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## “A STRAIGHT LINE IS THE SHORTEST.”

### Address To Delegates to 21st Annual Convention, American Federation of Labor.

#### BROTHERS AND COMRADES:

When a prevailing economic system becomes the very antithesis of human needs by reason of evolution in production, the ruling class (such by virtue of previous social necessities), must prolong its obsolete economic life by the subversion of remedial laws and the application of political force. Any measure of emancipation by the subject class short of political revolution will be utterly futile and hopeless. Arbitration at best is an armistice in which the opposing forces of labor and capital confer about the terms upon which labor surrenders to capital. The price at which labor should be bought and sold is an inherently irreconcilable issue, that cannot be eternally arbitrated. The difference between compulsory arbitration and voluntary arbitration is the difference between being robbed according to government or being robbed according to agreement. While the trade union movement has grown in numbers, influence and resources; while it has raised wages, reduced hours, eradicated abuses, educated and fraternized humanity and tended to the establishment of a better standard of living among the organized toilers—has accomplished these results in spite of the political powers of the ruling class—progress along this line is being gradually arrested by utter disregard for free institutions and gross misuse of public power by the capitalist class; while the before mentioned achievements of economic organization have been neutralized by economic effects having their inherent cause in the capitalist system; thus:

A.—Through trades unionism we may increase wages and reduce the daily hours of toil, but we cannot dictate to the capitalist class how many days in the year they must employ us. In 98 organized trades in the United States there are only 29 in which the workers are employed 300 days in the year.

B.—While the union has the power to increase wages, self-preservation requires the class to charge all the profit the market will bear.

O.—Through the introduction of machinery (not to mention trust methods), where one worker obtains em-

ployment in a new industry, eight workers are dispensed with in former avocations. The capitalist class introduce labor saving machinery more rapidly in general than the trade unions reduce hours.

D.—In declaring that wages will never be regarded as the equivalent of labor, the trade unions proclaim that the worker should receive the full product of his toil. It is self-evident that the workers cannot redeem the sum total of capital by a fraction in wages, while in addition, the latter under competition tend to a mere level of subsistence. The consequent crisis with each decade is therefore inevitable.

E.—Self-perpetuation which impels the capitalist class (through injunctions issued by servile courts) to repress the powers of trade unions, has injected a vital political issue into a heretofore economic organization. While the trade union cannot act as a political party, the possession of the public powers, dictated by self-preservation, requires the trade unionist to form his class political party in order to safeguard his economic organization.

The political organization of the working class is therefore an immediate necessity co-ordinate with the preservation and continued growth of their economic organization; antagonism to either will now endanger both. If the Socialist Party is (for any reason) objected to as means to an end, those who profess to believe in the end are not necessarily relieved of responsibility for the proper political means. If the declining Socialist Labor Party erred in antagonizing the trade unions, it constitutes a good reason why the rising Socialist Party which supports the trade unions should be encouraged.

That the economic strength of the trade unions of Europe has increased co-ordinately with participation in political activity and possession of public power, is conclusive evidence that when men become imbued with Socialism they gain interest in their trade union, which after all is the embryonic forerunner of industrial organization under the co-operative commonwealth.

LEON GREENBAUM,  
National Secretary Socialist Party.



# THE RAINLORD'S RENT.

The little health resort of Paso Robles, San Luis Obispo country, is a most beautiful place, and several years ago had quite a boom, during which the prices of land went very high. A succession of dry seasons destroyed the prosperity of the surrounding grainraisers and cattlemen, and about three years ago a number of business men in Paso Robles demanded a reduction of rents at 50 per cent, and threatened to quit business unless the demand was complied with. They received a reduction of about one-third, which was re-imposed about 18 months afterwards.

Nearly all the land in the surrounding country is, of course, owned by private individuals, banks, or corporations, and is also mortgaged (death-gripped) for all, or more than it is worth.

The business men and farmers have by no means yet recovered from the losses sustained during the long succession of droughts, which will give point to the following facts:

Last week a gentlemanly bank agent made a circuit of his client's tenants on a rent-raising mission. To one of his local merchants he said:

"I came to talk about raising your rent from £375 to £625; what do you think?"

"Why! I can't afford it; the business don't justify it."

"Oh, well, it will; business is going to boom."

"I don't see any indications of it."

"Why, the rain; it has been the best season in rain for years, and everybody is going to be prosperous. Under those circumstances the place is worth more, and ought to bring it."

And, in time, it will.

Later, a pestiferous fellow heard of it.

"He wanted to charge 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent advance in rent because it rained—did he?"

"Yes."

"That's what you call rain-rent, isn't it? Can you charge 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent extra for your goods because it rained?"

"Not by any means."

"Then why should he have a right to charge you for the benefits which the Almighty gave to all by sending copious rains, when the rest are excluded?"

"Oh, he's the landlord. I wouldn't mind paying it if the business justified it; but he wants pay in advance for the prospects of what good times we may have in the future, and, at that rate, he might just as well charge me a thousand a month on the ground that in a hundred years from now this will be a big city and affairs will justify it."

"Yes, he's the landlord, and not only charges you for the land, but also for the rain—therefore he is the rainlord too—isn't he? God giveth the increase, but he collects the toll as partner with the Almighty."

Men are wise.

A monkey sat on a cocoanut tree; in his hand he held a leaf with some charcoal marks upon it.

A troop of monkeys started to climb the tree to gather nuts, the leaf-monkey halted them.

"Hold on," he said, "I own this tree."

The monkeys smiled.

"This leaf is my little deed, conferring upon me ownership from a dead monkey and empowers me to collect rent."

The monkeys grinned.

"I only intended to collect four nuts a day from you for the privilege you enjoy of gathering nuts; but—"

The monkeys laughed.

"Because it rained so nicely, and crops will be excessively large, I am compelled to charge you six nuts a day."

The monkeys ha-ha-ed at him as a great humorist, and started again to climb the tree.

"Hold on!" he cries, "I'm in earnest."

They frowned.

"And if you don't pay me in advance, I'll—"

They scowled.

"Dispossess you and you cannot again come to this tree."

"You want cocoanut?" they yelled. "Here, take them," and they sent them—one—two—three—dozen—twenty—they hurled at him, pounded him with them; bruised him; knocked him off the tree, and pelted him out of sight, while he mourned the loss of his leaf-title and the wicked anarchistic tendencies of his tribe.

But then—monkeys are fools, while men are wise.

LONDON CLARION.

## A BANQUET AND THE ACCOMPANYING TALK

Mayor-elect Schmitz was tendered a banquet the other night where Sauterne, Zinfandel, Champagne and other luxuries to which the working class is accustomed played a prominent part. Between the Oysters and the Consomme en tasse the Mayor made a speech in which the following occurred:

"There is no inherent and irreconcilable difference between employer and employee, capital and labor, rich and poor. Their interests should be identical and all differences between them can and should be adjusted.

"I believe that capital should have steady and safe investment in order that labor may have permanent and remunerative employment."

Comment here is unnecessary. Mr. Schmitz is excused for showing considerable anxiety over a "steady and safe investment for capital" as he is somewhat of a capitalist himself.

The speaker that was sandwiched in between the Sweet Bread Patties, a la Poulette and the Tame Duck, voiced officially the stand of the labor party. He said:


"The platform of the new labor party is as broad as the universe. It admits of all shades of thought and opinion; neither shuts the door to the radical, nor makes the conservative unwelcome, but recognizes that the one is the counterpoise to the other, to attain as one complete whole the highest possible degree of success. It aims to establish a living wage for the workers."

Comment here is also unnecessary. The Democratic party aims at establishing a "living wage" for the worker, so does the Republican party. The Democratic party also has a platform as "broad as the universe," so has the Republican party and—but why go on?





**SNAP SHOTS.**



BY S. B. DUNTON.

If a Japanese inclusion sentiment prevails it will negative the good in a Chinese exclusion law.

Many men all over this country are finding out that those old religious and political "quadrupeds" which they have been riding because their fathers and grandfathers rode them, are as dead as Julius Caesar so far as vital life is concerned. Still prejudice in some is stronger than the power of irresistible conviction.

A "preacher trust" has been mentioned in the papers. I suppose it is to limit the supply of orthodox goods and to keep up the price. The antiquated and diverse stock in trade will soon be exhausted. Let the people own this trust. Let there be as many preachers as there are people.

In the final consummation of the New Republic, the Real Democracy, the Era of Universal Justice, the Millennium, the True Ecclesia of God among men, the whole process will take place entirely outside the pale of orthodox denominationalism and independent of old party affiliation. Socialism will push the fight to victory—will be its own politics, its own religion, and create its own glory and joy,

The editor of a religious paper in San Francisco who is a minister, in an editorial on "Christianity and Good Government" said: "Christ's method is to save the individual without reference to the association to which he belongs. If the association is corrupt he is saved from it, if it is not corrupt, he is saved in it." Christ's method of saving the multitude who believed, was first made known at Pentacost. The 3000 converts of that day were not saved in the competitive association of Judaism, nor of Poltheistic Pagan Rome. The temporal politics of Judaism and of Romanism were identically the same. The apostles could not have set up their system and have recognized the righteousness of pagan competition, and did not do so.

When Christianity went out to the world through Rome, the policy of Pentacost was wrecked. The Churchanity of to-day is under a pagan greed policy identical with that of Rome. The modern preacher does not pretend to save people under any other system. As a rule they never call the system in question, and why? Because the time-serving ministry of a lapsed and apostalized churchanity like the "mistletoe" fastens itself upon the tree of capitalism to insure its perpetuity. Hence; the sub forms of primitive Christianity are silently and negatively ignored. The policy of Jesus Christ is muzzled in the interest of the greed Babylon of the earth. This power will never be broken by denominational or interdenominational churchanity. The age demands relief and they can't give it,

The great world-wide fight is on all over the continents. The contest is between the producers and the parasites. The great capitalist dailies are silent as the grave about it. They get bigger pay for their silence than for any utterance they make.

"The Man with the Hoe" is a slave,  
The greed-god is lord of all,  
He rules on land and on wave  
By the power of greed and of gall.

Corruption is greed's forlorn hope,  
To rule the conventions of men,  
Under this system no one can cope,  
With greed's wild statagem:

He is now thinking—"the man with the hoe,"  
Has already formed an opinion,  
His Sampson locks begin to grow,  
He is arising to assert his dominion.

An old party democrat said to us the other day, that the Socialists ought to fuse with the democrats in 1902 and 1904 and sweep the country in the interest of reform. Our answer was, that Socialists don't want "reform," they want a "remedy." Such a remedy as would greatly perturb the capitalism of an old effete democracy. The populists fused with the old democratic party in 1896 and in 1900 and swept the country for reform clear to the very head of "Salt River", and so far as heard from, neither party has ever come back. Many of them have and many more will, take a near cut, for the promised land of Socialism. There can never be a successful fusion between principle and policy. Principle is an elementary postulate containing fundamental truth. The motive forces in fusion policy are political artifice and management to secure material interests. Strategy, dexterity and low cunning are the salient elements. The writer of these lines avers that an "old party" never did inaugurate and carry to success any great new political remedy and never can do so. Old parties deal with old, dead questions. New parties deal with new and vital questions. As a rule, old political parties are all united and silent on the living vital questions and are divided and full of polemic fight over all of the dead questions. This is the "alpha and omega" of old party policy. Victory at the ballot box is the great and sought for by all old parties. With the Socialist Party victory at the ballot box would be but the commencement of their effective work for the human race.

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### *The Unsuccessful.*

By GERALDINE MEYRICK.

It was not through our Idleness we failed,  
Nor lack of many a high and holy aim;  
We were no cowards, tho our spirits quailed  
Just at the crucial moment, and no Shame  
Compassed us round; and Hope, too long bewailed,  
Seems but a dream, with Affluence and Fame.  
Where others pluck a bough of blossoms bright  
Or golden fruit, we gather for delight  
A bitter apple or a faded rose,  
Or, oftener, thorns that hurt the flesh. Who knows  
In what strange way we have offended Fate,  
That she should ever thus our plans frustrate?  
Ah, herein lies the final bitterness—  
We miss the meaning of our unsuccess!



## THE SOURCE OF WEALTH.

While it is obvious that land must have existed before either labor or capital, one would have imagined it to be almost equally obvious that the existence of labor must precede that of capital. Capital, say the political economists, is the result of saving. Saving of what, but the result of past labor? Capital, we have seen, is wealth used reproductively—wealth which, instead of being consumed, is devoted to the production of more wealth. But whence did this capital arise. Capital, say the economists, is the result of thrift and abstinence. But thrift and abstinence however admirable they may be, are but negative qualities; they do not create anything. One may be as thrifty and abstemious as it is possible to be and yet possess nothing and even die of starvation. Something more than thrift and abstinence is needed to create capital. If a man earns a pound in a week and spends only ten shillings, you might describe the ten shillings he had left as his "capital—the result of his thrift and abstinence." But really it would not be the result of his thrift and abstinence; it would be past of the result of his past labor. By saving it he is, perhaps, able to turn it into capital, but this fact by no means changes its source, which is the common source of all wealth—labor.

All wealth is produced by labor and it is its object, not its source, which determines whether wealth is or is not capital. Capital, then, is simply the result of past labor, used to assist present labor in producing wealth in order to produce profit for its owner. It is clear, then, that capital owes its existence to labor and must have been preceded by labor. One of the mischievous results of reversing the proper order of these two elements is that economists represent labor as dependent on capital. Capital, they say, is the result of thrift and abstinence on the part of the capitalist, who makes advances to the thriftless workman while he is working. Profit and interest are the reward which the capitalist receives for this thrift and abstinence—the natural, economic reward received through making these advances. Now all this is entirely fallacious. Capital does not make any advance to labor. Generally speaking, labor makes advances to capital. The workman, as a rule, works a week or a fortnight before he receives any wages at all, and during that time he increases the value of his employer's capital by far more than he receives in wages. The capitalist does not subsist him during that time; he pays him the cost of his subsistence after he has done his work—not before. And even then the capitalist does not really give him anything beyond an order on other laborers to supply him with a certain quantity of food, clothing and shelter, all of which, bear in mind, have been produced, not by the capitalist, but by these other laborers. A man's wages are only useful in so far as they enable him to get hold of these various commodities produced by other laborers. Indirectly, then, he merely exchanges the result of his labor with that of other laborers, all of which must necessarily be produced before it can be exchanged. All that the capitalist does is to act as a sort of go-between and pay himself well for performing this part somewhat badly.

H. QUELCH.

## Party Meeting.

The regular party meeting was held Dec. 11th with Comrade Nesbit in the chair.

Two applications for membership were received.

Bills amounting to \$5.65 were ordered paid.

Report of the Organizer, Secretary and Treasurer were received and accepted.

Comrade King Jr. will be Chairman of next propaganda meeting and Comrade Everett reader.

It was carried that Liberty Branch has no connection with the Socialist Party—and that the same be advertised in the ADVANCE.

It was carried that non-members be requested to leave the room.

The following vote was taken for National Committeeman: Comrades Roche 5, Spring 7, Richardson 1, Holmes 30, Wheat resigned. The vote to hold a convention was 43 for, 3 against. January 1, 1902 was selected by a vote of 39 to 3.

The vote for Seat of Convention was as follows: For Los Angeles 38, San Francisco 2, Fresno 1

Comrades Noel and Liess are the two nominees from San Francisco for International Secretary.

Fraternally,

B. P. OBER, Sect'y.

## THE PROFITS OF THE STEEL TRUST.

Considerable interest is aroused by the dividend of \$25,000,000 paid last week by the United States Steel Corporation, and by the further report that this large sum represents only a part of the great concern's profits. As the New York "Journal of Commerce" tells it:

"Checks were sent on Wednesday to members of the underwriting syndicate of the United States Steel Corporation amounting to 12½ per cent. of their nominal subscriptions' or to \$25,000,000 in the aggregate, the syndicate being for the nominal sum of \$200,000,000. As only 12½ per cent. of this amount was called, however, it will be seen that the current dividend or distribution by the managers of the syndicate is practically the return of the entire amount actually paid in. In addition to this payment it is learned on reliable authority that the profits of the syndicate are largely in excess of the amount actually paid in. It was recently noted in these columns that these profits were estimated at about 26½ per cent, or say \$53,000,000. It is now estimated, however, that these profits may equal or exceed 30 per cent. or \$60,000,000. The syndicate does not expire until next May, it is understood, and it may be that a part or all of the profits will be retained until that time, as emergencies might arise which would make it desirable to use these funds in supporting the stock, or for other purposes. Up to date, however, according to the most reliable authority obtainable, the financial history of the syndicate may be summarized as follows:

Nominal capital.....	\$200,000,000
On which paid in 12½ per cent.....	25,000,000
Returned, November 27, 12½ per cent.....	25,000,000
Undistributed, being profits (estimated).....	60,000,000

This would be considerably over 200 per cent. on the investment.

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I honor the generous ideas of the Socialists, the magnificence of their theories, and the enthusiasm with which they are urged.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.



## AN UNACCEPTED CHALLENGE.

We present here a portion of the challenge to debate offered by the Rev. T. McGrady the noted Socialist to the Rev. T. W. Mulhane, editor, of "The Catholic Columbian."

"You assert, that 'some Socialists are in favor of a peaceable and equal division of all wealth, so as to make each man own just as much as his neighbor.' You do not know even the alphabet of Socialism. Wealth is the stored-up product of labor. It belongs only to the man who has honestly earned it. 'You received your fortune by inheritance,' says St. John Chrysostom," so be it! Therefore, you have not sinned personally, but how do you know that you may not be enjoying the fruits of theft and crime committed before you? (In Epis. i. ad Tim. 12.) Under Socialism millionaires would disappear by a process of elimination—not of division—of their fortunes. The people would take over all the means of production and distribution and every man would receive the full product of his toil. Competition would cease, and with the cessation of competition the exploitation of the working-man would end: It would be impossible for the rich men to continue in possession of his millions when he could no longer buy labor in the open market and make large margins of profit, interest, and rent. His money could not, therefore, be multiplied. The principle would not be kept intact and increased by interest, profit, and rent; and would, in the course of time, diminish to such a point as would force the rich man himself to become a producer.

Again, you say that Socialism would "put a premium on laziness and inactivity and the result would be that men would not labor, if they found that all the fruits were to be distributed to others." Socialism would do quite the contrary; for every man would receive the full product of his labor. Socialism does not believe in dividing up; and the man who will not work must starve. You should bear in mind, moreover, that laziness is a disease of the tissues, not of the will. As I have remarked elsewhere, "some were born tired, because their mothers labored like galley slaves during gestation, and the unborn foetus has been impregnated with ennui and lassitude, and comes into the world cursed with physical debility." (Socialism and the Labor Problem p. 27) The inexorable law of heredity stamps them with the worn-out nerves and life-cells of generations of over-work. Under Socialism all the marvellous labor-saving machinery of our times would enable men to do a day's work in two or three hours and the danger of physical degeneration would be removed and, therefore, the causes of laziness.

You tell a story of a friend whose pet phrase was, "Working for humanity." You seem to fancy that this Socialist was routed, bag and baggage, by the clergyman with whom he was conversing, for you relate that "just at the close of the conversation, the clergyman noticed two Sisters of Charity from a nearby hospital, crossing the street, and said: 'Do you see those two women crossing the street?' He replied, 'Yes; why?' The answer was, 'Well, those two women are doing more for humanity in one day than you are in a month.' Our friend, looking crest-fallen, replied: 'Well, I guess you are about right.'" With all due respect for, and high appreciation of, these good Sisters of Charity, I protest against the comparison. From what source did these Sisters get the funds to build the hospital? Ultimately out of the stolen products of la-

bor. The workingman, under the present system, gets only one-fifth. The capitalist robs him of the remaining four-fifths; and—as a salve to his conscience—gives a small fraction of his stealings to some ostentatious charity. In its last analysis, the hospital is built by the toiler and the Sisters of Charity are merely making restitution to the laborer, not bestowing an unearned charity upon humanity,

In conclusion I challenge you to debate the principles of Socialism in the columns of your paper, or on the public stage. If you have erred through a lack of precise knowledge, I am willing to instruct you in the true science of Socialism. In any case, I will not stand idly by and let you misrepresent the principles and demands of Socialism in a great Catholic paper whose loftiest purpose should be the spread of Truth at all hazard."

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## HEROISM AT STARVATION WAGES.

When will the sentimental world cease looking for heroes amongst the ranks of overworked and underpaid menials and particularly the crews of vessels and trains operated by corporations of unlimited wealth.

We have had another catastrophe and the cry has again gone forth attributing the loss of life to cowardice on part of the crew. By the crew is understood the deck force of the ferryboat. For 364 days of the year this poor hireling is regarded by his employer not as a fellowman but as a beast of burden; he is overworked and for starvation wages. By the more prosperous citizen, the slick, well-fed commuter, he is despised, ignored. Reasoning that his existence is of so little moment to them it is small wonder that the saving of the property of his employer and the lives of its patrons when the wreck comes should signify but little to him.

If reduced to writing the contract entered into between the railroad company as employer and the deckhand as employee would read thus:

The Blank R. R. Co., want able-bodied men as deckhands on its sumptuous steamer "No Name." Under ordinary circumstances the duties will be the hardest kind of manual labor and lots of it, sometimes eighteen hours per day. In the event of accident and probable loss of life the men so employed must guarantee to render heroic service, first, in the saving of the company's property from loss and damage; secondly, in making every effort possible in preserving the lives of the officers of the vessels (who may become valuable to us as witnesses in defending damage suits), and, if time permits, in rescuing the passenger public. We guarantee in case the said servant should lose his life in the performance of these duties, to at once call upon the family of said servant; to console them and to procure from them their signature to a disclaimer for any damages they may sustain by reason of the loss of their only support. In case said servant is only crippled for life we will permit him to recuperate at the hospital managed by us—and maintained by the said servant and his brother servants—for a period of two weeks. For these hazardous services we agree to pay said servant heroes at the rate of \$40 per month and to allow him reduced rates for himself and family when they annually repair to their country seat, and half rates for himself when going and coming to his daily labors over any of our lines.

Is this tender solicitude towards the laborer such as to warrant him looking upon his superiors as fellow men?

H. M. S.



## KARL MARX' ECONOMIC TEACHINGS.

BY KARL KAUSKY.

Translated for "Advance" by Kasper Bauer.

(Continued from last week.)

But even within modern industry the continual improvement of machinery has the same effect. Marx cites a mass of proof, gathered from reports of English factory inspectors, for this statement. It is not necessary however to go into detail since the fact cannot be disputed. Let us rather return once more from the "machine as competitor" to the machine as "tutor" of the worker. The many "bad habits," which the working class according to their capitalist friends; are possessed of, such as laziness, gluttony, shiftlessness; etc.; these bad habits have no opponent more effectual than machinery. Machinery is the most powerful weapon of capital against the worker if they should attempt to offer resistance to capitalist autocracy, if they are dissatisfied with the wages that capital is pleased to pay or with the labor time it requires of them, if they dare to revolt in the form of strikes etc. A whole history could be written of inventions since 1830 that were used for the sole purpose of supplying capital with weapons against revolts of the working class. But since every additional application of new machinery within the factory or shop is a desirable progressive step, it appears as though the workers were endowed with their "bad habits" for the special purpose of forming involuntary patrons of progress. And so we see that under the capitalist rule, all things, even the vices of the worker, serve their purpose and "are for the best."

## 5. THE MACHINE AND THE LABOR MARKET.

Machinery displaces the laborer, that is a fact which cannot be gainsaid, but which is little liked by those who see in the present the best mode of production that can possibly exist. For that reason many attempts were made to hush this unpleasant truth. A number of economists for instance maintained that all machinery which displaces laborers, does of necessity set free a corresponding capital for the employment of these workers. According to these economists that capital is the means of subsistence which the workers would have consumed if employed! These means of subsistence, they say, are set free through the discharge of the workingmen and in order to be consumed, they create employment of one sort or another for the worker. The means of subsistence, which the worker buys for home-consumption are however not capital for the worker, but simply commodities. What is capital for him is the MONEY for which he sells his labor-power. And this money is not set free through the introduction of machinery, quite the contrary holds true, this money serves for the purchase of machinery and in place of being "set free" it is really "set tight and fast". The introduction of machinery does not set free all of the variable capital which served in paying off the workers which it displaced, but it at least partially transferred it into constant capital. For this reason, introduction of new machinery, where the amount of capital in use remains the same, means increase of the constant and decrease of the variable capital.

An illustration may serve to show this:

Supposing a capitalist employs a capital of \$200,000, \$100,000 of which serves as variable capital. He employs 500 workers. He introduces a machine which enables him to manufacture as much product with 200 workers as formerly he did with 500. The machine costs \$50,000.

Formerly our capitalist employed \$100,000 variable and as much constant capital. Now his constant capital is \$150,000 and his variable capital only \$40,000. Only \$10,000 have been set free and these \$10,000 do not serve to employ 300 workers—if used under the same circumstances as the larger sum—but only for the employment of about 10; for, as we see, out of those \$10,000, \$8000 in round figures must be invested in the purchase of new machinery and only \$2000 remain "free" for variable capital.

We see that no "corresponding" capital has been set free.

The theory, that the machine by setting free the worker also frees a corresponding amount of capital has been proven by Marx to be without foundation. The only possibility by which Marx's proof of the fallacy of this theory could somewhat be weakened, lay in placing into Marx's mouth a lot of groundless postulates.

Not long ago, in an article, in which Marx is disposed of "scientifically" the following passage occurs: "For Marx the machine simply eliminates labor, while it is a fact that it can and actually does give opportunity for more labor. And it is not necessary, as is often maintained in Socialist papers, that owing to this increased productivity, labor in some other part of the earth has been set free and has thereby become superfluous. The surplus-product can easily be absorbed by the increase of the total productive power and consequent ability to increase consumption." (Prof. Dr. Z. Lehr.)

In reality such statements never occurred to Marx. Far from maintaining that "machinery simply eliminates labor." Marx has systematically and thoroughly shown the circumstances under which machinery "can and actually does give opportunity for more labor." This does not contradict the statement that machinery displaces the laborer. Marx maintained that machinery lowered the number of employed workers in relation to the amount of capital employed, that with the development of the machine-system the amount of variable capital employed grows less while that of constant capital increases. Variable capital i. e. the number of workers employed in a certain branch of industry, may also increase, in spite of the introduction of new or improvements or increase in the old machinery, providing the total amount of capital employed increases sufficiently. If, in such a case the number of the workers employed does not decrease, so is this to be attributed to additional capital being employed and not to capital being "set free"; this may for a short time hide the tendency of machinery to displace laborers but it cannot permanently conceal that fact, it rises again to the surface and the relative decrease in the number of workers becomes a positive one as soon as the influx of additional capital decreases and falls below a certain degree.



## PRICES OF NECESSARIES ADVANCED THIRTY PER CENT.

In round figures the cost of necessities of life has increased 30 per cent in the past four years. That is the demonstration made by R. G. Dun & Co.'s "Index Number," which is authority universally recognized in the commercial world. This computation is based on yearly comparisons of the prices for staples and the tables show at a glance the commercial history of the country for half a century.

In exposition of the present conditions the editor of Dun's review writes: "If a man purchased his supplies for one year on December 1st they would have cost \$101.37, while the same quantities of the same articles would aggregate only \$72.45 on July 1, 1897."

These are prices of the necessities of life and they show an astonishing increase in less than four years.

The question next arises. Have the earnings of the laboring classes advanced in like proportion? If these earnings have not kept pace with the increased cost of necessities then the prosperity which is implied in high prices may be a dubious blessing.

A few years ago the cry of the democratic party was high prices. This is the result, and the expression of one or two men prominent in the labor world may not be amiss.

W. Macarthur, of the Coast Seamen's Union, says:

"Dun's figures on the cost of living are calculated to exercise a sobering influence upon that species of national pride that sums up prosperity in positive rather than relative terms. These figures show that the cost of a year's supplies has increased 30 cents on the dollar in the last four years. It now costs just twenty dollars more to purchase a given amount of food than the same quantities of the same articles would have cost forty-two years ago.

These facts are significant as showing the remarkable discrepancy between the progress of wages and the progress of prices. Probably it would be well within the mark to say that the increase in wages has not exceeded fifty cents per day in the four years included in Dun's estimate. Moreover, that increase improves the purchasing power of those only who have been steadily employed under organized conditions. So far as these classes are concerned, we may say that wages have increased 20 per cent, reckoning the average day's wages at three dollars, as against 30 per cent increase in the cost of supplies.

That the deficit will increase in the future in the same if not in a greater ratio as during the past four years is a foregone conclusion—a conclusion inherent in the existing industrial and commercial tendencies.

The problem of repressing that tendency, of converting the trust Frankenstein into a beneficent public servitor, is the pregnant issue of our statesmanship. Nothing that fails to solve, or at least to earnestly and sensibly attack that problem, is worthy the name."

Ed. Rosenberg, Secretary of the Labor Council says:

"Dun's Index Number," in showing by reliable figures that the present cost of necessities is higher than it has been for many years; tells nothing new to the workers, who for the last two years saw their standard of living reduced by the steady increase in the cost of necessities. The trades union has, to a certain extent, offset this lowering of the standard of living by decreasing the hours of labor and increasing wages, but careful analysis will prove that the increase in the cost of necessities has been quicker than the increase in wages.

Further he says:

"The spirit which prompted the American people to defy King George and wrest from him independence; the spirit which caused the abolition of chattel slavery; the spirit that led, right in our own city, 14,000 transportation workers to strike in sympathy

with the Brotherhood of Teamsters so that the workers' rights to organize be maintained the spirit which has kept for more than six months several thousand ironworkers in this city on strike for the nine-hour day—that spirit is full guarantee that the American people, just as they have gained religious and political freedom, will also gain economic freedom.

These are good words. What the Socialists have always said to Messrs Macarthur and Rosenberg are coming home in figures. No matter how much prosperity there may be in the country, the portion of it that falls to the working class is very slight indeed.

The standard of living determines the wages and when the wages go up, prices go up, too. It is a race between them, with all the odds in favor of the prices.

We give the words of these men, high in labor affairs that the Socialist may refer to them at some future time. In this connection it would be well to say that Benjamin Tillet of the British Trades Union Congress made an address before the convention of American Federation of Labor at Scranton advocating Socialism. Comrade Tillet held the attention of the delegates for an hour and a half. He said that the force that is doing more for labor than any other "is the intellectual force of Socialism."

That will also be good to reserve for reference.

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### California State Committee.

The State Committee met in San Francisco, Dec. 7, 1901. Present, Scott, (chairman), Anderson, Andrew, Benham, Gaffert, Reynolds, Van Alstine and Smith. Absent, King.

Minutes of previous meeting read and approved. The action of the Secretary in the matter of printing and issuing a call for referendum vote on the convention proposition was approved.

Communications read from Leon Greenbaum, National Secretary, E. S. Nash, N. A. Richardson, A. F. Snell, Mrs. S. C. Farrar, Frank Simpson, H. Saar, Chas. McDiarmid, Don C. Gerow, S. P. Bates, J. L. Cobb, Thomas H. Murray, Frank V. Loring, Jos. O'Brien, Lyman Smith, R. A. Southworth and B. P. Ober. The National Secretary calls for nominations for two delegates to International Congress. The application from Santa Barbara, Del Mar and Hynes for Local charters were approved and charters ordered sent.

The Secretary reported receipts since last meeting as follows: For dues, Local Los Angeles, \$10; San Diego, \$2; Santa Barbara, \$1.10; Oakland, \$5; San Bernardino, \$3; Del Mar, .90; Hynes, .50; San Bernardino (remitted to J. M. Reynolds Sept. 27th) \$2. Total dues \$24.50. San Bernardino (remitted to J. M. Reynolds Sept. 27th) for delegate fund, \$2; Oakland for 100 membership cards, \$1; postage, W. H. Pitt, .02; J. L. Cobb, .02; T. H. Murray, .02. Total receipts \$27.56.

Disbursements. Bill of John M. Reynolds for postage Aug. 10 to Oct. 1, 1901, \$1.25, ordered paid. Bill of G. B. Benham for printing referendums and Redlands resolution, \$3.50, ordered paid. Bill of J. Geo. Smith for postage Oct. 2nd to Dec. 2nd, platforms and constitutions in leaflet form .70, total \$4.20; ordered paid.

A communication was ordered sent to Local San Francisco regarding membership of State Committee. Local San Francisco is requested to at once appoint an auditing committee to examine and pass upon the books and accounts of the State Committee of California. Postal scales were ordered sold to J. M. Reynolds for \$2.

Adjourned to meet Dec. 21, 1902 when vote on National committeeman and on proposed state convention will be canvassed. Comrades are requested to mail their votes to the secretary at 306 Hearst Bld'g San Francisco. J. GEO. SMITH,  
Sec'y.

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You can make a good Christmas present to ADVANCE by paying up your subscription. It might be mentioned incidentally that we need the money.



## ADVANCE



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**DONATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES.**

In the same paper which contains the announcement that Mrs. Stanford has confirmed her gift of \$24,000,000 to the Stanford University, there is a statement from Andrew Carnegie offering \$10,000,000 to establish a national university at Washington. It is trite to go into the details of the Stanford bequest. The university was established to cultivate a healthy respect for the rich by the poor, and with a goodly number of hangers on of the capitalist class, the primal object is a success. Professors who have had the manhood to point out, even in a mild academic way, that labor had some rights, have been discharged in disgrace. The case of Professor Ross will do for illustration. He was discharged because he differed in opinion from Mrs. Stanford, the woman who held the purse strings. His scientific investigations, his disinterestedness, his standing as a sociologist, and the possible truth of his conclusions were all brushed aside with that imperious disdain, for which vulgar people who have been recently elevated to the dignity of a low neck dress or a swallow tail coat have been noted.

The education Mrs. Stanford and her advisors wish handed out at Stanford University has no concern with science or truth, the well-being of the capitalist class is all that must be thought of. Carnegie's National University would be a second edition of the Stanford school. This patriot is fully imbued with the cant and hypocrisy of the present system. He would see that a national university of which he, to a great extent would be the founder, would teach love and reverence for the present social order. With him, competition—between workers—is the final word of our civilization. He loves the poor when they are peaceful and contented, and when they are not he hires Pinkertons to shoot them in the back. The establishment of a national university by Carnegie is only another method of turning the Pinkertons loose on the working class. The mere fact that books are used instead of bullets is not an argument in favor of Carnegie's reformation. It is the end sought, it is the intenting of the mind that determines the criminal here and it is the knowledge he is making a good investment that drives the steel manufacturer into the business of establishing schools. Every false idea takes up the room in a man's

head that was intended for a true one. Every lie shuts out a truth. There is more time wasted forcing men to forget an evil than is needed to convert twenty into remembering a good. Carnegie knows this, hence his anxiety to establish a university for propagating doctrine beneficial to the capitalist class.

If he were sincere in his anxiety to help forward the world, if he were honest in his protestations of regard for the common people, if all his talk of having the interests of the workers at heart is not the most unnecessary cant and hypocrisy, let him return to the men of Homestead and Duquensne the money he stole from them. There is not a dollar in the possession of Carnegie that was not produced by the sweat and toil of men, who to-day are bent and broken with overwork, the majority living in wretchedness, one remove from the poor house. If this builder of national universities is honest, let him hunt up his old workmen in Pittsburg and Allegheny and return them the full value of the labor power they expended in the past for his benefit. If he should do this he would escape the "disgrace" of dying rich and at the same time write himself down a paragon of sincerity.

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**THE SUPREME COURT.**

For fear that our reverence for the supreme court might degenerate into abject cringing, Secretary of State Gage gives us courage to look up by ignoring a decision of that court. He refuses to be bound by the decision that the Philippines are domestic territory. It is up to the reptilian press to screech "anarchist! traitor! etc., etc. If expression by the supreme court ceases to be the voice of God, what will eventually become of our vested rights and special privileges? And if Secretary of State Gage permits his judgement and position to weigh in the balance against the most august body in the world, wearing silk petticoats, the logic of it will be that men without judgement and no especial position will also get up from their knees and say the supreme court is only human, and being human is likely to err. This will lead us a merry dance. The supreme court is our anchor to windward, it is our Chinese wall, it is our collective emperor, it is also several other things that would not appear well in print.

The Socialists will have a set-to with this august body wearing the silk petticoats when they begin their constructive program, and it is just as well to remember that a capitalist secretary of state ignored a decision by this court a thereby established a precedent for the ignoring of several decisions of the same court by a Socialist secretary of state.

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**THE EXCLUSION OF THE CHINESE.**

(Crowded out from last weeks issue.)

We must strip this question of sentimentality and world wide brotherhood of man and utopianism of all kinds and get right down to the root of the question.

We have a colony of Chinese in San Francisco and not one of the number knows anything or cares anything about Socialism. Now, multiply the membership of the colony by twenty or thirty, or twenty or thirty thousand and there would still be no knowledge of Socialism or any regard for its ideals. This is a practical question for So-



cialists and should be solved in a practical way. The incursion of Chinese would mean an effectual quietus on Socialist propaganda. It would mean the extinguishment of the hopes of the working class.

And looking at it from the standpoint of immediate good to the working class the Chinese should be kept out. Their standard of life is not high. They are content with conditions that would drive the average American workman to suicide. Their low wages would have a tendency to drag the wages of white working men down. Their long hours would undo in the long run all the victories that had been won by strikes in the past twenty years.

There are other reasons why the Chinese should be excluded, but these are sufficient now. The only thing that should be impressed upon workmen is the idiocy of appealing to capitalists, to the very men who need the cheap labor of the Chinese, to exclude the Chinese. Workmen should be strong enough to stand on their feet and demand, not go down on their knees and beg for this and other benefits to their class.

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### HENRY T. SCOTT IS ANXIOUS.

If you go to the Union Iron Works the men in the office will tell you cheerfully that there is no strike on, that every position in the yard is filled by a man etc., etc., yet Henry T. Scott spent a week in Washington calling on Cabinet officers. At the Navy Department one of the subordinates said that the Union Iron Works was very much behind on some warship contracts and that Scott was endeavoring to convince the department that he would resume work on the vessels before long.

The department never seems eager to be severe with a contractor, and Scott has good standing here on account of the fine quality of his work, but the department is afraid of Roosevelt's stirring up things. There is a story here, too, that a rival concern, the Fulton Iron Works, has taken away most of the first class shipbuilders that used to work for Scott, and the department is asking why the Union Iron Works cannot go on with the work when other yards are running. Mr. Scott seems to be having a very anxious time.

Of course if Mr. Scott loses all his good mechanics he can no longer turn out the "fine work" he has hitherto, and the question naturally arises, who should get the credit, not to speak of the cash, for doing the fine work on warships. It would be unfortunate for Mr. Scott's standing in society if it should be discovered that he never did one hour of actual labor on all the battleships turned out in his yard. And the men who did the actual labor, where are they?

They are waiting till Mr. Scott makes up his mind that he wants them to work for him. He is off at Washington explaining that the men are vicious strikers who refuse to accept his word and his terms as coming from a superior being. In other words, he is off in Washington protesting against the show of class consciousness among his men, and no doubt he is hinting that there is a fear the class consciousness may extend to the political field. He knows it will be all off with his getting all the credit and considerable of the cash in the event of this class consciousness spreading to the political field, for doing "fine work", unless he rolls up his sleeves and does it.

## TO LOCALS OF CALIFORNIA!

COMRADES:—

You have received a circular requesting you to withdraw your vote for a convention and substitute a protest against it. We beg of you to wait. The knowledge of this circular came too late for us to take official notice of it. This notice shall be taken at the next party meeting in San Francisco. There are two sides to this question. We beg you to suspend judgment till we present our side, the side having a few more specific statements than the circular can lay claim to.

The first set of comrades signing the circular are members of the state committee and the attempt to sidetrack a convention that might remove them from office in evidence of bad taste, to say the least.

The offer to have the state committee removed to Los Angeles comes under the head of a grand stand play. The proposition is not to be considered here. The convention is called to unify the Socialist forces of California, which, despite the circular, are not united, to ratify the acts of the National convention and to get a state constitution. We wish to add that the \$60 to pay San Francisco delegates expenses have been raised by subscription and will not be an added debt on Local San Francisco.

The vote taken in San Francisco for the convention was practically unanimous, and Los Angeles as the seat carried with just three against. The comrades all through the South wish this convention held. They consented to a postponement till January 1st that San Francisco might not be crippled in the local campaign. It is nothing more than courtesy to the vast majority of the southern comrades, not to speak of the actual need, to hold this convention January 1st.

The state convention to be held in June or July or August or September will be held under the primary law and no constitution or consideration of organic law should be left to men who are elected for nominating purposes only, who must of necessity be elected by a majority OUTSIDE of the organization, and although the best Socialists in the world, they should not have an opportunity to make or unmake our organization at will. A combination of democrats or republicans could call themselves Socialists, hold a primary election and capture our organization. This is possible under the law as was evidenced in this city in the recent municipal election, when Abe. Ruef, Schmitz and John D. Spreckles tried to capture the republican party. What could happen to the republican party could happen to the Socialist party at the primaries, and if the men elected undertook to make our organic laws nothing could stay them unless we had a provision in our constitution to provide against it.

The political machinery must be controlled by the organization and at present we are at the mercy of the first men who hold a primary election, let it be June or any other time.

We beg your vote for the convention or wait till next issue of ADVANCE before protesting against it. [Editor.]

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### Special Notice!

The Liberty Branch of San Francisco is in no way connected with the Socialist Party.

B. P. OBER, Sec'y Local San Francisco.



## GERMAN DEPRESSION.

Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall, applies to the pride of nations and of men alike.

Up to eighteen months ago Germany was enjoying the greatest period of Prosperity she has known in all her history. Profit was high, her staples found a ready market, her labor was employed, its wages were greater than ever, and speculation, which is an inseparable attendant upon national prosperity, lustily rioted on the Berlin boerse. Bankers had to enlarge their premises to accommodate customers, and the Paris edition of the New York Herald, in its Berlin correspondence, says the brokers became so suddenly affluent that they bought estates for themselves and set up establishments that rivaled the nobility.

In the general exuberance, this thick buttering of bread on both sides was attributed to Germany's appearing in "welt-politik"—to her springing into the ring as a world power. She has seated herself without let or leave in a chinese seaport and had blandly assumed the head of the table in Asia, ready to ask Russia and England whether they preferred white or dark meat at the feast of partition of China.

Now it has all faded like the mirage. By the subtle operation of that law of reaction which nothing seems able to exclude from human affairs, the tide stopped, stood still and began to recede, carrying ruin on its ebb.

Bankers are left loaded with stocks that are shrinking to nothing. Brokers find themselves with no money to support the state and circumstance of their estates. Manufactories are closing down, shipping is idle, and in Berlin alone nearly 50,000 laborers have no work and the harsh winter is piercing their rags. Men marvel at it and seek the cause. One says over-speculation, another over-production, a third "welt-politik."\*\*\*

We underwent our experience in 1893, and Germany is getting hers now. However, let no man think that our turn will not come again, for it will. No fiscal nor financial system, no statute nor decree, can prevent these periods.

\*\*\*We sympathize with Germany. We have still the taste of souphouse bouillon in our mouths, and before we forget it altogether we may be swallowing it again."

We quote the foregoing from the San Francisco "Call," because, though that paper is to be doubted at all times, we think in this instance it speaks the truth.

There is a crisis heading our way that will cause much suffering in the land. There will be ruin to many of the middle class, there will be starvation for many of the working class and there will be much unrest. We are standing over a volcano. The duty of all Socialists at this time is to build strong and well that when the hour of trial comes we shall have an organization into which the economically unfit can come and feel hope once more surge in their hearts. Our feeling of strength and solidarity will be imparted to them, their hope and enthusiasm will react on us and we shall march together on the strong hold of capitalism, the ballot box, and usher in a system where crises never come and where the cry of hunger will never be heard.

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Local San Francisco holds propaganda meetings every Sunday night at Academy of Sciences Hall. Good speakers are always on hand.

## Commercialism and the Drama.

Mrs. Sydney Rosenfeld, speaking on "Commercialism vs. Art in Connection with the Stage," last week, said:

"This is an age of pot-boiling; very few of us are doing the best that is in us, and in the dramatic world the spirit of commercialism has so completely overmastered that of art, that a dramatist can no longer give expression to the thought that inspires him, but is obliged to think along lines laid down by the manager. The time when men wrote because they had to write what was in their hearts seems to have passed. Plays are written and produced to-day in the same way that costumes and hats are made. A certain style and fashion governs the present play as certainly as it does the present mode of dress, and the dramatist is obliged to write in the fashion or give up the business. \* \* \*

"Dramatically speaking, all the nations of the world are waiting breathlessly for someone to invent a new side gore or pleat on which to build up their spring fashions in plays, and the dramatists have been so cramped and so stunted by commercialism that they don't realize that this might be a good moment in which to try and utter their message. Some have forgotten they ever had a message, but the majority having rushed into the work with no message to give, no special love of the art, but merely a certain gift of dramatic cutting, fitting and general tailoring, are waiting patiently till their new patterns are served out to them."

For this state of affairs Mrs. Rosenfeld could suggest no more practicable remedy than "the cultivation of a pure dramatic taste." This is a good deal like the proposition to raise oneself by one's boot-steps. Certain commercial conditions now prevent the production of really good plays, or put them at a disadvantage in comparison with poor ones. So long as these conditions prevail, we may expect the degradation of art to continue, in spite of all the preaching in the world.

The fact is, the best work is never done for mere pay, never done for purchase and sale, never done on a commercial basis. Our whole civilization is to-day founded on commercialism, and therefore its art is inferior. When this commercial basis gives way to a human one, then true art will reappear.—Worker, N. Y.

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A little machine which threads 1000 needles a minute is at work in St. Gallen, Switzerland, says the London "Globe." The purpose of the machine is to thread needles that are placed afterward in an embroidery loom for making Swiss or Hamburg Lace. The device is almost entirely automatic. It takes the needle to a hopper, carries it along and threads it, ties the knot, cuts the thread off a uniform length, then carries the needle across an open space and sticks it in a rack. The work of threading these needles was formerly done by hand.

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I often hear the people bemoaning the selfishness of the working people, but if Carroll D. Wright's statistics are correct the worker is the most generous person on earth. Wright says that the American workers keep only \$17 out of every \$100 which he creates, and he votes to perpetuate this unfair division. Who will say the worker is selfish?—Ex.



**Constitution of the Socialist Party**

"The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in State where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE.**

"There shall be a national committee, composed of one member from each organized State or Territory, and a quorum of five to be elected from the membership of the locality of the seat of the committee.

"The members of this committee shall be elected by and from the membership of the States or Territories which they respectively represent by referendum vote. Their term of office shall not be more than two years, and they shall take their seats in the month of January.

**DUTIES AND POWERS.**

"The duties of this committee shall be to supervise and direct the work of the National Secretary, to represent the party in all national and international affairs to organize unorganized States and Territories, to call national nominating conventions and special conventions called by referendum of the party and to submit questions to referendum, to receive semi-annual reports from the State committees and to make reports to national conventions. Any member of the National committee not a member of the local quorum may require the Secretary to submit to a vote of the whole National committee questions as to the removal of the local committee or the secretary; also for its consideration of any part of the work of the secretary or of the local committee, or any business belonging to the National committee.

"The National committee shall elect a committee of five from the party membership of the locality selected for the party headquarters, to supervise and assist the secretary as the National committee shall require and direct. Said committee of five shall form part of and be a quorum of the National committee, but shall be subject to removal at any time by the National committee. On the question of removal the said local quorum shall have no vote. This committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ.

"The National Secretary shall be elected by the National committee, his term of office to be for the period of one year, beginning February 1, 1902, and be subject to removal at its discretion.

"In States and Territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party and representing at least ten local organizations in different parts of such State or Territory, respectively, the State or Territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the number residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such State or Territory, and the National Executive Committee and sub-committee or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective State or Territorial organizations.

"Expenses of the National committeemen in attending meetings shall be paid from the National treasury.

"The National Secretary shall be in communication with the members of the National committee, the officers of the organized States and Territories, and with members in unorganized States and Territories. The secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of \$1,000 annually.

**HEADQUARTERS.**

The headquarters shall be located at St. Louis. But said headquarters may be changed by the National committee, subject to a referendum of the party.

**STATE ORGANIZATIONS.**

"Each State or Territory may organize in such a way or manner, and under such rules and regulations, as it may determine, but not in conflict with the provisions with this constitution.

"A State or Territory shall be deemed organized and shall have a right to affiliate upon the organization of not less than four branches, and each branch to consist of not less than five members. Each State and Territory so organized shall receive a charter.

"The platform of the Socialist Party adopted in convention, or by referendum vote, shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all State and municipal organizations shall, in the adoption of their platforms, conform thereto.

**DUES.**

"The State committees shall pay to the National committee every month a sum equal to five cents for every member in good standing within their respective territories.

**REPORTS.**

"The Secretary shall prepare a monthly statement of the financial and other business of his office, and when approved by the local quorum of five shall issue the same way as the National committee shall direct.

"The National committee shall prepare a semi-annual report of all the financial and other business of the party and issue the same to all State and Territorial organizations.

"The State committees shall make semi-annual reports to the National committee concerning their membership, financial condition and general standing of the party.

"The National committee shall also arrange a system of financial secretaries' and treasurers' books for locals, the same to be furnished at cost to locals upon application.

**AMENDMENTS.**

"This constitution may be amended by a National convention, subject to a majority referendum vote of the party or by a referendum without the action of such a convention, and it shall be the duty of the National committee to submit such amendment to a referendum vote within thirty days after being requested to do so by five locals in three different States.

**REFERENDUM.**

"All acts of the National committee shall be subject to referendum vote after the same manner as provided in the preceding section.

"All propositions or other matter submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without comment.

**BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.**

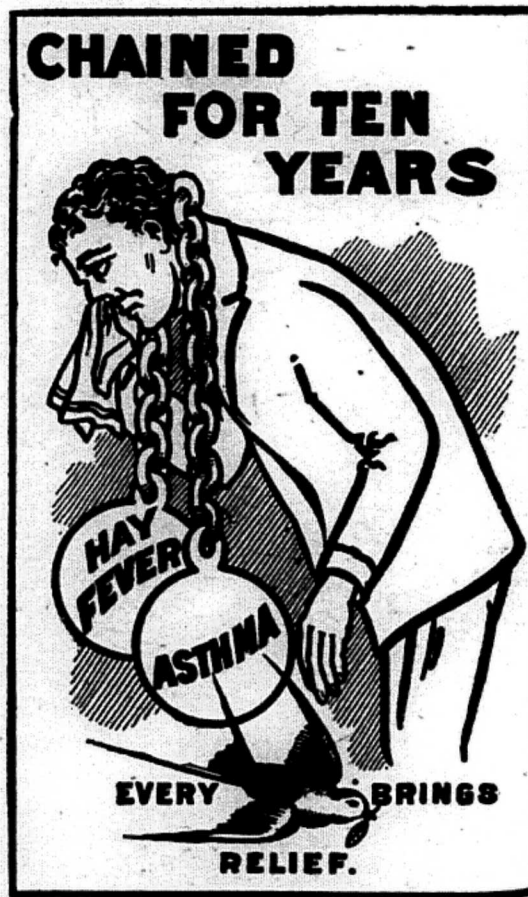
"The basis of representation in any National convention shall be by States, each State being entitled to one delegate at large and one additional delegate for every hundred members in good standing."

**ASTHMA CURE FREE!**

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Write Your Name and Address Plainly.



There is nothing like Asthmalene. It brings instant relief, even in the worst cases. It cures when all else fails.

The REV. C. F. WELLS of Villa Ridge, Ill., says: "Your trial bottle of Asthmalene received in good condition. I cannot tell you how thankful I feel for the good derived from it. I was a slave, chained with putrid sore throat and Asthma for ten years. I despaired of ever being cured. I saw your advertisement for the cure of this dreadful and tormenting disease, Asthma, and thought you had overspoken yourselves, but resolved to give it a trial. To my astonishment, the trial acted like a charm. Send me a full-size bottle."

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER,  
Rabbi of the Cong. Bnai Israel.

NEW YORK, Jan. 3, 1901.

DRS. TAFT BROS.' MEDICINE CO.,

Gentlemen: Your Asthmalene is an excellent remedy for Asthma and Hay Fever, and its composition alleviates all troubles which combine with Asthma. Its success is astonishing and wonderful.

After having it carefully analyzed, we can state that Asthmalene contains no opium, morphine, chloroform or ether.

Very truly yours,

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER.

AVON SPRINGS, N. Y., Feb., 1, 1901.

DR. TAFT BROS. MEDICINE CO.,

Gentlemen: I write this testimonial from a sense of duty, having tested the wonderful effect of your Asthmalene, for the cure of Asthma. My wife has been afflicted with spasmodic asthma for the past twelve years. Having exhausted my own skill, as well as many others, I chanced to see your sign upon your windows on 130th street, New York, I at once obtained a bottle of Asthmalene. My wife commenced taking it about the 1st of November. I very soon noticed a radical improvement. After using one bottle her Asthma has disappeared, and she is entirely free from all symptoms. I feel that I can consistently recommend the medicine to all who are afflicted with this distressing disease.

Yours respectfully,

O. D. PHELPS, M.D.

DR. TAFT BROS. MEDICINE CO.,

Gentlemen: I was troubled with Asthma or twenty-two years. I have tried numerous remedies, but they have all failed. I ran across your advertisement and started with a trial bottle. I found relief at once. I have since purchased your full-size bottle, and I am grateful. I have a family of four children, and for six years was unable to work. I am now in the best of health and am doing business every day. This testimony you can make such use of as you see fit.

Home address, 235 Rivington street.

S. RAPHAEL,  
67 East 129 St., City.

Feb. 5, 1901.

TRIAL BOTTLE SENT ABSOLUTELY FREE ON RECEIPT OF POSTAL.

Do not delay. Write at once, addressing DR. TAFT BROS.' MEDICINE CO., 79 East 130th St., New York City.



## Platform of the Socialist Party.

(Social Democrat.)

DIANAPOLIS.

The Socialist Party of America in National Convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever-increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working-class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We therefore consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people, in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness

## ADVANCE

and want in old age; the funds from this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, to be administered under the control of the working class.

5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and State and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we warn the movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

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Hours: Before 9 A. M., 1-2, 5:30-6:30 PM.

## Socialist Party Literature.

Issued by the National Committee. will be sent prepaid at prices specified. National Platform, Constitution and Resolutions on Negro and Trade Union question, adopted in National Convention at Indianapolis, July 30, 1901.

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National Platform	\$ .10	\$ .65
National Constitution	.15	1.00
Negro Resolution	.10	.65
Trade Union Resolution	.10	.65

Address orders for above to Leon Greenbaum, National Secretary, 427 Emilie Building, St. Louis, Mo.

## PARTY NOTES.

Tuesday's city election in Haverhill, Mass., resulted in giving the following vote for Mayor: Poor, Republican and Democratic 3,279; Parkham B. Flanders, Socialist 2,341; Daly, S. L. P. 55.

The vote of the Socialist party in Massachusetts this year is:

For Governor, Wrenn	10,678
Lieutenant-Gov. White	11,042
Secretary, Dennett	13,393
Treasurer, Bosworth	13,126
Att'y-Gen'l. Spelman	11,502

Average vote 12,067

The vote of the S. L. P. is:

For Governor, Berry	88,08
Lieut.-Gov., Jones	7,277
Secretatary, O'Fihelly	9,631
Treasurer, Nagler	8,310
Att'y Gen'l Hargraves	8,839

Average vote 8,573

The CLARION has removed from Haverhill to Boston and is greatly improved in appearance.

In Boston the two old parties combined on a candidate for sheriff, and as a result Patrick Mahoney, the Socialist Party candidate received 13,403 votes.

The vote for the Socialist Party in Nebraska this fall was 2,007. Last year it was 823. A gain of 145 per cent.

Douglas county including the city of Omaha, gave 935 as against 265 last year. South Omaha gave 121 where last year there were 19. In Florence they had 27 Socialist votes; last year there was not one.



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- BAKERS and Confectioners International Journeymen, No. 24.** Meets 1st and 3d Saturdays, at 117 Turk street. Marcel Wille, Secretary.
- BAKERS and Confectioners International, Journeymen, No. 106.** (Drivers). Meets every Wednesday, 6:30 p. m., at 117 Turk street. Herman Vogt, Secretary, with Liberty Bakery, cor. Jones and O'Farrell streets.
- BAKERS and Confectioners International, Journeymen, No. 117.** (Italian), 117 Turk street. Marcel Wille, Secretary, 117 Turk street.
- BAKERS (Cracker) and Confectioners International, Journeymen, No. 125.** Meets 1st and 3d Monday at Garibaldi Hall, 423 Broadway. C. E. Pursley, Secretary, 2109½ Mason St.
- BARBERS International Union, Journeymen, No. 148.** Meets every Monday, 8:45 p. m., at 32 O'Farrell street. I. Less, Secretary, 927 Market street, room 207.
- BOOT and Shoe Repairers Union, Custom.** Meets 1st Tuesday in each month at 102 O'Farrell street.
- BOOT and Shoe Workers Union International, No. 216.** Meets every Monday at 909 Market St. F. Maysenhelder, Secretary, 522 Eighth St.
- BOOKBINDERS Protective and Beneficial Association.** Meets 1st Friday at 102 O'Farrell street. L. G. Wolfe, Secretary, 765 Fifth St., Oakland.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of, No. 25.** Meets 2d and 4th Thursdays, at 102 O'Farrell street. H. McNesby, Secretary, 320 Harriet street.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of, No. 205.** Meets 1st and 3d Friday at Potrero Opera House, Tennessee St. John Honeyman, Secretary, 831 Texas St.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders' Helpers, No. 9052.** Meets Wednesdays at 121 Eddy St. Walter J. Cullen, Secretary, 1320 Harrison St.
- BLACKSMITH Helpers (Machine), No. 8922.** Meets Tuesdays at 102 O'Farrell St. John Quigley, Secretary, 142 Silver St.
- BLACKSMITHS, No. 168, Ship and Machine, International Brotherhood of.** Meets Fridays at 102 O'Farrell St. G. Clarke, Secretary, 62 Rausch St.
- BREWERY Workers International Union of United, No. 7.** Branch 1 meets 2d and 4th Saturday; Branch 2 meets 2d and 4th Thursday; at 1159 Mission St. Ludwig Berg, Secretary, 1159 Mission St.
- BREWERY Workers, International Union of United, No. 102.** Bottlers. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday, 8:30 p. m., at 1159 Mission St. A. R. Andre, Secretary.
- BREWERY Workers, International Union of United, No. 227.** Drivers. Meets 2d and 4th Monday, 8:30 p. m., at 1159 Mission St. A.olph Speck, Secretary.
- BROOMMAKERS International, No. 58.** Meets 1st and 3d Thursday, at 1159 Mission St. Geo. F. Daley, Secretary, 3514 Twenty-sixth St.
- BLACKSMITHS International Brotherhood of, No. 99.** Carriage and Wagon. Meets every Wednesday at 117 Turk St. W. W. Clarke, Secretary, 320 Lexington Ave.
- BLACKSMITH Helpers and Finishers, No. 9106.** Meets Wednesday nights at 1159 Mission St. John B. McLennon, Secretary, 525 Connecticut St.
- CARRIAGE and Wagon Workers International, No. 66.** Painters. Meets every Thursday at 1133 Mission St. T. J. Finn, Secretary, 1622 Mission St.
- CARRIAGE and Wagon Workers International, No. 69.** Wood Workers. Meets every Tuesday at 117 Turk St. Fred Hoese, Secretary.
- CARPENTERS and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood, No. 483.** Meets every Monday at 915½ Market St. A. E. Carlisle, Secretary.
- CIGARMAKERS International Union of America, No. 228.** Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday at 368 Jessie St. J. A. Ramon, Secretary, 368 Jessie St.
- CLERKS International Protective Association, Retail, No. 432.** Meets every Tuesday at Pioneer Hall, 32 Fourth St. Leo. Kaufmann, Secretary, 1084 Golden Gate Ave.
- CLERKS International Protective Association, Retail, No. 410.** Shoe Clerks. Meets every Wednesday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. E. Kelly, Secretary, 28 Kearny St.
- CLERKS Protective Association. Drug, No. 472.** Meets Fridays at 909 Market St. H. Schwartz, Secretary, 1718 Geary St.
- CLERKS Ship, No. 8947.** Meets Thursdays at 5 Market St. Room 17. W. O. Ferrall, Secretary, 315½ Capp St.
- COOPERS' International Union of N. A., No. 65.** Meets 2d and 4th Thursday at B. B. Hall. 121 Eddy St. Secretary, W. T. Colbert, 280 Lexington Ave.
- CORE Makers' International Union, No. 68.** Meets at 1159 Mission St., Thursday. Secretary, Walter Green.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 85.** Brotherhood of Teamsters. Meets every Thursday at Teutonia Hall, 1332 Howard St. John McLaughlin, Secretary, 210 Langton St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 228.** Sand Teamsters. Meets every Wednesday, at 1159 Mission St. M. J. Dillon, Secretary, 5 Homer St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 224.** Hackmen. Meets every Thursday at 102 O'Farrell St. John Dowling, Secretary, 27 Fifth St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 226.** Milk Drivers. Meets every Wednesday at Mangel's Hall, 24th and Folsom St. A. Dijeau, Secretary, 935 Market St., Room 17.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 256.** Meets at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St., Tuesdays. Secretary, James Jordan, 530 Castro St.
- ELECTRICAL Workers of America, National Brotherhood, No. 151.** Linemen. Meets every Monday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. F. Leonard, Secretary, 1227 Filbert St.
- ENGINEERS, International Union of Steam, No. 64.** Electrical and Steam Engineers. Meets Fridays at Odd Fellows' Hall. W. T. Ronney, Secretary.
- GARMENT Workers of America, United, No. 131.** Meets every Thursday at 117 Turk St. Ed. Corpe, Secretary, 3382 20th St.
- GARMENT Workers Union, International, Ladies, No. 8.** Cloakmakers. Meets every Tuesday at 915½ Market St. I. Jacoby, Secretary.
- GLASS Bottle Blowers Association of the U. S. and Can., No. 3.** Meets 2d and 4th Tuesday at Eintracht Hall, Twelfth, nr. Folsom St. Phil. J. Dietz, Secretary, 1347 Eleventh St., Sunset District.
- GLASS Workers, American Flint Association of the U. S. and Can., No. 138.** Meets 1st Tuesday at 121 Eddy St. H. Johnson, Secretary, 1017 Howard St.
- HATTERS of North America, United, S. F. District.** Meets 2d Friday, January, April, July, Oct. C. H. Davis, secretary, 1458 Market St.
- HORSESHOERS of the U. S. and Canada, International Union, No. 25.** Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday at 909 Market St. John McCloskey, Secretary, 202 Oak St.
- HOTEL and Restaurant Employes, No. 30.** (Cooks and Waiters Alliance). Meets every Wednesday, at 8:30 p. m., at 316 O'Farrell St. W. L. Caudle, Secretary, 12 Carlos Place.
- LAUNDRY Workers International Union (Shirts and Waists), No. 23.** French. Meets every Wednesday at Universal Hall, 812 Pacific St. J. Dussere, Secretary, 12 Montgomery St., Room 12.
- LAUNDRY Workers International Union. Steam, No. 26.** Branch No. 1 meets 1st and 3d Monday at 1159 Mission St. Branch No. 2 meets 2d and 4th Monday at 1749 Mission St. Secretary, 927 Market St., Room 302.
- LEATHERWORKERS on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood.** Meets every Friday at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St. A. H. Kohler, Secretary, 1519 Polk St.
- LITHOGRAPHERS International Protective and Beneficial Association, No. 17.** Meets 2d and 4th Wednesday, Alcazar Building. R. L. Olsen, Secretary 1007½ Lombard St.
- LABORERS' Protective Association, No. 8944.** Meets Sundays at 2:00 p. m., 1159 Mission St. John P. Kelly, Secretary, 117 Gilbert St.
- LEAD Workers, Manufacturing, No. 9051.** Meets at 117 Turk St., Tuesdays. Geo. A. Fricke, Secretary, 220 Ash Ave.
- MACHINISTS. International Association, No. 68.** Meets every Wednesday at 32 O'Farrell St. R. I. Wisler, Secretary, 927 Market St.
- MEAT Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America. Amalgamated.** Meets Tuesday at 117 Turk St. Hermann May, Secretary, 10 Walnut Ave.
- METAL Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass Workers Union of North America, No. 128.** 1st and 3d Monday at 1133 Mission St. J. J. O'Brien, Secretary, 749 Howard St.
- METAL Polishers, Buffers, Platers and General Brass Workers of North America, No. 158.** Brass Finishers. Meets Thursday nights at 1133 Mission St. W. J. Ballard, Secretary.
- METAL Workers International Union, No. —.** Coppersmiths. Meets 2d Saturdays at 117 Turk St. W. H. Pohlman, Secretary, 1128 Sacramento St., Vallejo, Cal.
- MILKERS Union, No. 8861.** Meets 2d Sunday and 4th Tuesdays in March and June at 526 Montgomery St. A. Iten, Secretary, 526 Montgomery St.
- MOULDERS Union of North America, Iron, No. 164.** Meets every Tuesday at 1133 Mission St. Martin G. Fallon, Secretary, 2429 Folsom St.
- MAILERS, Newspaper, No. 18.** Meets 1st Thursday at 102 O'Farrell St. Alfred O'Neil, Secretary.
- METAL Workers United, No. 27 (Machine Hands).** Meets 2d and 4th Tuesdays at 1159 Mission St. D. J. Murray, Secretary, 18½ Ringold St.
- METAL Workers International Association, Amalgamated Sheet No. 26.** Meets Fridays at 121 Eddy St. L. F. Harris, Secretary.
- MUSICIANS' Mutual Protective Union (American Federation of Musicians), No. 6.** Meets 2d Thursday, at 1:30 p. m. Board of Directors, every Tuesday, 1 p. m. at 421 Post St. S. Davis, Secretary, 421 Post St.
- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers, of America, Brotherhood of, No. 134.** Varnishers and Polishers. Mondays at 117 Turk St. J. C. Patterson, 405 Thirteenth St.
- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, Brotherhood of, No. 136.** Meets at 117 Turk St., Mondays. Carl Trost, Secretary, 806 Taylor St.
- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, Brotherhood of, No. 131.** Paper Hangers. Meets every Friday at 915½ Market St. T. J. Crowley, Secretary.
- POULTRY and Game Dressers, No. 9050.** A. F. of L. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesdays at California Hall, 620 Bush St. Thos. W. Collas, Secretary, 31 Essex St.
- PAVERS' Union, No. 8895.** Meets 1st Monday at 120 Ninth St. M. Murphy, Secretary, 1510 Harrison St.
- PATTERN Makers meet at 55 Third St. E. A. Donahue, Secretary, 55 Third St.**
- PRINTING Pressmen's Union, No. 4.** Web Pressmen. 1st Monday at Becker's Hall, 14 Third St. A. J. Brainwell, Secretary, 1814B Mason Street.
- PRINTING Pressmen's Union, International, No. 24.** 1st and 3d Monday at 32 O'Farrell St. W. Griswold, Secretary, 2927 Pierce St.
- PORTERS and Packers, No. 8885.** Wednesday at 117 Turk St. Will T. Davenport, Secretary, 1811 O'Farrell St.
- FILE Drivers and Bridge Builders, No. 9078.** Saturday at 26 Sacramento St. J. V. Beck, Secretary, 922 Natoma St.
- RAMMERMEN'S Union, No. 9120.** 1st Thursday, 120 Ninth St. P. Geraghty, Secretary, 434 Hickory Ave.



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**SHIP and Steamboat Joiners Union, No. 8186, A. F. of L.** 3d Wednesday at 20 Eddy St. Thos. Westoby, Secretary, 328 1/2 Fremont St.

**SHIP Drillers' Union, No. 9037, A. F. of L.,** Thursday at 1159 Mission St. B. P. Byers, Secretary, 21 Valencia St.

**SHIPWRIGHTS and Caulkers, No. 9162, A. F. of L.** Meets at 1320 Howard St., Monday. Secretary, G. W. Bishop, 59 Converse St.

**STREET Sweepers, No. 9029, A. F. of L.** Meets every Wednesday evening and 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., at 376 Brannan St.; entrance on Third St. Wm. Coakley, Secretary, 1142 Mission Street.

**STAGE Employees National Alliance, Theatrical.** (Theatrical Employees Protective Union). 1st and 3d Thursdays, 2 p. m., at Native Sons' Hall, 414 Mason St. Carl Taylor, Secretary. 414 Mason St.

**STEAM Fitters and Helpers, No. 46.** National Association of Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of America. Tuesdays at Pioneer Hall, 24 Fourth St. R. A. Koppen, Secretary, 50 Elliott Park.

**TANNERS' Union, No. 9018.** Meets Wednesdays at 8:00 p. m., at Twenty-fourth and Potrero Ave. R. H. Kreuz, Secretary, 42 Valley St.

**TYPOGRAPHICAL Union, International, No. 21** (Compositors). Meets last Sunday, 2 p. m., at 32 O'Farrell St. H. L. White, Secretary, 533 Kearney St.

**TYPOGRAPHICAL Union, International, No. 8** (Photo Engravers). Meets 1st Tuesday and 3d Sunday, at 14 Third St., Becker's Hall. Thomas Wall, Secretary, 14 Third St.

**TYPOGRAPHICAL Union, International, No. 29** (Stereotypers). Meets 3d Monday at Shields Building. H. D. Pohlmann, Secretary, care S. F. Chronicle.

**UPHOLSTERERS' Union of North America.** Carpet Mechanics. Meets every Thursday at 909 Market St. John J. Joell, Secretary, 910 Natoma St.

**UPHOLSTERERS' Union of North America, No. 28.** Every Tuesday at 7 City Hall square. F. A. Rice, Secretary, 127 Precita ave.

**UNDERTAKERS' Assistants, No. 9049.** Meets 1st Wednesday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. W. Mal-lady, Secretary, 2666 Mission St.

**VINEGAR and Purveyors' Union, No. 8935.** Mon-days at 117 Turk St. Mary Campodonico, 29 1/2 Scott Place.

**WOODWORKERS International Union of North America, No. 147.** Picture Frame Workers. Every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 909 Market St. L. Cassel, 2901 Mission St.

**WOODWORKERS (Box Makers) Amalgamated** No 152. Meets Mondays, 1159 Mission St. John Cornyn, Secretary, 836 Powell St.

**WOODWORKERS International Union** No. 15 (Cabinet Makers) Meets every Tuesday, 117 Turk St.

**WOOL Sorters and Graders' Union, No. 9025.** Meets 1st and 3d Thursday at 117 Turk St. W. H. Shepherd, 1214 Larkin St.

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