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ADVANCE

We advocate the political organization of the working class to overthrow the domination of the capitalist class and to establish Socialism.

WHOLE NUMBER 403

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1902.

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MAGNIFICENT STRIKE BY STREET-CAR MEN.

Complete Tie-up of the Street Railroads of San Francisco Effected by Solidarity of Men and the Sympathy of Labor.

At last the street car men of San Francisco have organized and made a gallant effort to throw off the galling yoke of complete subserviency to their arbitrary masters. For years the men have been subjected to the most onerous and humiliating regulations, compliance to which was secured by a spy or spotter system and the threat of discharge. The hours of labor of the men have varied from a few hours to eleven and twelve and their runs have been so arranged that eleven hours of work has been extended over 16 and 20 hours of the day. Extra men have been obliged to report on at 4:45 in the morning and altho they got no run were required to hang around all day. Wages were 22 1/2 cents an hour, but long service men got a bonus of twenty to twenty-five cents extra each day. This was done with the purpose of creating a class distinction between the men and preventing them from uniting.

Prior to the last election and during the wave of union organization that spread over the city, many railroad men were anxious to form a union, but none seemed willing to incur the risk of making a beginning until Richard Cornelius, for a long time a member of the Socialist Party took up active work. Not very many days had passed, however, before Cornelius and nine others who had become interested were called into the company's office and told that their services were no longer required. Some of the men were afterwards re-

turned on promise to be good, but it was clear that no union would be permitted by the street car company. The pioneers of the union movement, however, were not discouraged. They simply became more determined to thwart the will of the would-be tyrants. It was evident that with either a republican or democratic administration, the police force of the city would be used against them if they were obliged to strike, and as the union labor party seemed to have good chances of success, while the socialist party would be unable to win out, the great majority of the street-car men supported Schmitz. Cornelius was especially active in this matter, and it was understood that if elected Schmitz would aid him in forming a union. Nevertheless the work of organization progressed very slowly. Men who were induced to join were "spotted" and discharged. To be seen speaking with Cornelius or a union man resulted in being laid off for a day or so and receiving an official reprimand. Manager Vining attempted by methods worthy of the Russian czar to stamp out all union sentiment and by relentless persecution and "spotting" to terrify the men into subjection. But his vaulting ambition overleaped itself. His dictatorial methods aroused the bitterest resentment and the hearts of the men mutinied at the outrageous restriction of their liberties. At the same time his system of espionage taught them to keep their mouths shut and work secretly. Recently, the several railroad companies have been bought out by the Baltimore syndicate and the men sought redress from the new owners. Solemn pledges were given that the discharge of union men would cease and it did—for a few days, when again it began with unabated vigor. The union men then realized that they must act. They sought the support of the labor council but were unable to make a showing sufficient to secure the endorsement of that body for a strike. The delegates withdrew and after consideration decided they would act independently and, if need be, fight out the fight alone. Through the executive committee they presented their demands to the United railroads; 1st, for recognition of the union; 2d, a ten-hour day, work to be completed within twelve hours; 3d, a 25c. flat rate for each hour's work. As was expected, the company refused even to consider the demands. Saturday, April 19th, at 6:30 p. m., the executive walked from the Temple down to the corner of Powell and Market streets. Their crews were picked. Walking in front of an in-bound Jackson-street car, Cornelius gave the signal to the gripman, who immediately threw off the grip and left the car. The conductor wound up his affairs and a o left. Immediately a large crowd assembled. As each car

arrived and was stopped and the men left, mighty cheers arose from the sympathetic bystanders. As soon as the Powell-street system was effectively blocked it afforded evidence to the five lines on Market street of the first success of the union, and the executive committee went over to those lines. From the first car tackled the men left gladly and the strike was on in earnest. By midnight not a cable-car was running, and two electric lines had also been stopped.

The men then gathered at the Temple where Comrades Harry Ryan of San Jose, and C. H. King, Jr. of San Francisco, made short speeches on the value and methods of organization and the good prospects of victory. The comrades worked with the men until half past three, forming picket committees for the different car-barns. Every barn had its committee and when the day force came to work only twelve men in the city were willing to take out cars, one car on Mission street, two on Castro, and three on Haight. But everything was insecure. The majority of the men had not joined the union and hesitated. By active work, however, they were gradually rounded up. A body of 300 men at the Mission-street car-house who were deemed especially doubtful were worked upon by Comrades Andrew Sorenson and F. B. Whitney of the carmen and afterwards were addressed by Comrades C. H. King, Jr. and T. Zant, and earnestly exhorted not to be made

by the fact that the company had carried on the continuance of their present galling servitude. By noon the whole body marched en masse to the Temple and signed the roll. During the day the strikers were addressed by many speakers among whom were Comrades Costley, Anderson and others. In the evening a big mass-meeting was held at the Metropolitan Temple which was addressed by President Cornelius, Comrades Geo. B. Benham and Walter T. Mills and Commissioner of Public Works Casey of the teamster's union.

Since Sunday at 10 o'clock a. m., not a solitary car-wheel has moved on any of the roads operated by the United railroads, except the mail cars, one car on the Sutter-street line, operated by the superintendent, and assistant superintendent, and one car on Ellis street, operated by a detective.

THE TIE-UP IS COMPLETE! NO PASSENGERS ARE CARRIED! ABSOLUTE PEACE PREVAILS!

As far as transportation is concerned:
"The rich, they ride in chaises,
And the poor, they walk—by gorrah!"

At this writing one conferece has been held by the company and the men. The men presented their demands and the directors of the company have taken them under advisement. This indicates that the company will recognize the union and it seems probable that the union will get all its demands. The condition is simply this: There are not more than six carmen in the whole city who are not union men. The union has the utmost sympathy of the public, the capitalist press supports it for reasons we will state further on. The police are favorable, because Schmitz obliged them to be. And the Labor council and its affiliated unions to a number of 30,000 organized men, besides the State Federation with as many again are willing to give almost unlimited support. So remarkable a strike, it is probable, has never before been witnessed in the unanimity with which all classes, interests and organizations support the men on strike, and desire the downfall of the insolent corporation, which resists their just demands. How anything but a complete victory for the men is possible, is hard to conceive.

In fine, we have these problems to solve: If a railroad company runs two cars for a half day in five days, how long will it take it to operate its system demanding six hundred cars to be run all day?

If a railroad company is obliged (1) to operate its roads or (2) lose its franchise and can't do the first, how long will it take a hostile public, a hostile press and a hostile government to secure the second?

Factors Making for Success in the Carmen's Strike.

We have said that the railroad company has an hostile public, an hostile press and an hostile government against it. These are all factors favorable to the men. The public is hostile because largely it is of workmen and the rest have either been hurt by the privilege-demanding, tax shirking attitude of the corporation or personally affronted by the overbearing Manager Vining. The press is hostile, because Hearst's "Examiner" and "Evening Post" pursue a trade union policy and the Republican papers all support the Primary League which is hostile to the Railroad push in Republican politics and this seems an excellent chance to smash Vining and Herrin, their chief opponents. The government is hostile because it is dominated by Mayor Schmitz, who tho' not by any means a socialist, denying the struggle between the capitalist and working classes, is however, a trades-union man and the elected candidate of the Union Labor Party. Mayor Schmitz could do no less than he has done with out being a despicable traitor, for it will be remembered the carmen supported him to have his aid in this crisis; and the working class elected him because they did not want the police used against them as they were under the Democrat, Phelen. On the other hand Schmitz would have absolutely nothing to gain by not aiding the men for nine-tenths, perhaps ninety-five one-hundredths of the people are enthusiastically with them.

It is interesting, however, to note certain causes which, though transient, yet contributed materially to the success of the men. As we have intimated, the union when the strike was called, did not have a majority of the men organized—because they were afraid to become members indignally, owing to the activity of spies. Undoubtedly a great majority were willing to strike and were ready to do so. But there were some who would not join and who would have taken out cars only if they knew that policemen would not be placed on the cars and they feared (rightly) that they would be hurt by strike sympathizers while they traveled the distance between one policeman and another. This made the early morning tie-up complete; otherwise several cars would have been run and the moral effect of absolute primal success would have been lost.

But more than all else, the conduct of the men, their absolute sobriety, earnestness and peacefulness, secured the magnificent results already achieved and which seems certain to secure victory. Peace committees have protected property and prevented violence being done to the solitary scab, detective motorman. Earnest solicitation has brought in every man with a possible exception of a half dozen, who are known to be spotters and are not wanted. Seldom, if ever, has a more magnificent demonstration of solidarity been witnessed. And the character and intelligence of the men seems to guarantee the continued success of the union. The Executive Committee is certainly deserving of praise for its management of affairs and we can say with pride that several of them have learned how to deal with their capitalist foe because they have received a socialist education.

LISTEN.

Mrs. Frederick Nathan, president of the New York Consumers' league, is lecturing throughout the state against bargain mania. She declares that bargains obtained at the cost of anyone's privation, suffering and desperate necessity are immoral. Mrs. Nathan is correct. Commercialism is not a moral institution, and does not pretend to be. On the contrary, its very foundation—every man for himself—is the old system of brigandage and freebootery dressed in the garb of respectability and law. Commercialism has no place in a moral nation. Mrs. Nathan is trying to eradicate the monstrous evil by appealing to the morals of the people, and she is doubtless doing some good. But she will sooner or later discover the fact that something else has to be done—that the law will have to take the premium off cheating labor by public ownership of all businesses relating to public necessities. If it were not for this premium, there would be no war in the Philippines or in South Africa; no cause for child labor, and no incentive for any man to scheme for the purpose of driving his neighbor into an economic mud hole. The old Indian doctor who cured his pony's sore back by simply removing a tack in the saddle that produced the irritation struck the key note of all social reform. The tack of special privileges—private ownership of public necessities and their resources—must be removed, and this can only be done by public ownership, if civilization is to receive the benefit of all the inventions that have changed man economically from an individualist into a socialist by making his peace and prosperity dependent on the actions of his neighbors. This is the voice of socialism that is crying in the political wilderness.—Omaha Worker's Gazette.

THE CASE OF NORA FULLER.

Sunday afternoon, Walter Thomas Mills spoke as usual at the Metropolitan Temple. The house was filled to the doors. The music by the Frank Brown Ladies' Orchestra was greatly appreciated. Everybody joined in the singing of the labor songs. The comrades are beginning to come in from a dozen adjacent cities and towns, and the Sunday afternoon lectures are coming to be attended with the regularity of a class in school by so large an audience that, if the attendance increases a couple of Sundays more as for the last three Sundays, Mills will be obliged to rent a ten acre lot for overflow meetings.

The subject Sunday was: "Nora Fuller or the Children of the Unemployed," and Comrade Ryan of San Jose said after the meeting that the theme of the speech was the "most clever thing in propaganda speaking he had ever heard." Several times during the address the speaking was interrupted for minutes together by the applause, and when he closed his address by holding up his own child and declared with a voice that shook the building that, "while deeds and mortgages and bonds and contracts are sacred things, yet when the obligations so created involve the abandonment of childhood, the throbbing heart of a living child, born out of all the sorrow of the past, and carrying in its bosom all the life of the future; is a thing so sacred that he who would surrender his child to be the slave of capitalism, in obedience to any document man's hand has ever written, is a traitor to himself and the foe of all mankind," all eyes were wet and sobs mingled with the cheering which was renewed again and again before the audience was able to get to its feet and to realize that the meeting was over.

Nora Fuller was a child who had answered an advertisement for work as a nurse girl, never returned to her home and many days after was found in a deserted house in a most respectable neighborhood, having been brutally murdered. Mr. Mills said the newspapers, the police and the detective agencies had been trying long to discover the one guilty of the murder and had been unable to do so, but that he was able to fix the responsibility and would convince the audience that he would do so.

He traced the industrial development and showed how the untaken land had disappeared, how the simple tools had grown into great shops, how individual selfemployment was no longer possible and how and why the privately owned shops and factories could not give employment to all the workers; how the unemployed men had been crowded out by their wives and children and how the women and children were crowding each other to the wall. He showed how under a co-operative system all could be regularly employed with the largest possible returns for the shortest hours; but that so long as capitalism remained, there was no way by which the children could ever be saved from the necessity of looking for jobs which the many cannot always find. These conditions create the forces which compel the girls to look for jobs in places where no hand can protect them, and these conditions create the men who, robbed and brutalized by the wrongs of a life time, turn in the anguish of their unloved lives to sting to their death defenseless girls. Tell me who is responsible for the continuance of this system and I will tell you on whose garments you will find the blood stains of this defenseless child. If you want the guilty person hanged go hang yourself.

There is but one way to escape your guilt. Help to kill the system that the child may live.

THE EVENING MEETING.

In the evening he spoke for the strikers. The strikers were there in full force with only standing room to be had. It was their meeting, but all were invited to attend. Many sympathizers of the carmen were there to give them encouragement in their struggle for better conditions. Mr. Mills spoke from their platform as a fellow union man. It had been arranged for several speakers, but the others made short work of their talking and insisted that he should have the time of the evening. He spoke for an hour to the men who had just joined the union and to those who were hesitating, pleading for the solidarity of all the men on the lines and of all the workers in the city. He was cheered from start to finish, and if 3,000 men were ever ready to stand together and stay together to the end, it was the crowd that listened to this address. His suggestions as to enlisting the co-operation of all other workers was received with great enthusiasm and favorably commented upon by Comrade G. B. Benham and Commissioner of Public Works, Michal Casey, who followed with short speeches.

PROPAGANDA MEETING.

Owing to the interest in the street-car strike meeting, held at another hall, the meeting at the Academy of Sciences Sunday evening was not as large as ordinarily, but it lacked nothing in point of quality. Comrade Backus, instructor in the Mills school, talked for about three quarters of an hour on "Poverty and Riches" and succeeded in holding the attention of the audience from the first. Comrade Reynolds was the reader, Comrade Smith the critic and Scott Anderson, chairman. The latter said he lived a long way out and was past 70 years of age, but he would walk forever before he would ride on a car run by scabs.

ADVANCE



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SOCIALISTS BELIEVE

The principles of socialism are much talked about, but comparatively little understood. To most people it is a "carpenter theory of building a new house for all the people by letting the government own and run the industries according to plans and specifications laid down by Architect Bellamy." This is hardly a correct view of the case.

The socialist theory is substantially this: Labor produces all wealth, i. e., it takes the raw materials from the earth transforms them into articles of use and places them at the disposal of those who wish to use them.

The earth from which all wealth is drawn is the equally mother of all men and therefore no man can claim a greater interest or share in the natural resources than any other. All landed property, it is admitted by the highest legal authority, Blackstone, and the great philosopher, Herbert Spencer, all landed property was originally acquired by force or fraud, by robbery or stealth and hence, is an invasion of the equal rights of all to the common sources of wealth.

Since Labor produces all wealth and since the source of the raw material out of which wealth is created is rightly the equal inheritance of all, it is only just that Labor should own all wealth.

But the original acquisition of land as private property and the enslavement of men by their superiors in war gave rise to two classes. The property-owning masters and the property-using slaves. By a line of direct descent, these two classes have persisted to the present day and appear now as the Capitalist class, owning all the means of producing wealth and the working class which owns practically nothing and must work for the bosses in order to earn its daily bread.

The relations of these two classes are utterly wrong and destructive of peace, plenty and progress.

The Capitalists do not labor. They oblige the workers to produce all the wealth. Owning the sources and means of producing wealth the capitalists have the legal right to forbid the workers using it except under their instruction. The workers, however, must use these means to produce food, clothing and shelter upon which to live, else they will starve. The capitalists take advantage of this necessity and offer the workers the privilege of producing wealth provided they will give it all to them (the Capitalists) and accept in payment a wage which is only about sufficient to supply them with the necessities of life.

The advent of the labor-saving machine further reduces the worker because it enables a part of the working class to produce all the wealth which the market can consume. This fact arises from the nature of the wage-system. As the workers only receive a part of the wealth they create there is another part which must either be either consumed by the capitalists or is not consumed at all. Now-a-days the surplus over the wages of the workers is so great that the bosses cannot consume it. Hence it piles up in the market and industry stops because the boss has more goods than he can sell and wishes no more to be created.

All goods are made to sell in a competitive market. There the man who sells cheapest wins the market. The man who can sell cheapest is the man whose laborers are most efficiently employed and this in turn is dependent upon the greatest division of labor and the greatest use of labor-saving machines. The corporation conquers the smaller partnership. The trust swallows the smaller corporation and the competitive warfare of the capitalists results in the final victory of trust which thenceforward is an all-powerful monopoly able to dictate terms to its employees and prices to the consuming public.

The working class is associated in large bodies. To protect themselves they organize into unions and seek by combination to restrict competition among themselves. By strikes and boycotts they attempt to better their condition but find these means not very effective. The powers of the government are turned against them because it is controlled by the capitalists. The struggle between the laborers and the capitalist arises in the economic field, the workers seeking better wages and shorter hours, the employer seeking to make the laborer produce more for less wages. This struggle must be carried into the political field. There the laborers constitute the majority. Once in possession of the public powers the laborers will be obliged to transform the privately owned trusts into publicly owned industries operated by the workingmen. This will be necessary because it will be the simplest way of preventing the trust meeting every increase of wages with an increase

of price thus leaving the public with nothing gained. Also the simple, single-headed monopoly will manifestly be so easily acquired and run by the people that they will not be content to allow its enormous revenues to be diverted into the bulging pockets of the billionaire capitalists.

In short, all industry is becoming concentrated into the hands of a few men who are organized into a trust. The workers are obliged to fight this trust and must carry that fight into the political field. To conquer their enemy they must through the government acquire possession of all the industries, thus abolishing the trust. Then all of the people will once more own all of the natural resources and labor that produces wealth from these resources will have it all for itself and no longer be forced to yield it up to a set of men who by legal rights are now enabled to tax labor one-half or three-quarters of the product of its toil. The government will own all the industries. The workers will own the government. The industries will be run co-operatively, the government, democratically. This will be the Socialist Republic where labor will produce plenty for all and poverty with its attendant miseries and crimes will be no longer known. Peace will come because instead of the struggle for markets by the capitalists and the struggle for work, each can get work when he chooses and enjoy the full products of his labor hence there will be no surplus to clog industry. Fraternity will render life happy and joyful with its noble friendships and mutual kindnesses.

It is for this the socialists work.

INDUSTRIAL PANICS.

As a result of the system of wealth-production by machinery, owned by the capitalist class, a peculiar phenomena has arisen unknown to any other stage in the world's history. At certain periods of about every ten years, industry becomes paralyzed and practically comes to a standstill.

The stores and factories are choked with wealth grain, and foodstuffs exist in abundance and we are in the midst of what the sleek politician calls "over-production." Yet suffering, misery and want prevails in its most intense form at these periods of so-called "over-production," and the politicians advance the silliest reasons that it is possible to conceive, in order to account(?) for it. One says it is because we didn't use white metal instead of yellow to exchange commodities, another that we have no "confidence" and still another that the spots on the sun is responsible for it all!

Let us see if we can find the source of the trouble. First, no one contends that "over-production" is a production over and above our needs for many are suffering for the want of those things we have "overproduced." It is a production over and above what we are able to buy. A demand exists for the production on the market but no purchasing power. Hence the demand is not "effective." But why is it the working class, the producers of wealth, who make up the largest body of consumers, are unable to purchase the products of their labor? The capitalist system limits the wage workers to a subsistence wage which, according to the census reports of 1890, is about 17 per cent of the wealth they produce. The employing class receive the other 83 per cent and when the purchasing power of the workers is exhausted a surplus accumulates on the market. The capitalist buys the labor power on the market for a small fraction of what the laborer will produce. All the values produced over and above the wages paid are taken by the capitalist employer and represent so much unpaid labor. This unpaid labor crystallized in the values taken by the capitalist represents the surplus on the market which we call "overproduction." Thus we find, that the problem of overproduction is merely the problem of unpaid labor and also discover the reason why those who sell labor power remain poor and the buyers wax fat. Seventeen dollars in purchasing power will never drain the market of eighty-three dollars of wealth and the only result can be an industrial panic.

In addition to this products are exchanged two or three times before reaching the consumer and each of these transactions results in an increase of prices which further reduces the purchasing power of the workers. All the white metal of the world, all the "confidence" that can be conjured and all the spots on the sun can never aid or prevent an industrial depression under these conditions. The purchasing power of the producers must first balance their productive power and unpaid labor must cease to exist before mankind shall cease to suffer in the midst of plenty. —The Terre Haute Socialist.

The Annual May Celebration of the German trade unions social and singing societies will be held at the Germania Gardens, Harbor View for the benefit of the Tageblatt (nun.ein wochenblatt.) An advertisement appears on the fourth page of this issue. Every comrade who has ever attended this festival will do so again this year. Those who have not attended before are urged to do so. You are sure of a good time with good people. All kinds of games will be played and in the evening a dance will crown the pleasures of the day.

If you like "Advance" subscribe for it. It is published at 618 Merchant street. 50c. a year. No workingman, who wishes to understand his political interests should be without ADVANCE.

Democracy—30 railroad owners will not yield the just demands of their 3000 employees therefore 300,000 people have to walk. Wouldn't it be better if the 300,000 owned the railroads so that the majority would rule?

Observations.

BY JOHN A. MORRIS

One of the best poems I have read since Edwin Markham's "The Man With the Hoe" is one entitled "The Woman Under the Man With the Hoe." In fact, of the two I prefer the latter:

"Down all the stretch of Hell to its last gulf
There is no shape more horrible than this."
—From "The Man With the Hoe."

Look into that "last gulf," O Poet! I pray thee,
Down, down where its nether cave leans,
And find there—God help us!—a "shape" to
gainsay thee,

A shape that affrighteth the fiends.
And listen, O listen! For through all the thunder
A voice crieth—heavy with woe—
"I, I am the woman, the woman that's under
The heel of "The Man with the Hoe!"

She is the begotten of derelict ages,
Of systems senescent the flaw;
She is the forgotten of singers and sages—
The creature of lust and of law
The tale of the "Terror"—the ox's brute brother
Can never be told overmuch,
But she is the vassal, and she is the mother,
The thrice-accursed mother of such.

Look up from that last gulf, thou newest evangel,
Thou builder of ladders for men,
Look up to the pleading, pale face of the angel
That wooeth a Prince of the Pen,
And sometimes, a little, though half the world
wonder,

And critics cry high and cry low—
Sing out for the woman—the woman that's under
The heel of "The Man with the Hoe."

This poem is by Hester A. Benedict and I wish it could be given as wide a circulation as "The Man with the Hoe" poem.

If the automatic device recently invented for the manufacture of tin plate is put upon the market, some more workingmen will be thrown out of employment and compelled to travel around for Street, Walker & Co. It is stated that the Monongahela, Pa. tin-plate mill of the United States Steel Corporation is having its old machinery torn out to give place to this new device, which operated by two men only will turn out as much product as 140 men and 20 old machines. What do you think of that, my prosperity-deluded friend?

And yet there are some people so Hubbard-wise they think that this world is to the just and the battle to the good; and that if they will "just focus their minds on their work and do it and never mention wages they might gravitate straight to a five-thousand dollar desk." Might they? Tell me, my dear Mr. Hubbard, how many of these displaced workers will have a chance to gravitate to any desk at all, let alone a handsome \$5,000 one? Do not the most of these displaced by machinery gravitate straight to the curbstone, to the jail, to the insane asylums and poor houses? Do not many of the women displaced by machines and little children gravitate to houses of infamy and slums of vice? If Mr. Elbert Hubbard, guilty of "A Message to Garcia" (a much beflattered piece of literature because it inculcated the beauty of a slavish acquiescence to employers' whims) would study the economic condition of the country in which he lives he would find that to be the kind of gravitation that is going on today.

In France, a country that is cursed with the competitive spirit almost as keenly as our own, 26,000 people "gravitated" into suicide between the years 1895 and 1900. Last year 8000 people "gravitated" into murder while over three years ago 14,000 "gravitated" into suicide in this country, nearly one-half of these 14,000 being young girls. It seems to me so far as "the gravitation straight to a five-thousand dollar desk" is concerned, the most of the gravitation is distinctly the other way.

Again, let us look at it another way. Where do our little babes, who must focus their infantile minds upon degrading and enslaving work and do it, where do they come out at? Where do they gravitate to? What do they know about \$5000 desks or the principle of gravitation thereto? It is said that in Minotola, New Jersey, there is a glass company which practically owns the whole settlement. Little boys less than ten years of age often "gravitate" into violent deaths from the conditions of their work. Not long ago we read of a case in which a man having had his hand maimed in a pork-packing establishment in Chicago could only hold his job by allowing his little boy of tender years to "gravitate" out of the home and straight to the dangerous machine which had severely injured the father's hand.

Again, at Minotola there is a good deal of "gravitation" going on. While the laws of New Jersey prohibit the employment of children under fourteen years of age the conditions of "gravitation" are such that many youngsters below that age "gravitate" straight to the factory. The wages of the employes "gravitate" straight back into the pockets of the corporation through being compelled to pay rent for living in houses owned by the company, dealing at the company's stores and even being forced to contribute toward the preacher's salary. It may be that for this last act the people may "gravitate" straight to a seat in heaven. But that is not all! Unless each man can compel a pair of human male kids, either his own or others to "gravitate" into the slavery of such employment he cannot find a job himself. Aye, but this is a beautiful system we are living under and the most of the "gravitations" people submit to at the present time are most certainly of a different kind than Elbert Hubbard or any other of his ilk pictures.

POPPIES and WHEAT

BY MARY FAIRBROTHER.

—The Marseillaise.
Ye sons of toil, awake to glory!
Hark, hark! what myriads bid you rise!
Your children, wives and grandsires hoary;
Behold their tears and hear their cries,
Behold their tears and hear their cries!
Shall hateful tyrants mischief breeding,
With hiring hosts a ruffian band,
Affright and desolate the land,
While peace and liberty lie bleeding!

The hirelings and toadies who write copy for the capitalist press have some wonderful fits of inspiration, and ideas dawn on them with such flashes of light as to be dazzling, even when they are reduced to cold, unsympathetic type. One of these people had a sympathetic spell the other day and he wrote an elaborate essay on what would benefit the workingman in his strife with the capitalist. He decided that what the laboring man needs is secrecy. He said that it would be so much better for all concerned if in the various difficulties which arise from time to time, the two parties most interested could only keep it all out of the newspapers. How much more easily and happily things could be arranged. The friction is increased and it is harmful in every way for the matter to have so much publicity. After he had delivered himself of this piece of idiocy, he may have achieved an increase in salary, the record does not say. The workingman, thank God, knows better. He knows that in publicity lies his hope. His fight is in a just cause and the brighter the light falls on his enemies the better. Agitation, agitation, and after that, agitation. The socialists believe in publicity and discussion. They know that the truth is bound to win and they are not afraid to go around in the day time when people are awake and preach the truth. All kinds of thieves and robbers prefer darkness and tunnels, but the man who is convinced he is right takes the highway and the sunshine for his field of labor.

FRANK R. STOCKTON, the wood engraver and novelist, the illustrator of "Vanity Fair" and author of "The Lady and the Tiger" died at his home this week, at the age of sixty-eight. His stories were full of humor and were written for the amusement and entertainment of people—he had no other object, and he was a success. He would write a story of life in sweldom and wind up with a scene or two with pirates on the high seas, as in "Mrs. Cliff's Yacht" or he would play a serious joke on his readers and leave them guessing as in the "Lady and the Tiger." His place in literature was unique and he will be missed.

We have been brutalized, scandalized and horror stricken reading of the Nora Fuller case and of the miseries of the South African war pens which are annihilating the children of the republics, in that war-cursed country. We see the little folk staggering under heavy loads and working long hours, we ride in elevators conducted by boys who are hardly out of kilts, and we wonder how long the misery and the death in life must go on. Then while we are shuddering with the pity of it all, we pick up a paper and read of a fight in Mexico between a bull and an African lion the sickening details of which make one blush in very shame for the human race. How the poor lion which was a pet, begged its master for help as it was gored almost to death and was answered by hot irons to make it fight longer, and how the most enthusiastic of all the howling, savage mob of spectators were Americans. Hope almost dies, and the query comes in spite of resolutions, "what is the use trying to be or do anything in a world where men have lost sight of everything but the glitter of a dollar and the excitement of bloodshed. The time is certainly ripe for a new order. May it come speedily and effectually.

In England, too, the page of progress has been turned down for the present. It was over fifty years ago that the Corn Law was repealed. Richard Cobden worked nine long years to achieve the free admission of wheat into England. He worked much longer and less effectively to have war abolished, not in England alone but in other countries. It is a singular circumstance that after all the years, the nefarious law is again passed and as the result of a war, uncalled for and unjust. In the time of our rebellion this man was against the majority of his countrymen in that he earnestly hoped and talked for the north to win, because he was opposed to slavery. His utterances against the twin evils, war and slavery are amongst those sentiments which it is fine to read and endorse, for they do not grow old.

It is most cruel and unjust that this war in Africa, to which the common people of England have always been opposed, should be carried on with money raised by a tax on bread. Other things could have been taxed but nothing else could quite fill the bill, for it is about the only thing left to a horde of the slaves in that country, and it would never do, of course, to put the tax on anything which would come heavily on the rich. One of the cleverest things about capitalism is the way in which the worker is allowed to pay all the bills. He shoots his brother and pays a tax on bread, that he may keep on doing it. Verily, his ways are hard to understand. If there is anything left after the war bill is paid, it will be used in the glittering show when the king of a nation of flunkies is crowned. Such things come high, but what would we do without them? The poor, patched, little peddler of matches who came into the office just now, might go to school if we had less glitter and more sense, but for the present the many will pay the corn tax, the few will wear

diamonds and no man dare say just who is to blame.

ANOTHER comedian has appeared on the boards. His name is Judge Baldwin and he hails from the state of Connecticut. He does not approve of lace curtains in poor people's houses and he thinks the poor man eats too much.

He has not shown himself to be a competent witness in the lace curtain business, as he does not claim to be an expert artist in that line. The woman whose name appears at the head of this popcorn column is willing to stake her reputation as a guesser that the ordinary working man's wife knows better what she wants to hang up at her front windows than any judge in the universe, and furthermore it is likely that even in his own home, if he has one, the curtain business in the hands of some competent woman, who would much prefer to read a legal opinion of this judge than his opinion of lace curtains. The trouble is not with the lace curtains, the trouble is with the quality the working woman must use. They are not nearly so fine and delicate as the ones she would buy if she had the money and she would have it if things were as they should be, for she does more to earn a pair of lace curtains every day of her life than this comical judge ever did. And the most of the workingmen's wives have no lace curtains of any sort, because they have other uses for the pittance that is doled out to them by the slaves whose slaves they are.

But when any man who claims to be sane, undertakes to prove that because the "better classes" in England have only rolls and eggs and coffee for breakfast, therefore the working man of America does not need meat, he is certainly talking the most nonsensical and shows little knowledge of the subject. The "better classes" of England eat four times a day, and do not require one-tenth of the energy in their daily lives that the American working man must expend. If this judge will make it possible for the working man to have sent to him a nice, warm luncheon at ten o'clock, and the leisure to enjoy it, he will no doubt take a light breakfast and be satisfied and possibly be better off, physically. He must, in reality, wait until night for his dinner and if he had a few bites of breakfast with his cold bite for mid-day, he would be in a fainting condition at night.

This Yankee is comical, and the pathos in the whole situation comes from the fact that this judge actually believes that he knows what is good for some other man to eat. His egotism is equalled by his ignorance and his lack of reasoning. And the poor, working slave can't afford meat much longer, if he can now, because the cost of living is advancing every hour, and wages—nit!

ELECTION RETURNS

COLORADO
Cameron, Colo., elected a socialist mayor.

FLORIDA
St. Petersburg, Fla.—The socialists are in absolute control of this city, having elected their entire ticket on March 5th. It was the first time they had a ticket in the field.

IOWA
Dubuque, Ia.—Socialist vote 567. Last year it was 311, making a gain of almost 100 per cent. Socialist growth in Boone: March 1901, 10; November 1901, 129; March 1902, 214.
Des Moines, March 1902, 844.
Sioux City, March 31, 239 for mayor, last year 156, making a gain of 75 per cent.

Mystic, the vote in the municipal election as follows: For mayor, republican, 170; socialist 163; democratic 50. At last election the socialist vote was 100 even. Thus in one year the gain is 63, making it the second party in the field. Comrade Parker was elected alderman of Third ward.

KANSAS
Kansas City, April, 1902, the socialist vote was 301. Last year it was 196, making a gain of over 50 per cent.
Fort Scott the vote for member of school board was 101.

MAINE
Skowhegan, March 3, 1902, 250.

MASSACHUSETTS
Leominster, Mass.—The vote in March, 1902, was 104 as against 56 in 1901.

MICHIGAN
Pine River, Mich.—Last election the vote stood: Socialist 102, democrat 62, republican 44. This year there was only one ticket in the field, and of course that was the socialist and the vote ranged from 162 to 166.

Benton Harbor.—In 1898, every fifty-seventh voter was a socialist; in 1900, every twentieth, and in 1902, every eighth voter is a socialist. Labor unionists are gradually waking up in the Michigan city.

MISSOURI
Kansas City.—The unofficial socialist vote given out is 456. Socialists claim three times that number were cast.

NEBRASKA
Ponca cast 27 1/2 per cent of the entire vote in the direction of the co-operative commonwealth.
Nebraska City.—According to the count there are 211 socialists in this city.

Fairfield, Neb.—"Twenty-four votes were cast here for socialism while the old parties were chewing the rag over the saloon question."

OHIO
Warren, O.—Socialist vote 148. Every fifth voter is now a socialist.
Springfield.—Socialist vote for police clerk 325, for water works trustee 207.

Mansfield.—Vote this year 308, last year 27, being a gain of 1,100 per cent. County ticket will be named at once.

Cincinnati.—The Commercial Tribune says of the April election: "Large socialist vote cast. The socialist candidate did remarkably well. He

succeeded in piling up 1,726 votes and in some precincts actually ran ahead of Judge Jackson (dem.)" The socialist vote has doubled since last year.

Conneaut.—Forty-nine socialist votes, a gain 114 per cent over last election.

TEXAS
Henrietta.—Thirty-three votes for socialism at this place. First time in the field.
Port Arthur.—John E. Roberts was elected city treasurer on the socialist ticket. There are two hold-over socialist aldermen, and the newly elected alderman are all workingmen.

Houston.—Municipal election, April 7, socialist 599, S. L. P. 37. Returns in 1900 for governor 96, or a gain of over 425 per cent in fifteen months. Largest vote in fifth ward, polled by railroad men.

WISCONSIN
Wycena.—Socialists lacked only six votes of electing their ticket.

Kiel.—Only six votes were needed here to elect the socialist ticket against a combination of republicans and democrats.

CALIFORNIA ELECTION RETURNS.

REDLANDS.	
For Charter Committeemen	
H. W. Kettering, soc	188
J. K. Williamson, soc	157
409 needed to elect.	
For City Marshall	829
J. E. Wallace, cap	107
E. J. Glaser, soc	
For City Clerk	
L. W. Clark, cap	824
A. J. Underwood, soc	105
For Treasurer	
F. P. Morrison, cap	730
G. G. Cousins, soc	89
For Board of Trustees (full term)	
J. E. Ward, cap	729
B. N. Cave, cap	720
C. L. Hayes, cap	675
E. F. Everitt, soc	82
H. W. Kettering, soc	84
J. K. Williamson, soc	77
For Board of Trustees (unexpired term)	
F. P. Meserve, citizen cap	565
E. S. Foote, goo-goo cap	525
D. H. York, soc	57

RIVERSIDE, Cal., April 16.—Our vote was as follows:

For City Trustee	
L. H. Fdmiston	137
J. E. Stewart	109
W. D. Willis	105
For City Marshall	
P. Tousley	93
For City Treasurer	
C. B. Schrack	101
For City Clerk	
Z. A. Wollam	225

CORONA, April 15.—The surprise of the day was the vote polled by the socialists, as follows:

For City Trustees, (long term)	
O. H. Hall	94
J. J. Kelly	45
E. Marzenke	105
For City Trustee, (short term)	
C. Ahlf	17
For City Marshall	
G. H. Speer	40

CALIFORNIA STATE COMMITTEE.

Meeting held April 21th. Present Comrades Messer, Appel, Ober, Johnson and Bersford. Absent: Comrades Hefferin, and Reynolds. Minutes approved.

Communications received from T. E. Latimer, Benj. F. Wilson (2) C. F. Courtz, Herman B. Weaver, A. B. Lee, G. Orken, J. A. Collier, Wm. Carpenter, Jos. Lawrence, G. D. Van Pelt, John K. Turner, W. J. Gebbie, J. O. Blakeley, W. H. Pitt, A. F. Snell, J. P. Hynes, T. C. Harthorn, Leon Greenbaum, C. Whitney.

Remittances received: Oakland, \$5.00; Sacramento, \$2.50; Redlands, \$10.00; Hynes, 50c.; Benj. F. Wilson, Portersville, \$5.50; Benj. F. Wilson, Hanford, \$3.75; Tulare, \$1.60; Dixon, \$3.00; Riverside, \$5.00; San Jose, \$5.00. Total, \$41.85.

Bills ordered paid Eastman & Mitchell, printing lists for organizers, \$3.50; A. B. C. Guide, 25c.; Wells Fargo & Co., expressage, \$1.00; postage on Charters and supplies, 30c.; money orders, 18c.; San Jose Nat'l del. account, \$5.00. Total, \$13.68.

Charters granted to new locals: Hanford and Portersville.

Comrade Benjamin F. Wilson having organized ten new locals in the past two or three months, the secretary was instructed to write to Comrade Wilson expressing the state committee's appreciation of his energetic and splendidly effective work.

50 more charters ordered from National committee and 1500 membership cards and 1000 forms of application for charters ordered printed.

After a discussion, the following rules pertaining to state organizers were adopted:

RULES PERTAINING TO STATE ORGANIZERS.
The full pay of organizers shall begin from the time they take the stump under the instructions of the state committee, and shall continue only while devoting their exclusive time to active duty under direction of said committee.

When an organizer devotes only a part of his time to organization work the state committee may compensate him in proportion to the service.

Comparatively little of the organizer's time shall be devoted to writing special personal letters as the party cannot afford to pay organizers while devoting most of their time to writing personal letters.

To save unnecessary letter writing it shall be the duty of the organizers to draft several forms of general letters and submit same to the state committee for approval and printing.

All circular letters, leaflets, etc., circulated by the organizers shall be issued by the state committee.

Organizers must handle only such propaganda literature as receives the approval of the state committee.

The state committee shall map the route of organizers after considering their suggestions.

Organizers shall send an official report of their work to the state committee not less than once per week and shall receive further instructions.

The pay of organizers shall be \$2.00 per day and in addition, expenses of car-fare, stationery and postage.

But the pay and expenses of state organizers shall come solely from the state organization fund. Should the state organization fund be insufficient, the organizers shall have no claim upon the state committee.

The general fund of the state committee shall be reserved for the political, printing, national dues and general obligations of the state organization.

The amount of allowance to assistant organizers shall be determined by the state committee.

Moved and seconded that the organizers be allowed \$3.00 per week for corresponding and preliminary work, preparatory to taking the road, such pay to commence from April 21st. Carried.

THOMAS BERSFORD, Secretary.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Dixon, April 21, 1902.

THOS BERSFORD.

Dear Sir and Comrade:—Yours of recent date at hand. We send you \$3.00 for dues. We place in nomination Com. Rork, better known in Dixon as the man with the blackboard, as committeeman to succeed Com. Roach, resigned. Please, address communication to Local Dixon in future to Com. John Collier.

It is the sentiment of our Local and we call on the ADVANCE to express it to the Comrades of the State:

Resolved:—That, while representatives of capital at Washington are discussing the pro's and con's of an exclusion measure against coolie immigration, and as we can see no relief for the working class from any such capitalist measure, therefore be it

Resolved, that every socialist of this State tax himself \$1.00 per month to begin on June 1st, and continue until the fall election, for the purpose of raising a fund to put competent speakers in the field to agitate. It is up to us workingmen to do for ourselves that which only a large socialist vote in the State can accomplish, and show the ruling class in a way they cannot ignore the writing on the wall. Comrades of California:—let us hear a second to this motion.

Fraternally yours
Local Dixon,
per G. D. Van Pelt.

Farmersville, April 14, '02.

Editor Advance: Comrade B. F. Wilson closed a very successful series of meetings here on Friday night.

Comrade Wilson has struck the right cord and the common people hear him gladly. His three lectures have done more to awaken interest in the cause in this place than anything else could well have done. He takes hold of the hearts of the people; and awakens them from their lethargy.

His logic is unanswerable, his delivery fascinating, and compelling attention and the respect even of the "established."

Several comrades from Exeter were present at the last meeting and eagerly sought dates for that place which will be filled by Comrade Wilson soon. We were so well pleased with the effect of the meetings that the Farmersville local, which was organized the last night, decided on Sunday to arrange for another meeting at Comrade Wilson's earliest convenience. A move is on foot to hold a grand rally of the county about the first of May at which Comrade Wilson will address the people.

Our section is in good condition with several new converts and more on the anxious seat. Our faith in the future of the cause is brightening.

Fraternally
T. D. Marshall,
Sec'y Local Farmersville, Cal.

LOCAL S. F. PARTY MEETING.

Local San Francisco met April 23d with Comrade Reynolds in the chair.

Applications received from Mrs. Lockwood Nevins and Jacob John Mayblum.

Bills from Jas. A. Smith, manager ADVANCE, \$10.00; labor bureau association rent, \$5.00, and ADVANCE \$12.00, ordered paid.

The organizer reported successful street meetings on Saturday and Tuesday evenings.

For the Sunday evening propaganda meeting Comrade Mrs. Nevins was elected chairman, Comrade King, Jr., reader, and Comrade Bersford, critic.

The May-day committee reported a complete program for May-day celebration at Academy of Sciences.

It was decided to request each member to secure at least one ADVANCE postal card to sell to his friends.

A resolution of greeting to the street car employees in their contest with the Baltimore Syndicate, a la Vining was passed.

Adjourned. T. E. LATIMER, Sec'y.

MAY DAY CELEBRATION.

The socialists of San Francisco will celebrate May-day by a meeting in the Academy of Sciences at 8 p. m., May 1st. The program is as follows:

- Marseillaise; accompanist, S. Seiler.
- Opening remarks by Chairman Bersford.
- Song, Miss Edna Herald.
- Speeches, Cameron H. King, Sr., and Prof. Walter Thomass Mills.
- Song by Miss Stella Werner.
- Speeches by Mrs. Eleanor G. Cogswell and Cameron H. King, Jr.

SHOULD THE "IMMEDIATE DEMANDS" BE DROPPED?

It is certain that at the next national convention of the party the question of "Immediate Demands" will occupy no small portion of that body's deliberations. The opportunistic element will insi t upon retaining them in the platform as a trap for "catching flies," while the so-called extremists, recognizing the impossibility of improving the condition of the working class—so long as the present ruling class is in power, will demand their exclusion.

This subject, as well as others of importance, relative to party tactics, should be discussed by the comrades in the party papers in order that when the time comes to instruct our delegates regarding the difficult measurers to be acted upon by the convention, they can do so in an intelligent manner.

To start the ball rolling I desire to express a few thoughts on why the "Immediate Demands" should be dropped.

The object of the "Demands" is, as I understand it, for the purpose of alleviating the miserable conditions of the working class pending the final overthrow of the present wage system and the substitution of economic equality for all. Every socialist, no matter how extreme he may be in his views; even he who stands upon the Philosophy of Misery would no doubt do everything in his power to assuage and alleviate the suffering and pain of the down trodden. But, to use street vernacular, you must first "show him" how it can be done before he can be induced to even temporarily lay aside his present line of action on which he is concentrating all his time and energy and join in any effort to ameliorate conditions. He looks upon every immediate demand as pure and simple reform patch work having nothing revolutionary about them whatsoever. He argues, if we claim to be a revolutionary party, let us be consistent and exclude everything that is in any way tinctured with reform. Leave all palliatives to the reform parties who will push them for all they are worth in order to counteract the onslaught of socialism. "What, and proclaim ourselves 'Impossibleists'?" cry some. Yes, Impossibleists, if you will, rather than out-strip the economic development by using such flim-flam devices in order that we may elect a few candidates to office. We have seen it exemplified in the case of Haverhill. A socialist mayor was elected to office. By who? Assuredly not by the class conscious socialists, but by a confused body of discontented voters, a portion of whom were absolutely unconscious of the class-struggle going on in society. Being captivated by the numerous palliatives which the local platform contained they placed Mayor Chase in the chair. Being disappointed by the impotency of the mayor to accomplish anything for their benefit they impatiently turned tail and the soothing zepthers of capitalistic oratory and sophistry wafted them back once more into the arms of the old parties. The result was that the movement in Haverhill received a severe setback. It goes to show, therefore that mere votes are useless to us, if intelligence does not accompany them.

But by dropping these Immediate Demands would we become Impossibleists? By no means. If the class struggle program is the formula by which the working class is to be emancipated, and all of the ablest minds of the party are agreed upon that point—all our efforts should be applied towards welding the proletariat into a class conscious organization with the abolition of wage slavery for its slogan. In place of trying to hypnotize him into voting for something he does not understand we should educate him. Show him how futile and hopeless all palliative measures are. Explain to him how impossible it is to improve his condition as long as capitalism lasts, and that any sops thrown to him from his masters will be of no benefit. That by the very laws that govern the evolution of society, he and his class are destined to sink lower and lower until socialism is established. Impress upon his mind the necessity of organization. Cast away all unnecessary trappings that will hinder and confuse the members. Instill the elements of discipline and solidarity into them so that when the critical moment arrives and the throes of the revolution is sending society at its very foundation, by a few quick decisive blows from such an organization the co-oprative commonwealth can be ushered in.

CHAS. H. ROSS,
Santa Barbara, Cal.

Comrade John X. Siwczynski of Porterville has sent in 117 signatures for that district in neat style and properly sworn to before a notary together with P. M. O. for \$6.35, collected on his campaign contribution list.

OFFICIAL.

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO Socialist Party holds regular weekly lectures every Sunday evening on social and economic subjects at Academy of Sciences Hall, 819 Market street. Meetings begin at 8 o'clock. Open discussion follows each lecture. Questions answered; free platform; public invited. Admission free.

LOCAL OAKLAND, Socialist Party, holds regular monthly lectures first Thursday evening, 8 p. m. at Grand Army Hall, 419 13th st. Address correspondence to M. W. Wilkins, 1279 Alcatraz ave., Lorin, Cal.

LOCAL ALAMEDA, of the Socialist Party, holds open educational meetings every Monday evening in room 11 Methodist Block, corner Park street and Central ave. Free discussion, questions, etc. Everybody welcome. Address communications to Allen A. Crockett, 1010 Walnut st.

GRAND
MAY DAY CELEBRATION
of the
Trades Unions
German Social and Singing Societies

SUNDAY, MAY 4, 1902

GERMANIA GARDENS Harbor View **ADMISSION 25 Cts.**
Ball till 12 p. m. Beer 5 cents Games and Raffle.

CREMATION.

Odd Fellows' Cemetery Ass'n.
Point Lobos Ave.
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.

The ordinance prohibiting burials in San Francisco does not refer to CREMATION. Permits to cremate will be issued by the Board of Health the same as heretofore.

CHARGES:—Members of Societies and Organizations and their families over 15 years of age, \$30. Those not members of Societies and Organizations over 15 years of age, \$35. ALL Children between 10 and 15 years of age, \$15. ALL children under 10 years of age, \$10. This includes organ service and use of chapel.

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I did not know what it was to eat a good
breakfast in the morning. By noon I would be
so sick and have great pain and discomfort.
I got so that I would do without eating as long as
I could, so as to avoid the misery. At night I
could not sleep. The doctors said I had nervous
indigestion. I heard much about Ripans Tablets
and at last I thought I would try them. I had tak-
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KARL MARX'
ECONOMIC
TEACHINGS.

BY KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated for "Advance" by Kasper Bauer.

But whence came those accumulated riches which are a further prerequisite of capitalist production? Two kinds of capital were transferred from antiquity to the middle ages: usurers capital and merchants capital. Commercial intercourse with the Orient had grown enormously since the crusades, and with it grew the merchants capital and its concentration into few hands,—we need only refer to the house of Fugger, the German Rothschilds of the 15th and 16th centuries.

It was the merchant, however, who became the principal of the modern workshop, not the old guild-master. Nearly everywhere a fierce battle raged between manufacture and handicraft (Marx's "Philosophy of Misery", Page 135). Usury and commerce, however, were not the only source from which these sums of money which were to be converted in an ever increasing measure into industrial capital were derived. Marx presents the other sources in his "Capital", to which we refer the reader for further details. The chapters on "Accumulation" are masterpieces of a master. A short condensation of the different methods of accumulation in Marx's own words must suffice here: "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a reserve for the commercial hunting of black skins signalizes the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation. On their heels tread the commercial wars of the European nations, with the globe for a theater. It begins with the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain, assumes giant dimensions in England's anti-Jacobin war and is still going on in the opium wars against China, etc., etc."

The different moments of primitive accumulation distribute themselves now more or less in chronological order, particularly over Spain, Portugal, Holland, France and England. In England at the end of the 17th century they arrived at a systematical combination, embracing the colonies, the national debt, the modern mode of taxation and the protectionist system. These methods depend in part on brute force—i. e. the colonial system. But they all employ the power of the State, the concentrated and organized force of society, to hasten, hot-house fashion, the process of transformation of the feudal mode of production into the capitalist mode, and to shorten the transition. Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. It is itself an economic power."

The sentence before the last has often been cited, but nearly always torn from its context. Whoever considers it in connection with the rest will certainly understand its meaning. To the forces which served as midwife of the capitalist mode of production belongs also the "power of the State, the concentrated and organized force of society," not of course the power of the State per se, a State which dwells above the clouds, but the power of the State as the instrument of a powerful, rising class.

The increasing proletarianization of the population, especially of the rural, and the birth of the local market on the one hand, and the accumulation and concentration of great riches as well as the coming into existence of the foreign market, especially as the result of commercial wars and colonial politics; these were the prerequisites, which, working together throughout Western Europe from the 15th century on, transformed all production more and more into commodity production, and the simple production of commodity into capitalist production. The holdings of the small peasantry and of the handicraftsmen, already split up and shattered, were from then on progressively exterminated and put out of the way to make room for modern capitalist methods of production.

CHAPTER VI.

THE END OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION.

We have arrived at the end of the presentation of the capitalist process of production at the hands of Marx.

We have seen that primitive production was based upon social, planfully organized labor and requires that the means of production and the products be social property. It is true, the product is divided, and thereby becomes individual property, but only in so far as they are objects of use for the individual. As the immediate result of social labor the product goes at first to society as a whole.

This mode of production is superseded by the mode of simple commodity production of independently working individuals, each one of whom produces with means of production belonging to himself, the product as a matter of course becoming his own private property.

Out of this simple production of commodities develops the capitalist mode of production, in place of independently producing individual workers step large, concentrated work establishments, everyone independent of the other and producing commodities hap hazard, but everyone organized within itself for planful, social production. Since these great capitalist establishments occupy the position of producers of commodities toward each other, the result is that in their mutual intercourse the exchange of commodities, and with it the rights of property obtaining under the simple production of commodities remain in vogue; the private property in the means of production and of the product. This, however, converts private property into its own negation.

Under the simple production of commodities private property was the result of labor. The worker was the owner of his means of production as well as of his product. Capitalist production severs the connection between work and ownership. The product is no longer the property of the producer, just the contrary is true; means of production and product belong to those who do not work. The transformation of production into social production on a capitalist basis increases and finally completes the transformation of the non-workers into the owners of all wealth on the one hand, and that of the workers into a class of propertyless wage-slaves on the other hand.

But even this does not exhaust the contradiction that exists between the obtaining mode of production and the mode of appropriation.

We have seen what a simple and transparent process

production was when primitive communism obtained; how society adjusted itself according to its needs and requisites.

Under the system of commodity production, however, the conditions of social production became a power which completely dominates the individual producer. He becomes the submissive slave of these conditions, and his condition becomes the more deplorable since his new masters do not tell the workers of their needs or make their character clear to him but leave him to find them out for himself. Production is based upon certain laws which operate independently of the producers, oft-times even against his will, like any other cosmic law. These economic laws need no "power of the State" to put them in operation. They enforce themselves through the periodic appearance of abnormal conditions, such as the falling of prices, crisis etc., etc. These abnormal conditions are less apparent under the simple production of commodities owing to the limited productivity of the many scattered industries of individual workers. The productivity of labor is enormously increased through the capitalist mode of production which rapidly develops all the powers of production in planfully organized social labor and which knows how to exploit all the forces of nature harnessed by science. The result is that the periodic appearance of abnormal conditions—the way in which the laws of commodity production enforce themselves—which formerly resulted only in temporary local inconvenience, and therefore caused comparatively little suffering and was easily overcome. These abnormal conditions now become periodic catastrophes, lasting for years, visiting whole nations and even continents and causing terrible destruction and suffering; catastrophes which increase in extent and intensity with the development of capitalism and which, it seems, now have become a chronic disease.

And something more: Under primitive communism when the product of social labor belonged to society and when these products were divided amongst the individuals according to their needs, the share of every individual increased with the increase in the productivity of labor. Under the rule of commodity production the mass of use-values which correspond to a given amount of value increases with the productivity of labor.

The product of labor under simple commodity production as a rule belongs to the worker who may consume it as a whole or in part; in this case it is evident that the mass of objects in use at his disposal increases in the same degree as the productivity of his labor. He may also, if he so desires, exchange his product wholly or in part, while under simple production of commodities only a very small portion of the product becomes commodity.

The amount of use-values which he receives in exchange for the product of a given kind of work will be the greater, the greater the productivity of labor in general. Here too, then, the growth in the productivity of labor benefits the worker.

Under the capitalist mode of commodity production labor-power itself is a commodity, whose value like that of any other commodity falls in the same degree as the productivity of labor increases. The greater therefore the productivity of labor, the smaller in proportion is the share in its advantages which the worker receives in the shape of wages, i. e., price of labor-power. And the more the capitalist mode of production becomes the dominant one, the greater a proportion of the mass of the people will be wage-workers, and the more are those wage-workers excluded of a share in the fruit of the increased productivity in their labor. These contradictions of necessity must result in a conflict between the capitalist and the working class, a conflict which will awaken a class-conscious spirit in the working class, which will force them into political activity which will call into life political labor parties in all capitalistically developed countries. The misery and suffering which also is caused by these contradictions is not confined to the working class alone; it extends into other circles and there too, it makes existing conditions unbearable. Everything then forces toward a solution of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist mode of production; the contradiction between the social character of production and the inherited mode of appropriation of the means of production and of the product. Only two ways seem to offer a solution both of which amount to this: to bring the mode of production in harmony with the mode of appropriation. The one way leads to the dissolution of the social character of labor; it leads us back to the simple production of commodities; it means to replace these modern establishments and gigantic machines by the methods in vogue centuries ago, i. e., by handicraft and small peasantry. The other does not attempt to adjust the mode of production to the mode of appropriation, but just the reverse; it leads to the common ownership of the means of production and of the social product.

Many attempts are made at the present time to direct the economic development into the way first spoken of, into the way leading backward. These attempts arise out of the mistaken idea that the form of production may be changed by legislation in any way desired. Keen capitalist economy, where it has not degenerated altogether, does, as a rule condemn such foolish attempts, while at the same time it tries a similar game. In order to make the existing mode of production appear to be in harmony with the existing mode of appropriation; bourgeois economy in its economic presentations very wisely does not touch upon the peculiar and essential characteristics of the modern mode of production and treats it as though it were essentially the same as simple commodity production. One needs but to read the writings of vulgar political economy in which even now-a-days commodities are traded off as was the case with barbarians, hunters and fishers, lords of all they survey, having free access to land, forest and sea appear there as wage-workers, bows and arrows, boats and nets as capital.

Marx's "Capital" put an effectual stop to the "trade" of this sort of economists.

His work, however, did more than merely show the shallowness and fallacies of vulgar political economy.

It is often said that Marx's work is merely critical and destructive; that he could not postulate anything positive and constructive. He is pictured as doing nothing but finding fault.

It becomes possible for anyone to see clearly the only way left open for the further development of society. The adjustment of the mode of appropriation to the mode of production; the taking possession of the means of production by society; the complete and relentless execution of a work done only partially by capital; the transformation of all individual production into social production. With that a new epoch will dawn for humanity.

THE END.

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