

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION HAS EXPIRED.
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ON THINGS THAT ARE NECESSARY

Last Sunday evening at the Academy Sciences Hall, Arnold W. Liechti, during the course of his lecture, stated that everything that is, is necessary. He defended his statement rather cleverly, considering his proposition from its language aspect alone. He delved into the relations between sheep and their owners, with a sang froid that showed anticipation of a question along this line, and he proved to his own satisfaction, the necessity of the sheep being turned into mutton, though it would undoubtedly be a little difficult for him to convince the sheep by the same argument, that their sole aim and object in life is to grace a butcher's stall. The question was one drawing an analogy between the workers and their masters and the sheep and their owners, and the logic of Mr. Liechti's well turned phrases was to show a corresponding necessity for the workers, the same as the sheep, to be content to be

things are necessary in themselves, proves nothing. And it might be stated here, that the metaphysician decides nothing in life. It is the people who feel the pleasure and the pain who decide; they act. If there is no possible reconciliation between philosophical truth and the truth of life, let the men who feel life and its ills decide the questions of life. And this decision will not be made by words, but by deeds.

The highwayman who lurks in the shadows of the road and pushes a revolver into our faces, with a demand for our money or our lives may find philosophical apologists the same as the highwayman who lurks in his den in Wall street may find philosophical and ordinary newspaper apologists who will say he is necessary, but under no possible circumstance can it be conceived that the robbed are exultant over the necessity for the existence of either highwayman.

There was no effort to show that anything was necessary to the scheme of things—to a great plan—to help forward the world towards a certain goal, but only that the things were necessary of themselves, and sufficient to themselves. There was a lapse in his logic here, as he dragged what one might call a philosophical truism down to the level of our every day life; and it is well known that metaphysics and metaphysicians are seldom en rapport with actual facts. Mr. Liechti is a metaphysician and a lawyer. The fact that a man is a lawyer is no crime, but his study of law certainly gives him a strange appreciation of phenomena.

us suppose the highwayman springing from the roadway shadows is met with a blow from a good, stout club and is stretched lifeless at the feet of the people he intended to rob; that act is philosophically necessary, just as the necessity for the robber taking all our worldly possessions and escaping to the brush or being converted by a salvation army bass drum in the hands of an artist can be philosophically demonstrated. The outcome and the act itself in any case, according to the philosophy of the lecturer is necessary. And being so what is the good of such philosophy.

The necessity for Czolgosz was voiced in a peculiar semi-apologetic, wholly unsatisfying manner. That he was a murderer was admitted, that he was necessary as a murderer was also admitted. The things bringing him into being were necessary, the act of killing Mr. McKinley as an act was necessary, though as a crime it could not be condoned, and while the things leading to the crime the contributory circumstance are to all intents and purposes guilty with Czolgosz, yet he stated emphatically that they were necessary, necessary of themselves and without consideration of any possible outcome. The fault in this reasoning is very apparent. The things that cause pain are not necessary, and substituting necessity for cause is no apology for them.

We have the official tables of the lynchings, hangings, murders and suicides in the United States for the year 1901, before us on the desk. The record is a fearful one. There were 135 lynchings in this law-abiding country. The legal hangings amounted to 118. Suicide is much in favor by the happy citizens of our happy country, 7,246, men and women died by their own hands. And 7,852 persons were murdered. This is the record for just one year. Behind every one of these known cases (the unknown would swell the total considerably) there is a set of circumstances that, according to the Sunday night lecturer, is necessary and the crimes, legal and otherwise, and the suicides are also necessary. Take the 7,246 men and women who decided that life was not worth living. What a fearful story is here. The circumstances that gave rise to the inclination to do self-murder shows how insubstantial are all our claims to life, liberty and the pursuit of

The mere statement, if made clearly and understandingly, or with circumlocution and redundancy, that evil

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POCKET-PICKING IN ITS RESPECTABLE GUISES

"To this day" said Colonel Abe Edgarton, the Arizona mining man, addressing Professor Jenks, the Pennsylvania educator, across the cafe table, "to this day I can't get over the effect of early education. If you were to drop half a dollar on the floor now, without knowing it, an acquired prejudice would prevent me from putting my foot over it and picking it up when you weren't looking. And when I dine at your house, or any other gentleman's house, I am not under the smallest temptation to pouch the forks and spoons."

"Surely you haven't got so far away from civilized states of feeling as actually to pride yourself on not being a thief?" expostulated Professor Jenks.

"But am I not a thief?" inquired the Colonel. "I won't pick a man's pocket with my fingers, but I'll work off on any man, friend or foe, as many shares of Hidden Treasure mining stock as I can induce him to take. And you know what they're worth since we ran out of ore and into porphyry."

"Oh, but that's business," said Professor Jenks.

"Precisely," agreed the Colonel—

"To steal a pin it is a sin,

But form a trust and rope folks in,

Charging twice for every pin—

That is business, and no sin.

"And, speaking of Amalgamated Copper," Colonel Edgarton continued, "it's amazing what influence time and price have upon morals as well as manners. Ladies in Elizabeth's day talked in all innocence before men in a way that would get you ejected from a decent bar-room now. And how long d'ye think a theatrical company would be sent up for that should attempt to give us a real taste of the comedy of the Restoration? What would happen to any modern writer that should advise women to be clean, as Swift did, and what would a roomful of our fashionable people think of his 'Polite Conversation'? In some countries it is shameful for women to show their faces, but the embargo's off as to—er—ankles, whereas among ourselves the thing's mixed. Fancy a lady in evening dress in the street. It's all right to dress like a ballet dancer, minus the skirts, if there's sand around and salt water in sight, while the same girl would squeal if caught indoors rigged out in the same style. Algerian women—"

"To what does all this commonplace tend?" inquired Professor Jenks, yawning.

"It tends to take us back to the business men of the middle ages," answered Colonel Edgarton. "D'ye suppose the enterprising nobleman whom we choose to call a robber baron, simply because he was just that, felt any sense of moral turpitude when he went through his regular routine of stopping boats on the river and merchants on the road to extort toll? No more than I do when I unload Hidden Treasure, or when my friends eminent in the world of speculation run Amalgamated Copper up or down to squeeze the enemy. No, sir; the more robbing the rob-

ber baron did the prouder he was, and the more he was thought of by his rivals and the respectable public. If there had been newspapers in his time, and any one of them had objected to what he did on moral grounds, it would have been denounced as yellow and not fit to be admitted to the home. In no age is it respectable to assail vested interests.

"When I was down in the Bahamas last winter," the Colonel went on, sunnily ignoring the Professor's wandering attention, "I dug into the history of the islands some and reconstructed for myself the gallant old buccaneers who made Nassau their headquarters. I could picture the gangs ashore after a cruise going in for wassail and narrative—comparing pirate captain with pirate captain and discussing their respective methods in taking galleons and dealing with captive crews and passengers. I could fancy the thrilling tale of how the great Lafitte in climbing the side of a merchantman in mid ocean was met at the taffrail by four sailor men with raised pikes, all ready to spear him, and how he made a side leap for the shrouds swung himself to the deck like a monkey, and, engaging the four with his cutlass, kept them busy till his bullies could scramble aboard and finish them and all hands.

"Method, method—all the talk would be about the way the game was played by the experts, with praise for the brave and deft and successful and scorn for the clumsy and timid and unlucky. And if anybody had risen to ask whether it wasn't wicked to play the game at all, his friends would have apologized for him as a foolish sentimentalist, a doctrinaire, an impracticable dreamer. And the outraged buccaneers in general would have sworn at him savagely as a destructive radical, an infernal enemy to every worthy pirate's bread and butter, and a foe to established institutions so dangerous in his anarchistic logic that it became the duty of all sensible and conservative men to shout him down and make him disreputable.

"And they'd have been honest in their anger—quite as sincerely indignant as the robber barons and the whole European aristocracy would have been with a critical yellow journal harboring a prejudice in favor of the Ten Commandments—quite as unaffected in their wrath as shocked respectability now would be, Professor, should you venture in your university classroom to question the right of the Standard Oil Company or the Beef Trust to go cahoots with railroad companies to bar out competition and skin all the rest of us. The pirates would have been as sure that questioning custom-sanctioned crime is profoundly immoral as the Amalgamated Copper crowd would be were you to get up in your university classroom and—"

"It is no proper part of the higher education," cried Professor Jenks testily, "to war upon"—

"The salaries of those who make a business of imparting the higher education," finished Colonel Edgarton, "It's all right, Professor. As John L. Sullivan liberally said when asked if he had not resented the visit of a clergyman who had invaded his room at the hotel to ex-

postulate with him on the wickedness of pugilism as a career: 'Oh, he's got his graft and I've got mine, and there's no kick coming.' You can nurse your cultured sycophancy to wealth, Professor, without rebuke from me. You're just a man of your time, as were the robber baron and the buccaneer."

"What" demanded the Pennsylvania educator, trying hard to put a curb on his rising temper, "what the deuce has started you off on this tangent to-night?"

"Well," said the Colonel thoughtfully, "I went down into Wall street this morning and tackled one of the Amalgamated crowd on behalf of Hidden Treasure, and wanted him to read your report on the property as a mining expert. It was"—(here Colonel Edgarton whispered a name that it would be irreverent to print). "You know him Jenks. As black-hearted an old pirate as ever sailed the

speculative, or the Spanish, main, and what d'ye suppose he had the nerve to say to me—me, mind you?"

"Edgarton," he said, "I'm surprised at your coming here with that empty old rat-hole. It's positively dishonest in you. Go and salt a new hole somewhere that everybody isn't on to, and then come to me as one gentleman to another, and I'll see what can be done toward interesting the public. But Hidden Treasure! I wonder at you, Edgarton."

"He flushed hotly, sir, and I did myself."

"And well you might, by heaven!" cried Professor Jenks, flushing likewise. "Considering my reputation as a mining expert, and the high grade of that report of mine"—

"And the mine itself," interjected the Colonel.

"Oh; the mine," said the professor, waving an indifferent hand.

THE CONDITION OF LABOR

"I have but one purpose in speaking tonight, and that is to call your attention to the fact that slavery exists to-day as really as it existed fifty years ago in the southern states. I mean to say that our entire system of commerce and industry—its whole organization and operation—involves these same two classes—masters on the one side and slaves on the other. We do not call it slavery, it is true; at least most of us do not. And most of us regard it as the most natural and wise system in the world. And as the people of fifty years ago looked upon Garrison in his extravagant denunciation of the system existing, so the people of today look upon any one who indulges in equally strong language concerning our economic order. The social agitators of to-day are looked upon with the same feeling by the masters of this time that the anti-slavery agitators of fifty years ago were regarded.

"What do these workingmen want? What are these wage-slaves asserting as their rights? Why, for the most part they are not asserting any rights at all. They are not asking for any rights. They are demanding concessions. They are pleading for favors. And every time a workman or a body of workmen in any way, shape or manner ask for more pay or shorter hours of labor or any other thing, they simply acknowledge the justice of their condition as slaves. They proclaim themselves slaves. They declare themselves contented to remain slaves. And they are doing all in their power to perpetuate a condition of slavery. A man will demand the rights of a man. A slave has no rights, and he will not demand any. He will ask favors, concessions, steps at a time, and various things of that sort.

"To-day we have on our hands another irrepressible conflict. We call it the 'class struggle.' And the same sort of dense intellects and dulled moral sense say the same things to us that they said of Garrison. They accused him of stirring up strife needlessly. 'What do you mean by talking about a conflict? Don't you know that that is a dangerous word to throw out among the people

promiscuously? We don't want to hear about conflict. We don't like this setting of section against section and class against class. The circulation of the Liberator was forbidden among the slaves. And on all hands was Garrison rated severely for sowing the seeds of discord among the slaves, setting them against their masters and precipitating trouble. His foolish contemporaries could not see that the trouble was already there and had been there during all the existence of slavery. And these people who denounced Garrison so vigorously had not a word to say in denunciation of the slaveholders or the defenders of that hideous institution.

"And now we hear the same old cry. 'Why do you talk about class struggle? What do you mean by thus stirring up class hatred between man and man? We don't want to hear about the class struggle. We have no patience with these disturbers of the peace. Why not talk class love? Why not talk of brotherhood between capital and labor? Why not talk of peace instead of conflict? And so is repeated the same old folly of fifty years ago. The great mass of men learn nothing but by bitter experience. They can get an idea into their heads only through a crack in a broken skull. They have no eyes to see that the source of trouble is in the system itself, and not in those who would establish justice in its place. They do not see that the classes are here because industrial evolution and economic necessity have created them, that the struggle is here and has been here for years, and that it is the part of wisdom to see it and frankly recognize it. We do not get rid of a disagreeable fact by denying it or ignoring it. And he who tries that plan is a coward.

"There was one solution and only one for the question of negro slavery. And that solution was freedom. There was no half-way station, no 'step at a time' to be taken. If the slave was a man, then the rights of man were his. If he was not a man, then the whole emancipation movement was an insanity. The right to property in things is

not disputed, was not then. The right to property in men was denied, and there was no compromise in the matter.

"Neither is there now. The laborer is a man or he is a beast of burden. If he is a beast of burden, he is entitled only to those rights which are accorded to a beast of burden, and he should be turned over to the 'Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.' That is precisely what a good many people are advocating. They want that policy adopted. A beast of burden is entitled to have enough to eat and a decent shelter. It must be treated humanely. It must not be abused. It must not be overworked. Its hours of labor must be reasonable: And any one caught in the act of abusing an animal can be arrested and fined. So far as I can see, that is all that is being proposed either by these alleged friends of labor in the ranks of capitalism or by a very large part of organized labor to-day. Human treatment; that is the cry. The laborer is not getting enough to eat. He cannot buy sufficient clothing. He cannot afford as good a house as he ought to have. He cannot live a decent life as a working animal. These things must be secured for him. Let us have an eight-hour day. Let us have factory inspectors. Let us have the regulation of wages so that the workingman shall have a 'living wage', enough to replace the energy lost in the progress of the day's labor, so as to be ready the next day to repeat the same routine. Not a word in all this as to the rights of the laborers.

"I want to say to you as strongly as I can that I will have nothing to do with that kind of procedure. I will not be a party to a lie. I will not take off my hat to the institution of slavery in any form. I will make no terms with it. I will insist that nothing but freedom will answer. I insist that the least a man has a right to demand is his right as a man. The least a workingman has a right to ask for is the full product of his labor less what may be his just proportion of what is needed to maintain the only sort of government that is needed, and that is industrial administration. Here is the key that unlocks the door of freedom for every wage slave. What do you want? What do you demand as your right? What do you understand to be the rights of man? This is the fundamental question. Here is the civilization which labor of hand and brain co-operating with nature has produced. Every particle of it has been produced by labor. Here it is before you: These cities, these houses, these streets, these railroads, these factories, these commodities of every sort, the ships on every sea, the whole equipment of civilization. Here it is before you. It is the product of your hands and your brains. Your labor has created it. And the land and the sky, the rivers and lakes and seas, the mines and forests, and all resources of nature no one created. They are the inheritance of all. And he who would keep any men from their enjoyment is a robber, a highwayman, a criminal.

"I have said to-night that the system of wage slavery is an intolerable iniquity. And that is exactly what I mean. I mean to say that no words are strong enough to express the hideous and horrible iniquity of this system. I believe it to be far more degrading and demoralizing, both to owner and owned, than negro slavery was. And it is more dangerous than that because it is far more subtle. It seems difficult for you and me, I suppose, to un-

derstand how the men and women who owned slaves down south managed to justify the thing; how they could escape seeing the evil of it. One would suppose that the widespread immorality which it created and fostered would have made an impression, especially upon the women and upon the religious leaders of that time in the south. They knew perfectly well what was going on. And yet every sort of crime and vice was winked at and ignored. Inasmuch as the negroes were regarded as human. It was, therefore, no sin to do what one liked with his own property.

"The fact is the maintenance of negro slavery simply undermined religion and morality and produced a nation of hypocrites. And that is precisely what industrial slavery is doing now.

"The horrors of the Civil war in this country could have been averted if there had been sufficient moral stamina to precipitate the slavery question earlier and force its consideration and the abolition of the system. Garrison uttered his message in behalf of emancipation into the ears of the American people for thirty years. And the longer they delayed listening to him, the more bloody was the day of reckoning to be. But he did his part. He and his associates were the real patriots. And the men to-day who are demanding the abolition of industrial slavery in a perfectly peaceful and orderly way are also doing their part. Compromise with slavery is out of the question. To propose it or favor it is only to postpone a little longer the day of reckoning and make a peaceful solution of the problem less likely. It is an irrepressible conflict that is on. Let every man frankly recognize the fact and do his duty."—W. T. Brown, Rochester.

THIS MONTH'S MAGAZINES.

The current "International Socialist Review" has a larger number of articles than usual. They are all short and worth reading. Here is the table of contents:

The Socialization of Art	Prof. Oscar L. Triggs
Philosophical Conversation	Peter Burrowes
Congress of Socialist Peasants	Aleesandro Schiavi
The Vote an Implement of Progress	Helen A. Clarke
The Co-operative Movement in Belgium	Louis Bertrand
Economic and Political Determinism	Marcus Hitch
Chicago Arts and Crafts Exhibition	A. M. Simons
Maxim Ghorki, the Portrayer of Unrest	"Marxist"
The Charity Girl (Story)	Caroline H. Pemberton

"The International Socialist Review", published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ills.; price 10 Cents.

"The Comrade" for January gives the place of honor to an appreciation of Edwin Markham, the poet, by Leonard D. Abbott and it is worthy the place. It is one of the best written articles appearing in the magazine. There is also a psychological story by Morris Winchevsky; a skit on the philistine, Hubbard, by Courtenay Lemon, that sparkles, and numerous other sketches and poems. The pictures are good. Comrade Publishing Co., 28 Lafayette Place, New York. Price 10 Cents.

NOTICE.

At the next regular party meeting, to be held Wednesday evening, January 22nd, at Labor Bureau Hall, 915 1/2 Market Street, the following matters will come up for consideration: The vote on the state constitution; two amendments to the local constitution, and election of officers of the Local for the year.

ON THINGS THAT ARE NECESSARY.

(Continued from Page 1.)

happiness under this system. And the lecturer would have it appear these things are necessary in themselves, denying, even, that because of them, because of the pain, actual or anticipatory, a change might be forced in the conditions. His argument would convince no man able to think in a straight line. The main spring of all action, individual or social, is pleasure and pain. We do many things, it must be admitted, that give us pain and have left undone things that would undoubtedly give us pleasure. But lurking in the back ground of consciousness there is a feeling of pleasure or contentment or acquiescence that repays for doing the act bringing pain or refraining from the act which would give pleasure; sub-consciousness merely dominates, that is all. Further, taking the actions of men in general the year through and life through and it will be found that the pleasure and pain theory for human action is well proven. The isolated individuals who add pain to their lives proves nothing, as no general proposition can be demonstrated by an individual case. It might be shown that the people who committed suicide were not content to groan and sweat under a weary life. They inflicted pain in anticipation of escaping greater pain.

Socialists get into the habit of viewing the world in the lump. They think of the aggregate and they deal with the aggregate. A stoic or an epicurean or a metaphysician or any other philosopher or so called philosopher might come along and prove on paper anything that suited him. But the Socialists would merely say the act of Morgan, for instance, organizing a trust, is an expression of economic change and the life of the people will eventually conform to that change. In speaking of the life of the people, he leaves out all consideration of the individual entirely. What one man says, thinks or feels is no concern of his. And the necessity for the act of trustification, as an act, is not mentioned only to illustrate the irresistible force inherent in the capitalist system to concentrate.

Our Sunday night meetings do not always bring up these fine philosophical points. We should soon be back in the mental condition of the middle ages, when men discussed seriously about the number of spirits that could dance on the point of a needle, if we did. We have some of the best orators on the coast down for lectures. Every comrade should come and bring a friend. The hall is at 819 Market street and is known as the best lecture hall in the city.

The Humor of a Press Dispatch.

"BERLIN, January 15. — The latest arrangements in connection with the visit of Admiral Prince Henry of Prussia to the United States is that the Prince will meet the imperial yacht at Hohenzollern at Hampton Roads and sail thence to New York. Elaborate preparations are being made for social entertainment on board the Hohenzollern. By the Emperor's special order a splendid silver service has been sent to Kiel, from the royal silver treasures in the Old Schloss. His Majesty personally inspected the

treasures and selected the service which is to be used on board the Hohenzollern on special occasions. The curator of the silver treasures goes to the United States on the Hohenzollern to take care of the valuables. The curator is well known as one of the keenest detectives of Germany."

This shows the estimation the Emperor has of Americans; he is afraid we shall steal his spoons. And yet some superficial people say that William is crazy.

PROVISIONAL STATE COMMITTEE.

At State Convention held in Los Angeles January 1st to 4th, 1902, the following named comrades were elected to act as a temporary State Committee, viz: Comrades Wm. Hefferin, John Messer, Benj. P. Ober, Oscar Johnson, Alvin Appel, Emil Liess and Thomas Bersford.

The first meeting of the Committee was held at the "Advance" office Saturday, January 11th. Comrade Ober was elected chairman, Comrade Messer Treasurer and Comrade Bersford Secretary.

The report of the convention was read, and on motion it was decided to adjourn and wait upon former State Committee, which was holding a meeting at same hour.

The comrades of the former State Committee turned over letters, papers etc. and \$52.09 in cash, but reported that they had no separate cash account books, that all their receipts and disbursements were reported in the minutes of their meetings.

On reconvening the new committee instructed the secretary to send notice to each Local, calling for a referendum vote upon the proceedings of and the resolutions and constitution adopted by the convention. Said vote to be canvassed January 31st.

Secretary also instructed to send a charter to Local Goleta.

Meeting adjourned to meet January 17th.

PARTY MEETING.

San Francisco, January 15th 1902.

Editor ADVANCE:

The regular party meeting was held this evening; Comrade Holmes in the chair.

Two applications were referred to the committee after the first reading.

Comrade Bersford will be chairman, and Comrade King, jr., will be reader on next Sunday Evening.

Letter from Mrs. I. Anderson of Petaluma, enclosing \$1.00, was referred to Comrade Appel for adjustment.

Comrades Holmes, Bersford and King are elected a Committee to appeal to Locals of the State for subscriptions for the benefit of ADVANCE.

The following amendments to the Constitution are proposed:

1st—The Board of Directors of ADVANCE shall consist of three (3) members.

2nd—(Section 4, Art. 5)—The Business Manager of ADVANCE shall be elected by the party membership.

It was carried that "A Notice of the vote on Constitution and Election of Officers be published in ADVANCE."

Receipts of Evening \$11.40.

B. P. OBER, Secretary S. P.

Tickets for our entertainment on February 22nd can be secured at this office, 618 Merchant street.

CHILD LABOR

The honorable Seaborn Wright, made a speech in the Georgia legislature recently in favor of a bill restricting the employment of children in the factories. He said in part:

"The spirit animating the opposition to this bill is the spirit of commercialism. It knows no pity. It chills every generous thought and deadens every holy feeling. It measures all things, manhood, womanhood and childhood, by the dollar. The hearts and brains, aye, the puny weight of children, are valuable only as they can be coined into money. You lay our little children at the feet of Eastern capital and say 'all this will we give in exchange for your dollars.

"I lift the standard of revolt to-day and in the name of the South denounce the unholy traffic.

"Mr. Speaker, I stood in the door of an humble cottage shadowed by the factory's massive walls. The mistress of this home was the wife of a gallant Confederate soldier. They had seen better days. Death had kindly come to him and he slept. The remorseless hand of necessity had driven the widow and children out from the old homestead to the humble cottage. As I stood the gates of the factory stood open and amid a hundred children hers came. They were young children. The kindly walls of the nursery should have been around them. There was no spring in their steps, no light in their eyes; their cheeks were white, and I thought, standing in the presence of the children of this Confederate soldier, I would give every spindle and loom in the South to bring

back the light to their eyes and see the roses bloom again upon their little cheeks.

I would like to see every bale of cotton whose white blossom opens to the warm kiss of Southern suns spun and woven in the South, but there are prices I would not pay for it.

"We are standing to-day, Mr. Speaker, at the gate of the grandest manufacturing empire the world has ever seen. The men of the north and east with spindle and loom and treasure, are coming to our cotton fields. The laws of nature, stronger than all the laws of man, compel them to come. But mark this truth, they are coming as our masters; our children and our children's children to be their servants. I would put no restraining hand upon their coming, I would fling wide the gates and bid them enter; but, so help me God, I would never give them our children until their little bodies had grown beyond the nursery walls, and the light of knowledge had dawned in their souls.

"Last night I sat with my wife by the fireside of our comfortable home. I watched my eight-year-old boy lay his head upon his mother's lap and close his tired eyes in sleep, and I thought except for the goodness of God he might be numbered among the thousand little toilers in the mills of the South through the long hours of the night. And then, with justice in my mind and pity in my heart, I said: "I will do for the children of my people what I would have them do for mine."

FREEMEN AND EQUALS OF THE FUTURE

By Leon Deville, Paris.

It is needless for me to talk of the future organization, and I limit myself to pointing out the general lines along which it will develop. In the transition period in which the transformation will be accomplished through conscious adaptation of measures to facts, there will still be a state, but that state will be a socialist state. In the following period, the political rule of the men who constitute the state in the transition period, will have become a business administration of affairs. Instead of government there will then be simply a business administration.

Freemen and equals, the producers will decide in common everything concerning production, and henceforth, instead of being the puppets of economic forces beyond their control, they will rule these forces in accordance with their good pleasure. Far from being compelled to submit to a social organization which makes and modifies their condition of existence, without any regard to their wishes, as is the case at present, they will have, for the first time, the kind of social organization which they shall wish—a wish guided by knowledge of the causes and effects of social phenomena. Men will at last be

their own masters. The unconscious development of humanity will be followed by a conscious development. Progress, instead of being as before a frequent source of sufferings, will be the source of universal prosperity. Inventions and discoveries—the parents of material prosperity—when introduced into actual practice, will no longer be perverted by social institutions and forced to have effects wholly different from those justly foreseen, intended and expected. The universalization of material comfort and the general comprehension of the conception of social solidarity which will be brought home to the mind of the individual by the perception of the social foundation of his prosperity, will be the starting-point of an intense and vigorous intellectual and ethical development inspired in the individual as in society by the vision of the good, the welfare, the greatest possible welfare of all, and having as its natural consequences the most untrammeled blossoming of the individuality, and the freest possible realization of the aspirations of each individual.

That Ball of ours takes place on the 22nd of February.

THE DOG AND THE TAIL.

A FABLE.

There was once a beautiful, large dog, and his name was Labor.

This dog had a scrubby little runt of a tail, and the name of the tail was Capital.

And the dog wagged the tail.

But in the course of time the tail, whose name was Capital, conceived a thought, and it spake unto the dog and said:

'Look here, why is it that you wag me? That's all wrong. I ought to wag you. Look at my importance! Why, every time you bark my hair bristles up and scares the everlasting stuffing out of the object of your wrath. And of what use are you except to sustain and carry me, the important and dignified end of the company? Just look where you would be at if I should be lopped off—why, sir, you would be a bob-tailed dog all your life! Indeed, you must wag me no more! I, as the rudder of this institution, which will safely steer you through all your troubles, will attend to any wagging there is to be done in future.'

The dog, being dull of mind, at once saw that the tail was perfectly right, or else God would not have caused it to speak so, and he at once acquiesced.

And ever since the tail has been wagging the dog and banging him against the trees and bumping him against the fence posts, and dragging him through the barbed wire and lambasting him around among the weeds and thistles and coccle burrs and mopping up the earth with him generally.

But some of these days the dog will also conceive an idea—that is, if he has brains enough to perform such an action—and the dog will again wag the tail, and in his new found joy he may wag the tail so hard that there won't be any tail left at all.—F. H. Richardson, in "Socialist Spirit."

CLASS ANTI-PATHY.

Class antipathy is a curious thing says the "Barrier Truth" N. S. W. There is nothing more to be deplored in many of its consequences; there is nothing more to be desired as an incentive to reform. The English masses, we are told, have not enough of it. This we take leave to doubt. Get them together in a mass and its presence is easily proved. We know the old idea of hating the sin and loving the sinner. A similar principle is essential in this matter. There is in the average man, that is, if he bothers his head at all about the matter, a continual conflict between his class sentiments and his personal sentiments. A man lacking culture and self-restraint may allow his class antipathy to blunt all his finer feelings and influence all his personal likes and dislikes. This man is the extremist. His sentiments are at bottom good, his intentions are admirable, but his intemperance and intolerance do his class in the long run much more harm than good. Another man, equally good in sentiment and intention, is too amiable to take a proper stand. His views on class questions are sound enough, but he hasn't sufficient strength to place himself in antagonism to individuals for what seem to him under the circumstances mere abstract

ideas. This is the typical man, for the majority of people are just in that position. They are convinced of their own class needs, but they have not sufficient backbone to assert their rights and to insist upon them. The model man—where alas! shall we find him? is he who with perfect courtesy to individuals, and therefore with the minimum of friction, nevertheless rigidly and pertinaciously adheres to principle under all circumstances, and, in spite of all personal predilections, asserts the rights and claims of his class. The man who possesses the perfect candor, the absolute independence, the moral strength to fill this role is a rare man indeed.

A SEMI OFFICIAL STATEMENT ON CHILD LABOR.

While the Woman's club representatives, in their investigation of child labor in the local factories says the "Chicago Daily News" have found that a majority of the shops seem to be fairly clean and sanitary, some of the other conditions which have been brought to light by them and by the state factory inspector indicate the need of further measures of reform. Many children whom the investigators believe to be considerably below the age of fourteen have been found performing labor in conditions which would tax the strength of adults. Not only are they required to work incessantly and rapidly to make the little weekly pittance, but their hours are in some cases cruelly long: An assistant state factory inspector reported last night that he had discovered a workshop where young boys were working from 7 o'clock in the morning until 10 o'clock at night. Taking into consideration the fact that many of them live more than an hour's distance from their homes, this means that the only time some of these boys have to themselves is embraced in the seven hours between 11 o'clock at night and 6 in the morning. That time, of course, they must spend in sleep.

The social system which permits children to be deprived of everything that is necessary to natural, healthy child life does not speak creditably for modern civilization. If its worst effect were merely the crushing of spirit and the deprivation of the children's pleasures it would still be objectionable. But that is not the worst of it. It tends to stunt growth and blunt the minds which should be useful in a future generation, and for all that the sacrifice does not bring in any real return. Doubtless the child's earnings in many families means the difference between comparative comfort and starvation, but no economist can be found to-day who will refute the statement that the arduous gainful employment of the children of the poor actually tends ultimately to make the conditions of the poor worse.

Further restrictive legislation is apparently needed, and there is also a need for more vigorous enforcement of the laws already existing. But statutes do not seem likely to go to the root of the matter until agencies can be put into effect which will lead to a fundamental change in economic conditions.

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ADVANCE



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RESOLUTIONS OF THANKS TO A CAPITALIST GOVERNOR.

We touched lightly in our last issue on the resolutions of thanks voted Governor Gage at the recent State Federation of Labor Convention held in Vallejo. Now we wish to lay the matter fairly and squarely before the working class of California.

Governor Gage, a republican, representing the shopkeepers government at Sacramento, came down to San Francisco during the teamsters strike and wandered through the city. He brushed the hair out of his eyes long enough to see the true state of affairs. He wandered down on the water front and came and had a talk with the Employers Association. The employers association was a union of capitalists that denied the workers the rights they themselves exercised: to organize, to have a union. The Employers Association was breaking a law of this state in demanding men to give up the Union before employing them, but the governor went to see the Employers Association, nevertheless.

Perhaps it was to call the attention of this capitalist organization to the fact that it was infringing on the code, perhaps not. One can never tell just what a governor is up to. But he came forth again and went down on the water front once more. Then he called on Mayor Phelan. Phelan was glad to see him. Phelan is a democrat, Gage is a republican. Phelan, the democrat, had been impertuned by the Employers Association and other well-favored property owners to go to even greater lengths than merely putting a guardian angel in a policeman's uniform on the trucks and clubbing every man met on the street without a clean collar. He wanted to see the strike broken but he did not want to see his political future smashed in the doing. Governor Gage, the republican, saw there was the smashing of several political futures in the breaking of the strike and did not want his among them. So the governor and the mayor went down to the water front. There was a feeling of esteem for the republican in the breast of the democrat and vice-versa. And each urged the other on to break the strike, and pointed out how it could be done. Each wished himself in the other's office that he might have an opportunity to bring peace. There was no disposition on the part of either to take the others advice. And they called on Jas. Budd. James Budd was once governor of California

and knew the ropes. Together the two governors and the mayor went down on the water front.

One would think the waterfront was the pay-office for holders of political jobs, from the persistency displayed in visiting it. No other place in San Francisco was looked after so carefully night and day by our official lovers of the common people, than the strip of land around the bay. It was the mecca of every man with a political future.

After looking over the ground and discussing the matter of settling the strike in relation to the eternal and unquenchable self, the three official lovers of the common people decided on a course of action. Governor Gage called a meeting of representatives of the teamsters and representatives of the Employers Association together and gave the result of the conference. No doubt the representatives of the Employers Association had just a suspicion of tremble attack their limbs, for they knew their association was infringing on the California code. And just as confident as the sun were the representatives of the teamsters, for they knew that governor Gage had seen with his own eyes the fault for any disrespect of law came from Phelan's minions, the men sworn to uphold the law and paid for keeping their oaths. But governor Gage was a servant of the class represented by the Employers Association and rendered his decision accordingly. The teamsters were told to go to work or suffer the consequences. The militia would be called out and —

Already there were defections in the ranks of the strikers. Already the discouragement of the workers that attends a long drawn battle, or, according to the latest definition supplied by Marcus Hanna, "friendly bout between labor and capital." Already those accusations against members that hover in the air during all union troubles were causing dissension and factions. And it must not be lost sight of here that the teamsters union was a young organization, also that P. H. McCarthy, the valliant labor leader in the building trades council, was contemplating the organization of a scab-union against the teamsters union. And so "peace" was made: Victory was won by both sides and the extent of the victory accorded the participants was determined entirely by the class interests of the man making the claim.

And in the face of this defeat for the teamsters labor, as personified in the persons of the leaders at the Vallejo convention, tenders a vote of thanks to the man who ordered the strikers back to work, or be shot.

The political significance of this vote of thanks for a capitalist governor is recognized by everyone only the extremely shortsighted. It is pernicious in many ways, but in its purpose — and there was an evident purpose — as a political factor in the coming race for the governorship, it will cut not an indifferent figure.

The political machine in control of the trades unions in this state knows when to strike a blow and where. All eyes of the laboring class in California were centered on the convention. The vote of thanks to governor Gage gave evidence that favors could be expected in the future from the same source, and this, despite the fact that the vote of thanks was founded on a lie.

The working class is in a strange predicament with its present time-serving leaders. The crime of the Vallejo convention, great as it undoubtedly is, is slight compared with the crime of Gompers, Mitchell and the other leaders

at the recent love feast in New York, where these "aristocrats" of the union movement sold out to Hanna and his friends. It should not be forgotten in this connection that Madden is another labor leader who sold his birth right and received a third assistant postmaster-ship in exchange, and he is of the most vicious and stupid third assistant-postmaster's America has ever seen.

He is a serious enemy of liberty. His decisions against the "Appeal to Reason" and "The Challenge" are vulgar classics. It is through him that "Discontent," a paper published at the north in the interest of freedom of thought and speech, is held from its subscribers, subscribers who have paid their money for the paper. And this truckling, this sychophancy, this getting down on the knees and thanking of capitalist governors; this indulgence by labor leaders in love feasts to reconcile "labor and capital" is done for no other purpose than to show that more birth rights are for sale when the capitalists are inclined to pay the price. To be a commissioner of immigration or a third assistant-postmaster is about all these fellows with their mouths full of the phrases that labor and capital are brothers, want. They turn over the unions hand and foot to the capitalist politicians. They gull the weak-kneed, simple-minded among the rank and file, by "a display of eagerness to talk the thing over" and they talk to some purpose, as these honest ones are convinced.

There is some hope. It remains for the men in the unions and out to make every fight along the lines of the class struggle. If this is done on the economic and on the political field alike, there will be small chance for the labor-fakir to get in his graft. There is only one thing the capitalists are afraid of and that is the prosecution of any fight along class lines. It is educational, it will rob the labor leader of his ability to hoodwink the workers. The class struggle is the weapon most feared by the capitalists, therefore it can be depended upon that the class struggle is the weapon we should use most. With that weapon in the hands of the entire working class we can disarm the capitalist and his hanger on who passes votes of thanks or indulges in love feasts, or gives other evidence that he has a birth right for sale.

MR. HUTTON, THE LAW AND THE BAKERS UNION.

H. W. Hutton is the attorney for the Bakers Union. The Bakers Union has been boycotting Ruediger & Loesch, because Ruediger & Loesch were and is still possessed of the villainous desire to drag their workmen down to the level of beasts. The Bakers Union won the right from the owners of the bakeshops to have one day in seven in which to become acquainted with their wives and children. This does not suit the firm mentioned. It wants its men to obey orders to work or not at the will of the firm without a whimper. The men refused and quit; they boycotted the firm. And this is where Mr. Hutton learns where a law is good when applied in one case and not good when applied in another.

"It is a constitutional right guaranteed by the Constitution of California that a man may speak freely and

publish his sentiments and when he talks of a storekeeper he is exercising his constitutional right.

Another point was that the complaint charges the Bakers' Union with asking people not to patronize Ruediger & Loesch. The Supreme Court, in the case of Boysen vs. Horne, 93 California, 578, stated emphatically that no cause of action can be tried against one man for asking another to break his contract with a third party even if he did so maliciously. That being so clearly stated it could not be actionable for one man to ask another not to make a contract.

What makes Mr. Hutton so incensed over Judge Troutt's decision is the fact that employers claim the right to blacklist employees, which is conceded to them by the Courts, and they have the right to combine to drive one of their number out of business. There is no difference in principle between employers blacklisting an employee and employees combining to blacklist employers. If one has the right to do so the other has the same right.

The law upon that point is laid down in the case of Bohn vs. Manufacturing Company, 54 Minnesota, 223, when a number of lumbar dealers combined and refused to sell lumber to a jobber. He sued for damages, and the Supreme Court decided that these men acted within their legal rights. There is no difference in the principle in that case and the employees doing the same thing.

It is almost unnecessary to point out here that Mr. Hutton is up against a condition of affairs the socialists have all along insisted obtained in this country: That the capitalist class can and does make laws and has these laws interpreted and enforced for its own welfare, but where the same laws would benefit the working class they are expunged, declared unconstitutional, or, as in this present case, ignored.

We are sorry for the Bakers' Union. The men are progressive and intelligent. A great many appreciate what the class struggle really means. This recent act of Judge Troutt will help to convince the rest, that as long as the working class is content to allow the capitalist class in power, so long will there be need for boycotts, and so long will there be need for judges who will interpret the same law in two different ways.

A TEMPERANCE ADVOCATE USES INTEMPERATE LANGUAGE

"I would like to put Bishop Potter and the Rev. Dr. Rainsford in a room together, stick my fingers in their faces and gouge their eyes out. I'd take this method of bringing them back to common sense and to the Lord."

This is not the utterance of a wild-eyed anarchist; the kindly disposed gentleman who wants to bring Bishop Potter and the Rev. Mr. Rainsford back to the Lord by main strength was once a candidate for governor—on the prohibition ticket. The man's name is Smith, though that is not as much of an explanation as the case demands. The two reverend gentlemen said that Prohibition was an impudent fraud and impudent failure. And now they are going to be brought back to the Lord and to common sense by having their eyes gouged out. Imagine a socialist making a statement like this. Imagine the wave of protest against the revolutionary language etc. in our own ranks. It is only the peace loving reformers who dare harbor murderous thoughts and give expression to them without danger of action at law.

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The "1901" State Committee met in San Francisco, January 11th 1902, pursuant to adjournment. Present, King, (chairman) Andrew, Gafvert, Scott and Smith.

Minutes of previous meeting read and approved.

The treasurer reports as follows:

Dec. 1901, Balance on hand when audited, \$1.37
Dec. 21, 1901. Received from secretary \$50.20

Total on hand Dec. 21, 1901 \$51.67

DISBURSMENTS.

Dec. 21. Paid to J. Geo. Smith \$ 1.00
" " " Nat'l Sec'y 36.35
" " Expense of sending .18

Total expenditure \$ 37.53

January 11, 1902, balance on hand, \$14.04.

J. E. SCOTT, Treasurer

On motion this report of the treasurer was adopted. On motion, the treasurer was instructed to turn over all money in his hands to the treasurer of the new Provisional State Committee. The secretary reports as follows:

DUE STAMP ACCOUNT.

(Old S. D. P. Stamps)

Sept. 18, 1901.	Received from J. M. Reynolds	119	
" 18, "	Sent Local Alhambra	25	
" 18, "	" " Los Angeles	50	
" 18, "	" " San Diego	30	
" 29, "	" " Santa Ana	14	
		119	119

NEW STAMPS OF SOCIALIST PARTY.

Sept. 28, 1901. Received from John M. Reynolds 554
Also 8 packages of 1200 each 9600

Total received Sept. 28, 1901 10,154

Sent to		
Sept. 29, '01	Santa Ana.....	16
" "	Chula Vista.....	16
" "	Riverside.....	50
" "	Redlands.....	50
" "	Sacramento.....	50
Oct. 2, '01	Los Angeles.....	50
" 11	San Francisco.....	100
" "	San Bernardino.....	20
" 14	Los Angeles.....	50
" 19	Vallejo.....	30
" "	San Jose.....	50
" 21	Hemet.....	50
" 31	Redlands.....	60
Nov. 4, '01	Los Angeles.....	22
" 4,	Los Angeles.....	28
" 2,	Alameda.....	50
" 4,	Los Angeles.....	50
" 5,	Oakland.....	50
" 8,	Long Beac.....	25
" 12,	Alhambra.....	16
" 14,	San Francisco.....	100
" 16,	Chula Vista.....	11
" 18,	Los Angeles.....	50
" 21,	San Diego.....	20
" 28,	Santa Barbara.....	11
" 29,	Oakland.....	50
Dec. 2, '01	Los Angeles.....	50
" 2,	San Bernardino.....	30

" 6,	Del Mar.....	9
" 6,	Hynes.....	5
" 8,	Santa Barbara.....	10
" 8,	Riverside.....	50
" 11,	San Francisco.....	100
" 11,	Los Angeles.....	200
" 18,	Redlands.....	50
" 18,	Alameda.....	50
" 21,	Chula Vista.....	10
" 14,	Hynes.....	5
" 21,	Fresno.....	7
" 26,	Redlands.....	10
" 27,	San Diego.....	50
" 28,	Santa Barbara.....	20
" 28,	Goleta.....	7
" 30,	Santa Ana.....	43
" 31,	Oakland.....	100
" 31,	Sample to Nat'l Secretary.....	1
Jan. 7, 1902	Los Angeles.....	100
" 8, "	Sacramento.....	50

Total 2032

Jan. 11, 1902. Balance on hand, stamp account 8,122

The following amounts were received for dues, since last meeting: Dec. 26, 1901—Local Redlands \$1; San Diego \$5; Dec. 28.—Santa Barbara \$2; Goleta* 0.75; Dec. 31.—Santa Ana \$4.30; Oakland \$10; Jan. 7, 1902—Los Angeles \$10; Sacramento \$5; Total receipts, \$38.05.

On motion this report was adopted. On motion the secretary was instructed to turn over all money and due stamps and all other property and correspondence etc. of Socialist Party to the secretary of the new provisional State Committee.

Minutes of this meeting read and approved and the committee adjourned sine die.

Respectfully submitted,
J. GEO. SMITH,
Sec'y of 1901 Committee.

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS!

Comrades and Friends:—Under a recent ruling of the Postoffice Department, no subscriber to a periodical is considered to be legitimate who is more than three months in arrears, and copies of the subscription lists must be submitted to the Postmaster-General for inspection.

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If you do not get your "Advance" regular, please notify the office of "Advance", 618 Merchant St., and we will investigate and inform you for what reason. After 3 months arrears we are compelled to stop sending paper if you don't send us word to continue subscription on credit or per remittance.

Fraternally
The Business Manager.

A PROTEST AGAINST "LABOR AND CAPITAL'S" LOVE FEAST.

Trading under the name "Industrial Department of the National Civic Federation" twenty capitalist and twelve labor union leaders, meeting recently in New York city have constituted themselves a committee. Their purpose according to prospectus; is to prevent strikes and establish harmonious relations between capitalists and laborers, employers and employees—in other words, to harness once more the good natured and thoughtless giant Labor.

This peace tribunal has been created with Senator Mark Hanna as the high priest. Verily, we may ask what good can come out of Nazareth?

Mark Hanna, the personification of capitalistic brutality, greed for power and wealth, political trickster and famed union wrecker, until halted by his political ambitions, steps upon the stage as the best friend of labor, the promoter of justice and defender of the oppressed.

The Socialist Party of Pennsylvania, representing the class conscious toilers, consider it their duty, to divest this farce comedy of its tinsel and glamor and reveal its tragic significance to the working class.

There exists the class of the exploiters and oppressors and the exploited and oppressed class—between these two there can be no peace.

Any measure for the emancipation of the subject class short of political revolution, will be utterly futile. Arbitration at best is an armistice in which the opposing forces of labor and capital confer about the terms upon which labor surrenders to capital.

The price at which labor should be bought and sold is an inherently irreconcilable issue that can not be eternally arbitrated. The difference between voluntary arbitration and compulsory arbitration is the difference between being robbed according to agreement or being robbed according to government, (and the capitalists are the government.)

Prepare to abolish capitalism and in proportion to the power demonstrated concessions will be given. When proletarians leave the economic basis of society undisturbed and plead for petty measures of relief, promises are the reward.

The interests of the capitalists cannot be considered without interfering with the interests of the working class.

Capitalism which has only to defend existing conditions, is simply the gainer, if the severity of the class struggle is tempered, if the opposition against its ruling attitude relaxes. This explains the longing of the capitalists for social peace.

If we were to consider capitalist interests, we would never get out of our misery. Therefore we oppose human interests to the interests of capitalist accumulation.

The community labor power lifts its human voice and protests against this transformation of men into economic puppets; protests against the whole economic structure the indispensable factor of which is the commodity 'man.'

The class-conscious workers fight capitalism from the standpoint of the necessary social revolution for the emancipation of their class. If they sacrifice this point of

vantage they have capitalist society with all its concomitant horrors.

The proletariat can either be the grave diggers or the subjects of capitalism.

The same papers upon the same day that informed us of the peace conference of the civic federation in New York city informed us there was thousands of blacklisted steel strikers roaming our country, their wives and little ones destitute.

Away with those who cry "Peace, peace" when there is no peace. Workingmen, forward to the conquest of the public powers.

Fraternally

J. W. QUICK, Sec'y Penn. State Committee.

Socialist Party Locals in California.

ALAMEDA—A. A. Crockett, 1610 Walnut St.
 ALHAMBRA—S. Wallace Niman.
 BENICIA—Wm. Gnauck.
 CHILA VISTA—John Davidson.
 COLUSA—Frank Wulff.
 DIXON—G. D. Van Pelt.
 DEL MAR—Mrs. S. C. Farrar.
 ESCONDIDO—J. B. Hoover.
 FRESNO—G. F. Alexander, Box 656.
 GOLETA—Henry A. Smith.
 HEMET—Chas. McDiarmid.
 HYNES—J. O. Blakeley.
 LONG BEACH—Chas. Shook.
 LOS ANGELES—A. F. Snell, 110 W. 2nd St.
 MERCED—James Hegessy.
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Address all communications to

THOS. BERSFORD
 Sec'y of Provisional State Committee.
 609 Stevenson St., San Francisco.

Patternmakers, retail clerks, metal polishers and other unions of Erie, Pa., have voted financial and moral support to the Socialist party. The old parties are combining against the Socialists, and the chances for a victory for the latter are daily growing brighter.

KARL MARX' ECONOMIC TEACHINGS.

BY KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated for "Advance" by Kasper Bauer.

(Continued from last week.)

We have referred before to the poor children 3—4 years of age, working in the lace schools and English straw plait industries, who often were compelled to work until midnight. The miserable, degenerate parents of these little straw-plaiters, "says Marx" have no concern save as to how much they can possibly get out of their children.

After growing up, these children as a matter of course, did not care anything at all about their parents and left them. It was not, however, the misuse of parental authority that caused the capitalistic exploitation, whether direct or indirect, of the labor of children; but on the contrary, it was the capitalistic mode of exploitation, which by doing away with the commercial basis of parental authority, made the exercise of this authority degenerate into a mischievous misuse of power. However terrible and disgusting the dissolution of the old family ties may appear, nevertheless, modern industry, by assigning an important part in the process of production to women, to young persons and to children of both sexes, created a new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations of the sexes. It is of course, just as ridiculous to hold the Teutonic-Christian form of the family to be absolute and final as it would be to apply that character to the ancient Roman, the ancient Greek or the eastern forms, which taken together form a series in historic development. It is also obvious that the fact of the collective working group being composed of both sexes and all ages must of necessity, and suitable conditions, become a source of human development, although, in its spontaneously developed, brutal-capitalistic form, where the laborer exists for the process of production, instead of the process of production existing for the laborer that fact is a pestiferous source of corruption and slavery. This glimpse into the future, given by Marx, may somewhat reconcile us with the system of machinery and with modern industry. As unmeasurable as are the miseries inflicted upon the workers by this system, it may be some consolation to know that this suffering has not been in vain. We know that from the field of labor, fertilized with the corpses of thousands of workers, will spring a new harvest, a new, higher form of society. Machine-production forms the foundation upon which will rise a new generation, far removed from the outside limitations of handicraft and manufacture, a generation not the slave of nature, as were the beings of primitive communism; not a race like that of classic antiquity enjoying physical and mental power and beauty at the expense of herds of oppressed slaves; but a race, harmoniously developed, joyous of life and able to enjoy, masters of the earth and of the forces of nature taking into one common bond all the members of the community.

BOOK III, CHAPTER I

WAGES.

Changes of magnitude of the price of labor-power and in surplus value.

In book II we have made the production of surplus-value our main subject of investigation. Now we will examine the laws of wages. In order to do this, we must, as a preliminary, examine the change of magnitude of the price of labor-power and of

surplus-value, a change brought about by the changes of three factors: I The length of the work-day. II The normal intensity of labor-power and, III The productivity of labor-power.

These three factors may change in many different ways, some times one alone changes, then perhaps two, or again all three, then one may change in one degree, the other in another and so on. It is not necessary, and would lead us too far from question to examine all of the combinations resulting from these changes; after the main combinations are given and explained, one can, by given the matter some thought, easily develop the rest. Therefore, only these main combinations will here be given. We will examine the changes in the relative magnitude of surplus-value and of the price of labor-power should any one of the three factors change while the other two remain constant.

The length of the working day and the intensity of labor-power remain constant, while the productivity of labor changes. The productivity of labor-power effects the mass of products produced within a given length of time, but it does not effect the magnitude of the value of this mass of products. If, as the result of an invention the weaver is enabled to use up 6 lbs of yarn within one hour where formerly he could only use up 1 lb within that time, he will produce 6 times as much cloth within the same time as formerly but the amount of value he produces will be the same as before. But the value added to 1 lb. of yarn by him transforming it into cloth is just one-sixth of what it formerly was. This decrease in values reacts upon the value of the means of subsistence of the worker, for instance upon his wearing apparel. The value of labor-power decreases while surplus-value increases correspondingly. Of course the reverse holds true should the productivity of labor decrease. The increase or decrease in surplus-value is always the result never the cause of a corresponding increase or decrease of the value of labor-power. It depends upon many different circumstances, especially upon the power of resistance of the workers, whether and as to how far the decrease of the value of labor-power shall be followed by a decrease in the price of labor-power. Let us suppose that as the result of an increase in the productivity of labor-power; the value of labor-power per day should fall from \$3 to \$2, its price, however, only from \$3 to \$2.50. If formerly the amount of surplus value daily per worker was also \$3, the result would be that, though the value of labor-power had fallen \$1, the amount of surplus-value would not increase to \$4, but only to \$3.50. Such cases, however, rarely ever happen, for it not only presupposes rare power of resistance of the working-class, but also that both the other two factors, the length of the work-day and the intensity of labor-power, remain constant. The effect of changes of these two factors is usually ignored by economists. Let us examine the effects of changes in these two factors.

(To be continued.)

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1902

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- Feb 2nd—Henry E. Highton,
Standards of Life.
- Feb 9th—Hyman Strunsky,
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 - Feb 2nd—Henry E. Highton,
 - Feb 9th—Hyman Strunsky, The Contemporary Mood.
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