

## WAGE-LABOR AND CAPITAL

By Karl Marx.  
WHAT ARE WAGES AND HOW ARE THEY DETERMINED?

If we were to ask the laborers, "How much wages do you get?" One would reply, "I get a couple of shillings a day from my employer." Another, "I get a half-crown," and so on. According to the different trades to which they belong they would name different sums of money which they receive from their particular employers, either for working for a certain length of time, or for performing a certain piece of work; for example, either for weaving an ell of cloth, or for setting up a certain amount of type. But in spite of this difference in their statements there is one point in which they would all agree: their wages are the amount of money which the employer pays them, either for working a certain length of time or for a certain amount of work done.

Thus their employer buys their work for money. For money they sell their work to him. With the same sum for which the employer has bought their work, as for instance with a couple of shillings, he might have bought four pounds of sugar or a proportionate amount of any other wares. The two shillings with which he buys the four pounds of sugar are the price of four pounds of sugar. The two shillings with which he buys labor for twelve hours are the price of twelve hours work. Work is therefore as much a commodity as sugar, neither more or less, only they measure the former by the clock, the latter by the scales.

The laborers exchange their own commodity with their employers—work for money; and this exchange takes place according to a fixed proportion. So much money for so much work. For twelve hours' weaving two shillings. And do not these two shillings represent two shillings worth of all other commodities? Thus the laborer has, in fact, exchanged his own commodity, work, with all kinds of other commodities and that in a fixed proportion. His employer in giving him two shillings has given him so much meat, so much clothing, so much fuel, light, and so on, in exchange for his day's work. The two shillings, therefore, express the proportion in which his work is exchanged with other commodities—the exchange-value of his work; and the exchange-value of any commodity expressed in money is called its price. Wage is, therefore, only another name for the price of work for the price of this peculiar piece of property which can have no local habitation at all except in human flesh and blood.

Take the case of any workman, a weaver for instance. The employer supplies him with thread and loom. The weaver sets to work, and the thread is turned into cloth. The employer takes possession of the cloth and sells it, say for twenty shillings. Does the weaver receive as wages a share in the cloth—in the twenty shillings—in the product of his labor? By no means. The weaver receives his wages long before the product is sold. The employer does not, therefore, pay his wages with the money he will get for the cloth, but with money previously provided. Loom and thread are not the weaver's product, since they are supplied by the employer, and no more is the purchase of the labor necessary to the production of the cloth—he proceeds to produce it by means of the raw material and the instruments which belong to him. Among these last two of course, reckoned our worthy weaver, who has a little share in the product, or in the price of the product, as the loom itself.

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

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

But labor is the peculiar expression of the energy of the laborer. He cannot sell his energy to another party, in order to secure for himself the means of living. For him, therefore, his energy is nothing but a means of insuring his own existence. He works to live. He does not want the work itself as a part of his life, rather it is a sacrifice of his life. It is a commodity which he has made over to another party. Neither is its product the aim of his activity. What he produces for himself is not the silk he weaves nor the palace he builds. He produces for himself the means of his existence. What he produces for himself is his wage, and silk, gold, and palace are transformed for him into a certain quantity of means of existence—a cotton shirt, some copper coins, and a lodging in a cellar. And what of the laborer, who for twelve hours weaves, spins, bakes, turns, builds, shovels, breaks stones, carries loads, and so on? Does his 12 hours' weaving, spinning, boring, turning, building, shoveling, and stone-breaking represent the active expression of his life? On the contrary, life begins for him exactly where this activity of his ceases—at his meals, on the public house bench, in his bed. His twelve hours' work has no meaning for him as weaving, spinning, boring, etc., but only as earnings whereby he may obtain his meals, his seat in the public house, his bed. If the silkworm's object in spinning were to prolong its existence as a caterpillar, it would be a perfect example of a wage-worker.

Labor was not always a commodity. Labor was not always wage-work, that is, marketable commodity. The slave does not sell his labor to the slave-owner. The slave along with his labor is sold once for all to his owner. He is a commodity which can pass from the hand of one owner to that of another. He himself is a commodity, but his labor is not his commodity. The serf sells only a portion of his labor. He does not receive his wages from the owner of the soil; rather the owner of the soil receives a tribute from him. The serf belongs to the soil, and to the lord of the soil he brings its fruits. The free laborer on the other hand, sells himself, and that by fractions. From day to day he sells by auction, eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours for his life to the highest bidder—to the owner of the raw material.

And the means of life, that is, to the employer. The laborer himself belongs neither to an owner nor to the soil; but eight, ten, twelve, fifteen hours of his daily life belongs to the

man who buys them. The laborer leaves the employer to whom he has hired himself whenever he pleases; and the employer discharges him whenever he thinks fit; either as soon as he ceases to make a profit out of him, or fails to get so high a profit as he requires. But the laborer whose only source of earning is the sale of his labor, cannot leave the whole class of its purchasers, that is, the capitalist class without renouncing his own existence. He does not belong to this or that particular employer, but he does belong to the employing class; and more than that, it is his business to find an employer; that is, among this employing class it is his business to discover his own particular purchaser.

Before going more closely into the relations between capital and wage-work, it will be well to give a brief survey of those general relations which are taken into consideration in determining the amount of wages and the price of a certain commodity—labor. Wages are thus determined by the same law which regulates the price of any other commodity.

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

By what means is the price of a commodity determined? By means of competition between buyers and sellers, and the relation between supply and demand—offer and desire. And this competition by which the price of an article is fixed is threefold.

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

But a competition also goes on among the purchasers, which on their side raises the price of the goods offered. Finally there arises a competition between buyers and sellers; the one set want to buy as cheap as possible, the other to sell as dear as possible. The result of this competition between buyers and sellers will depend upon the relations of the two previous aspects of the competition: that is upon whether the competition in the ranks of the buyers or that in those of the sellers is the keener. Business thus leads two opposing armies into the field, and each of them again presents the aspect of a battle in its own ranks between its own soldiers. That army whose troops are least mauled by one another carries off the victory over the opposing host.

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

(To be continued.)

## Let's Make Another Effort

R. W. Northey.

Comrades, I was glad, very glad in reading last Thursday's issue to see certain signs which looked to me as if it would not be a difficult task to amalgamate the S. P. and S. D. P. of Canada into one strong and conquering organization. I know it has been attempted before and failed, but things have changed and times have changed since then. The spirit of irreconcilability seems to have died out altogether, and I believe it would not mean another failure were the attempt made once more.

One of the signs I note with pleasure is the appearance of Wilfrid Gribble as a lecturer before the comrades of Brockville Local S. D. P. Those of us who used to read Comrade Gribble's bitter denunciation of the S. D. P. some years ago, will readily understand how much his action at Brockville will help towards reconciliation and amalgamation.

Another favorable sign is the splendid belief in the shape of lectures Comrade C. M. O'Brien has been giving the S. D. P. locals in New Ontario and Kingston. Now if we ever intend taking the destiny of Canada out of the hands of the plutocrats and their servile henchmen, the politicians, we will have to heal our differences, close up our ranks and become one intelligent, progressive whole.

We Socialists, who preach a lot about common sense, tolerance, fraternity and all the other qualities that make for brotherhood, ought surely to show the world at large that we really do possess them and practice what we preach. Let's make another effort to come together, concentrating our energies on economic and political methods. There is no necessity in the present phase of the class struggle for bringing in the religious question at all.

Dr. Alfred Russell Wallace says: "But what they fail to perceive is that in a word like this made by the rudest and wisest, right is always the great standard for men and for nations and for the rich as well as for the poor, and that wrong sooner or later ends in misery and destruction." That is sound moral teaching. We have been doing the wrong for the past century and we have reaped and are reaping "misery and destruction." It is time that we changed our methods which are ALL FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG. RADICALLY UNJUST. WHOLLY IMMORAL.—London Review of Reviews.

The Socialist army is never conquered. It has no deserters. It never decreases in numbers. It is marching steadily to the goal, gathering its recruits as it progresses.

## Socialist Education in Germany

REMARKABLE WORK BY THE PARTY. By E. B. Lloyd in the British Labor Leader. The German Social Democratic Party is probably the finest organized political body in the world, and the remarkable efficiency of its organizations is in no way more clearly shown than by the splendid educational system which has been built up within its ranks during the last few years, with immense devotion and at great monetary cost.

The German Socialist Party, dissatisfied with the old attempt at educational work (more or less unsystematic lectures, classes, etc.) and recognizing, in view of the enormous and regular growth of the modern Labor movement, that new times demanded new methods, decided at the congress of 1906 to form a special Educational Committee. This committee, though it met at first with comparatively small support and was much hampered by lack of financial aid, has since made most remarkable progress; so much so, indeed, that to some people its work seems at least as valuable as the whole political activity of the party during the same period. In 1912 the total expenditure for educational purposes reached the figure of £35,000.

## AMAZING EDUCATION PROGRAMME.

Starting from the idea that it is absolutely necessary to wean the working class from the more profitless pursuit of "beer and skittles" (which in Germany may be taken almost literally), the Committee set out with the avowed object of raising the whole level of the proletariat as regards taste and culture even under existing social conditions. To achieve this aim they have worked up an educational system ranging from staid lecture courses on Trade Unionism and the Basis of Socialism to cinematograph shows, literary and musical evenings, visits to theatres, museums, and art galleries, exhibitions of books, pictures, and furniture, branch libraries and catalogues of suitable literature for the young—this last being quite an important feature, for the "penny dreadfuls" and trashy literature is in full swing in Germany. A special magazine is now regularly issued, devoted solely to the interests of this side of the movement. Local education committees have been formed, and work together with the central Committee, which arranges courses all over the country by good travelling lecturers, making grants towards the expenses in the case of small and poor branches.

## A STAFF OF LECTURERS.

As I write I have before me the Committee's Year Book for 1913-14 containing specimen programmes for the whole winter season (which, of course, need not be rigidly adhered to) for strong, medium, and weak branches. The expenses are carefully estimated and worked out with characteristic German thoroughness down to the most unbelievable minor details, such as the cost of the songs for a concert, hire of musicians (who can be provided from headquarters on application!) magic lanterns, obtaining of books for exhibition from the publishers, and the most suitable subjects of study for the various classes of workers. Not too heavy for those branches whose members are mostly engaged in the more arduous kinds of work, not too amusing for those whose jobs are lighter. The lecture syllabus announces 30 regular paid lecturers, while there are some 35 different subjects to be dealt with, including in addition to those already mentioned, Art, Biology, History, and Geography (in the widest sense), and Literature—the last always specially attractive to the German mind. The lecturers go from branch to branch, arranging as far as possible to speak at places where the considerable distance of one another, so as to be able to reside at temporary headquarters while working any special district.

## SCHOLARSHIPS FOR SOCIALISTS

These lectures, though rightly enough regarded as the corner-stone of the scheme, are as I have said, very far from exhausting the list of the committee's activities. It is considered necessary to go further—to make of the lectures a starting point for wider education, of a kind which one may, perhaps, call "pleasure work." For the Germans have learned that the intellect of man—even the most uneducated—cannot live and thrive on "economics" alone; that an absolutely unimpaired diet of Trade Unionism and Co-operation, etc. (necessary as these are), is as bad as an unimpaired diet of steak and suet pudding for the body. Hence, by giving the workers a chance to acquire not only "facts" knowledge but also cultural improvement and even aesthetic amusement within their own party, the committee seeks to enable them to raise and broaden their whole outlook on life, and thus make themselves in every way more competent to hold their own (even superficially) with the ruling classes. Furthermore, a system of scholarships has been devised, by means of which a number of selected members (at present 30) are enabled to spend at least a year in Berlin studying at the Party's own school, all their expenses being paid from party funds. The classroom at headquarters is a most enticing place, splendidly arranged; and I could well understand the pride which the secretary of the Education Committee evinces on showing it to me. The special Berlin Education Committee (founded last year) also publishes a separate year book and much other literature of its own, including a series of admirable little theatre hand-books—for in Germany the theatre is still far more of an educational institution than it is in England, partly owing to the prevalence of municipal theatres and the repertory system.

## Apogee

"Babushka" Breshkovsky and Mother Jones in prison in the interests of law and order. Each of them is over eighty years of age.

Was it for this we crawled from out the slime and trod our brother-brutes beneath our heel, Winnowed the fleeing ages their yield, Garnered the harvest from the field of time? Was it for this Guatemala saw the Light, The Carpenter of Nazareth was slain? Was it for this that man have pictured gods, Is raised a thing so rotten in its pride, And proved the unity of all the worlds; For this that princes, popes, and presidents Hold dire dominion over all the world—that on the very apex of the years Is trembles at the touch of four old hands? Is it for this that half mankind stands armed, The tides themselves are groaning 'neath the weight.

Of all the blood-bought wisdom of war—To hold in chains two feeble women's hands, And stain their twilight years in felony? Gerald J. Lively.

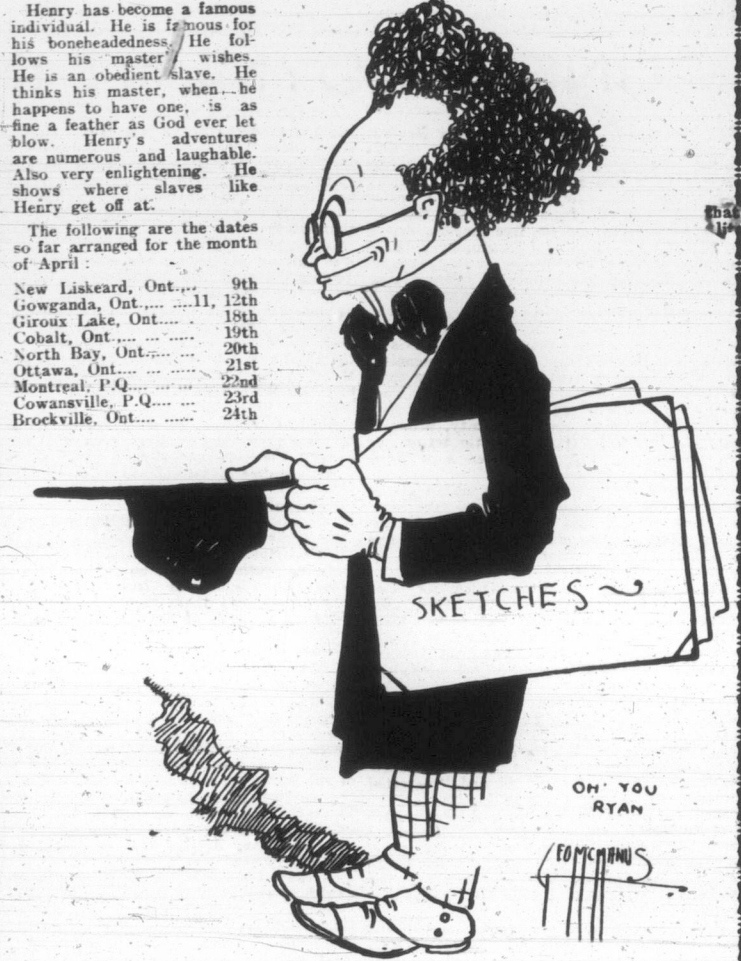
The banking graft is one of the bi-wiest crafts in existence, yet the people patiently stumble along with the weight of heavy interest on their shoulders and think that the banking business is a necessary one.

## RYAN WALKER, the famous New York Cartoonist, is touring in Canada. The subject of his lecture is "Life and Adventures of Henry Dubb"

Henry has become a famous individual. He is famous for his boneheadedness. He follows his master's wishes. He is an obedient slave. He thinks his master, when he happens to have one, is as fine a feather as God ever let blow. Henry's adventures are numerous and laughable. Also very enlightening. He shows where slaves like Henry get off at.

The following are the dates so far arranged for the month of April:

New Liskeard, Ont.	9th
Gowganda, Ont.	11th, 12th
Giroux Lake, Ont.	15th
Calcut, Ont.	18th
North Bay, Ont.	20th
Ottawa, Ont.	21st
Montreal, P.Q.	22nd
Cowanville, P.Q.	23rd
Brockville, Ont.	24th



Everybody go, and see Henry Dubb as he travels through this vale of tears and patched trousers

## Gumbo and the C.P.R.

You will remember how last week I tried to let you see what a liar Judge R. M. Meridith had proved himself in his summing up of the evidence given at the conciliation board called to arbitrate in the case of the C.P.R. Maintenance of Way Employees' demand for a living wage, you will remember how I tried to ventilate his statement regarding the dear loving motherly "care" the C.P.R. manifests towards its injured employees. Therefore, we will now proceed to examine another of these bountiful privileges enumerated by this puppet of the slave holders. He says: "Employees in due course receive a pension provided entirely out of the companies funds." Now before we call Judge Meridith a liar on this point, let us wisely scattered readers of Cotton's Weekly each one try if we can locate any aged, worn-out wage slave in all this broad Canada at present in receipt of a pension from the C.P.R. Does any reader of Cotton's know at this moment of any former trackman now receiving a pension? I myself know of one who when they saw him able to stick it for eleven years, forced him to sign a paper relinquishing all claim to a pension, should he prove able to remain in the service the necessary years.

No, Meridith, the C.P.R. doesn't take men into its employment to make pensioners of them. The C.P.R. doesn't give any of its employees the incentive to remain long enough in its service to be entitled to a pension.

The C.P.R. pays its buldgoes of officials a fair wage to give the poor conscientious worker hell, if he happens to do what is right, and make him feel as bad as five cents. No man except he is a born bully can rise in the service of the C.P.R. No man except he has the strength of a lion, the patience of Job, and the wisdom of Solomon, can ever hope to remain long enough in the track department to entitle him to a pension. The only man who remains in the C.P.R. track department is the man who has no other thing to turn his hand to. Ask some of the present occupants of the C.P.R.'s ready-made-farms what prospect they have of ever becoming the owners of the land the C.P.R. is soaking them for. Well, the prospect of any of the C.P.R.'s present holders of track jobs ever becoming pensioners is just as remote. The C.P.R.'s pension for track-men is just like the "pie in the sky" dope of the preachers—something that has a shadowy mysteriousness about it, a sort of unattainable thing, accessible only to the very few. The track department is one in which it is never made worth any man's while to stay. The C.P.R. compels its paid bullies to make its poor paid jerries feel as crestfallen, confused, embarrassed and angered as ever they possibly can. No word of commendation dare they utter, because if known, they won't utter many more. Their instructions are to get as much work out of them as possible, and if they show any signs of temporizing or aiding the men, their time will be short.

Now, I have again run into a lot of unnecessary words in order to analyse this further statement which at first sight would cause any person not knowing the ways of the C.P.R. to feel indignant at these poverty-stricken, dirty, stupid, wage slaves daring to present a claim for better conditions; but as there still are people in Canada not yet awakened from that dream sleep produced by the narcotics of capitalism in the form of a kept press, it behoves us who are itching under the lash to try and pack some mental dynamite into Cowanville in the hope that the fragments from the explosion in shape of Cotton's Weekly—may alight in sight of some poor slave and awake him to class consciousness, and cause him to set his face towards the attainment of something better than a mere meal ticket.—GUMBO.

The concentration of capital into the hands of the few spells disaster to the concentrators.

## Home Rule, any Old Rule

Its all the same to me. As I pen these few lines, England and Ireland, or rather the lords and dukes of England and the meek and mild and easily fooled workers of North Ireland are frantic with rage because the majority want home rule. Whilst the storm is at its height the Socialists of these countries lay back very peacefully and smile. They can afford to smile for it does not affect them in the least. The worker has been robbed for so many years and by so many masters that it matters not to him who is to do the robbing so long as he has to be robbed.

How delighted are the tiny little oranges to witness the high and mighty army officers resigning their positions rather than shoot down Ulstermen.

Gentle workers of Ulster, do you imagine they have thrown up their jobs and your sack? No on your life. You go out on strike, or commence to ask for better working conditions, ask that they stop exploiting you and yours and watch how many officers will resign. Can you imagine them doing it? History must have taught you that they wouldn't, in fact, they would only be too delighted to have a smack at you and your class.

If a scrap should come it might help to rid the world of these big headed heads who allow themselves to be fooled by the cries of religion and patriotism. Sensible workers would not take part. When I look around and see the conditions of the working class, I sometimes think that the only salvation for the revolutionary working class is the class that demands what is rightfully theirs, the class that is sick and tired of being robbed, is for a few of these contented slaves to drop out of existence or to be sent to the front to fight for their lazy masters.

Men of Ulster don't be fooled any longer. If ever you see Home Rule, and the Pope ruling it won't be for long, for over 12,000,000 Socialists the world over are saying that. The people are going to rule. If you have any ones to pick at all, it is with these country who own your means of life, these hangers who rob you of four-fifths of what you produce. Let those who own and control Ireland fight for their belongings. You own nothing, not even your own job.

This skin game has been played long enough. Fancy intelligent workers putting their trust in such men as Carson. The handle to his name should be sufficient for you. These empty titles are not given the masters because they love the workers, not on your life. The number of titled gentlemen who love the working man, can be counted on the fingers of your left hand, after a saw mill accident. For gracious sakes, for your own sake, for the sake of appearing at least intelligent, "wake up" and keep awake. It is essential if you still wish to remain a human being.

Ireland will some day have Home Rule, the world will have home rule, but not the home rule we have to-day. The home rule of the future will be the people's rule. The capitalist class and working class will cease to exist. The people will take their place as one great nation. Grit and Toryism will be dead for ever. The religious views of the people will be their own affair. The brotherhood of man will be their goal.

Working men of Ulster, your duty is to see to it that the people rule and the only people worth considering are the workers. Let the lazy slick scoundrels fight their own battles. Its up to you to fight your battles, the class war, the bases of your class the working class. Chas. Retsof, Brockville.

Steal, steal, steal. The police courts are filled with offenders against the capitalist law who have been unable to gain a living, and have been forced to steal. Nobody in the police courts ever thinks of placing the blame where it belongs—on the system which causes conditions of poverty and unemployment. The blame is always placed on the victim of the system.

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