

# THE WESTERN CLARION

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS ALONE

## THE ORIGIN AND RISE OF CAPITAL

While today, in the domain of natural science, the theory of evolution is generally accepted as the basis of research, the reverse is the case in the field of political economy. The reason is that natural evolution can be "snares" with individualism, but social evolution cannot. Natural organic development can admittedly be evolutionary without interfering with the "God-and-creation" idea which attributes the privileged position of the few to Omnipotent favor. Social development along evolutionary lines must, if logically and persistently traced, demonstrate most clearly that

All Men are Social Producers and economic positions, therefore, merely the result of necessity and not of choice.

While orthodox political economy at the bidding of the possessing class, is at all times concerned to prove that capital and wage labor have existed through all history, the historic and economic teachings of Karl Marx, particularly the "Materialist Conception of History" and the "Theory of Surplus Value," supply ample evidence that capital and wage labor are conditions of a social system of production forming but a comparatively small link in the great chain of social evolution.

In the "seventies" and "eighties" the orthodox political economists who set out to demolish the "pernicious" theories of Marx had not yet acquired the craftiness of present day "economic experts," and therefore contented themselves with mere fairy tales to explain the origin of capital and wage labor. Thus Wilhelm Roscher, professor of political economy at the University of Leipzig (until his death in 1894) wrote ("Principles of National Economy," Stuttgart, 184, Vol. I, p. 423): "Let us imagine a fisherfolk without private property and capital, naked and living in caves, gaining their subsistence by catching with their bare hands sea-fish left behind by the tide in pools on the shore. All workers may here be of an equal standing, each catching and consuming three fishes a day. Now a wise man limits for 100 days his consumption to two fishes a day and uses the 100 fishes accumulated in that way to devote his labor power for 50 days, to the production of a boat and a fish-net. With the aid of this capital he commences, in future to catch 30 fishes a day."

Today, at the beginning of the twentieth century, however, the origin and justification for the employment of capital are no longer ascribed by the economic prize-fighters of capitalism to the thriftlessness and laziness of the few. No, the mighty annihilators of Marxian theories of the Mallock school have, to their own satisfaction, adopted the more profound explanation that it is the

"Directive Ability" of the few and not the mere labor of the workers which creates the greater portion of capital and is the most important factor in wealth production; and, strange to say, they draw the deduction that this factor can be and is supplied by the capitalist class alone.

But European history from the 14th century explains the primitive accumulation of capital in quite a different way. Some bourgeois historians have described it from the standpoint essential to the glorification of capitalism. It was left to Karl Marx to explain it from the standpoint of the proletariat.

The literary advocates of the bourgeoisie at times described the rise of capitalism correctly in order to impress upon the workers: the bourgeois standpoint that the struggle of capitalism against feudalism was a struggle against tyranny and privilege—a fight for liberty and equality. These capitalist scribblers then rightly point out that industrial capital could not rise without "free" workers—workers who had ceased to come under the domination of chattel slavery, serfdom or the craft guilds. They also emphasize the fact that capitalist wealth production had to be freed from the fetters of feudalism, from the

Clutches of the Feudal Lords. Socialists have no reason to detract from the importance of that struggle, considering that the capitalist class are most anxious to deny its character when they hear us now proclaiming the need for social revolution.

While a number of bourgeois writers contributed considerably to the records of the history of primitive accumulation, it was left to Marx and his life co-worker, Engels, to point out its significance from the working class standpoint. It was they who laid stress upon the fact that this accumulation spell the creation of the proletariat and of capital itself. Marx, having already given in "The Poverty of Philosophy" some indications of the conditions that in England—the motherland of capitalism—prepared the way for primitive accumulation, furnished a full and lucid history of it in his great work, "Capital."

That fascinating history teaches us that, apart from the craft guilds in the towns, the greatest hindrance to the rise of capital was the

Common Property in the Soil by village communities. While such property existed proletarians in large numbers were impossible. Fortunately for capitalism, its development was considerably assisted by the feudal nobility. After the Crusades the production of and commerce in commodities, developed by leaps and bounds, increasing greatly the demand for goods made by the craftsmen and sold by the merchants of the towns for money. The feudal nobility, dependent for their existence upon the direct services of, or goods supplied by, their peasant dependents, began to develop a craving for money. The military power of the towns and princes precluded all possibility of robbing or extorting money from the merchants or craftsmen, while the very poverty of the peasants did the same in their direction. Hence they determined to become producers of commodities like the townfolk—to produce wool, corn and other products for money instead of for their own use only.

Such a change could only be brought about at the expense of the peasantry. These, reduced to serfdom, could now be driven from their homesteads, which were added to the adjacent territory of their lords and masters. And to complete the ruin of the peasants, the communally owned land of the villages standing under the suzerainty of the feudal lords, was turned into the latter's private property. At that time wool was much in demand by the textile undertakings of the towns. But the extension of wool production necessitated the turning of arable land into sheep runs. To accomplish this end a great number of peasants were

Driven from Their Farms by legal or illegal means, that is, either by economic compulsion or by the use of physical force. (For confirmation of Marx's statements on these points see H. de Gibbons' "Industrial History of England," pp. 40-57.) With the growth of the textile industry the number of expropriated and evicted peasants increased continually. Besides, the nobility dissolved their retinues, which had under the changed conditions ceased to be a source of power, but on the contrary had become a decided source of financial weakness. The Reformation, too, favored the rise of capitalism by depriving the old vassalants of their holdings of Church property, driving them out, in order to hand the same over, almost for nothing, to speculating farmers and citizens, thus forcing these sub-tenants, like the inmates of the suppressed monasteries, into the proletariat. (See de Gibbons' "Industrial History of England," p. 83, for confirmation on this point.)

By such means a large proportion of the country population was driven from the soil, from their means of production, with the result that an army of proletarians was created—proletarians compelled, in order to live, to sell their labor power to the bourgeoisie. (Continued on Page 2)

### A NEW RECESSIONAL.

A Capitalist's Plait.  
God of the factory, mine and rail,  
Lord of the busy marts of trade,  
To Thee we tell our piteous tale,  
We call on Thee to render aid;  
These Socialists are fierce, we fret  
They'll win out yet, they'll win out yet!

The power of superstition dies,  
And faint are gods' alter fires;  
The hope of wealth beyond the skies  
No longer gluts our slave's desires.  
The wealth of earth they wish, we fret  
They'll take it yet, they'll take it yet!

We see our power melt away,—  
'Tis but the ignorance of the slave,—  
For they are learning day by day  
From thralldom they themselves may save.  
Our hopes are faint that they may yet  
This fact forget, this fact forget!

For patriotism, loyalty,  
It's evident they're losing awe,  
An ever lessening quantity  
In their regard for order, law;  
They think to make their own, we fret  
They'll do so yet, they'll do so yet!

They aim to take the world in debt,  
We fret it soon will strike the hour,—  
'What justifies?' They answer  
'Need.'

We ask their right; they answer,  
'Power.'

Oh, sad! 'This plan we'll have to get  
To labor yet, to labor yet!

WILFRED GRIBBLE.

### APPEAL FOR FUNDS.

Dear Comrades:—  
The work of organizing the Socialist movement in the Maritime Provinces is no light task, and your committee feel their responsibility in this matter.

We have at present 15 chartered locals, and we know that there are thousands of men and women in these provinces who understand and endorse the principles of Socialism. Thousands more are disgusted with Capitalism and its fruits, and only need the issue clearly set before them and they will enlist in the new movement.

To do this, as you know, demands the best effort that every Socialist can put forth.

Properly organized the Socialists in the Maritime Provinces will be a force to be reckoned with in the battle with Capitalism.

That Capitalism appreciates this fact is apparent in the strenuous efforts being made in all sections to thwart the spread of Socialism.

It is absolutely necessary that a capable man be employed as maritime organizer. If each member will do something, the amount of the cost can be raised without difficulty. It must be done.

Please bring this matter before your local at an early date and see what can be done. A trial trip of two or three months must be undertaken at once. Any labor news or suggestions will be gladly received.

Will you please see that the enclosed forms are filled out and returned within ten days.

Yours for the revolution,  
DAN COCHRANE,  
Sec. Maritime Ex. Committee,  
Glacé Bay, N. S.

## SUGGESTIONS FOR LANGUAGE FEDERATIONS

To the membership of the Socialist Party of Canada. Greeting.

Comrades:—  
At the annual meeting of the Ukrainian Socialist Publishing Association held in Winnipeg on the 12th day of November, 1909, at which all Ukrainian Locals and Branches of the Socialist Party of Canada were represented, among other important matters there was discussed the necessity of uniting the Ukrainian Socialist forces in Canada in a purely Ukrainian; to make them work more effectively and harmoniously and thereby to facilitate the spread of the Socialist propaganda. As a result of the discussion, a proposition was drafted to all participating Locals and Branches, to form a Federation of Ukrainian Locals with a central committee, whose duty it would be to supervise the agitation and publications in the Ukrainian language. The referendum vote of the Ukrainian membership unanimously endorsed the above-mentioned proposition, and so the Ukrainian Socialist Federation was formed. The undersigned was elected secretary of the Federation.

Now, as the Constitution of the Socialist Party of Canada contains no provisions for the language federations, and as our ambition is to remain inside of the S. P. of C. as a legally constituted body, not outside of it, and lastly as the Federation needs funds to carry on its work and according to the present constitutional arrangements the funds for the Federation would not be obtainable, I am instructed to submit the following constitutional amendments:

Article VII.—Language Federations.  
Sec. 1. The Federations of Locals of one language may be formed for the purpose of supervising and directing the propaganda and organization in that particular language.  
Sec. 2. The Federations shall have complete autonomy in the matters of organization, propaganda and publications; they may also enter into communication and understanding with the Socialist organizations of their nationality in other countries without first asking the permission and assistance of the Dominion Executive Committee.  
Sec. 3. The language Locals shall submit in the Dominion matters to the decisions of the Dominion conventions and to the Dominion Executive Committee; in the provincial matters, to the Provincial conventions, and to the Provincial Executive Committees, and in the local matters they shall act in conjunction with the other Locals of the same riding, as provided by the Constitution.

Sec. 4. The Executive Committees of language Federations shall periodically report to the Dominion Executive Committee and all Provincial Executive Committees concerned, about the progress of the Federation.

At least, they will be given the first opportunity of voting for a revolutionary working class candidate of the Socialist Party of Canada.

As the first step towards this action, we are now engaged in raising a campaign fund to conduct the fight and possibly pay the fine. If we do not make the fight a fairly successful one, we are pleased to acknowledge the following contributions, and invite all comrades who have a spare dollar or so to invest in the coming civilization, to forward the same to Comrade W. McLeod, Glacé Bay, N. S., treasurer campaign fund.

Sec. 5. We have opened a bank account and are depositing the money there until needed for the fight. Further contributions will be acknowledged through the Party press. Now for the Roll of Honor:

A. Marsh, \$10; A. McKinnon, \$10; W. M. McKinnon, \$10; D. N. Brodie, \$10; Daniel Cochrane, \$5; H. A. McMullan, \$5; W. Whill, \$1; W. M. Lord, \$10; Picnic Fund, \$4. Total to date, \$65.00.

W. McLEOD,  
Treasurer,  
Glacé Bay, N. S.

Sec. 5. The secretaries of Federations shall be official translators from English into their own languages, or vice versa and reporters of all correspondence, resolutions, notices, etc., of general interest to the Party membership.

Sec. 6. The Federations shall get the necessary supplies from the Party at their real cost of production.

Sec. 7. The language Locals shall have the right of the usual representation in all conventions, but the expenses of the delegates of such Locals shall be paid by the Executive Committee of their Federations.

All expenses involved in the performance of routine business with the Federations, shall be covered by the Federations.

Making those propositions the Ukrainian Socialist Federation wants to lay the greatest possible stress upon the fact that they are not dictated by narrow nationalistic spirit, or by the desire to loosen the bonds that unite us with the Party. They are dictated only by the bitter experience we have had to endure. As a matter of fact the Ukrainian Locals are only nominally in the Party. Ninety-five per cent of the membership of our Locals do not read English at all. Our Locals do not know what is going on in the Party. The Party is unable to trace what is going on in our Locals. It is sometimes impossible to find a man able to take care of English correspondence. The whole movement depends on two or three men, who are more acquainted with the Party and serve as a sort of God-appointed mediators. There is no Constitution of the S. P. of C. printed in our language.

The result is that practically none of us know how the affairs of the organization are run. The next result is that every Local makes out a sort of its own unwritten constitution, which again is interpreted according to the liking of the chairman or some other leading spirit. The consequence of that state of affairs again is that every Local, chartered or unchartered, is a distinctly separate and absolutely independent organization, so much so that sometimes one Local does not even resemble the other Local.

The differences in interpretation of constitution lead to petty squabbles, the differences of ways and tactics of different Locals or even of groups inside of one Local develops the factional strife, develops the sects.

The ignorance of how the funds of the Party are expended gives room for the most foolish suspicions and accusations.

But the picture of confusion would not be complete if I would not draw the attention to the fact that even the disrupters and traitors drift from one Local to the other unmolested, because the persecution through the various Provincial Committees and through that horrible English correspondence is a task too great to the ordinary secretaries of our Locals.

My task this time is not to go into the details of our different difficulties, but I hope that the picture I just presented is quite sufficient to illustrate and perfectly justify in the stand taken, and so I presume that the Comrades would not oppose it but rather give us the support, which we previously so much appreciated.

Yours for Revolution,  
MYR. STECHISHIN.

Suggested Amendments by Manitoba Executive.

Section 5.—That all Locals suspended or expelled from the Socialist Party of Canada on constitutional grounds shall be suspended or expelled from the "Federation."

That in Section 4 the word "quarterly" be substituted for the word "periodically."

That the words "the Party at their real cost of production" be struck out and the following substituted: "The Dominion Executive Committee direct."

W. H. STEBBINGS,  
Secy. Man. Pro. Ex. Committee.

## THE FARMER AS SEEN BY A WAGE SLAVE

Is he so much better off than I think not. I sell my labor-power for the current market price to any one who is willing to purchase it, providing I am sure of getting the price asked. The farmer has no visible boss, yet I can see him work as hard as any slave I ever saw. It is a heritage handed down by his grandparents, who, it must be presumed, were founts of wisdom, that hard work is what makes the wealth. I quite believe it, can't see anything else for it, yet neither can I see this same wealth coming the farmer's way.

There is an ex-farmer round this burg, who, it is rumored, started with forty acres, and to-day has 180 acres. It is pointed out that thus may a man succeed, by dint of perseverance and, as aforesaid, hard work. Yet I found that this same chump is to-day a living skeleton, a walking symbol of death, because of the way he had toiled to keep up his payments. The old saw (early to bed, etc.) didn't work out in his case. If being crippled and worn out is the price of hard work, even though it brings nominal ownership of a farm, then, I say, let us say wage slaves and fight the battle for emancipation from their ranks.

The farmer points with pride to the fact that he has no boss, like me, yet he somehow seems in a never-ending scramble to meet some payments or other. He says that his grub is better than the city wage slave's, and it needs to be to toll the hours he does—daylight till dark, except Sunday, when his recreations are doing chores and going to meeting to hear of "Jonah and his whale," "how the poor are blessed and, like topies.

Sometimes he points out to the hired man (of course the farmer isn't hired) how he can save his money, being away from city temptations to spend the hard-earned wealth he might have been keeping for his own farm some day. I know a few who have saved and to-day they have got a steady job I call it, on "their own farms," provided they raise the rent for their landlord. Right around here 80 per cent of the farms are rented, and to preserve that steady job the women folks and the children are all called in to do their little bit so as not to be dropped down to the wage

slave ranks, when the hired man comes from.

Guess after all he is a worse slave than I, the wage-slave. I can show a greenback once in a while, he sometimes never sees money till fall, when he takes it in for his crop and pays it out again for his bills. But he can't see where Socialism is going to benefit him, it is too like slavery, nothing but a bare living under that. I smile to myself and wonder what a bare living is like in his imagination, don't see anything fat about his present one.

Mighty intellectual society here, too. Talk ranges from Johnny's mumps to Mary's measles; they read "Farm and Home," or such like dope with maybe a stirring serial in, of how some poor fool finds a rich wife and lives happy ever after.

Ah, well, come on capitalist development, crush out these two by four independent farmers and let them see what can be done by scientific farming. No more borrowing neighbor's drills and plows, patching up harness, or getting rattled because his neighbor is up ahead of him, a change from the eternal salt pork for dinner and a rest—a rest for the poor farmer slave in Socialism.

F. S. F.

### IMPORTANT.

Appointments as commissioners for taking affidavits of A. M. Oliver, Ats. word, B. C. and Thos. E. Nelson, Ynhr. B. C. are in the hands of the B. C. Executive, the post office having been unable to locate them. They are requested to send present address.

Pretty fair Clarion last week. What's the matter with keeping it up? Write something.

### WILL CONTEST CAPE BRETON.

Comrades:—  
The Provincial Legislature at Halifax, N. S., is now in its last year, and it is quite within the possibilities that before the roses are in bloom, the workers will be again facing the very great question of choosing between Tweedledum and Tweedledee, with the one notable exception that in Cape Breton,

# The Western Clarion

Published every Saturday by the Socialist Party of Canada, at the Office of the Western Clarion, Black Block Building, 155 Hastings Street, Vancouver, B. C.

**SUBSCRIPTION:**  
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**575**

**SATURDAY, APRIL 9th, 1910.**

## THE SLAVE'S PORTION.

"Britons never, never will be slaves!" It is in the nature of a reflection upon human intelligence that that line should have been penned by a Briton and should be sung by Britons, seeing that they have never been taught else but slaves since they were blue painted savages, to whom came the serrated legions of Caesar bearing the blessings of civilization, even as today British regiments bear it to just such backward peoples.

In this respect the balance is rather in favor of the Romans, for they came frankly upon a mission of conquest and subjection. They came to extend Rome's empire and increase her wealth by enslavement and exploitation for the benefit of the Romans. They came not as the modern Briton, with canting and hypocritical professions of uplifting the savage, enlightening his ignorance, bettering his material conditions and assuring his spiritual salvation. They came to make the savage work for them and they said nothing about dignity of labor.

They sold the prisoners of war to the slave-trader who followed, vulture-like, upon the heels of the armies. They established in Britain for the first time, the "Pan Britannica" of which Britons now boast. They reduced the inhabitants to slavery and wrested from them all the fruits of their toil except the true slave's portion, a meager subsistence.

When they left, to defend the heart of their then effete empire against its final conquerors, the civilized Britons fell an easy prey to the rude Norse pirates and were fain to call upon the Anglo-Saxons for aid. These latter, in true English fashion, "established a protectorate" and in turn became the lords of the land and masters of its toilers.

The old chattel slavery introduced by the Romans even then in its decadence endured in Britain about a thousand years until its breakdown after the Norman conquest.

The Normans in their turn enslaved the British workers, but in a new fashion. They appropriated the lands and the slave became an attachment to the soil, a serf (tilling his liege lord's fields and in return permitted to wrest his subsistence from a patch for himself. As such a slave is before except in name and in law, receiving for a lifetime of toil, the same slave's portion, a meagre subsistence.

And so for generations, until the power of the feudal lords was broken by the new invaders, coming this time from within, in the trading class, the bourgeoisie, who now, by the hand of the giant machine, have been raised to planes of wealth and power undreamed of even Caesar.

But what of the tolling serf? The bourgeoisie freed him from everything but toll and servitude. By land and sea, in factory and farm, mine and mill, the workers yet toll at the master's bidding, at the master's behest; toll as they never tolled before, men, women and children, and babes, heaping wealth upon wealth such as man's history beheld never before, for the ever hungry, ever unsatisfied master's of their bread, and receiving for themselves, as of old the slave's portion, a meagre subsistence, growing ever more meagre.

But the masters' glass is nearly run out. The long night of slavery is drawing on to the dawn of freedom when the slave's portion will no more be ours, while our masters rot in superabundance. All that nature and labor can afford will be at our command, and we, at last, as free men shall bend our efforts to producing for ourselves a sufficiency of all good things. Receiving no longer a stunted portion, but for each the best there is, and giving, each, the best that is in us.

## WHOD' A THOUGHT IT.

**GALVESTON, Tex., April 5.**—"If the farmers would bring the price of cattle and hogs down to reasonable figures there would be no cry of high cost of living," remarked Mr. J. Ogden Armour, the Chicago packer, who is sojourning in Texas.

"Complaint is made of meat and other combinations by packers and others, while as a matter of fact the farmers and stock raisers absolutely control the market and are organized into unions and leagues and are starving the people. The packers would cut prices in half if the stock raisers and farmers would sell cattle and hogs at reasonable profits.

"We are paying more for these now than ever in the history of the country, and we are willing to admit that the cost of putting the finished product on the market is no more to the packers than it was a decade ago, when we paid only half the present price for sheep, cattle and hogs. We are necessarily compelled to advance our price because of the increase we pay the farmers for live stock.

"Does it cost the cattle raisers and sheep raisers more to raise their stock than it did a few years ago? Nobody appears to realize that the farmers have organized and combined interests and are putting the prices of meat up to their own figures. The packing houses do not raise beefs, and sheep, and hogs, but buy them and pay the prices the farmer trust puts upon them.

"We go into the market and ate at the mercy of these people, but the consumers point to the packers and charge us with running prices higher and squeezing the life out of the eaters of meat.

"I am not worried over the indictment and have no fear of conviction for myself or associates. We have violated no law and hence have no fear of being punished for operating a trust. Investigate the trust of the men who sell cattle and hogs."

At last the villain is unmasked! What idiots we were never to have suspected it before. And there was every reason for suspicion. Why, look at the farmer. Buying automobiles, mind you; wearing diamonds as big as a bartender's; keeping footmen and chauffeurs and valets and porter maids and kitchen maids and ladies' maids. Drinking the most expensive brands of mineral waters; having pumpkin pie for breakfast and real eggs in his egg-nog; giving a banquet at the coming of age of his pet rooster; founding free libraries for the illiterate and endowing music schools for the deaf.

Of course it's the farmer. Where else did he get it except by holding up the best trust and "squeezing the life out of the eaters of meat," as unfortunately "ultimate consumers."

Hail to our deliverer, J. Ogden Armour, the discoverer of the dastardly delinquent. We should certainly take up a collection and present him with a testimonial of our admiration in some suitable form, such as a case of antique eggs. What he lacks in economics he certainly makes up in originality. At any rate he seems quite sure that he is not to blame. And we are inclined to agree with him.

What's that? The farmer says he gets a bigger price for produce all right, but has to work twice as hard as his father had to and doesn't get quite as much to eat? Well, then, it must be the implement men. Or they might blame the steel trust, who might pass it up to the W. F. M. But it can't be us working plugs. We eat less and produce more than any working plug ever knew how, but we pay more for fodder. Which brings us right back to the farmer. What's the use? We give it up.

## A SUGGESTION WORTH WHILE.

Dear Comrade:

We have had Comrade C. M. O'Brien, M. L. A., here telling us how they treated him at the Edmonton wind factory. He doesn't seem much worse with all that Mumm's extra wet, and the long A. P. G. cigars. He told of the Bills he had introduced, how they were received and the difficulty he had in complying with all the red tape rules they have got up there. I liked his way in asking if there was any of us had any roads, bridges, etc., needed fixing or building, and finally he drew to a close.

Now, Mac, I want to touch a little on that spell he delivered to the Legislative Assembly. It certainly was the dogs. I think it would be a good idea if each Local in this constituency would subscribe to a fund, or raise some money to have it printed in pamphlet form, and give every worker one. It won't do any harm to let them all know who Charlie is representing up there.

We had a good audience, the collection amounted to \$13.10. I am,  
Jack Oilphant.

Belleuve, Alta.

**B. C. LOCALS, ATTENTION!**  
Locals favoring a Provincial convention this year should at once so notify the B. C. Provincial Executive, together with nominations of place and approximate date of convention.

## THE ORIGIN AND RISE OF CAPITAL.

(Continued from Page 1)  
to sell their produce to the highest capitalist bidder. The feudal lords were thus instrumental in paving the way for agricultural commodity production for the agricultural commodity market on a large scale, while at the same time supplying the capitalists of the towns with the wage workers they so urgently needed.

The consequence of the wholesale expropriation of the peasantry in the 15th and 16th centuries in Western Europe, was general vagabondage, which threatened to overwhelm society, and as a deterrent, cruel and heartless punishments were meted out to vagabonds and paupers, such as whipping, branding, slicing off ears, and even death. Marx sums up the horror of this treatment as follows ("Capital," p. 761):  
"Thus were the agricultural people first forcibly expropriated from the soil, driven from their homes, turned into vagabonds and whipped, branded, tortured by laws grotesquely terrible, into the discipline necessary for the wages system."

But while more workers were thus set "free" than capital could employ, the supply of efficient workers fell behind the demands of capital, as during the period of actual manufacture proper, which led to a division of manual labor, production depended upon workers who had gained a certain proficiency (in many cases taking years to acquire) in the various part processes. Besides, much more capital was needed for wages than for tools and materials. Hence with the accumulation of capital, the demand for wage labor grew rapidly, while the supply of competent workers proceeded in much slower ratio.

Skilled Workers were Very Scarce, and in great demand. The fact that they still retained the high notions of headcraftsmen made the wage workers during the infancy of capitalism independent, defiant and often rebellious against the hard discipline and wretched monotony of capitalist production. Therefore, to obtain submissive workers, the capitalists had to introduce the same powerful authority by whose aid the peasants were expropriated, the land made private property, and the vagabonds and paupers tortured and murdered—the authority of the State. The most stringent legislation was enacted to fix a maximum wage, extend the working day, and prohibit combination of the workers. (See "Capital," Karl Marx, pp. 761-765; also "Industrial History of England," de Gibbons, pp. 71, 106 and 118.)

And how hypocritical was the cry of liberty, fraternity and equality of the French industrial capitalists at the time of the French Revolution was proved by the fact that as soon as they had conquered political power (mainly by the assistance of the workers) these "just" people instituted a bitter campaign for the abolition of the remainder of common land and for the strictest prohibition of any kind of labor combination. ("Capital," pp. 765-6.)

The foregoing historical survey explains how the proletariat, and subsequently a "surplus" number of wage workers, were created and how they made possible the development of capitalism, which in its turn reproduced to an ever larger extent the proletariat and a "surplus" of wage workers.

Another important question remains: Whence originated the wealth which provided the

**Nucleus of Industrial Capital?**  
The workers' and merchants' capital inherited from ancient society played an important part in the middle ages. Ever since the crusades commerce with the near and far East had expanded, with the result that the merchants' capital had become concentrated in few hands. But usury and commerce were not the only sources which supplied the nucleus of industrial capital. Readers desirous of an explicit exposition of the historical development bearing on this point should study the brilliant chapters relating to primitive accumulation in Marx's "Capital."

Here a quotation from that work (p. 775) summing up the various methods of this accumulation must suffice:  
"The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalled the 'royal' dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation. On their heels trends the commercial war of the European nations, with the globe for a theatre. It begins with the revolt of the Netherlands from Spain, assumes giant dimensions in England's anti-Jacobin war and is still going on in the opium war against China, etc.

"The different moments of primitive accumulation distribute themselves now, more or less in chronological order, particularly over Spain, Portugal, Holland, France and England. In England at the end of the 17th century they arrive at a systematic combination, embracing the colonies, the national debt, the modern mode of taxation and the protectionist system.

These methods depend in part on brute force, e. g. the colonial system. But they all employ the power of the State, the concentrated and organized force of society, to hasten, in hot-house fashion, the transformation of the feudal mode of production into the capitalist mode and to shorten the transition. Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power."

The foregoing brief outlines of the brilliant history of the origins of capital demonstrate beyond doubt that primitive capital was the result of robbery, murder, rapine, and that therefore it is only to be expected that the orthodox political economists, the cat's paws of the capitalists, should

Lie and Shuffie  
to the utmost degree in order to prove that capital is the outcome of thrift and industry, or the result of the "directive ability" of the capitalist. And there is no reason for surprise in the fact that, in the face of the overwhelming evidence as to the origin and development of capitalism furnished by Marx, the political economy of the present orthodox school is averse to accepting the theory of evolution as the basis of its research. For plucked down to the glaring facts of history, it loses every vestige of argument against Marx's theory of value and his explanation of the origin of capital. Unfortunately the misrepresentations and lies levelled by the bourgeois economists, politicians and diplomats against the sound and irrefutable teachings of Marx, are still swallowed without much hesitation by the workers of this country. But we Socialists, as evolutionists and revolutionists, know that the failure of the capitalist quack remedies for the great social evils of today, must, in the long run, convince the bulk of the proletariat that their salvation lies to be found in Socialism alone.—H. J. N., in the Socialist Standard.

**FORWARD!**  
The Province of Alberta is certainly up-to-date in advertising for wage slaves. One might be led to believe by their book, "Land and Agriculture in Alberta," that this was the place where one could soon be independent. The introduction to this little book serves as food for thought. Granted that climate and soil are the finest in the world and "the truth is great enough, even great enough to stagger the credulity of the most optimistic stranger."

We will now have some truth. Hard-working farmers can hardly make both ends meet. Mortgages, if they show prosperly, prosperly abound. Auction sales galore and every farmer is in the real estate business.

The farmers of every province of the Dominion must unite with the wage-worker of the city because farmers are wage-workers in a disguised form. The farmer does not draw his cheque every month, but when he delivers oats, wheat or cattle, then he is paid for his labor power and goes home with about enough on the average to produce more oats, wheat or cattle. Now, Mr. Farmer, what is the difference between the wage slave of the town and yourself? You both get enough on the average to reproduce your labor power, and both are robbed of about four-fifths of what they produce.

Both Liberals and Conservatives have never willingly legislated in the interests of the workers. As we can not get these conditions changed by the matter in hand and the work must be done thoroughly by a united working-class.

Some workers like because they find the dice are loaded, but let us the wage slaves capture the dice, load them for the workers, and remove the capitalist class from the earth forever.

The G. G. A. are trying to get more for their labor power by shipping grain, etc., but why not unite of the political field and elect men of your own class? Workers to legislate in the interest of the workers only.

Never in the history of man, have legislators acted in the interests of the master class and slave class at the same time, for what is good for the slave is bad for the master, and vice versa. What do your children learn at school? Just what the master class want them to know: the newspapers also tell what the masters want the slave to read.

The Socialist Party of Canada wants to educate the workers so they will revolt against existing conditions. Then will be the first working class revolution in the history, and if we slaves must face the hirelings of capitalism, always bear in mind the zulu battlecry: "If we go forward, we die; if we go backward, we die. Better go forward and die!"

**READ COTTON'S WEEKLY**  
50c per year  
Two for a dollar.  
SPECIALLY FINE FOR PROPAGANDA WORK.  
Six months 25c.  
Published at Coweney's, P. O.

# Socialist Directory

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

**DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.**  
Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday. D. G. McKenna, Secretary, Box 116, Vancouver, B. C.

**MARITIME COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.**  
Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday. D. G. McKenna, Secretary, Box 116, Vancouver, B. C.

**ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.**  
Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Monday in Labor Hall, Eighth Ave. East, opposite post-office. Secretary will be pleased to answer any communications regarding the movement in the province. Secretary, Sec. Box 647 Calgary, Alta.

**MANTONA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.**  
Meets first and third Tuesdays in the month at 10:15 Adelaide St. West. Secretary, Sec. Box 116, Vancouver, B. C.

**MARITIME PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.**  
Socialist Party of Canada. Meets every alternate Thursday at 8:00 p.m. at Commodore McKinnon's, Cottage Lane, Dun. Cuchinane, Secretary, Box 1, Glace Bay, N. S.

**LOCAL VANCOUVER, NO. 1, S. P. OF C.**  
Canada. Business meetings every Tuesday evening at headquarters, over Edgett's Store, 151 Hastings St. W. F. Perry, Secretary, Box 516.

**LOCAL VANCOUVER, NO. 2, S. P. OF C.**  
Canada. Meets every second and fourth Thursdays in the month at 151 Hastings St. W. Secretary, Van. Myntill

**LOCAL VICTORIA, NO. 2, S. P. OF C.**  
Canada. Meets every second Monday in the month at 1:30 p.m. in the room at Eagle Building, 1319 Government St. Business meetings every Tuesday evening, 8 p.m. Propaganda meetings every Sunday at Grand Theatre, 8 Front St. Secretary.

**LOCAL KAWAIKO, NO. 2, S. P. OF C.**  
Meets every alternate Sunday evening in Foresters Hall. Business meeting at 8:00 p.m. in the hall in Empress Theatre Block at 8:00 o'clock. Jack Place, Rec. Secy, Box 116.

**LOCAL FERNIE, S. P. OF C., HOLDERS**  
Education meetings at the Miners' Union Hall, Victoria Ave., Fernie, every Sunday evening. Business meeting first Sunday in each month, same place at 2:30 p.m. David Eaton, Secy, Box 101.

**LOCAL GREENWOOD, NO. 9, S. P. OF C.**  
Meets every Sunday in Miners' Union Hall at 1:30 p.m. Business meetings every second and fourth Mondays. Geo. H. Burton, organizer; R. J. Campbell, Secretary, Box 126.

**LOCAL VERNON, B. C., NO. 26, S. P. OF C.**  
Meets every second and fourth Friday in each month. (Has. Chas. Secretary, Box 17, Vernon, B. C.)

**LOCAL FRENCH CREEK, B. C., NO. 52, S. P. OF C.**  
Meets every Sunday in Union Hall in Empress Theatre Block at 8:00 p.m. Angus McIver, Secretary.

**LOCAL REVELSTOCK, B.O.R.P.C.**  
Propaganda and business meetings at 3 p.m. every Sunday evening in the Edison Theatre. Theaters, speakers, passing through Revelstock are invited to attend. H. M. Cameron, Secretary, W. W. Lefaux, Organizer.

SMOKE HURTZ'S OWN SPANISH BLOSSOMS OR BEST IN B.C. CIGARS

**Wage Workers who Understand what SOCIALISM**  
means are usually socialists. Better look into the question for yourself. Send your address on business before, mail the coupon with 10 cents and you will get a handsome illustrated magazine and a 28-page illustrated book. This will help you decide very quickly which side you are on.  
Name.....  
Address.....  
P. O. ....  
Send 10c in two-cent stamps. Address Charles H. Kerr & Co., 134 Kinzie St., Chicago.

**A. F. Cobb**  
Merchant Tailor  
Okotoks, Alberta  
For every suit sold through this advertisement I will give \$2.00 to the circulation of the Western Clarion.  
Plans:  
1. Write me for samples of goods.  
2. Mention the price you want to pay for suit.  
3. Compare my sample with the price.  
4. If suitable, send me deposit of \$5.00.  
5. I will guarantee to deliver suit to fit within three weeks.  
6. Clarion will acknowledge receipt of \$3.00 from me when suit is paid for.  
Suits to measure from \$15.00 to \$30.00.

**Propaganda Meeting**  
Sunday Evening, 8 o'Clock  
**City Hall**  
Vancouver B. C.

# THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

This Page Is Devoted to Reports of Executive Committees, Locals and General Party Matters—Address All Communications to D. G. McKenzie, Sec., Box 836, Vancouver, B. C.

## PRICE LIST OF SUPPLIES

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| Charter (with necessary supplies to start Local)..... | \$5.00 |
| Membership Cards, each.....                           | .01    |
| Dues Stamps, each.....                                | .10    |
| Platform and application blank per 100.....           | .35    |
| Ditto in Finnish, per 100.....                        | .50    |
| Ditto in Ukrainian, per 100.....                      | .50    |
| Ditto in Italian, per 100.....                        | .50    |
| Constitutions, each.....                              | .20    |
| Ditto, Finnish, per dozen.....                        | .50    |

## DOMINION EXECUTIVE.

Meeting April 4th, 1910.  
Present, Comrades Morgan (chairman), Karme, Kingsley, Mengel, MacKenzie, Peterson, Stebbings, and the secretary.  
Minutes of previous meeting approved.  
Correspondence dealt with from Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario and Maritime Executives. From Locals Glace Bay, N. S.; Montreal and Lachine Locks, Que.; Cobalt, Toronto and Ottawa, Ont., and Innisfail, Alta. From Organizers Gribble, Fillmore and Desmond, and from Com. Myr. Stechishin, per Manitoba Executive, on behalf of the Ukrainian comrades.  
F. S. Faulkner, Mason City, Ill., admitted to membership at large.  
The suspension of Jas. P. McGuire by Local Ottawa confirmed and his appeal ordered published for the Party's consideration.  
Local Toronto 24, having resigned in the terms of resolution herewith published, resolved that the Ontario Provincial Executive be suspended and the Dominion Executive assume that function. That the assets of the Ontario Executive be held in trust for the Province by the Dominion Executive until such time as the Party decides to reconstitute the Ontario Provincial organization; and further, that the Dominion Executive submit its action for review by the Party membership.  
Secretary instructed to call in amounts pledged by Locals to the publishing fund and to proceed with the publication of pamphlets.  
Action on the formation of a Ukrainian league, in conformity with plans as outlined in Com. Stechishin's communication, postponed for one month to afford the membership an opportunity for an expression of opinion thereon.  
No endorsement of the proposition for a referendum upon International affiliation having been received from any of the Provincial Executives and only from Local Montreal, extra provincially, the proposition falls of action.  
Warrants authorized for Clarion, March card, \$3.00; March deficit, \$87.35; W. Gribble, organizing, \$50.00; postage, \$3.00; secretary's March salary, \$15.00.

## RECEIPTS.

|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| Maritime Executive supplies.....  | \$ 5.00        |
| B. C. Executive supplies.....   | 50.00          |
| Local Lachine Locks, stamps.....  | 2.00           |
| Local North Battleford, stamps.....   | 3.00           |
| F. S. Faulkner, dues.....   | 2.00           |
| H. A. Webb, dues.....   | 2.50           |
| Clarion Maintenance Fund, per Okanagan Campaign Committee, \$13.30; F. Halgh, \$1.00..... | 14.30          |
| <b>Total.....</b>   | <b>\$75.00</b> |

## B. C. PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE.

Meeting April 4th, 1910.  
Minutes of previous meeting approved.  
Communications dealt with from Locals Nanaimo, Gibson's Landing, Port Moody, Matsqui, Vernon, Revelstoke, Phoenix (Ukrainian), Michel, Vancouver and Sointala. From the Okanagan Campaign Committee and Comrades John Staples, Cloverdale, B. C., J. F. Johnson, Endorby, and J. H. Hawthornthwaite, Nanaimo.  
Endorsements of proposition for referendum on International affiliation received only from Locals Nanaimo, Port Moody and Phoenix (Ukrainian). Secretary instructed to obtain opinion of Locals on advisability of a Provincial convention before levying convention assessment.  
Warrants authorized for Clarion March Card, \$1.00; Dominion Executive supplies, \$50.00; secretary's March salary, \$15.00.

## RECEIPTS.

|  |                |
|--|----------------|
| Local Sointala, stamps.....                              | \$20.00        |
| Local Michel, stamps.....                                | 5.00           |
| Local Matsqui, stamps.....                               | 5.00           |
| Local Vernon, stamps.....                                | 2.50           |
| Local Phoenix, Ukrainian, stamps.....                    | 5.00           |
| Local Gibson's Landing, stamps.....                      | 5.00           |
| Local Revelstoke, stamps.....                            | 5.00           |
| Okanagan Campaign Committee, donation to organizing..... | 13.00          |
| John Staples, donation to organizing.....                | 3.00           |
| <b>Total.....</b>  | <b>\$62.80</b> |

## ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE

Meeting held at headquarters, April 3rd, 1910.  
Present—Comrades Danby, Machin, McDonald (Chairman), Browning and the secretary.  
The secretary tendered his resignation, which was accepted.  
Comrade Danby was elected secretary.  
Minutes of previous meeting read and adopted.  
Correspondence dealt with from Bowden, Bound, Horse Shoe Lake, Lougheed, Edmonton, Hardisty, Mountain House, Erskine, Bellevue, Everts, Coleman and Dominion Executive.  
Charters granted to Mound, Lougheed and Horse Shoe Lake.  
Moved and seconded that the secretary's action be censured. Carried.  
**Receipts.**  
Calgary (Uk.), stamps.....\$ 2.00  
Bellevue, stamps..... 5.00  
Mountain House, stamps..... 3.50  
Edmonton, stamps..... 5.00  
Mound, charter and supplies..... 6.50  
Bellevue (Fin.), stamps..... 5.00  
C. M. O'Brien, supplies..... 7.20  
Coleman, stamps..... 4.00  
Erskine, stamps..... 1.00  
Lougheed, charter and supplies..... 7.50  
Horse Shoe Lake, charter and supplies..... 5.75  
**\$52.45**  
**Expenses.**  
Loan to Calgary Local.....\$35.00

## TORONTO RESOLUTION.

March 23rd, 1910.  
Moved by Comrade Green, seconded by Comrade Farmillo.  
"Whereas the propaganda in Ontario is being retarded on account of the dissemination which has been given by means of the circulation of false and malicious statements among the membership; and  
"Whereas the bone of contention is manifestly the control of the Provincial Executive Committee; and  
"Whereas Local Toronto English No. 21 has been charged with seeking control of the committee for purpose of its own;  
"Therefore, in order to give the lie to this charge, and to remove from amongst us the bone of contention, to the end that the energies now being wasted in the internecine strife may again be turned into their proper channel, the pushing of the propaganda of Revolutionary Socialism;  
"Be it resolved that Local No. 21 resign the function of Provincial Executive and request the Dominion Executive Committee to resume this function, as by Constitution provided, until such time as the Locals of Ontario shall have demonstrated by useful effort, united action, and sound progress, to the satisfaction of the Socialist Party of Canada as a whole, their fitness for organization provincially."  
E. M. EPPLETT-DRURY,  
Rec. Secy, Local Toronto No. 24.

## COBALT RESOLUTION.

D. G. McKenzie,  
Secretary Dominion Executive,  
Socialist Party of Canada.  
Dear Comrade:  
At the last business meeting of this local held tonight, the following resolution was passed:  
"Whereas there are factional differences between the members of the Socialist Party of Canada in Ontario; and  
"Whereas, should a referendum be taken these differences would still exist;  
"Therefore Be It Resolved, That Local Cobalt No. 9 calls upon the Dominion Executive to take over the Executive work of the Province until such time as the Ontario trouble is straightened out; and  
"Be It Further Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Dominion Executive for publication in the Western Clarion, a copy to the present Provincial Executive, and a copy to the two warring factions in Toronto."  
JOHN FRASER,  
Secretary Local Cobalt No. 9, English Branch Socialist Party of Canada,  
March 14th, 1910.

## MARCH CLARION FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

|                           |                 |
|---------------------------|-----------------|
| <b>Expenditures.</b>      |                 |
| Printing five issues..... | \$235.00        |
| Mailing.....              | 16.95           |
| Boy.....                  | 25.00           |
| Bound volumes.....        | 18.75           |
| Expressage on same.....   | 5.05            |
| <b>Total.....</b>         | <b>\$299.75</b> |
| <b>Receipts.</b>          |                 |
| Subs. and Adv.....        | 39.50           |
| Deficit.....              | 87.35           |

## NOTICE.

The attention of the membership is called to the suspension of the Ontario Provincial Executive. Locals wishing to contest the action of the Dominion Executive are requested to so instruct their Provincial Executive (or the Dominion Executive where there is no Provincial Executive) before April 30th. Provincial Executives so instructed by the majority of their Locals should notify the Dominion Executive before May 15th. Should a majority of the Executives be so instructed, a referendum will forthwith be taken on the matter.

## NOTICE OF SUSPENSION.

Dominion Executive Committee:  
Am instructed to report following:  
At general business meeting of this Local, March 6th, 1910, following motion moved and carried:  
"That as Comrade J. P. McGuire has stated on our public platform, January 23rd, 1910, that he does not accept the principles of the S. P. of C., we suspend him as member of the Local until he does accept the principles."  
9  
Votes against..... 6  
Members present, over..... 40  
H. S. OLDHAM,  
Sec. pro tem. Ottawa Local No. 8,  
S. P. of C.

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE S. P. OF C.

Gentlemen:—  
At a meeting held in this city about four weeks ago, I stated that I did not accept this Socialist Party's conception of the class struggle. I am now suspended from the Party for making the above statement.  
Without going into the broad question of who is right, the question is this: Have the members of this Party the right to say what they think always and everywhere? If you answer with this Local, "No," then submit my case to a general vote at once. If the majority say, "No," my place is out of the Party. I am,  
Yours for progress,  
Jas. P. McGuire.  
Ottawa, Ont.

The Dominion Executive, holding any one not adhering to the Platform and principles of the S. P. of C. does not belong in the Party, the suspension was sustained. The suspended member's appeal is herewith submitted for the Party's consideration.

## DOINGS IN TORONTO.

Dear Mac:  
Local 24 decided, provided the weather was warm enough, to start its open air propaganda Sunday, March 27th. On arrival at the usual spot, corner University and Queen, we found our "pitch" in possession of the Salvation Army. It looked as if we would have to take a new stand, but about 3 o'clock the Knights of the Drum and Bunn, having extracted all the change the crowd was prepared to cough up, hit the trail elsewhere and left us in possession.  
Comrade Taylor opened the meeting. Taylor is a new hand so far as the spelling end of the game is concerned. He is well classed, however, and speaks in working class language, and may be expected to develop into a really good propagandist with more practice. There was no "speaker of the afternoon" but half a dozen comrades put in about 15 minutes each. The crowd was attentive and seemed to like the stuff. The speakers were all members of Local 24—Green, Woodhouse, Stewart, Farmilo, Taylor and Desjardins, by their absence. Probably they were engaged getting out another leaflet berating the "autocrats" of Local 24.  
Local 24 proposes to wage an active summer campaign. If possible, we will do two meetings on Saturday and the same on Sunday. Should the necessary speakers develop amongst the membership or others who are competent to deal out the real stuff, come from outside we will increase the program.  
The sale of literature is also to be pushed vigorously. All this means work—hard work and lots of it, but the boys here will make good. They may not be experts in the circular letter or leaflet business, but like most "impossibles" they are not afraid to get down and do the requisite spade work which is necessary before any movement can grow.

## DESMOND.

## GRIBBLE'S MEETINGS.

This is to tell you all about Com. Gribble's meetings in this district. He gave Local North Battleford and Fenwick Hall 10 meetings in seven days. One meeting most days and on others two for a rest. A very successful series with one exception.  
It was a Monday afternoon meeting and for days the weather had been fine and warm and the farmer wags (most excellent) had champed at his bit, and in other asinine ways shown his eagerness for work; and in church on Sunday he could hardly restrain himself, rising on Monday before the

crow performs a useful function. He said the day is elegant; his good to his living. I will do myself proud; I will work. And the wretched Gribble had his meeting. Fennell Hall gave Gribble a splendid meeting and Gribble gave back the goods clean and strong. The North Battleford meeting was a success in numbers and interest, and Gribble gripped his audience from start to finish.  
"But, oh, he's violent. Actually spoke of a coming revolution of the slaves. Said some of them were even revolting now. Millions of them. Even said the church had always been behind the ruling class."  
Now, I put it up to you, comrades, are these things true? Gribble's going to tighten away from our meetings all the old ladies of both sexes and wreck the movement. Comrades Budden, myself and other parlor Socialists have been hiding under the sofa or on it ever since singing:  
"Put the bugles, blow the drums,  
Show me the way the enemy comes;  
The sound of a musket in my ear,  
Is enough for this runaway musketeer."  
No revolting for us or laying violent hands upon the Church.  
Com. Gribble wound up by attending an organization meeting (on the Sabbath), and unfolded a scheme whereby he hopes to hire, coax or abduct from the east speakers for the West. Says the West needs them.  
"Don't believe him, eastern comrades, he's an old saller. Your work lies where for more than one generation the people have anchored until they festered loose. No sirs, the people do not come West because of poverty or unconscious protest against capitalism in other lands.  
"They come "for der kilnate."  
The West does not need you, comrades. Prosperity is here in pallfulls. The plaster on every quarter section, cattle and machinery is only to keep the land still and prove the farmer is a small capitalist. Stay where you are comrades. Home-keeping youths hath ever homey vil. I have not travelled, besides, if we only get a speaker once in a blue moon we can stand his revolting. But often, I and the other parlor Socialists would be compelled to quit the Party and join the Young Men's Christian Crumpe Assn.  
H. C.

## WANTED.

A number of young men who have proved their competence as public propagandists in the Party, to place themselves at the disposal of the Dominion Executive for agitation work.  
Any answering the above ad, must clearly understand that volunteers are not necessarily accepted; that the Dominion Executive, being held responsible for their efficiency, will be the sole and final authority as to fitness of volunteers, and, in case the number of volunteers exceeds the number wanted, as to those selected. The exact number required is not yet known except in the case of Alberta, which province is in a position to keep four constantly going.  
Terms—the usual for S. P. of G. agitators—their keep.  
Any having an idea they would be making a "sacrifice," not wanted.  
Any not thoroughly realizing they would be getting greater returns in opportunity for development than they would be losing in wages had better not volunteer.  
Any comrades thinking of offering their services are advised to think the matter over carefully first, and not to act on impulse, as none are wanted who would weaken when in the field.  
The idea is to place accepted volunteers in the field as soon as the farmers' busy season is over as far as the prairie provinces are concerned, and elsewhere as opportunity occurs.  
Any volunteers will receive further information from Dominion Executive or from the undersigned.  
WILFRID GRIBBLE,  
Care W. H. Stebbings,  
316 Good St.,  
Winnipeg.

## HOW ABOUT IT?

Comrade Editor:—  
I am writing this to try and get information. On March 27th Local Nanaimo held propaganda meeting at which Comrade Young spoke on "Trade Unions" at some length. During the somewhat heated discussion which followed, a statement was made (by Hawthornthwaite) that there are millions of wage-earners who are not robbed under the present system. This view was combated (by Place), who held that wages presupposes surplus value.  
The wage-earners more particularly referred to are those in service to some gentleman (?) or other, such as grocers, coachmen, valets, etc. If these people are not being robbed I'd like to know why, and I don't care whether it's Marxian or Engellan or Lassallian or not so long as it will bear analysis. We could possibly thrust it out in our own Local, but there are probably many Clarion readers who are interested in such problems and would like to see it explained.  
Yours for the Earth,  
W. H. MOORE.

## THE LABOR SITUATION.

The unrest and discontent among the laboring people of the United States still continues and the future seems to be pregnant with many conflicts between exploiter and exploited. The working class of every state of the Union, looking into the future, sees the coming storm and feels somewhat nervous as to the results.  
In the building trades in nearly every large city of the country there seems to be a feeling of dissatisfaction and the skilled mechanic, who once entertained the opinion that the wages which he commanded would keep the wolf of hunger from his door, has discovered that in the increased cost of living he is unable longer to lay away a surplus for a rainy day.  
The strike of the street car men in Philadelphia and the arrogant attitude assumed by the magnates of the company indicate that the exploiter is unwilling to show any quarter to unionism, and the fact that thousands of men in various industries in the city of Philadelphia separated themselves from their occupations to aid the battle of the street car men, demonstrates that organized labor is awakening to the fact that the working class in all industries must stand together if any victories are to be wrested from the clenched grip of greed. The armed power that was summoned together in Philadelphia, consisting of armed policemen, state constabulary and companies of state militia, to awe and intimidate strikers who were struggling for living conditions, shows conclusively that official authority is arrayed on the side of the employer and against the slave. The brutal violence that was visited upon the strikers by the so-called guardians of the peace and upholders of the majesty of the law, tells but too forcibly that labor can expect but little justice while capitalism retains in public life the millions who use the power of cities, states and nation to suppress an uprising of the working class.  
In the railway service during the past several weeks there was pending a threatened battle between the railway corporations and the members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. At the present writing there are indications that a compromise will be effected. Had the strike taken place, 25,000 firemen and enginemen would have been involved, which would have tied up forty-nine railroads running west of Chicago, and this strike would have probably thrown out of employment at least 200,000 men connected with the railway service. If a compromise is effected it will be merely a truce to hostilities, as the railway corporations of America are already conspiring to put the railway brotherhoods out of business, and will be successful unless the employees in the transportation industry come together in one mighty organization that shall know no craft or trade lines.  
Since the bitter Mine Workers of America held their annual convention at Indianapolis during the month of January, there has been a number of conferences held with the mine operators, in the hope that reasonable concessions would be granted to the men of the coal mines, but so far the conferences that have been held have resulted in failure as regards an amicable adjustment of differences. The miners, on account of the increased cost of living, have been forced through necessity to ask for an increased wage scale, but regardless of the fact that the necessities of life have soared skyward during the past few years, yet the coal barons are standing upon a lofty pedestal and refuse to yield to the demands of an organization that is only asking living wages for the slaves of the mines. At the present writing there is but little hope that a strike of the coal miners can be averted. Should no settlement be effected, then grim necessity will force the United Mine workers to declare a strike which will involve fully 250,000 men. Such a strike will mean the life or death of the United Mine Workers, as defeat of the United Mine Workers, as defeat means that the coal barons, who are likewise magnates in the railway system of this country, will issue an ultimatum that the organization of the coal miners shall be no longer recognized.

## DESMOND ON THE ROAD.

Comrade Desmond is beating it West, so if any Locals want him to speak his piece in their vicinity, they had better notify Com. W. H. Stebbings, 316 Good street, Winnipeg, or Com. F. Oxtoby, box 647, Calgary, right away.

## WANTED.

At the Ymir General Hospital a duly trained nurse. For partition write  
W. B. McISAAC, Secy.

**Here and Now**  
By "LBEDS"

Charley O'Brien gets the belt away from Gribble this week. Ten subs. and a bundle of twenty-ave.

Three subs. per Com. Matthews, one of them a dollar donation from Com. T. Barchet.

Local Innisfail, Alta., send along ten dollars to pay for bundle and card in directory.

Local Bellevue pays up for its card.

**CLASS STRUGGLE ON THE INDUSTRIAL FIELD**  
On February 8th, a strike of twenty-three cigarmakers took place at Winnipeg, Man. According to a report received from the employer, the cause of the dispute was the promotion of a female apprentice before she had served her full time. On February 17th, work was resumed, the employee having been restored to the rank of apprentice.—Labor Gazette.

Local Windsor, Ont., has missed their bundle and are much put out thereby. It won't be their fault if they miss any more numbers. Com. L. Wiltrite will see to that.

Local Vancouver pays up for bundle and card.

Comrade Miss S. Muskrat, Moncton, N. B., desires to read the Clarion and thereby assist to spread the Gospel in the East.

Wilson C. Gaspell of Galt, Ontario, sends \$3.00 for bundle and hopes that the dope won't be diluted with palliation.

Comrade Ross of Glace Bay, N. S., forwards \$5.00 for bundles.

Comrade Taylor of Toronto lines up three.

E. Rolls of New Westminster renews two yearlies.

**OHI YOU SAMMIE!**  
The Declaration of Independence of the United States and the establishment of these colonies into an independent nation were caused by tyranny and injustice, and the denial of rights and opportunities for development to the American colonies. It gave to the world not only a new nation, a republic, but emphasized more clearly the unalienable rights of man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, by which he is inherently endowed.—Sam Gompers.

The following are guilty of criminal offence against capital by turning in a sub apiece: Comrades Emma Moll, Fernie, B. C.; J. Stewart, Toronto; A. E. Faulkner, Conjuring Creek, Alta.; E. Williams, John Fraser, Wm. Wright, Harry Higgins, all of Vancouver; Geo. Nickels, Rivers Inlet, B. C.; Jas. Hamilton, Green Point, B. C.; Archibald Hogg, New Westminster, B. C.; Dave Paton, Fernie, B. C.; E. J. Thomson, North Battleford, Sask.; A. Gutnick, Muncled, Alta.; W. F. M. Denoro, B. C., and John Pickenshovell, Sidney, B. C.

## MARRON LAKE, B. C.

February 20th, 1910.

Editor Clarion:  
Will you allow me space in the Western Clarion in answer to Alfred Budden's article of the 12th inst. I think he is a dogmatizer. If I understand his article correctly, in the first place how are we to tell a Christian from an unchristian? Christ said, "by their works ye shall know them," and the Apostles said, "I will prove to you my faith by my works." The Christian Socialist don't claim that if we had Socialism that we would have "peace that passeth all understanding which peace I gave unto you," which is the saying of Jesus. We claim Socialism because it will give every one a chance to sit under their own vine and fig tree with none to molest or say what doest thou? I think if my friend Buddin will just read over the New Testament and mark the verse, chapter and book that he sees anything in against Socialism, and also every saying that he sees in favor of it, in place of having his eyes in the ends of the earth, for what is not of the Christ in it seems to think he is very wise Budden when he says that anyone calling themselves Christian Socialists is ignorant of Christianity and Socialism. So we have heard his judgment, but that old book tells us that he that is wise in his own conceit, there is more hope of a fool than of him.

G. J.

**Wanted**  
At the Ymir General Hospital a duly trained nurse. For partition write  
W. B. McISAAC, Secy.

**THE CAFETERIA**  
A good place to eat  
305 Cambie Street  
The best of everything properly cooked.  
Chas. Mulcahey, Prop.

# SUMMARY OF MARX'S CAPITAL

BY A. P. HAZELL

Marx was attracted as a young man to the working class movement which was then fermenting in Germany and throughout the Continent of Europe. In 1848, a now celebrated period in the history of the German workers, there was a general strike and of an actual general revolution, and there was some ground for their alarm, for the young men of broad minds and keen intellect, among whom was Karl Marx, had been drawn into the revolutionary vortex of the hour.

Marx father, who had formally adopted the Christian religion for political reasons, had great hopes of the future of the young man, but the official Marx, however, pursued a course of his own. He became a press controversialist and agitator, finally accepting the editorship of a revolutionary organ. The police were watching him, and he fled to his quarter, and he was, consequently, exiled, first from one country and then from another, until he was forced to come to England, where he resided till his death.

Political economy and general philosophy had long been favorite subjects with Marx, and he found his acquaintance with them of invaluable assistance to him in his possible discussions with the ordinary classes of the capitalist press. He analyzed at the earliest to attack the orthodox economists, and with this aim he published his first criticism on political economy, which, strange to say, has only recently been published in the English language.

In his English life he further developed his first essay, which he ultimately expanded into his celebrated work, entitled "Capital: An Analysis of the Capitalist System of Production," the latter part of which is not yet printed in English.

The object of this pamphlet is to give a brief outline of the contents of Marx's work, so that the reader may readily see how he deals with the economic problem.

## MARX'S PROPOSITION

It is that "Labor is the Source of All Wealth." The true value of a social product, he says, is the amount of actual labor it contains, its quantity being measurable by time, and another rich man's labor is not more valuable than the labor of a poor man. Marx proposes to be due to exploitation, which has its general in the subjection of man to man, which in time became sanctioned by custom, evolving various social grades and classes, such as the free under feudalism, and the present complicated capitalist system of free exchange and wage-labor. Men may seem to be free contractors, but they are, in fact, so bound by their economic environment that they are forced to toil as a servile race like chattel slaves and serfs did of old, of whom, indeed, they are the real lineal descendants.

The capitalist system is an embodiment of many other economic systems which have preceded it, and thus we often find social conditions which at first sight appear to be in contradiction to the ordinary laws governing capitalism. In the industrial systems preceding the capitalist, the chief aim of the producers was directed to creating commodities that they might sell them for money to obtain commodities of a different kind for their purpose of consumption. That simple system of exchange has passed away, and the capitalist now starts creating commodities to get money that they may get other commodities to consume, but they commence with money to create commodities that they may sell them for more money. This new set of conditions is called the capitalist system. The aim of the capitalists being to turn everything into gold, the production of pure and well-made commodities becomes quite a secondary matter to them. When "honest" capitalists like John Bright easily come to realize that the altered goods and child labor are necessary factors in production, we cannot expect unscrupulous capitalists to bother about the evil social conditions or the right of the worker to live, so long as they secure their object—unpaid labor converted into gold.

Capitalists are not content with the stress of economic circumstances to bring everything into the vortex of exchange. Thus things, from articles of virtue to churches, are placed on the market, and priced so that a portion of the surplus-value created in the way of exchange is added to them, and added to their pile of wealth. They do not trouble whether this or that is a commodity, pure and simple, so long as it secures them a profit on the transaction. By means of this price of value all sorts of things and all kinds of things are brought within the commodity world.

What Marx has done for political economy is to analyze the capitalist system, in which labor products are created and exchanged as commodities. He has done this with great accuracy, showing that the worker is compelled to create wealth for which he gets no equivalent whatever. Why the worker subjects himself to the capitalists and goes working on in his misery, even going so far as to revolt those who would free him, is a psychological problem which Marx in his work does not feel compelled to answer; but the lines on which he would answer this problem can be clearly perceived in his materialist conception of history where he states that material needs govern both his emotional and intellectual being.

## Wealth

The primary form of wealth is that of use-value—a thing which can be used for a purpose. Broadly speaking, anything that we use may be termed wealth. We therefore have to come to this conclusion, that utility is the substance which converts material things into commodities. The principle of the exchange element which distinguishes it from other things. It is true that things such as the air and the sea are useful, and from the point of view of strict logic ought to be included in our definition. But the air and the sea always remain in the simplest form of wealth, and do not, like minerals for instance, pass through phases of development until they become regarded, not only as commodities, but as capital. Society, which does not bother about fine distinctions, turns its attention to the objects of wealth which it daily handles, leaving exact definition to the professional economist, who, in turn, follows society in its definition.

## Commodity

In the course of time use-values are not only appropriated from Nature, but are created by man. These latter, therefore, become labor products, as well as being use-values. When man takes to a pastoral life, he has to produce his own necessities, we have an interchange of superfluous products, which creates barter. The benefits accruing from the exchange of these articles are recognized as being of a different kind from the time when products are specially created for the purpose of exchange. It is natural that if a commodity grows things for its own consumption and also for the purpose of exchange, it should invent a term to distinguish the latter. We might call them either exchange or market products, but society has determined in the name of its economists to call them commodities. Therefore, we are careful in noting how the distinction arises between one form of wealth and that of another, and the reason why. For instance, why does a labor product become a commodity?—To denote a given usage to which a labor product is put, namely, that of being placed on the market for the purpose of exchange. Instead of being used for home consumption in the ordinary way. Usage, then, by means of exchange, converts a labor product into a commodity, and usage likewise performs the same office for the commodity, by changing it into money.

## Money

We come to the next development in the form of wealth—that of money.

We see that a commodity is a labor product put to a certain use. Now, money, in its form, is also a commodity put to a certain use. Let us proceed carefully, for if we miss understanding how money comes into existence, we cannot claim to know much of economics. When commodities exchange with one another, they are forced to barter. If they grew corn, they had to calculate, when they bartered, in this way: So much corn is worth so much salt, so many cattle, so many skins. But the time calculation, the barter method, of exchange soon found it easier to reverse the process, making everything worth so much corn. Corn and cattle and skins have each been money in their own way. The first step was to take a staple article produced, they in the natural order of things became used for the purpose of reckoning. Money, then, is a commodity used for the purpose of reckoning, and of other commodities as a medium of exchange.

When we say salt is worth so much butter, we accept butter as representing value, and salt as the one to which we refer. The relation is rather abstract, and the characteristics one commodity as occupying the relative form of value, and the other the equivalent form of use-value. We are now in the equivalent form of things we weigh. In our instance the butter would correspond to the weight and the salt to the article we wish to weigh. The equivalent is the one we accept as representing value, and our object is to find out the relation of this value to the other. This equivalent form arises which we now term the money-form of the commodity.

Usage determines whether one commodity or another shall be money. The natural selected commodity for the purpose of reckoning naturally begets a social importance, for anyone who has money can exchange it, as it is accepted as a universal equivalent for every commodity brought to market. We have, then, the use-value, the labor-product, then market-product or commodity, then money, and now we come to the next form of wealth—capital. As we have seen, a commodity put to a certain usage becomes money, and money in its turn put to a certain usage, and gets a particular name—that of Capital.

The money-commodity being recognized as the universal equivalent and medium of exchange, it possesses considerable social advantages over any kind of commodity, everyone has need to command a certain quantity of it, and is prepared on occasions to give something to those who will loan it—thus it is that money becomes prevalent, merchants find themselves compelled to start production or a business with money. Their object is to make more money out of the commodity, but they do not like the dullum which is called interest, so they call their increase of money profit. Money used for the purpose of getting profit is now called capital.

After defining wealth and money, we have first, use-value, then labor-product, then commodity, then money, then capital. Capital under these conditions possesses the attributes of money, of a commodity, of a labor product, and of a use-value. In this form of wealth, money is wealth, a commodity is wealth, a labor-product is wealth, a use-value is wealth.

Use-value, Exchange-Value, and Value. After defining wealth and money, we have first, use-value, then labor-product, then commodity, then money, then capital. Capital under these conditions possesses the attributes of money, of a commodity, of a labor product, and of a use-value. In this form of wealth, money is wealth, a commodity is wealth, a labor-product is wealth, a use-value is wealth.

We have three values to examine. Two of them are the same under one of the abstract. But do not be alarmed by the terms of "concrete" and "abstract." They are terms easily mastered. We arrive at the abstract through the concrete. Take man as an illustration. Our experience with his affective qualities, such as his white whiteness, redness, or blackness, man is still left. Man is an abstract conception; a black, a white, or a red man is a concrete conception. A thing, it is plain, is in the concrete when we are in the abstract, and in the abstract when we are in the concrete and only one substance left. Let us not forget this.

Use-value and exchange-value are concrete or particular forms of value, and come first in point of experience, but our purpose will be better served by examining value and its nature. If I say what is the value of your watch as compared with my chain, it is equal to saying what amount of a given substance is there in your watch and parted with for the chain. It is evident from this that value is a determination by comparison of two quantities expressed in a given substance. From this we are compelled to assert that value is a quantitative relation. In the human mind is subject to physical law like all other physical things. Marx, to illustrate his point, takes the question of weight and comparison is one of quantity in a given gravitating substance. How do we weigh articles? By ascertaining their gravitative force, usually by a pair of scales. The articles we compare must be of the same substance. If we compared the sound of a gramophone with the brass weight. It is clear, then, when we analyze a value relation our task is to find the substance by means of which we compare. Our present task is to find the substance of exchange-value. We have acknowledged that a commodity is our unit of capitalist wealth, and our comparison is, therefore, between two commodities. We place at the point of exchange because it is there the equation is made. We produce commodities, and then distribute by means of exchange. Our method of distribution, that compares us to the exchange-value. We can agree without argument that the value-substance is in the commodities before we exchange and compare them, just as the weight is in a cabbage, and in the iron or brass weight which we use for the scales. From this circumstance we call exchange-value an objective relation, because the object is there in the commodities, in front of us, and all that is required is to measure it. By common consent there are two substances, one by which the value of commodities can be expressed—utility and labor. Of course, we can have as many values as we can find substances to make a comparison. But we can have only one value, and values without number. But for general purposes we can include these in one category, and call them use-values, or things of utility, as we call the exchanged utility. The purpose of argument we can agree that our substance must be either utility or labor. How do we test utility? At the point of exchange? No. We test it by the utility of a pair of boots by wearing them. Sugar is useful to me because it is sweet, and I test it by tasting it, or consuming it—not by exchanging it. Utility is not tested by exchanging it, but by using it with the taste of each individual. I like acid drops, you prefer cloves. The utility of the two depends on our tastes. It is evident that utility has to be discarded as the substance of exchange-value, because it cannot become money. Money is tested by exchange. If utility was the test of value, a man ought to pay more for a loaf when he was hungry than when satisfied, but the prices for a loaf remain the same whether the man is hungry or not. The utility of a thing does not change, so we see, depends upon its consumption, so we have to fall back upon the only alternative—labor. Can we measure labor at the point of exchange?

Yes, by means of labor-time. Ascertain the time taken to produce two commodities, and we know their relative exchange-value, and the quality tallies with market valuations. Reduce the labor to a commodity by means of some labor-saving contrivance, and the price falls. Let conditions change, and more labor be expended on it, then the price rises. They had to barter. Marx, in dealing with this question of value, made an important discovery, which forms the greatest contribution to political economy since the time Aristotle. Only by reducing the labor to the abstract. The different kinds of labor are too numerous to count, but we can view them in the abstract as one product—human energy. Thus, whether the worker produces a commodity or a product of human energy, and as samples of carpentry and shoe-making labor—a fact which had escaped previous economists. So far as the commodity is concerned, one man creates as much value as another, and on the basis of equal labor time equal value. Socialists rest their argument of social equality.

An exchange of two commodities is an exchange between labor; we are, however, confronted with this fact, that the market does not say that a commodity is worth so much labor, but it is worth so much money. This brings us to the price-form of value.

In dealing with wealth, we saw that a commodity had to be reduced to measure other commodities, and we had to find a relation of value, and to express it in the money-form of value. We do not under capitalism measure things directly by labor time, the true standard, but by their price. If we consider a moment we shall realize that exchange value is not a thing, but a relation of value. For how is the market to know the exact time that one manufacturer takes to produce a commodity as compared with another. Besides, manufacturers are very secretive as to their methods of production, and they are not likely to be forced to fall back upon the price-value-form of the articles, such price being settled by higgling, or competition. We are so used to pricing things that we never consider what it means, and we do not suppose one in a thousand could explain it if asked. Yet it is very simple. We say boots are worth half-a-sovereign. How do we mentally arrive at that and conform to all the conditions attached to value? Why we turn our boots, by imagination, into a piece of gold, and we compare them with a sovereign. As soon as our boots assume the gold form, the rest is easy. We can compare the two pieces of gold by their weight. And that is what really happens. We fulfill by this method all the conditions attached to value. By reducing all commodities to gold, we reduce them to gold-labor and though we may not precisely know the time taken to produce half a sovereign, we know, collectively, the time taken to produce one. The price-form is equal to that of any other. The price-form measures two quantities by one substance, by means of their weight, and this is how the capitalist system arrives at the value of commodities. The true standard of price, and price becomes the exponent of exchange-value. Now price being an ideal or imaginary form of value, is also subject to the vagaries of the imagination, and the price the result of human and not of natural things which are really not commodities. Such things often disturb the student of economy. By studying the price-form of value, however, we get an explanation of many economic anomalies which are out of the complex social relations going on around us. Take, for instance, the sale of sites. Why does a piece of land fetch such a high price in the City compared with other situations? Because the City represents a place where the value of land is on a large scale. There a greater quantity of profit can be realized, and a buyer is glad to pay \$5,000 that he may enjoy \$10,000 which the site enables him to secure. Thus the price of land is between price of production and the cost of production.

But we are digressing. Before dealing with cost of production, we have to deal with surplus-value, and to do this we must analyze constant and variable capital, labor, and labor-power, and we can return to price of production and cost of production.

## Capital

For the better analysis of capital, Marx divides capital into two divisions—constant and variable. These respectively represent the means of production and wages. The reason Marx uses the term "constant," is because anything in the nature of plant cannot alter its value when it is transformed into a commodity. That is, if a capitalist buys a machine worth a thousand pounds, and when he makes a labor-power, Marx shows that its value changes when it is transformed into a commodity. Thus a man who sells his labor-power for a given sum imports three or four times its value into a commodity, and for this reason he calls that portion of capital which is spent in wages variable capital, as it increases its value when embodied in a product.

## Labor-Power and Labour

We have already touched upon labor. Upon analyzing it, we find we require three terms to express its variable phases. (1) One to express labor as stored up in a man's body; (2) one to express its activity; (3) one to express its embodiment in a commodity. Generally speaking, labor which has less so many confusions in ideas. Marx observed this, and he introduced the word labour-power, meaning the power to labour. It is this power to labour which the workers sell as capitalist in exchange for a wage. Firstly, the labour-power is the crystallized energy of the worker; secondly, labouring or working expresses the expenditure of this crystallized energy; and, thirdly, labour expresses the embodiment of energy in the product. The only evidence we have of expended labour is, of course, the objective form of the commodity. We know that a chain has labour embodied in it because of its form. Now, if we are to measure labour, we must also look at it from the quantitative and the qualitative standpoint. When we regard labour as human energy only, we ignore its qualitative value.

Objection is often taken to Marx reducing all kinds of labor to one given quality, and only counting them as simple energy. The objectors are not very logical, however, for they never object to the capitalist doing the same thing when he sells a commodity, never thinks about the various kinds of labour in it. He calculates them all in gold, which is only stating that every commodity is equal to gold, and therefore to gold-labor, or at least that is what he is saying, that there is one quality of labour—which, in the eyes of orthodox economists, is Marx's greatest sin. (To be Continued in our next issue.)

The above will be published in pamphlet form. Price 5 cents. \$1.00 per 100 to subscribers to the publishing fund.

# PLATFORM

## Socialist Party of Canada

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

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

So long as the capitalist class remains 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-widening 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, under which is cloaked the robbery of the working-class at the point of production. 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 programmes 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, railroads etc.) into the collective property of the working class.
2. The democratic organization 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.

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