THE WESTERN CLARION

Published in the Interests of the Working Class Alone.

This Number 315 — Vancouver, B. C., Saturday, April 8, 1905. — Subscription Price Per Year $1.00

TWO CONVENTIONS OF MINERS

Meet to Devise Ways and Means of Thwarting Capitalist Exploitation

WESTERN FEDERATION.

The closing sessions of the annual convention of District No. 6 of the Western Federation of Miners, were held in Miners' union hall yesterday afternoon and evening. Office s were elected, the place of the next annual meeting was determined, and reports of all committees were received and acted upon. The most important development was the decision to take part in future provincial legislation to the extent of taking a vote of the members of the federation on the proposed legislation before each session of the legislature of British Columbia.

The officers elected for the ensuing year are: President Frank Phillips, Nelson; vice-president, W. B. McIsaac, Ymir; secretary-treasurer, A. Shilland, Sandon.

Phoenix, Moyie, Kamloops, Rossland and Nelson extended invitations for the next annual convention. On a series of ballots the invitation of Phoenix was accepted.

A grievance reported between two local unions was referred for settlement to a committee consisting of the president, secretary, a delegate from each union concerned, and a fifth member to be selected by the other four.

It was decided that as the present session of the provincial legislature is already far advanced, no action would be taken this year in respect of its work. But in future each session will be anticipated by the executive committee, which will submit to a referendum vote of the district of the Federation, all legislation which shall be deemed advisable. The result of the vote will then be brought to the attention of the government in time to permit of the drafting of bills embodying the decisions.—Daily News March 4.

The time of yesterday's session of the district convention of the Western Federation of miners was devoted to the consideration of the president's address which was eventually approved in its entirety.

The only other matter of importance considered and disposed of was a set of resolutions which had been presented with the request that action be taken by the convention. One asked the Federation to answer the enquiry: "Are you in favor of the Western Federation of Miners taking part in politics?" Another asked: "Is the Western Federation of Miners in favor of the principles of the socialistic party?"

After considerable discussion the convention decided to submit both questions to a referendum vote of the Federation.—Daily News, March 23.

The following is taken from President Mills' address to the convention:

"This session of the legislature witnessed the defeat of a much-needed bill, "the Eight-Hour Bill for Smeltermen." Although the bill has been defeated, the principle lives, and I venture to assert that we will have eight hours for smelters before March, 1906.

"The average old-party politician is unable to see the need of labor legislation until sufficient force and desperation has been used and the point gained in spite of their efforts. Our legislators, influenced by lobyists who went to Victoria, have let a golden oppotunity pass to put into effect an eight-hour bill for smelters, and thus prevent a needless, yet irresistable struggle on the industrial field of B. C. Regretting it as we may, the course is forced upon us, and if we are true to our manhood we will see that our fellowman, toiling in the poisonous smokes, dust and gas, shall labor but eight hours a day."

That the Socialist Party representatives in the Provincial House have shown themselves in no manner influenced by lobyists, but have fearlessly pushed forward the demands of labor for shorter hours in the face of all opposition, and have openly stated upon the floor of the House that more drastic action than already proposed only awaits the time when the Party shall have gained sufficient strength to make it effective, will no doubt be convincing proof to the miners that it is deserving of their support as the true political expression of working-class interests. It is encouraging to note the increasing disposition towards political activity along class lines among the victims of capitalist exploitation who still have spirit enough to revolt against the brutal exactions of the shambles of capitalism, known as the labor market. Such men are of good material and the knowledge that comes to them through the fires of experience will eventually temper them into the invincible steel of the Revolution.

UNITED MINE WORKERS.

Second Annual Convention of District No. 18, U. M. W. of A. held in the Miners' Hall, at Fernie, B. C.

President Frank H. Sherman in the chair.

District officers present: Brother Frank H. Sherman, president; Brother R. Patterson, vice-president; Brother John N. Howbrook, secretary-treasurer. Delegates: Brother Thomas Addison, Fernie District 2314; Brother John S. Laurens, Michel District No. 2334; Brother Robert Evans, Frank District 1263; Brother Harry Gates, Colem[an] District No 2633; Brother W. Jenkins, Lille District No. 12[..] Brother James Severns, Morris[sey] District No. 2318; Brother And[rew] Hood, Bellevue District No. 431.

Much business was gone thro[ugh] amongst which was business of s[...] interest to the general public. Following resolution was read [and] adopted.

Whereas, this Convention, rep[re]senting District 18, favors the id[ea] or advisability of bringing out [a] labor candidate for the Provinc[ial] Parliament for the Fernie riding a[nd] the Crow' Nest district of Albert[a] and that this convention instru[ct] the district officers to take steps [to] inaugurate a monthly holiday, an[d] that it be left to the Locals wh[at] day of the month it should be; An[d] it is also further resolved that w[e] abolish all Sunday work as near [as] possible, and that the Sunday Ob[servance] Act be in force in Alberta, and in case of necessity that all men employed on Sunday be paid at the rate of time and a half.

That we elect an International Board member by a referendum vote of the District and that the said election take place the 28th day of March, and returns for same be handed to the District Secretary-Treasurer not later than the 30th day of March 1905;

Furthermore, let it be resolved that Whereas, the Dominion Government did grant 250,000 acres of public lands, said lands being considered the richest lands in Canada, to a company which is now called the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company, limited;

And Whereas the policy of that company is and always has been to keep certain of its towns closed to the general public;

And Whereas this policy has resulted in one firm having a complete monopoly of the store business at these towns to the detriment of other tradesmen in this district:

And Whereas this same policy has resulted in the workmen of the district having to pay excessive prices for their goods and the necessities of life;

And Whereas the workmen do not consider this to be justice or fair play and also do not consider these methods consistent with British ideas of liberty and honest dealing;

And Whereas at the present time at Michel, Carbonado and Coal Creek hundreds of workmen and their families are residing where there is only one store allowed to carry on business;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED that this Convention, representing the workmen employed by the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company, limited, unanimously condemn the action of the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company, limited, in keeping these towns closat his ear for four days and nights, that we call upon the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company, limited, to immediately place upon the market plots of land at a reasonable figure or price situate in their said towns of Carbonado, Michel and Coal Creek for the purpose of allowing tradesmen to carry on a store or other business and also for the purpose of allowing their workmen or employes the opportunity of purchasing lands to build their homes upon;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that if the company fail to comply with this request that an appeal be made to the Government to introduce legislation making it illegal for any company to keep any town or village closed to the general public, and that copies of this resolution be sent to each Director of the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company and to each member of parliament!

Whereas we believe that the time has arrived when the miners of this district ought to be paid every two weeks, be it therefore resolved that this convention take steps to have this done.

TO Messrs. Hawthornthwaite, Houston, Jones, Clifford, Fraser, McGowan, Shatford and Gifford, Members of the Provincial Parliament, Victoria, B. C.:

Gentlemen:—At the Second Annual Convention of District No. 18, United Mine Workers of America, held in the Miners' Hall, Fernie, B. C., March 15th, 16th and 17th, 1905, the following resolution was unanimously passed:

Resolved, that this Convention now assembled would fail in its duty if we did not refer and express our appreciation of the noble stand taken by you gentlemen in supporting the bill in favor of an eight-hour working day for smeltermen, as we are satisfied that when this bill was drafted and presented that you gentlemen gave it your careful consideration and supported its merits alone.

We are of opinion and feel that it is the duty and incumbent on every voter who has the workingman's cause at heart to take a firm stand hereafter in the selection of a candidate to represent the cause of labor ure and particularly that of William R. Ross, the present representative of the Fernie District.

Resolved that the foregoing be published in the Fernie Ledge, Nelson Tribune, Daily News and every other available paper in British Columbia.

And it was further resolved that we do not think it advisable for any member of the United Mine Workers of America to join the militia in any coal camp under the present circum-

... such to reach our own ends. And this holds true quite especially of the mighty productive forces of today. As long as we obstinately refuse to understand the nature and the character of these social means of action—and this understanding goes against the grain of the capitalist mode of production and its defenders—so long these forces are at work in spite of us, in opposition to us, so long they master us, as we have shown above in detail.

But when once their nature is understood they can, in the hands of the producers working together, be transformed from master demons into willing servants. The difference is as that between the destructive force of electricity in the lightning of the storm, and electricity under command in the telegraph and the voltaic arc; the difference between a conflagration, and fire working in the service of man. With this recognition at last of the real nature of the productive forces of today, the social anarchy of production gives place to a social regulation of production upon a definite plan, according to the needs of the community and of each individual. Then the capitalist mode of appropriation, in which the product enslaves first the producer and then the appropriator, is replaced by the mode of appropriation of the products that is based upon the nature of the modern means of production; upon the one hand, direct social appropriation, as means to the maintenance and extension of production—on the other, direct individual appropriation, as means of subsistence and of enjoyment.

Whilst the capitalist mode of production more and more completely transforms the great majority of the population into proletarians, it creates the power which, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced ...

... mains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a State, is no longer necessary. The first act by virtue of which the State really constitutes itself the representative of the whole society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is at the same time, its last independent act as a State.

State interference with social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superflous and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The State is not "abolished." It dies out. This gives the measure of the value of the phrase "a free State," both as to its justifiable use at times by agitators, and as to its ultimate scientific insufficiency, and also of the demands of the so-called anarchists for the abolition of the State out of hand.

The working men have no country We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeoisie sense of the word.—Communist Manifesto.

The class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class is a political struggle for control of the powers of wealth production. The former will struggle to retain its control, the latter to seize it. The nearness of approach to the class struggle is indicated by the extent to which the knowledge of the class character of politics is spread among the members of th...

In the smelters of Anaconda, B. C. and Boundary Falls the men who work as feeders eight hours per day get the same pay as charge runners, or barrow men who work 12 hours. In Boundary Falls the company has trouble in getting feeders as the labor is so intense that men would rather wheel charges for 12 hours than feed for 8 hours.

In Grand Forks it is all 12 hours. They used to have half an hour for lunch but the company has lately cut the lunch time to 20 minutes. A few men who foolishly insisted on having half an hour for lunch were discharged. The labor has been so intensified in the mines that the men now expend more energy in eight hours than they used to expend in 10. This makes it impossible to exercise proper care with explosives, therefore accounting for the increase in the number of accidents which kill or cripple men not only in the mines but also in the smelters, for the explosives often get mixed with the ore and explode as soon as they reach the blast furnaces. This coupled with the inhaling of gases and impure air compels the average man to lay off about three days in every two weeks to recuperate: As one fellow said to me, "I hate to lay off, for I need the money and would like to work every shift as I don't know how soon it will close down, but last night I was so nervous I could'nt sleep."

All of this helps to make life for the workers very much like it has always been in the days of a decaying society or ruling class.

The Grand Forks smelter is quite a modern plant and they are now about to give many of their employees a well deserved rest. They have already in operation in connection with four of their furnaces an electric apparatus which enables sixteen men to do the work formerly requiring about ninety. They are building two more furnaces with a capacity almost equal to four of those now in use. It is said the company will increase the capacity of all its furnaces until they equal that of the now largest blast furnaces in the world which have been put into successful operation at the Washoe Smelter at Anaconda, Montana, where in 24 hours charges of ore aggregating 2,000 tons are turned into copper matte. Such gigantic strides in the development of the smelting industry causes the Grand Forks Evening Sun to remark "at this rate of progress the company will soon be able to give its employees a working day of eight hours hours." Yes, when the electrical machines do the work and the labor of the men who operate them becomes so intensified that 8 hours will be the limit of human endurance per day then the smelter man may expect an eight-hour day. Then and not till then will property allow its owners to grant it. The capitalists are not to blame under the present system, as you must either be an exploiter of labor or one of the exploited.

Capitalist property says to its owners. If you are to retain your ownership and thus escape falling into the ranks of the exploited, you must defend the very fringe of your property just as ferociously as you would the whole of it. That the capitalists of British Columbia are alive to their true position is shown by Liberals and Conservatives pouncing upon the eight-hour bills introduced by the Socialist members at Victoria which at best only touches the fringe of capitalist property. They pounce upon them just as ferociously, however, as though they were bills to transform capitalist property into collective or working class property.

Capitalist property makes wage labor the dominant form of labor, thereby making labor power a commodity bought and sold in the market like potatoes, onions, cow-hides or any other commodity. The result of the development of the smelting industry as described above is true to a greater or less degree of every other industry. The unemployed are becoming greater in number every hour, in other words every hour there are less jobs and more job-seekers. Supply of labor power greater than the demand for it. Keen competition between the peddlers of the commodity labor power, and down comes its price (wages) and must continue to do so just as long as capitalist property holds control of the reins of government. We are upon the verge of a world-wide revolution, and history is calling upon the wage slaves to perform a mission. That mission is to capture the reins of government and transform capitalist property into collective or working class property. Such transformation abolishes the wage system, frees the worker from capitalist exploitation, and society from class rule.

If you would perform your part in this great mission of the working class you must acquaint yourself with the true function of capitalist property and the commodity nature of your labor power. Read Wage Labor and capital. You can do this in an hour or so, and should you not grasp its contents and meaning the first time, read it over until you do, for that which it explains should be thoroughly understood by every working man and woman.

C. M. O'BRIEN,

Grand Forks, Mar. 28, 1905.

SPASM AMONG D. D.'S.

Of all the ridiculous spasms of scrupulosity, that indulged in by a batch of Congregational preachers over the "propriety or impropriety of accepting so-called tainted money for religious purposes" is certainly the most grotesque on record. Rockefeller offers $100,000 to the American Board of Foreign Missions, and behold, quite a bunch of these D. D.'s are thrown into this peculiar sort of a spasm, although for the life of us we can't see why. The Rockefeller dollars have been made as honestly as any dollar ever was made in business. They have been made in the ordinary course of business, and are tainted with nothing but the blood of the working class, out of whose unpaid labor they have been coined. As the dollars that have hitherto found their way into religious coffers have been similarly tainted, it is the height of absurdity for these pious folk to suddenly shy at the taint. They certainly should long since have become accustomed to it.

These Doctors of Divinity have an idea that John D.'s money is not made in the ordinary business way. In this they show a lamentable lack of understanding. If they are equally ignorant as to the ills of their patient it would be better for divinity if it had no doctors.

STRKIE-BREAKING AS A SCIENCE

How it is Carried on in Up-to-Date Capitalist Style

It is of the utmost importance to capitalists that an ample quantity of labor power be continually on the market from which they may draw such supply as they may require. [...] be a constant surplus available acts as a lever to hold the price [o]nly down to the lowest possible [co]st of production, thus insuring to [ca]pital the maximum volume of sur[pl]us value or profit. This is an emi[ne]ntly desirable condition from the [st]andpoint of capital, and the great[er] quantity of surplus labor in the [ma]rket the more satisfactory the [co]ndition.

[A] huge surplus of labor in the mar[ke]t acts as a veritable "big stick" [wi]th which employers beat their wage [sla]ves into subjection whenever they [be]come rebellious and make importu[na]te demands. Once the slaves quit [the]ir jobs, the employers draw upon [thi]s surplus to fill the places made [va]cant. It is much the same as hav[in]g extra machines available to take [th]e place of those disabled.

[O]ut of the present overstocked la[bo]r market it is not only possible, [bu]t in fact quite an easy matter to [re]cruit men for any purpose. How [co]mpletely men can be recruited and [m]ade available for use in case of [ne]ed has been shown recently in the [ca]se of the Interborough strike in [Ne]w York. The company had been [pr]eparing for an emergency for a [ye]ar or more, and when the men [qu]it their posts an organized force [st]epped into the vacant places and [in] short order things ran along much [th]e same as though no strike had [ta]ken place. Secret service men had kept the company fully informed as to all contemplated action upon the part of the employes, and others had been diligently at work recruiting and organizing from the surplus labor in the market, the force that was to turn the trick upon the deluded employes at the critical moment. That moment came when the men were foolish enough to strike. How completely the trick was turned is now a matter of history. In a recent strike of electrical workers in Baltimore the strikers' places were filled within fifteen minutes by one of the organized bands of so-called "strike breakers."

As an illustration of the way the "big stick" of surplus labor is systematically and scientifically used by the capitalists, the following from the New York Herald is especially good:

James Farley, who is the best known chief strike breaker in the United States, has a captain in every large city. The captain maintains a regular headquarters and there keeps an accurate record of the number of men in his district that he can supply on a few hours' notice. Farley is in regular communication with all his captains and within a very short time after he is notified that a section of his army is desired in some city, he has the army assembled by telegraphic order and ready to move.

Farley himself goes to the front and looks over the ground. He first locates what he terms the "trouble spots," places where his men are most likely to be attacked by strikers, and makes provision to have these places well guarded by the police. Then he familiarizes himself with the operation of the company's lines and waits for the battle to begin. Immediately his men are on the ground, he takes absolute charge of operating the road, because he knows his men and knows how to handle them. To all intents and purposes he is, for the time being, president and general manager of the road, and the company is obliged to pay generously for his services.

During the Interborough strike Farley sat at his desk, with a telephone ed to the detriment of workmen, and with only a few hours' sleep, eating his meals where he sat. He simply takes the contract to re-establish the company's service after its regular employes leave, and permits no one but himself to give an order or offer a suggestion. When the strike is thoroughly broken he sends home such of his men as do not care to remain in their new places and then retires to his own palatial country place near Lake Champlain, and waits for another strike to call him and his army into action.

And yet there are persons professing to be Socialists; claiming to understand the commodity nature of labor power and the inexorable laws of exchange; making pretense of class-consciousness, class-solidarity and the class struggle, who seem utterly blind to the facts staring them in the face from the labor market, and delude themselves into the belief that concessions can still be wrung from their economic masters by some cunning combination of slaves who are not only without power, but liable at any moment to be out of jobs as well.

The labor market with all of its splendid possibilities from a capitalist standpoint arises out of the capitalist ownership of the means of production. As long as this ownership continues the workers must remain absolutely helpless as against the exactions of their economic masters. The first step towards their deliverance from economic bondage is to break the hold of the masters upon the reins of public power. If the zeal and energy wasted in ridiculous attempts to force concessions from a master class with a continually congested labor market at its disposal, were expended in the class struggle, that is, the struggle to oust the ruling class from its control of public power, the economic dominion of capital would be speedily broken and the slave market abolished.

PENNSYLVANIA CHILD LABOR.

How it is Ground Into Profit in the Mill of Capitalism.

In the mining districts of Pennsylvania children labor under conditions which are, if possible, even more injurious to them than the child labor of the cotton mills is to the children of the south. In the mines, mills and factories, before the furnaces and in the sweatshops of Pennsylvania, that state of colossal industrial crimes, one hundred and twenty thousand little ones were, in the year 1900, according to the U. S. census, sacrificing a part of their right to life, most of their right to liberty, and all their right to happiness except perhaps of a bestial kind.

The commission appointed to settle the anthracite coal strike of 1902 heard the cases of Theresa McDermott and Rosa Zinka. These children represented, though unknown to them, seventeen thousand little girls under sixteen years of age, who were toiling in the great silk mills and lace factories of the mining districts of Pennsylvania. The chairman could not repress his indignation when these two eleven-year-old children told the commission how they left their homes to report at the factory at half-past six in the evening and spent at work the long hours of the night until half-past six in the morning.

The girls go to the mills, the boys to the breakers. A year ago Mr. Francis H. Nichols said regarding these children: "I saw four hundred lads working in the breakers. One of the children told me, 'We go to work at seven in the morning and stay until six in the evening'." "Are there many in the breakers younger than you?" he asked one of the children. "Why, sure; I'm one of the oldest. I'm making sixty cents. Most of them is eight and nine years old." Mr. Nichols then asked, "Did you ever go to school?" "To school?" the child echoed; "Say, mister, you must be a green hand. Why, lads in the anthracite doesn't go to school; they works in the breakers!"

They do not go to school, but instead they are put to work as soon as they may be trusted not to fall into the machinery and be killed. There is hardly an employment more demoralizing and physically injurious than this work in the breakers. For ten or eleven hours a day these children of ten and eleven years stoop over the chute and pick out the slate and other impurities from the coal as it moves past them. The air is black with coal dust, and the roar of the crushers, screens and rushing mill-race of coal is deafening. Sometimes one of the children falls into the machinery and is terribly mangled, or slips into the chute and is smothered to death. Many children are killed in this way. Many others after a time contract coal miner's asthma and consumption, which gradually undermine their health. Breathing continually, day after day, the clouds of coal dust, their lungs become black and choked with small particles of anthracite. There are in the United States about twenty-four thousand children employed in and about the mines and quarries.

Certain evil-disposed persons are raising a hulabaloo because the Chicago Wrecking Company bought the property of the St. Louis Exposition for $450,000 and stands to clear a measly $1,000,000 out of the deal. Some of the E.-D. persons even insinuate that crookedness was not altogether a stranger to the deal. This envy of those business men who have the necessary brains to turn a few honest pennies by seizing an opportunity when it is offered, is deplorable indeed. It should always be conceded that brains are entitled to generous reward.

AN EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

McDevitt—What happened to McGinnis?

Housell—He drowned.

McDevitt—And couldn't he swim?

Housell—He did for eight hours, but he was a union man.—Laborers' Journal.

The Western Clarion

Published every Saturday in the interests of the Working Class alone at the office of the Western Clarion, Flack block basement, 165 Hastings street, Vancouver, B. C.

SUBSCRIPTION: $1.00 PER ANNUM

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SATURDAY ... ...April 8, 1905

LOOKING FOR LIGHT.

Phoenix, B. C., march 26, 1905.
Mr. E. T. Kingsley, Editor Clarion:

Mr. Editor,—In the issue of the Clarion dated March 18, under the heading of "Cold Comfort," on the back page of the same, I find the following statement in answer to a Comrade White, to wit.:

"Once abandon this sound position and admit that the workers 'pay' rates and 'pay' this, that and the other, and you will soon be floundering in the quagmire of bourgeois economics, unable to find sound foothold. For if the workers pay rates, then a saving of rates is to their advantage. If this is so, and if they benefit by a saving of expenditure in this or any other direction, then it follows that the whole theory of the exploitation of the workers on the field of production is wrong; that it is not as producers, but as consumers they are fleeced; that profit is not made in production, but in exchange, and that the duty of the proletariat is not to organize for the abolition of capitalist domination and exploitation, but to make common cause with the bourgeois consumers to get a reduction in prices and rates."

The question I want to ask, Mr. Editor, is why does it follow that the theory of the exploitation of the workers on the field of production is wrong? considering that Ernest Unterman, whom you stignatize as a "bourgeois economist," does not declare that the worker is exploited merely as a consumer, but, both as a producer, and as a consumer.

Why, also should it follow that the working class, who form an overwhelming percentage of the consumers, must make common cause with the bourgeois consumers, considering that the latter are consumers only by virtue of their ability to rob the workers?

Either I'm rather dense, Mr. Editor, or else you have not made a clear statement.

Yours for enlightenment,
H. BAMBURY.

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Our correspondent is in error in attributing to us that which he quotes from "Cold Comfort." If he will read it again he will note that the quotations are from a comrade who contributes to the columns of London Justice, the organ of the Social Democratic Federation of England, under the name of "Tattler."

The exploitation of the workers on the field of production is the Marxian theory. "Marx' Analysis of Capitalist Production," which lays bare in what he terms surplus value, the source of all capital and capitalist profit, demonstrates that theory to be a sound and incontrovertible one. Labor power is a commodity. It is something for which the owner (worker) has no use, inasmuch as he possesses no instruments of production, and must therefore offer for sale upon the market in order to convert it into something for which he has a use. In throwing his labor power upon the market as a commodity the worker finds himself subject to the same law of exchange as do the owners of other commodities, and this law, though an unwritten one, cannot be over-ridden. As Marx puts it, "the value of one commodity is to the value of any other, as the labor-time necessary for the production of the one is to that necessary for the production of the other." This is the basis of all exchange and can be avoided by sel,ers of commodities only under exceptional circumstances and even then for but brief periods. When the worker disposes of his commodity labor power, receiving in exchange a wage which in turn he exchanges for food, etc., he has merely exchanged labor power for which he has no use, for food, etc., for which he has use, and the exchange has been made upon the basis of value for value. It is already admitted, even by muddle-headed economists, that the average wage is but equal to the average keep of a working man. This must of necessity be so as long as there are more workers than jobs. The unavoidable competition among the workers arising out of such a condition would render it inevitable that the wage remain at that point, and even eventually compel the workers to dispense with everything it were possible for them to do without.

The average wage then is the average cost of enough food, etc., to reproduce the labor power expended, and it logically follows that the worker has not been wronged in the exchange. That which he has received is the full equivalent in exchange value of that which he sold. The food, etc., he received will reproduce or make good the labor power he expended. He has received all his labor power was worth as a commodity. The purchaser paid the full exchange value in the form of money, which the worker in turn exchanged with the merchant for food, etc., getting full exchange value in return for his money. Equivalent has been exchanged for equivalent and while the worker stands in the same position as before, the employer and merthant have each made a profit out of the transaction. Now let us see how this has come about.

The labor power which the worker is thus forced to sell as a commodity in order to obtain the food, etc., that he requires, is consumed in the process of capitalist wealth production. Its exchange value, the price the purchaser paid for it, becomes transferred to the products resulting from its expenditure. Take for instance, the labor power expended by the Phoenix miners. As it is consumed in the production of ore its exchange value (cost) reappears again in the output of the mine. As the ore is consumed by the smelter this same exchange value once more reappears in the form of copper matte, along with the value of the labor power of the smeltermen. As this copper matte goes through the further stages leading up to the finished articles and there its final removal from the list of commodities, the exchange value of the labor power of the miners and that of all the workers who subsequently contributed to the process, appears and reappears in the various articles until a purchaser is finally found to remove them from the market for personal use or consumption. This final purchaser merely gives in exchange some other commodity carrying an equivalent amount of labor-time. With the exception of labor power no commodity consumed in production will transfer to the product more than its own exchange value, or create any new exchange value. If a thousand dollars' worth of cotton be consumed in the production of twenty thousand yards of cloth, five cents of its former exchange value will now be found in each yard of cloth, but no more. It is different, however, with the commodity labor power, and it arises from the fact that one day's labor power expended in production can produce more than enough food, etc., to keep a laborer for that length of time. If this were not true exploitation could not exist. As we know it does exist then it must be true. Granting that it does exist; that labor power is a commodity; that commodities exchange with each other according to the relative amount of labor time necessarily embodied in their production, and a simple suppositious case should be quite sufficient to lay bare the capitalist mode of exploitation.

Suppose the average product for one day of the modern worker be sufficient to keep him four days, and the working day was eight hours. As that which goes into the production of labor power, that is, food, etc., necessarily involves a large number of articles we will simplify matters by using the term one loaf of bread to indicate the necessary amount of food, etc., to produce one day's labor power. Our supposition would therefore stand thus: One loaf of bread will produce one day's labor power. One day's labor power expended in the production of bread will produce four loaves. With the market well supplied, or over-supplied with laborers the wages will necessity be held firmly down to the line of the one loaf, and as the worker must sell his day's labor power in order to get the loaf that he must have or perish, we find him in the position of having to produce four loaves, or their equivalent, in order to get one for himself, and each of the loaves possesses the same exchange value. Each of them will purchase a day's labor power because each will produce a day's labor power. The worker has not been cheated in exchange. His labor power was bought as a commodity and the other commodity the loaf which he got, produced for him another day's labor power like the one he sold. The secret of it all is exceedingly simple once we make an effort to discover it. It is like this. As the productive power of our suppositious laborer was equal to four loaves, and his wage one loaf, in two hours of his working day he reproduced the amount of labor power he sold, and each succeeding two hours repeated the process. The loaf that he got in payment for his day's labor power had embodied in it two hours of labor time. As he consumed it thus turning it into a day's labor power, again ready for sale, this day's labor power had embodied in it that two hours' labor time. It had only cost that two hours' labor time to produce it, hence it was equal in exchange value to a loaf of bread. Each of the three remaining loaves cost an equal amount of labor time, hence they possessed a similar exchange value. The production of the loaves of bread was of course not completed until they passed out of circulation and into the hands of consumers, but it is equally true that their entire exchange value was put into them on the field of production, and by the hand of labor alone. All the different capitalists did whether farm lords, factory lords or traders, was to wrestle among themselves to see who could hang on to the la[rgest] ...

...holds true quite especially of the [migh]ty productive forces of today. [As l]ong as we obstinately refuse to [unde]rstand the nature and the char[acter] of these social means of action [an]d this understanding goes against [the] grain of the capitalist mode of [prod]uction and its defenders—so long [thes]e forces are at work in spite of [us, i]n opposition to us, so long they [mast]er us, as we have shown above [in d]etail.

[Bu]t when once their nature is un[derst]ood, they can, in the hands of [the] producers working together, be [tran]sformed from master demons in[to w]illing servants. The difference is [as th]at between the destructive force [of el]ectricity in the lightning of the [stor]m, and electricity under com[man]d in the telegraph and the vol[taic] arc; the difference between a [confla]gration, and fire working in the [servi]ce of man. With this recogni[tion a]t last of the real nature of the [produ]ctive forces of today, the so[cial] anarchy of production gives [place] to a social regulation of pro[ducti]on upon a definite plan, accord[ing t]o the needs of the community [and] of each individual. Then the [capit]alist mode of appropriation, in [which] the product enslaves first the [produ]cer and then the appropriator, [is re]placed by the mode of appropri[ation] of the products that is based [upon] the nature of the modern means [of pr]oduction; upon the one hand, [direct] social appropriation, as means [to th]e maintenance and extension of [produ]ction—on the other, direct in[dividu]al appropriation, as means of [subsis]tence and of enjoyment.

[Whil]st the capitalist mode of pro[ductio]n more and more completely [transf]orms the great majority of the [popul]ation into proletarians, it cre[ates] ...

... price for his bread, meat, etc., or he is looted by way of "rates," Marx' analysis of commodities and their exchange falls to the ground and everything stated by Tattler follows as a logical sequence.

This is so self-evident that the "why" requires no further answer.

As the "theory of exploitation on the field of production" falls to the ground there is nothing left for the worker to do but "make common cause with the bourgeois consumers to get a reduction in prices and rates," and we have yet to learn of that fraternity ever manifesting any disposition towards "the abolition of capitalist domination and exploitation." That "robbed as consumers" cry comes from the "petty bourgeois" that are too weak, because of insufficient capital, to be able to get in on the ground floor in the "divy" of the loot taken out of the workers in the shape of surplus value on the field of production.

The Marxian theory and the consumers' proposition are as wide apart as the poles. It would require something more than a "Colussus of Rhodes" to stand with one leg upon each without being split asunder. It requires less of effort to drift helpless in the fog of economic confusion than to obtain chart and compass and steer a straight course, but the latter is the only safe and sure way to reach the haven of working class emancipation of which so many of our class are now dreaming.

As we have never heard of any "theory of exploitation of the field of production" other than that of Marx,' and as that of necessity falls to the ground once the discovery is made that the works are "fleeced" as consumers, it makes our correspondent's last "why" a rather ridiculous one. "Bourgeois consumers" never admit that wage earners are robbed, and those who abandon the Marxian theory of exploitation, and thus cast their lot with them, should refrain from making such admission lest the suspicion be aroused that they instinctively feel that Marx was correct in his conclusions. If those conclusions are not absolutely correct how do these "bourgeois consumers" come by "their ability to rob the workers" anyhow?

Like our correspondent, we wish for enlightenment.

MINERS MIXED.

We publish elsewhere in this issue a part of the proceedings of the second annual convention of District No. 18, United Mine Workers of America. Whether the other papers to which the report was sent published it or not we do not know.

Any earnest effort on the part of organized bodies of workingmen to solve the problem of what is daily making their lives more miserable, is to be commended. But our friends of the U. M. W. of A. fall into the usual error of attributing their discomforts to something which occurs at the consumers end of the proposition. In this instance they fancy that at least a good portion of their hard lot is due to the fact that but one firm is allowed to do a store business in their locality, and inferentially this firm is in caboots with the coal company. Presumably this firm has a sort of lead-pipe cinch upon a very good thing in thus having a monopoly of a nice little trade, and the miners make loud complaint in consequence. Just why a complaint of this sort should be made by members of an organization the purpose of which is to effect a similar monopoly in regard to the sale of its own wares (labor power) is a conundrum.

... [re]mains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a State, is no longer necessary. The first act by virtue of which the State really constitutes itself the representative of the whole society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is at the same time, its last independent act as a State.

State interference with social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superflous and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The State is not "abolished." It dies out. This gives the measure of the value of the phrase "a free State," both as to its justifiable use at times by agitators, and as to its ultimate scientific insufficiency, and also of the demands of the so-called anarchists for the abolition of the State out of hand.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeoisie sense of the word.—Communist Manifesto.

The class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class is a political struggle for control of the powers of wealth production. The former will struggle to retain its control, the latter to seize it. The nearness of approach to the class struggle is indicated by the extent to which the knowledge of the class character of politics is spread among the members of the working class.

... learn that they are fleeced by the Crow's Nest Pass Coal Company at the mine and coke oven. It is there they surrender all that they possess, their labor power, in exchange for enough food, etc., to enable them to return next day and repeat the process. They should not allow themselves to be led astray by artful schemes designed for the purpose of making it appear that the blow has been received from another quarter. So long as the means of wealth production remain capitalist property this exuloitation will continue unchecked. If representatives sent to parliament are to be worthy of the name of labor they must understand how and where labor is exploited in order to know where to strike affective blows.

The supreme court of Hamburg, Germany, recently settled a very knotty question as to the ownership of a pearl valued at $750. It appears that a lady while satisfying the inner woman with the succulent bivalve known as the oyster, the same being paid for by an obliging escort, suddenly located the pearl in that portion of her anatomy lying betwixt her teeth and gullet. As it struck the lady that the pearl was more suited to the adornment of her outer than inner person, she spat it out and seized upon it as her own property by right of discovery. The restaurant man claimed it as his property along with the oyster shells, chicken bones, dishes and other non-edibles which as a rule were left behind by his customers. The court awarded the gem to the lady's escort upon the ground that he paid for it when he settled for the oysters, and held that if it were awarded to the restaurant keeper, the oyster dealer who supplied him with oysters was entitled to recover it from him, and the fisherman who brought the oyster from its bed, in turn could recover from the oyster dealer.

The absurdity of having this $750 gewgaw fall into the hands of a common fisherman was thus happily avoided, and no doubt to the satisfaction of both the lady and her escort. The wisdom of the court in deciding the knotty problem so as to avoid burdening the fisherman with $750 worth of property is to be commended.

The battleship represents the chief element of force in a war fleet, and such vessels will soon cost $10,000,000 each, says Engineering.

The most advanced nations of the earth are busily engaged in laying in a plentiful supply of these engines of death and destruction, and manifest a hearty disposition to use them upon the slightest provocation. This might be taken as an evidence that nineteen centuries' teaching of the gospel of "peace on earth" has not been an overwhelming success.

The nature of the grist ground out by the mill of justice depends upon which economic class in human society, capitalist class or working class turns the crank.

Socialist Directory

Every Local of the Socialist Party of Canada should run a card under this head. $1.00 per month. Secretaries please note.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA. Headquarters, Vancouver, B. C. Dominion Executive Committee, A. R. Stebbings, John E. Dubberley, Ernest Burns, C. Peters, Alf. Leah, A. J. Wilkinson, treasurer; J. G. Morgan, secretary, 551 Barnard St., Vancouver, B. C.

LOCAL VANCOUVER, No. 1, S. P. of B. C. Business meetings every Wednesday evening in the headquarters, Ingleside block (room 1, second floor), 313 Cambie street. Educational meetings every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock in the Le Petite [Th]eatre, Cordova street. D. P. [Mi]lls, secretary, box 836, Vancouver, [B.] C.

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[I'D] LIKE TO BE A SAVAGE.

[B]y W. Covington Hall in Wilshire's.

[I'd like] to be a savage fer a little [whi]le again,
[Ro]out in the forests where there [ain']t no business men;
[Where] I'd never hear the clatter uv [the]ir fact'ries en things,
[But ju]st the low, soft buzzin' uv [the] hummin's crimson wings;
[The dr]onin' uv the bumble bees, en [the] bobwhite's lovin' call
[To his] mate acrost the medders when [the] leaves begin to fall.

[I'd li]ke to be a savage, ur a bare[fo]ot boy again,
[R]oamin' through the clover where there ain't no business men;
Where the whole derned tribe is strangers, en their dollars en their dimes
Don't never 'sturb the music uv old natur's songs and rhymes;
Where a feller's heart kin nestle close to mother natur's breast,
En the orioles en redbirds sing his tired soul to rest.

I'd like to be a savage, en uncivilized again,
A member of a nation where there ain't no business men;
Where no women folks ain't driven to the sweatshops every day;
En the children don't do nothin', 'cept run en romp en play;
Where the dollar ain't ez mighty ez the song the mockin' sings,
En a feller's hea[r]t ain't hurted when he stops to [th]ink o' things.

In this country the size of the family seems to be in inverse ratio to the size of the income. But from what we have seen of the children of the rich, we are glad that there are not so many of them.

Union Directory

When They Meet; Where They Meet.

Every Labor Union in the province is invited to place a card under this head. $1.00 per month. Secretaries please note.

Greenwood Miners' Union, No. 22, W. F. M. Meets every Saturday evening in Union hall. J. R. Ritchie, president; Ernest Mills, secretary treasurer.

Phoenix Trades and Labor Council Meets every alternate Monday. John Riordan, president; Edward Brown, vice-president; P. H. Lacasse sergeant-at-arms; W. H. Bambury, secretary-treasurer, P. O. Box 198, Phoenix, B. C.

Phoenix Miners' Union, No. 8, W. F. M. Meets every Saturday evening at 7.30 o'clock in Miners' hall. Wm. Barnett, president; John Riordan, secretary.

Nanaimo Miners' Union, No. 177, W. F. M. meets every third Saturday from July 2. Alfred Andrews, president; Jonathan Isherwood, P. O. Box 259, Nanaimo, B. C., recording secretary.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.—Local No. 213, Meets second and fourth Thursdays at I. B. E. W. Hall, Room 3, Ingleside Block. President, J. Dillabough; recording secretary, Geo. P. Farr; financial secretary, A. H. Sellar. Address all communications to the hall. All sojourning brethren cordially invited.

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SOCIALISM is inevitable. That means our economic and social development will some day make it clear even to the dullest mind that a solution of our industrial problems is possible only by industrial co-operation. But are we to look on passively and wait until the mind more dull and dense than our own, has at last reasoned it out all by itself? Certainly not. We want to get there sooner. And we will get there in the near future if we set to work and educate the man who is still groping in the dark. We know things will make him see the light some day, but we want him to see it now. Therefore our incessant propaganda and agitation. To do good work you need good tools. Select your propaganda material carefully and you will see results. Two books ... as means of Socialist propaganda are
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Capitalist Production and Crises

From "Socialism," by Frederick Engels.

As a matter of fact, since 1825, when the first general crisis broke out, the whole industrial and commercial world, production and exchange among all civilized peoples and their more or less barbaric hangers-on, are thrown out of joint about once every ten years. Commerce is at a standstill, the markets are glutted, products accumulate, as multitudinous as they are unsalable, hard cash disappears, credit vanishes, factories are closed and the mass of the workers are in want of the means of subsistence, because they have produced too much of the means of subsistence; bankruptcy follows upon bankruptcy, execution upon execution. The stagnation lasts for years; productive forces and products are wasted and destroyed wholesale, until the accumulated mass of commodities finally filter off, more or less depreciated in value, until production and exchange gradually begin to move again. Little by little the pace quickens. It becomes a trot. The industrial trot breaks into a canter, the canter in turns grows into the headlong gallop of a perfect steeplechase of industry, commercial credit, and speculation, which finally, after breakneck leaps, ends where it began—in the ditch of a crisis. And so over and over again. We have now, since the year 1825, gone through this five times, and at the present moment (1877) we are going through it for the sixth time. And the character of these crises is so clearly defined that Fourier hit all of them, when he described the first as "crises plethorique," a crisis from plethora.

In these crises, the contradiction between socialised production, and capitalist appropriation ends in a violent explosion. The circulation of commodities is, for the time being, stopped. Money, the means of circulation, becomes a hindrance to circulation. All the laws of production and circulation of commodities are turned upside down. The ecooomic collision has reached its apogee. THE MODE OF PRODUCTION IS IN REBELLION AGAINST THE MODE OF EXCHANGE.

The fact that the socialised organization of production within the factory has developed so far that it has become incompatible with the anarchy of production in society, which exists side by side with and dominates it, is brought home to the capitalists themselves by the violent concentration of capital that occurs during crises, through the ruin of many large, and a still greater number of small capitalists. The whole mechanism of the capitalist mode of production breaks down under the pressure of the productive forces, its own creations. It is no longer able to turn all this mass of means of production into capital. They lie fallow and for that very reason the industrial reserve army must also lie fallow. Means of production, means of subsistence, available laborers, all the elements of production and of general wealth, are present in abundance. But "abundance becomes the source of distress and want" (Fourier) because it is the very thing that prevents the transformation of the means of production and subsistence into capital. For in capitalistic society the means of production can only function when they have undergone a preliminary transformation into capital, into the means of exploiting human labor-power. The necessity of this transformation into capital of the means of production and subsistence stands like a ghost between these and the workers. It alone prevents the coming together of the material and personal levers of production; it alone forbids the means of production to function, the workers to work and live. On the one hand, therefore, the capitalistic mode of production stands convicted of its own incapacity to further direct these productive forces. On the other, these productive forces themselves, with increasing energy, press forward to the removal of the existing contradiction, to the abolition of their quality as capital, to the practical recognition of their character as social productive forces. This rebellion of the productive forces, as they grow more and more powerful, against their quality as capital, this stronger and stronger command that their social character shall be recognized, forces the capitalist class itself to treat them more and more as social productive forces, so far as this is possible under capitalistic conditions. The period of industrial high pressure with its unbounded inflation of credit, not less than the crash itself, by the collapse of great capitalist establishments, tends to bring about that form of the socialisation of great masses of means of production, which we meet with in the different kinds of joint-stock companies. Many of these means of production and of distribution are, from the outset, so colossal, that, like the railroads, they exclude all other forms of capitalistic exploitation. At a further stage of evolution this form also becomes insufficient. The producers on a large scale in a particular branch of industry in a particular country unite in a "Trust," a union for the purpose of regulating production. They determine the total amount to be produced, parcel it out among themselves, and thus enforce the selling price fixed beforehand. But trusts of this kind as soon as business becomes bad, are generally liable to break up, and, on this very account, compel a yet greater concentration of association. The whole of the particular industry is turned into one gigantic joint-stock company, internal competition gives place to the internal monopoly of this one company. This has happened in 1890 with the English Alkali production, which is now, after the fusion of 48 large works, in the hands of one company, conducted upon a single plan, and with a capital of £6,000,000.

In the trust, freedom of competition changes into its very opposite—into monopoly; and the production without any definite plan of capitalistic society capitulates to the production, upon a definite plan of the invading socialistic society. Certainly this is so far still to the benefit and advantage of the capitalists. But in this case the exploitation is so palpable that it must break down. No nation will put up with production conducted by trusts, with so barefaced an exploitation of the community by a small band of dividend mongers.

In any case, with trusts or without, the official representative of capitalist society—the State—will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production. This necessity for conversion into State-property is felt first in the great institutions for intercourse and communication—the postoffice, the telegraphs, the railways.

If the crises demonstrate the incapacity of the bourgeoisie for managing any longer modern productive forces, the transformation of the great establishments for production and distribution into joint-stock companies, trusts, and State property, show how unnecessary the bourgeoisie are for that purpose. All the social functions of the capitalist are now performed by salaried employees. The capitalist has no further social function than that of pocketing dividends, tearing off coupons, and gambling on the Stock Exchange where the different capitalists despoil one another of their capital. At first the capitalistic mode of production forces out the workers. Now it forces out the capitalists, and reduces them, just as it reduced the workers, to the ranks of the surplus population, although not immediately into those of the industrial reserve army.

But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies and trusts, or into State-ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces. In the joint-stock companies and trusts this is obvious. And the modern State, again, is only the organization that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments, as well of the workers as of individual capitalists. The modern State, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit.* The workers remain wage-workers—proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head. But brought to a head, it topples over. State-ownership of the productive forces is not Socialism.

When the means of production and distribution have actually outgrown the form of management by joint-stock companies, and when, therefore the taking them over by the State has become economically inevitable only then—even if it is the State of today that effects this — is there an economic advance, the attainment of another step preliminary to the taking over of all productive forces by society itself. But of late, since Bismarck went in for State-Ownership of industrial establishments, a kind of spurious Socialism has arisen, degenerating, now and again, into something of flunkeyism, that without more ado declares all State-ownership, even the Bismarckian sort to be socialistic. Certainly, if the taking over by the State of the tobacco industry is socialistic, then Napoleon and Metternich must be numbered among the founders of Socialism. If the Belgian State, for quite ordinary political and financial reasons, itself constructed its chief railway lines: if Bismarck, not under any economic compulsion, took over for the State the chief Prussian lines simply to be the better able to have them in hand in case of war to bring up the railway employees as voting cattle for the Government, and especially to create for himself a source of income independent of parliamentary votes—this was, in no sense, a socialistic measure, directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously. Otherwise, the Royal Maritime Company, the royal porcelain manufacturer, and even the regimental tailor of the army would also be socialistic institutions, or even, as was seriously proposed by a sly dog in Fredrick William III.'s reign, the taking over by the State of the brothels.

State control of industries is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution.

This solution can only consist in the practical recognition of the social nature of the modern forces of production, and therefore in harmonizing the modes of production, appropriation, and exchange with the socialised character of the means of production. And this can only come about by society openly and directly taking possession of the productive forces which have outgrown all control except that of society as a whole. The social character of the means of production and of the products today reacts against the producers, periodically disrupts all production and exchange, acts only like a law of Nature working blindly, forcibly, destructively. But with the taking over by society of the productive forces, the social character of the means of production and of the products will be utilized by the producers with a perfect understanding of its nature, and instead of being a source of disturbance and periodical collapse, will become the most powerful lever of production itself.

Active social forces work exactly like natural forces: blindly, forcibly, destructively, so long as we do not understand, and reckon with them. But when once we understand them, when once we grasp their action, their effects, it depends only upon ourselves to subject them more and more to our own will, and by means of them to reach our own ends. And this holds true quite especially of the mighty productive forces of today. As long as we obstinately refuse to understand the nature and the character of these social means of action—and this understanding goes against the grain of the capitalist mode of production and its defenders—so long these forces are at work in spite of us, in opposition to us, so long they master us, as we have shown above in detail.

But when once their nature is understood, they can, in the hands of the producers working together, be transformed from master demons into willing servants. The difference is as that between the destructive force of electricity in the lightning of the storm, and electricity under command in the telegraph and the voltaic arc; the difference between a conflagration, and fire working in the service of man. With this recognition at last of the real nature of the productive forces of today, the social anarchy of production gives place to a social regulation of production upon a definite plan, according to the needs of the community and of each individual. Then the capitalist mode of appropriation, in which the product enslaves first the producer and then the appropriator, is replaced by the mode of appropriation of the products that is based upon the nature of the modern means of production; upon the one hand, direct social appropriation, as means to the maintenance and extension of production—on the other, direct individual appropriation, as means of subsistence and of enjoyment.

Whilst the capitalist mode of production more and more completely transforms the great majority of the population into proletarians, it creates the power which, under penalty of its own destruction, is forced to accomplish this revolution. Whilst it forces on more and more the transformation of the vast means of production, already socialized, into State property, it shows itself the way to accomplishing this revolution. The proletariat seizes political power and turns the means of production into State property.

But, in doing this, it abolishes itselfself as proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, abolishes also the State as State. Society thus far, based upon class antagonisms, has need of the State. That is, of an organization of the particular class which was pro tempore the exploiting class, an organization for the purpose of preventing any interference from without with the existing conditions of production, and therefore, especially, for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited classes in the condition of oppression corresponding with the given mode of production (slavery, serfdom, wage-labor). The State was the official representative of society as a whole: the gathering of it together into a visible embodiment. But it was this only in so far as it was the State of that class which itself represented, for the time being, society as a whole; in ancient times, the State of slave-owning citizens; in the middle ages, the feudal lords; in our own time, the bourgeoisie. When at last it becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary. As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection, as soon as class rule, and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from these, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a State, is no longer necessary. The first act by virtue of which the State really constitutes itself the representative of the whole society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is at the same time its last independent act as a State.

State interference with social relations becomes, in one domain after another, superflous and then dies out of itself; the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The State is not "abolished." It dies out. This gives the measure of the value of the phrase "a free State," both as to its justifiable use at times by agitators, and as to its ultimate scientific insufficiency, and also of the demands of the so-called anarchists for the abolition of the State out of hand.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeoisie sense of the word.—Communist Manifesto.

The class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class is a political struggle for control of the powers of wealth production. The former will struggle to retain its control, the latter to seize it. The nearness of approach to the class struggle is indicated by the extent to which the knowledge of the class character of politics is spread among the members of the working class.

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PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

We, the Socialist Party of Canada, in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to and support of the principles and program of the international revolutionary working class.

Labor produces all wealth, and to labor it should justly belong. To the owners of the means of wealth production belongs the product of labor. The present economic system is based upon capitalist ownership of the means of wealth production; therefore all the products of labor belong to the capitalist class. The capitalist is master; the worker is slave.

So long as the capitalists remain in possession of the reins of government all the powers of the state will be used to protect and defend their property rights in the means of wealth production and their control of the product of labor.

The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits, and to the worker an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

The interest of the working class lies in the direction of setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into collective or working-class property.

The irrepressible conflict of interests between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the power of government—the capitalist to hold the worker to secure it by political action. This is the class struggle.

Therefore, we call upon all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada with the object of conquering the public powers for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic program of the working class, as follows:

1. The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railways, etc.,) into the collective property of the working class.

2. Thorough and democratic organisation and management of industry by the workers.

3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of production for profit.

The Socialist Party, when in office, shall always and everywhere until the present system is abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct:. Will this legislation advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it will the Socialist Party is for it; if it will not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it.

In accordance with this principle the Socialist Party pledges itself to conduct all the public affairs placed in its hands in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class alone.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

I, the undersigned, hereby apply for membership in ....

Local.................... ....Socialist Party of Canada.

I recognize the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class to be a struggle for political supremacy, i. e. possession of the reins of government, and which necessitates the organization of the workers into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties of the capitalist class.

If admitted to membership I hereby agree to maintain or enter into no relations with any other political party, and pledge myself to support by voice, vote and all other legitimate means the ticket and the program of the Socialist Party of Canada only.

Applicant ....

Address ....

Occupation ....

Age.................... Citizen....................

Admitted to Local....................19........

....................Chairman ....Rec.-Sec.

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The bourgeois historians have invented the legend of the Revolution of 1789 bestowing the land upon the peasant and freedom and happiness therewithal; whereas the plain truth is that the great revolution stripped him of his rights of common, and other rights of equal importance, delivering him up, defenceless, into the clutches of the usurers and middlemen; loading him with taxes and forcing him to enter into competition with the great landed proprietor, equipped with capital and machinery. The great bourgeois revolution was fraught with misery and ruin for the peasant.—Paul Lafargue.

The largest blast furnace in the world has been put into successful operation at the Washoe smelter at Anaconda, Montana. The big furnace is as large as three of the ordinary size, having an inside measurement of 51 feet by 56 inches. The blast is fed by 88 tuyeres, and in 24 hours charges of ore aggregating 2,000 tons are turned into copper matte.—Grand Forks Sun.

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.—Communist Manifesto.

COMRADES

Strike at the ballot box on election day but be sure to strike the

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any day you are hungry. Just around the corner from the Socialist headquarters.

T CHRISTENSEN, Prop.

RISE LIKE LIONS AFTER SLUMBER.

Men of England, Heirs of Glory,
Heroes of unwritten story,
Nurslings of one mighty Mother,
Hope of her and one another;
Rise like lions after slumber,
In unvanquishable number;
Shake your chains to earth, like dew,
Which in sleep had fallen on you;
Ye are many, they are few.

What is freedom? Ye can tell
That which slavery is too well,
For its very name has grown
To an echo of your own.
'Tis to work and have such pay
As just keeps life from day to day
In your limbs as in a cell
For the tyrants use to dwell.

Horses, oxen, have a home,
When from daily toil they come;
Household dogs, when the wind roars
Find a home within warm doors.
Asses, swine, have litter spread,
And with fitting food are fed;
All things have a home but one—
Thou, O, Englishman, hast none.

P. B. SHELLEY.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeoisie class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of laborers, by their involuntary combination due to association. The development of modern Industry therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.—Communist Manifesto.

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Socialist Party of Canada

DOMINION EXECUTIVE HEADQUARTERS

J. G. MORGAN, Secretary. Vancouver, B. C.

Declaration of George Gapon to the International Socialist Bureau:—

"In order to avoid any misunderstanding which might hurt the work of the armed insurrection of the Russian people struggling for daily bread, referred to in the petition of the workers of St. Petersburg, an insurrection which alone can assure the defense of the interests of the working masses and lay a sure and solid foundation for the triumph of the principles of Socialism in Russia.

"But fearing—according to my personal conviction—to be restrained in my pursuit of truth and liberty, I request the International Socialist Bureau to advise all organs of the socialist press to propose to the two Russian Socialist parties to agree, in order to secure unified action in organizing the working-class insurrection in Russia.

"In the present condition of affairs I consider as premature my official adhesion to one or other of the Russian Socialist parties.

"I send fraternal greetings in crying 'long live International Socialism.'"

The Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau believes that it does not go beyond its prerogative in asking the Russian comrades of different organizations to give a favorable hearing to the proposition of Gapon and follow the cheering example of our comrades in France.

The Bureau requests the authorized representatives of other parties to impress these facts on all the Russian groups that there be realized in this decisive and tragic moment that unity in action so necessary and indespensable.

Camille Huysmans
Secretary.

B.C. Provincial Executive

Socialist Party of Canada.

Vancouver, B. C., April 4, 1905.—(Room 10, Masonic block.)—Present: Comrades Stebbings, Leah, Wilkinson, Burns, Organizer Kingsley and the Secretary.

Comrade Stebbings elected to the chair.

Minutes of previous meeting read and adopted.

The following correspondence was dealt with:

From Organizer O'Brien (3) dated from Greenwood, Grand Forks and Rossland, reporting progress in that country.

Wilkinson-Leah—That the reports be received. Carried.

From Nanaimo Local enclosing $10 to organizing fund.

Leah-Wilkinson—Received an filed. Carried.

From New Westminster asking for speaker on Sunday, April 2nd.

Burns-Leah—Laid on table till order of new business. Carried.

From Local Revelstoke enclosing $3 for stamps and asking prices of supplies, and notifying change of secretary.

Leah-Wilkinson—That the information be furnished. Carried. Received and filed.

From Ladysmith Local, report. From Victoria Local, enclosing book catalogue that the secretary might check off what the party considered good, sound literature.

Burns-Wilkinson—That the letter be received and filed and the secretary explain that the constitution only gives the Executive Committee control of literature issued under the auspices of the party. Carried.

From Vancouver Local enclosing accounts re Irene Smith's meeting, showing a balance due Vancouver Local of $1.10, acceptable in due stamps.

The secretary was instructed to comply.

From Kingsley & English, bill re printing, advertising, etc.

This was laid over that the secretary might confer with the late secretary and separate. Dominion and provincial accounts.

From the International Socialist Bureau enclosing an appeal from Father Gapon for unity in the ranks of Russian Socialists in the present crisis.

Referred to Western Clarion for publication.

Concerning meetings in New Westminster: Burns-Wilkinson—That the secretary and organizer be appointed a committee to arrange for speakers for that town, said meetings not to exceed two in each month. Carried.

Wilkinson-Leah—That this committee meet next Tuesday evening for the transaction of provincial business.

Concerning Comrade O'Brien's tour: Burns-Leah—That the secretary call attention to the lack of finances for the organizing fund and that the organizer will have to be recalled if the locals up country do not respond any better.

Receipts

Local Nanaimo, No. 3, organizing fund	$10 00
Local Revelstoke, No. 7, 30 due stamps	3 00
Total	$13 00

ABOUT LOCAL TORONTO

Editor of Western Clarion

Our Commune celebration on March 18 was well attended and was interesting and instructive.

A large number of Finnish Socialists are expected to join Local Toronto during the coming month. A Finnish branch may be organized as very few speak English.

Dr. H. F. Titus or Wm. Mailly, of Toledo, will be the speaker in Toronto at the May Day celebration.

Weston Wrigley.

Toronto, March 26, 1905.

The news despatches show that in many places throughout Russia the employes of warehouses and shops are again demanding shorter hours and more wages. The strike troubles have evidently not entirely subsided.

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i. e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working-class, developed, a class of laborers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labor increases capital.—Communist Manifesto.

It is reported that A. Vershinnin, who was civil governor of Port Arthur during the siege, declares that Stoessel sold out to the Japanese.

Well, what of it? Is this not an age of bargain and sale? It is to be hoped that the gentleman was not compelled to sell too cheaply even though it was a sort of sacrifice sale. Is Mr. Vershinnin kicking because he got nothing out of the deal? We are justified in viewing things strictly from a commercial point in this ultra-commercial age.

Gen. Chaffee, of the United States army has recommended the adoption of a new bayonet to be used with the Krag rifle. It is to be six inches longer than the one now in use. The recommendation has been made as the result of an investigation set on foot by President Roosevelt because of the experience of armies in Manchuria. In these strenuous times it is necessary to have the bayonet sufficiently long to "spit" more than one person at a time. In carrying out its mission of benevolent assimilation the United States might find the present bayonet too short to reach through two fat Filipinos at once.

IT IS TO LAUGH!

A Poverty Party

Will be given by Local No. 1, Socialist Party of Canada in Sullivan Hall on Saturday, April 15, at 8 o'clock.

If you belong to the working class you are invited. Bring your family, your sweetheart and your friends. Don't dress up. The following penalties will be imposed for "soft clothes" and other misdemeanors:

Fines for Men.

Coming without a girl	10c
Coming with a girl	5c
Boiled shirt	5c
Creases in pantaloons	5c
Hair parted in middle	5c
Bald head	5c
Watch, not Waterbury	5c
Cutaway coat	5c
Ring on Finger	5c
Other Jewelry	5c
Shiny Shoes	5c

Fines for Women.

Coming without a beau	10c
Wearing silk	5c
Rats in hair	5c
Frizzes	5c
Without an apron	5c
Lace and ribbons	5c
Chewing gum	5c
Jewelry	5c
Train on dress	5c
Paint on face	5c

Judges will be appointed, who in orthodox red wigs and blue gowns, will preside over the court of inspection. Fines may be abridged or remitted at the discretion of the judges.

N.B.—Kicking against the judges' decisions, extra fine of 25 cents.

Two Prize Contests

Will take place during the evening. The prizes to be awarded by the judges still in their robes of office.

Refreshments, consisting of toothpicks, pop-corn, cold water and such other dainties as the ladies of the organization may provide, will be served, special prizes to be given respectively to the prettiest waitress and the most efficient waiter.

The various features of the evening will be pleasantly interspersed with songs, speeches, recitations, etc.

Mr. Tom Dwyer will preside at the piano.

SOME CAUSTIC CUTS FROM "CENT BELT"

The question of the permanent establishment of separate schools in the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta at present overshadows all others, thanks to the systematic agitation of the capitalist press and fanatical clerical agitators who have no word of protest against handing over the aforesaid provinces bound hand and foot to railroad, mining and land corporations. It is just one of these questions over which capitalists and their henchmen like to set the workers quarreling so as to distract attention from the matters which vitally concern them. So long as they can keep the people occupied with fighting over racial and religious antagonisms, they can keep on plundering them with impunity.

Now so far as the question itself is concerned every Socialist, of course, believes in a free national secular system of education. But this is not what the people who are shouting themselves hoarse over the course of the Laurier government stand for at all. They first insist on the Bible in the schools—"the whole damned Bible" as a very zealous Orangeman put it during the agitation in this province some years ago, and then having made the teaching in the public schools of a strictly Protestant religious type, would refuse Catholics the common justice of having their own religious teachings.

Make the public schools as they should be, purely secular, and then there will be some show of reason and fair play in the argument that all citizens must support them, and that those who want religious teaching must pay for it themselves. But so long as the Protestant Bible is read and Protestant religious observances maintained as part of the regular school exercises, no one can blame the Catholics for insisting on the right to establish separate schools for their children.

Clericalism vs. Imperialism.

There is another phase of the question of special interest to Socialists which has not so far received any attention. Orange fanaticism and jingoism go hand in hand, and our public schools in Ontario—I don't know how it may be elsewhere but probably like influences produce like results—are the hot-beds of imperialism of the most truculent type. There are not only regular military drills but continual celebrations of "patriotic" anniversaries such as Paardeburg Day and the like, when the children are crammed with the conventional capitalist lies concerning the grandeur and glory of the British Empire and the exploits of "our" army and navy.

Now there is none of this sort of thing in the separate schools. Hero worship and flag worship don't obtain there to any extent. I have no sort of use for clericalism, but imperialism is a far more real and imminent danger and so I for one am rejoiced to see the turn things are taking, and exult over the squeals and grimaces of the Orange jingo crowd over the bitter pill they have to swallow at the hands of the French Canadians. "Still there's more to follow" in the words of the hymn, for the French influence is growing in Ontario.

There were no French members of the legislature at the time of Confederation. Today there are five, and there are some twenty or thirty Ontario constituencies where the French vote is an important if not a deciding factor. Do you wonder that even the representatives of Orange tory Toronto are shy at attending meetings to protest against the separate school clauses of the autonomy bills? Wait a little until the French vote of Ontario develops strength and see how the jingoes will begin to sing small.

A Typical Opportunist.

But the funny part of the whole business is the amazement and surprise of the bourgeois grits over the course of Laurier who has been their idol for so many years. Really, the faith of these simple confiding people in the honor and consistency of cheap, trimming, truckling politicians of the Laurier, Mowat or Foster type would be sublime—if it wasn't absurd. The least knowledge of human nature should have shown them that Laurier was a hypocrite and an opportunist, ready to take any course that would bring him prestige or votens. The Laurier who has antagonized all his previous professions by championing the separate school proposition is the very same identical Laurier who won the applause of his party here by sanctioning Canada's participation in the South African piracy. Then he outraged every principle he had ever professed and betrayed his own countrymen. He showed himself in his true colors as a trimmer and a hypocrite, in short as just the kind of man that Ontario public opinion delights to honor. It was a question of holding his job and he held on. Now it is a question of keeping his French following together by going back on his record, and why should anybody for a moment be surprised at his action. Why should consistency and consistency higher than his job today rather than five years ago? And anyway, where is the capitalist politician who can throw any stones at him? Is there a prominent man in political life or commercial or professional life either for that matter—who wouldn't do the same thing in his place?

Liars and Crawlers.

The managers of the Industrial Exhibition have secured a great attraction in obtaining the consent of Lord Roberts to open the show. This will be great news for the belly-crawlers and boot-lickers of Toronto society who are never so happy as when flattening their protuberant stomachs in the dust before some member of the British aristocracy or plutocracy. Moreover there will be a natural curiosity on the part of many who are not altogether snobs to see the wholesale murderer of Boer women and children in the concentration camps and most monumental and successful liar of his generation. It was this man's false and misleading statement to the effect that the South African war was "over," when as a matter of fact it lasted for about a couple of years afterwards, that saved the Salisbury government from an ignominous defeat. He was repaid for this timely and serviceable lie by a grant of $500,000 of the British taxpayers' money—a scale of remuneration enough to make ordinary capitalist journalists, college professors and preachers and other professional dealers in mendacity turn green with envy.

While "Bobs" draws a small fortune for his share in rendering South Africa a safe field for capitalist exploitation by means of Chinese slave labor, how did the common working class dupes who did the fighting come out of the game? Here is an extract from a British paper which throws some light on that matter:

"Southeast Dorset is at present overrun with tramps, says the Western Daily News, and it is reported to the Poole Board of Guardians that out of the 332 vagrants who had received relief in the house during the six weeks, no less than 111 served in the South African war. The announcement provoked cries of 'shame' on the war office, and other expressions of indignation. Rev. Norman Bennett said it was a scandalous shame that men who had been soldiers, and fought in South Africa, should, after they came back, be simply turned adrift on the country. Mr. Budden: What do we give the men who have been to South Africa? The Master: The same as the others. Mr. Budden: Cold water and bread. That's something for fighting for old England. It was decided to make a communication to the war office on the matter."

Conventional Cant.

As England hasn't any big war on hand just now, peace sentiments are finding their way into print. Our capitalist editors are moralizing over the horrors of the Russo-Japanese war in a strain which a few years ago would have been considered treasonable. The pious editor of the Globe, for instance, cants in this unctious fashion:

"The horrors of Manchuria should suffice for the curious and should mightily promote the work of public men and journals campaigning against militarism."

Of course, coming from the source it does, this twaddle means nothing or less than nothing. On the very same page, by way of showing his zeal in the campaign against militarism, the editor has an article fairly reeking with fulsome sycophancy concerning Lord Roberts and his course in South Africa. Such is capitalist journalism. The man's hypocrisy has become so much his second nature that he doesn't, in the least, know he is a hypocrite, or realize how much more sickening is such nauseating, semi-religious cant than the frank brutality of the bar-room jingo.

Our Benevolent Millionaires.

Some of our millionaires have taken a leaf out of the book of Carnegie and Rockefeller and affect the role of philanthropists. The executors of the late Hart A. Massey are endowing the Victoria College, a Methodist institution, with $200,000 of the plunder that the late Massey couldn't take away with him. Hon. George A. Cox, the sanctimonious swindler who promoted the Cycle Motor Company and ruined a large number of investors by means of unloading heavily watered stock on the market, is trying to make a little deal with God Almighty by contributing $50,000 of other people's money to the same object. They are wise in their generation, these millionaires. Such "munificent" gifts are simply bribes to retain the allegiance of the intellectual class—the college professors, journalists, literary parasites, etc.—and furnish an argument to the hard-pressed upholders of capitalism. "What would our colleges, churches, libraries, etc., do without the aid of the benevolent man of millions?" Of course, the people who support the colleges control their teachings on economic and social questions. And yet some people wonder that Socialism does not make more rapid progress among the intellectual class.

Phillips Thompson
119 Indian Road.

Toronto, March 28, 1905.

HE LACKED QUALIFICATION.

A recent arrival from the "cent belt" who came to Vancouver expecting to be able to pick up numerous simoleons in the streets whenever he felt the need of cash pressing upon him, was somewhat rudely awakened from his pleasant dream a couple of days after his arrival in the city.

Having read in the daily press most glowing accounts of the prosperity enjoyed by he who was fortunate enough to abide in British Columbia, and fully expecting to be met upon his arrival by a plethora of wealth which would with gentle though firm insistence force itself upon him, he had neglected the precaution of bringing anything more than a few odd pennies with him. His pockets, as is quite the usual thing in Vancouver, became speedily empty and there appearing to be no simoleons lying about, the "centbelter's" vision of speedy and easily acquired wealth suddenly vanished and he was forced to adopt the habit of many an old residenter, of hunting a job. He dropped into the Hastings saw mill and with the easy assurance of one who feels himself duly qualified to not only successfully command a good position, but to hold it as well, made his wishes known to the boss.

"Have you a queue?" blandly inquired that worthy. Not being familiar with the vernacular of the glorious west and thinking the boss wanted to know if he knew how to work, he confidently replied, "yes."

"I mean do you wear a pigtail?" said the man of position and brains. "Do you take me for a Chinaman?" somewhat testily replied the man from penny land.

"Well, that's the only kind we employ here," was the consoling reply. A gentle but suggestive wag of the thumb and the recent arrival was dismissed from the august presence. As he pensively hied him from the premises the circumambient atmosphere took on a peculiar blue tinge.

When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class character.—Communist Manifesto.

To be a capitalist, is to have not only a purely personal, but a social status in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

Capital is therefore not a personal, it is a social power.—Communist Manifesto.

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