Social Problem.

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, two semi-yearly, or 5 10-weeks' subscriptions we will give you two of the following books:  
Blatchford, Merrie England.  
Devile, Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism.  
Devile, Socialism and the State.  
Engels, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.

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. 3.  
For two yearly, four 6-months, or 10 10-weeks' subscriptions we will give you any one of the following:  
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.

List No. 4.  
For 3 yearly, 6 six-months, or 12 ten 10-weeks' subscriptions, we will give you a copy of Vail's Principles of Scientific Socialism, the best around manual of Socialism obtained in England.

List No. 5.  
For 4 yearly subscriptions, or 8 number amounting to \$2.00, we will give a copy of THE PEOPLE'S MANIFESTO. (The price of this book is 75 cents or any 2 of the books in list No. 1.)

List No. 6.  
For 8 yearly, or subscriptions to 16 numbers, we will give a beautiful cloth bound copy of "Lessons in Socialism," to begin in The Socialist, No. 25, published in England.

List No. 7.  
For 3 yearly, 6 six-months, or 12 ten 10-weeks' subscriptions, we will give you a copy of Vail's Principles of Scientific Socialism, the best around manual of Socialism obtained in England.

List No. 8.  
These last two books will be made the basis of "Lessons in Socialism," to begin in The Socialist, No. 25, published in England.

List No. 9.  
For 4 yearly subscriptions, or 8 number amounting to \$2.00, we will give a copy of THE PEOPLE'S MANIFESTO. (The price of this book is 75 cents or any 2 of the books in list No. 1.)

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For 8 yearly, or subscriptions to 16 numbers, we will give a beautiful cloth bound copy of "Lessons in Socialism," to begin in The Socialist, No. 25, published in England.

List No. 12.  
For 8 yearly, or subscriptions to 16 numbers, we will give a beautiful cloth bound copy of "Lessons in Socialism," to begin in The Socialist, No. 25, published in England.

# WAGE LABOR AND CAPITAL

## What Are Wages and How Determined? The Basis of Socialism Stated by Marx in 1849. Study This so as to Understand His "Capital" Written in Next 15 Years.

We are giving extracts from the works of Marx because he is the fountain head of modern socialism.

Any Socialism which does not recognize Marx as its basis and in which the basis is spurious and destined to be a failure.

It is a common objection made by the shallow and thoughtless, that we must not demand a knowledge of economics in order to become a political Socialist.

But Economics is nothing abstract and theoretical. Call it the study of the study of the work of human beings, and no one will call the demand for that knowledge hard and unreasonable.

What Marx has done better than any other man is to provide the manner in which men study for their wants in all ages. He has especially portrayed the capitalist manner of production.

The men of the present day make their clothes and houses and food and carriages in a very different way from that of a century ago. This change is a marvellous one, and has been called the Industrial Revolution.

"Wage Labor and Capital" was written in 1849, one year after the Manifesto which we published extracts from last week.

Be patient and hold on to Marx until you know him.

### LABOR POWER A COMMODITY.

If you were to ask the laborers how much wages do you get? they would reply, "I get a couple of shillings a day from my employer," another, "I get half-a-crown," and so on. According to the different trades to which they belong they would name different sums of money which they receive from their particular employers.

After working for a certain length of time or for performing a certain piece of work; for example, either for weaving a yard of cloth, or for setting up a certain amount of type. But in spite of this difference in their statements there is one point in which they would all agree: their wages are the amount of money which their employer pays them, either for working a certain length of time or for a certain amount of work.

Thus their employer, it would seem, buys their labor for money. For money they sell their labor to him. But this is mere appearance. What they really sell to the employer for money is their labor-power. This labor-power the employer buys for a day, a week, a month, etc. And having bought it he uses it by making the laborer work during a stipulated period of time. With the same sum for which the employer has bought their labor-power, he might have bought four or five times as much of any other wares.

For example, with the two shillings with which he buys the labor-power of a weaver, he might have bought four or five times as much of any other wares. For example, with the two shillings with which he buys the labor-power of a weaver, he might have bought four or five times as much of any other wares.

But the expenditure of the labor-power, labor, is the peculiar expression of the energy of the laborer's life. And this energy he sells to another party in order to secure for himself the means of

living. For him, therefore, his energy is nothing but the means of ensuring his own existence. He works to live. He does not count the work itself as a part of his life, rather it is a sacrifice of his life. It is a commodity which he has made over to another party. Neither is it the product of his activity. What he produces for himself is his wage; and silk, gold and palace are transformed for him into a certain quantity of means of existence—a cotton shirt, some copper coins, and a lodging in a cellar. And what of the laborer, who for twelve hours weaves, spins, hoes, turns, builds, shovels, breaks stones, carries loads and so on? Does his twelve hours' weaving, spinning, boring, turning, building, shoveling and stone-breaking represent the actual expression of his life? On the contrary. Life begins for him exactly where this activity of his ceases—at his meals, on the public-house bench, in his bed. His twelve hours' work has no meaning for him as weaving, spinning, boring, etc.,

### Wages, not the Workman's Share of His Product.

Take the case of any workman, a weaver for instance. The employer supplies him with thread and loom. The weaver sets to work, and the thread is turned into cloth. The employer takes possession of the cloth and sells it, say for twenty shillings. Does the weaver receive as wages a share in the cloth—in the twenty shillings—in the product of his labor? By no means. The weaver receives his wages long before the product is sold. The employer does not therefore pay his wages with the money previously provided. Loom and thread are not the weaver's product, since they are supplied by the employer, and no more are the commodities which he receives in exchange for his own commodity, or in other words for his labor-power. It is possible that the employer finds no purchaser for his cloth. It may be that by its sale he does not recover even the wages he has paid. It may be that in comparison with the weaver's wages he made a great bargain by its sale. But all this has nothing whatever to do with the weaver. The employer purchases the weaver's labor with a part of his available property—of his capital—in exactly the same way as he has with another part of his property bought the raw material—the thread, the instrument of labor, the loom. As soon as he has made these purchases—and he reckons among them the purchase of the labor power necessary for the production of the cloth—he proceeds to produce it by means of the raw material and the instruments which belong to him. Among these last, is of course, reckoned our worthy weaver, who has a little share in the product, or in the price of the product, as the loom itself.

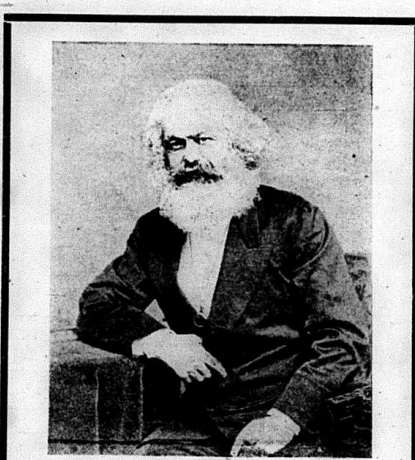
Wages therefore are not the worker's share of the commodities which he has produced. Wages are the share of commodities previously produced, with which the employer purchases a certain amount of productive labor-power.

Labor is therefore a commodity which its owner, the wage worker, sells to capital. Why does he sell it? In order to live.

### Wages a Mere Means of Existence.

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living. For him, therefore, his energy is nothing but the means of ensuring his own existence. He works to live. He does not count the work itself as a part of his life, rather it is a sacrifice of his life. It is a commodity which he has made over to another party. Neither is it the product of his activity. What he produces for himself is his wage; and silk, gold and palace are transformed for him into a certain quantity of means of existence—a cotton shirt, some copper coins, and a lodging in a cellar. And what of the laborer, who for twelve hours weaves, spins, hoes, turns, builds, shovels, breaks stones, carries loads and so on? Does his twelve hours' weaving, spinning, boring, turning, building, shoveling and stone-breaking represent the actual expression of his life? On the contrary. Life begins for him exactly where this activity of his ceases—at his meals, on the public-house bench, in his bed. His twelve hours' work has no meaning for him as weaving, spinning, boring, etc.,



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 2500 years have gone to Plato; now have they gone away unsatisfied. We are only beginning faintly to realize the influence that Marx is even this early wielding upon civilization.—Aron, Dec., 1900.

but only as earnings whereby he may obtain his meals, his seat in the public house, his bed. If the silkworm's object in spinning were to prolong its existence as a caterpillar, it would be a perfect example of a wage worker.

### The Laborer Sells Himself at Auction.

Labor-power was not always a commodity. Labor was not always wage labor, that is, free labor. The slave does not sell his labor to the slave-owner. The slave, along with his labor, is sold once for all to his owner. He is a commodity which can pass from the hand of one owner to that of another. He himself is that commodity. The serf sells only a portion of his labor. He does not receive his wages from the owner of the soil; rather the owner of the soil receives a tribute from him. The serf belongs to the soil, and to the lord of the soil he brings his fruits. The free laborer on the other hand, sells him-

self, and that by fractions. From day to day he sells by auction, eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his life to the highest bidder—the owner of the raw material, the instruments of work and the means of life, that is, to the employer. The laborer himself belongs neither to an owner nor to the soil, but eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his daily life belong to the man who buys them. The laborer leaves the employer to whom he has hired himself whenever he pleases, and the employer discharges him whenever he thinks fit, either as soon as he ceases to make a profit out of him or fails to get as high a profit as he requires. But the laborer, whose only source of earning is the sale of his labor-power, cannot leave the whole class of its purchasers, that is the capitalist class, without renouncing his own existence. He does not belong to this or that particular employer, but he does belong to the capitalist class; and more than that, it is his business to find an employer; that is, among this capitalist

class it is his business to discover his own particular purchaser.

### How Prices are Determined.

Before going more closely into the relations between capital and wage-labor, it will be well to give a brief survey of those general relations which are taken into consideration in determining the amount of wages.

### As we have seen, wages are the price of a certain commodity labor-power. Wages are thus determined by the same law which regulates the price of any other commodity.

### Therefore the question arises, how is the price of a commodity determined?

### By Threefold Competition of Buyers and Sellers.

By what means is the price of a commodity determined?

By means of a competition between buyers and sellers and the relations between supply and demand—offer and desire. And this competition by which the price of an article is fixed is three-fold.

The same commodity is offered in the market by various sellers. Whoever offers the greatest advantage to purchasers is certain to drive the other sellers off the field and secure for himself the greatest sale. The sellers therefore fight for the sale and the market among themselves. Every one of them wants to sell, and does his best to sell much, and if possible to become the only seller. Therefore each outbids the other in cheapness, and a competition takes place among the sellers which lowers the price of the goods they offer.

But a competition also goes on among the purchasers, which on their side raises the price of the goods offered.

Finally competition is going on between buyers and sellers; the one set want to buy as cheap as possible, the other to sell as dear as possible. The result of this competition between buyers and sellers will depend upon the relations of the two previous aspects of the competition; that is, upon whether the competition in the ranks of the buyers or that in those of the sellers is the keener. Business thus leads two opposing armies into the field, and each of them again presents the aspects of a battle in its own ranks among its own soldiers. That army whose troops are least mated by one another carries off the victory over the opposing host.

### Prices Rise When Demand Exceeds Supply.

Let us suppose that there are a hundred bales of cotton in the market, and at the same time buyers in want of a thousand bales. In this case the demand is greater than the supply. The competition between the buyers will therefore be intense, each of them will do his best to get hold of all the hundred bales of cotton. This example is no arbitrary supposition. In the history of trade we have experienced periods of failure of the cotton plant, when particular companies of capitalists have endeavored to purchase, not only a hundred bales of cotton, but the whole stock of cotton in the world. Therefore in the case supposed each buyer will try to beat the others out of the field by offering a proportionately higher price for the cotton. The cotton-sellers, perceiving the troops of the hostile host in violent combat with one another, and being perfectly secure as to the sale of all their hundred bales, will take very good care not to begin squabbling among themselves in order to depress the price at the very moment when their adversaries are emulating each other in the process of screwing it higher up. Peace is therefore suddenly proclaimed in the army of the sellers. They present a united front to the purchaser and fold their arms in philosophic content, and their claims would be absolutely boundless if it were not that the offers of even the most pressing and eager of the buyers must always have some definite limit.

### Thus if the supply of a commodity is not so great as the demand for it, the competition between the buyers is keen, but there is no fight of might among the sellers. Result: A more or less important rise in the price of goods.

### Prices Fall When Supply Exceeds Demand.

As a rule the converse case is of much more frequent occurrence, producing an opposite result: Large excess of supply over demand, desperate competition among the sellers, dearth of purchasers; forced sale of goods dirt cheap.

But what is the meaning of the rise and fall in prices? What is the meaning of higher price or lower price? A grain of sand is high when examined through a microscope, and a tower is low when compared with a mountain. And if price is determined by the relation between supply and demand, how is the relation between supply and demand itself determined?

### Supply and Demand Determined By Cost of Production.

Let us turn to the first worthy citizen we meet. He will not take an instant to consider but like a second Alexander the Great will cut the metaphysical knot by the help of his multiplication table. "If the production of the goods which I sell," he will tell me, "has cost me £100, and I get £110 by their sale—within the year, you understand—that's what I call a sound, honest, reasonable profit. But if I make £120 or £130 by the sale, that is a higher profit, and if I were to get a good £200, that would be an exceptional, an enormous profit." What is it then that serves our citizen in the measure of his profit? The cost of production of his goods. If he receives in exchange for them an amount of other goods whose production has cost less, he has lost by his bargain. If he receives an amount whose production has cost more, he has gained. And he reckons the rise and fall of his profit by the number of degrees at which it stands with reference to his zero—the cost of production.

We have now seen how the changing proportion between supply and demand produces the rise and fall of prices, making them at one time high, at another low. If through failure in the supply, or exceptional increase in the demand, an important rise in the price of a commodity takes place, then the price of another commodity must have fallen. For of course the price of a commodity only expresses in money the proportion in which other commodities can be exchanged for it. For instance, if the price of a yard of silk rises from five to six shillings, the price of silver has fallen in comparison with silk; and in the same way the price of all other commodities which remain at their old prices has fallen if compared with silk. We have to give a larger quantity of them in exchange in order to obtain the same quantity of silk.

### Capital Goes Where Cost of Production Is Low.

And what is the result of a rise in the price of a commodity? A mass of capital is thrown into that flourishing branch of business, and this immigration of capital into the province of the privileged business will last until the ordinary level of profits is attained, or rather, until the price of the products sinks below the cost of production, through overproduction.

Conversely, if the price of a commodity falls below the cost of its production, capital will be withdrawn from the production of this commodity. Except in the case of a branch of industry which has become obsolete, and is therefore doomed to disappear, the result of this flight of capital will be that the production of this commodity, and therefore its supply, will continually decline until it corresponds to the demand; and thus its price rises again to the level of the cost of its production; or rather, until the supply has fallen below the demand; that is, until its price has again risen above its cost of production, for the price of any commodity is always either above or below its cost of production.

