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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, 408.

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, MAY 31, 1902.

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR.

WHAT WE WANT.

An Able Address by Walter Thomas Mills.

Metropolitan Temple was crowded by a large audience on Sunday afternoon, May 25th. Prof. Walter Thomas Mills spoke on "What Is Socialism? and How to Meet the Issue." The usual question box and musical entertainment preceded the speech and added to the enjoyment of an afternoon declared by all to be one of the most profitable they had spent.

In beginning, Comrade Mills said: "Many people are Socialists and do not know it. Governor Altgeld said that sixty per cent of the people are Socialists, only they didn't know it. Our main task is to let these people who believe in Socialism know that it is Socialism they believe in and then they will vote the Socialist ticket."

"Now Socialism is a term applied to a theory of history. It is a term applied to the last phase of the Class Struggle. But I am not going to discuss that. I am going to discuss what you vote for when you vote the Socialist ticket. I intend to answer the question, What is it that the Socialist Party will do when it gets control of the government?"

"The Socialist Party proposes to do three things, each and every one of which is not only a part but each of which is an indispensable and necessary part of the program and without which it would not be Socialism."

"First, the Socialist Party intends to establish collective ownership of the means whereby we produce the things upon which we live."

"In doing this we do not infringe upon the right of private property. On the contrary we favor everyone getting private property. At present Capitalism, our present industrial system, gives us the right of private property."

"But there are things not properly subject to individual ownership. No one, now-a-days, believes in the private ownership of courthouses or judges, except, possibly, Hanna or Morgan. Yet at one time the judges were the creatures and servants of an individual will responsible to no one but itself. No one, to-day, who lives in the thought of to-day, who is really of to-day and not years behind the times—no one believes in the private ownership of roads. Yet the toll-road, the privately-owned, profit-producing road was common fifty and one hundred years ago. We have public schools to-day. But once teaching was the privilege of and for a few. The unauthorized teacher turned up at the burial ground an authorized corpse. Seventy years ago the fight against public schools was waged more bitterly than to-day is fought the struggle for Socialism. The army and navy were once owned privately and executed a single man's will. To-day it is only by a usurpation that the public troops are made the ministers to private advantage. Thus we see that gradually everyone has come to agree that some things should be collectively owned and we all agree, the Socialists with the rest, that some things should be privately owned. What we must find is a line of demarcation, a rule for distinguishing what shall be collectively and what shall be privately owned. Here is where the Socialists stands in an impregnable position. Here he is invincible. No one can present any other defensible rule than that which the Socialists have made."

"That which is privately and individually used should be privately, individually owned."

"That which is collectively used should be collectively or publicly owned."

"The first proposition we all practically agree to. No one wants public ownership of pants or toothbrushes. But Capitalism is a denial of the second proposition. It says that a part of the people may own what all the people must use. Socialists object to this, because it enables the part to hold up the rest of the people. A man who owns what another man must use has power over that other and can force him to pay liberally for using what the first

man owns. The owner of things used by others exploits or plunders the dispossessed who use those things.

"In Chicago they use water. They get it from Lake Michigan. No one seems ever to have thought of acquiring a private title to that water, though all the land around it is privately owned. The water is collectively or publicly owned and is there for all to use. If each one went after water individually it would take the inhabitants of Chicago most of their time getting water. Instead, they get it through public works, a public crib, a public main and public pipes. Through publicly-owned water and publicly-owned means of supply the people of Chicago get private baths. But when they want private fires to heat their private tea or warm their private toes, they must go to a privately-owned coal-mine, get privately-owned coal, put on privately-owned cars, hauled over privately-owned rails to privately-owned yards to be finally delivered in a privately-owned cart. And all to what end? The people of Chicago get water through public means for what is paid the workmen who manage its supply. But when they get coal they not only pay for it what is paid the men who mined it and delivered it in the back yard, but also a surplus sum to the mine-owner, a surplus sum to railroad owner and a surplus sum to the yard owner. These surplus sums are not paid to these owners because the owners have helped furnish the coal. But it is paid because these owners got possession of the mines, roads and yard and will not let the people have the coal unless they pay these surplus sums over and above the wages of the men who do the actual work of furnishing the coal. And these owners got possession of the mines, the railroads and the yards with the express purpose of making the people pay these surplus sums, called profits, or do without. In good plain Saxon speech they got possession in order to rob the people. Why should not the people own the coal mines and the railroads and the yards?"

"The second part of the Socialist program is a necessary, indispensable part also. 'The democratic management by the workers of the collectively or public-owned means of producing the means of life.' To-day the boss chooses who the workers shall be. To-morrow, we Socialists propose the worker shall choose who the boss shall be. The mastery of the individual has gone in the church. There can be now a church without a bishop. The mastery of the individual has passed away in politics. To-day no man can say, 'The State? That's me!' We might pass his bad grammar, but not his insolent egotism. The only man who can really say it is Nicholas of Russia, and underneath his throne the fires of revolution burn as fiercely as does the Martinique volcano. Representative government, public ownership of legislation and administration is bound to prevail there as it always does elsewhere. The Socialists are here to affirm that individual mastery must now go from the workshop as it has from the church and the State. That is the second part of our program."

"The third indispensable part of the Socialist platform is this: 'Equal opportunities for all men and women to the use and to the benefits derived from the use of these collectively owned and democratically managed means of producing the things upon which we live.'"

"Without this right of each and every man to work, to use the means of producing wealth, without the right to possess and enjoy all the benefits to be derived from the products of our toil, the other two parts of the program would be useless."

"Socialism seeks to bring peace and plenty to all men. To that end it guaran-

tees equal opportunities for all men and women to produce wealth and enjoy their product. That this may be done the Socialist Party has been organized to furnish a medium by which those who want Socialism may work for its attainment through the capture of the political powers. If you are a Socialist, if you believe that the things used and needed by the people collectively should be owned collectively, if you believe in industrial democracy, if you believe in every one having the right to work and to enjoy the fruits of his toil, then you must join hands with your comrades of the Socialist Party and aid in the accomplishment of this, its program, which is Socialism."

International Notes.

France.

Full results have been published of the number of votes given to socialist candidates on April 27th at the first ballot; the number of votes cast was 860,827. So far the socialists have done very well, and the result of the second ballot will probably increase the number of socialist deputies. There is in nearly all cases an understanding that the republican candidate who received the greatest number of votes at the first ballot shall obtain the united support of all the party at the second ballot. If this arrangement is loyally carried out many socialists will be returned. Too much has been made of the reactionary victories in Paris, for they have only taken place in some of the "better" parts of the town, but in the working-class districts the voters have given their votes to the Republicans. The Socialists have been badly beaten.

Switzerland.

The Social-Democratic Party of Zurich has just achieved a brilliant victory. In the recent elections for the cantonal Parliament they increased the number of their representatives from 10 to 15, and out of 30 representatives of the town Zurich, 30 belong to the Social-Democratic Party. Also in the voting for members of the Ministry (they have had this much-disputed point of the S. D. F. program, i. e., direct election of administrators, for many years in this canton, and almost all the cantons have followed suit) our candidate Comrade Ernst secured the largest vote. This, although only one vote is allowed for each candidate, i. e., voters are not allowed to pile all their votes on one candidate, as in the London School Board elections. J. B. A.

Russian-Poland.

Labor Day at Warsaw, as might have been expected, has not ended peacefully, and once more the Warsaw people experienced the savagery of the Muscovite soldiery. At the invitation of the Warsaw Workers' Committee of the Polish Party, scattered and posted on the walls throughout the whole town during the night, calling upon comrades to attend the public meeting at five o'clock in the afternoon, 30,000 men and women hastened to the chosen park.

But the authorities and the police had equally made their energetic preparations, and the demonstrators on reaching the park found a cordon of about 100 Cossacks guarding the entrance. They saluted then with the cry of "Long live the First of May!" "Hurrah for the Revolution!" and by letting off in the air red balloons. Thereupon another 100 Cossacks were called out and an actual battle ensued. The savage, and also drunken, Cossacks rushed off in a gallop, and with their "nahajkis" (whips) unmercifully beat and trampled upon the demonstrators for about five or seven minutes, the latter defending themselves with sticks and umbrellas. One woman was trampled upon with fatal results and several persons were bruised. A new struggle took place before a church, where the police and Cossacks attempted to enter, the demonstrators having taken shelter there.

A third battle was lastly fought, where hundreds of Cossacks, in conjunction with gendarmes on horseback, threw themselves upon the crowd of workers, who had been already joined by curious spectators, using their "nahajkis" on them all.

At eight o'clock the struggles ended, but thousands of Cossacks and patrols still formed cordons in various parts of the town, forbidding anyone to stop in the street, only being allowed to walk along.

But in spite of the struggles the manifestation is considered a great success. In spite of the unfavorable circumstances—it having snowed all day and been very cold—the workers turned up in great num-

bers. In certain workers' districts the Cossacks were beaten by the people. Many of the arrested have been released.

Gibraltar.

The coal porters of Gibraltar are on strike against the rules of the Employers' Federation, and attempts have been made to get Spaniards to take their places. These attempts at first failed absolutely. Eventually, after several days, 70 were obtained, but these, it appears, were only retained under coercion. A number of Moors were contracted with at Tangiers, but the crew of the ship Gibel Tarick, of the firm of Bland and Co. (one of the firms involved in the strike), refused to bring them to Gibraltar, practically abandoning the ship rather than do it. Eventually a Spanish steamship, the Joaquin Pielaga, of the Transatlantic Steamship Company, brought them, but on arriving at Gibraltar the steamboat crews refused to bring them from the ship to the coal hulks. The captain of the dockyard was then applied to, and agreed that the steamboat Echo should take them off, but her crew refused to do it; they were dismissed and a second crew was ordered to go, but they too refused and were dismissed, and eventually the English bluejackets were obliged to do this dirty work which degenerate Spaniards had refused. After working a day or two the coal-porters' committee managed to get into communication with the Moors, and as soon as they understood the position they refused to work and demanded to be sent back to Tangiers. This of course was refused, but some of them escaped from the hulks to a steamship going to Tangiers, having threatened to kill the captain if he did not let them go, and others, seeing them, jumped into the sea to swim to the ship but were rescued from the water by an official boat and compelled to return to work under threat of imprisonment. Attempts have been made by the authorities to expel the men so as to cause rioting as an excuse for imprisoning the prominent members of the Committee, but the coal-heavers up to date of writing have seen through the trick and have remained most orderly and are carrying on the strike exceedingly well, and the Spaniards at Linia are behaving well and refusing to black-leg.—Justice.

Skirmish Fire.

The movement goes. Everyone feels the injustice of the trust and the danger of its domination. The Socialist Party offers the only solution.

If the trusts own everything on the earth, if the nation owns the trusts, if the workers own the nation, then the workers will own everything on the earth and will, therefore, have abundance instead of poverty—Work for Socialism!

Are you a man? If you are, you have a vote. That vote is your means of saying how you would like to see things run. If you think the trusts should run everything to suit themselves, if you think the trusts should have unlimited rights to cinch you every time they desire to add a few millions to their few billions, even though that cinching means half-rations, ragged clothes and a crowded tenement for you and your family and your neighbors and their families, if you believe the trusts have the right to hold you up at their pleasure, making you work long hours at exhausting toil for their profit, then vote the Republican and Democratic party tickets. You will get what you believe in.

Do Socialists advocate the class struggle? Well, we don't want its continuance for all time. We really wish it stopped. But there are only two ways to stop it. One way is for the workers never to resist the capitalist and allow themselves to be plundered and oppressed at the will of the boss—in short, to become placid, uncomplaining slaves. The other way is for the workers to become absolutely the masters. This latter is what the Socialists advocate.

As the workers are not now the masters, they must struggle to become such. "Gentlemen may cry, 'Peace, Peace,' but there is no peace." Nor can there be any, until labor is at once owner and user of the means of producing wealth. Where interests conflict, each side will strive for advantage. While we have capitalists and laborers, the capitalists will strive to decrease wages that their profits may be

greater. The laborers will strive to increase their wages in order to get better food, more leisure, etc. The struggle can really only cease when either all the capitalists become workers or all the workers become capitalists; that is to say, either workers or the capitalists become the only class. But if the capitalists become workers without the workers becoming capitalists, the workers would simply have to get off the earth. If, on the other hand, the workers became capitalists, that is, if the working class gained collective ownership of the means of producing and distributing wealth, then the capitalists would have to effect their last merger—merge themselves into and become a part of the working class. This is the only solution of the class struggle; it is for this end the Socialist strives and hence, in this sense, he advocates an end to the struggle by the abolition of the class of oppressors and the establishment of the rule of the producers. * * *

"The materialist conception of history." It looks formidable. But it isn't. All it means, or what it chiefly means, is that when two men get different ideas about what they ought to do, the fellow whose ideas are best adapted to filling his belly, clothing his back, sheltering his head and raising his family, that fellow, and his ideas, and the things he does in accordance with those ideas, will prosper. While the fellow, whose ideas interfere with his getting a living, is apt to be puny from starvation, and to perish from inability to cope with his enemies in the struggle for existence. Thus morals, the rules of conduct for himself, politics, the rules of conduct for his society, religion, the rules of conduct for his God—if these do not aid a man, if they are not harmonious with the economic conditions, the way the man gets his living, then the man is handicapped and those men, whose morals, politics and religion do harmonize and aid them, will get the better of him and transmit their ideas to posterity, while his line is cut off root and branch. This applies to men, tribes, cities, nations and races. This is briefly what the materialistic conception of history means and when followed into its various manifestations reveals in a brilliant light the motive power in the evolution of human institutions. * * *

More trouble at Stanford University! David Starr Jordan has despotic power there and woe to the professor who has the manhood to disagree with him and let him know it. Jordan understands capitalism thoroughly. He understands Socialism, and is determined that the Stanford millions will not be used to propagate any idea of freedom for labor so long as he gets his \$10,000 per. Stanford University is a beautiful place. With excellent site, a fine climate and furnished with handsome buildings, it is perverted and made morally hideous by the studied attempt of the President to suppress the teachings of any truth that will help the working class. All thought must be a glorification of the capitalist system, capitalist ethics and capitalist politics. Those, who once felt some allegiance to Stanford, as their Alma Mater, can now only storm with helpless indignation at this forced prostitution to mammon. In truth it may now be said that Stanford University is a place "where every prospect pleases and only man is vile." Thank God! When Socialism comes, the money changers will be driven from this beautiful temple of learning, which they have made a den to teach thievery. * * *

Never forget it! Socialism is our only hope. Work for it. Work for it by subscribing to Advance. Work for it by getting others to subscribe. Work for Socialism by getting signatures to our petition. We need every name we can get. Every list should be in the hands of the State Secretary by June 2nd, or as near thereafter as possible. Work for Socialism by joining the Socialist Party and getting others to join. Work for Socialism with all your heart and brain! and brain!

"Let dead hearts tarry, and trade and marry. "And trembling, nurse their dreams of mirth, "While we, the living, our lives are giving To bring the bright new world to birth. Join shoulder to shoulder, ere the world grow older, The cause is spreading o'er land and sea; Now fear shaketh, and hope awaketh, And joy at last for thee and me."

ADVANCE



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Do You Mean Business?

This means you, reader. If you are a Socialist and want Socialism, we want you. You'll never get anything by putting your hands in your pockets and wishing your dream would come true. You'll never get anything until you go after it. We want Socialism just as badly as you. We're trying to get it. Will you take hold and help get it. To get Socialism we must make people Socialists. Without the majority being Socialists Socialism will never come. The job we have on our hands, then, is to make Socialists. This can only be done by educating men to be Socialists. Education—Socialist education—that is what must be done. Now, comrade reader, are you willing to educate your fellows in the shop, your neighbors on the street or road? The sooner they get educated the sooner you'll get Socialism. If you lag or shirk be sure that Socialism will be delayed just that much. The economic conditions are ripe. It is the intellectual condition of the people that needs our attention and needs our immediate, whole-souled attention in the worst way. Will you, then, jump in and lend a hand, put your shoulder to the wheel and help the car of Progress out of the mire of capitalism onto the firm, broad highway of the co-operative commonwealth? Will you? If you will then come to room 8, Odd Fellows' building, Market street, above Seventh street, on Monday evening, June 2d, at 8 p. m. Comrade Walter Thomas Mills will meet with us, and those who really want Socialism and will work for it will be given a method and chance to do so. If you only have a kick to register, stay away. If you think things are going wrong, you're not wanted. But if you have hopes, if your heart beats with enthusiasm for our cause, the grandest mankind has ever espoused; if you want to put your hands to work for the cause of labor, come!

Have the elder races halted? Do they droop and end the lesson, wearied out and tired with toil? We take up the task eternal and the burden and the lesson, Pioneers, O Pioneers!

Monday evening, 8 p. m., June 2d, Odd Fellows' building, room 8.

The Militia Will Be Brought In.

Perfect peace has prevailed thus far in the region of the great coal strike. There is no indication that any disturbance will occur and yet the representatives of "law and order" begin to talk of "bayonets and guns shotted to the lips." It is the same old story—the same tragedy rehearsed so often on the field of industrial conflict. Men crushed by cruel and oppressive conditions of labor, rising in peaceable revolt, refusing longer to slave until they are better treated. For a week or so they maintain peaceable control over the situation. Then desperadoes and criminals, who satisfy their perverted instincts in the employ of the Pinkerton agency, are imported to stir up trouble. The militia are called out and every effort is made to provoke from the miners riotous resentment against the petty acts of insolence and tyranny which are committed against them. The miners are clubbed, bayoneted and shot on the smallest provocation or the slightest excuse. At last, beaten and discouraged, broken by the pressure of the government of the people brings against them, they surrender and submit to the old inhuman, slavish terms they first rebelled against. It is a pitiful tragedy even when, as once in a while occurs, they gain some compromise. And so unnecessary!

Consider! Here is the coal planted in the earth by the long, slow processes of terrestrial evolution. No man made it. It was made before ever man appeared upon the globe. This coal, if it has any purpose, is intended for the use of man, of all men, to do their work and cook their food and keep them warm. You, Christian reader, do you believe God made the coal for only a part of the people, for a few to call their own, for Morgan to trustify? No, the coal is there to be used by all men. But a few men do own it. A handful of operators claim all this bounteous and valuable gift of nature as theirs. They claim the right to say whether coal shall be mined or whether coal shall not be mined. If anyone wishes to get coal

he must get it from these operators. But these operators do not go down into the mine and swing a pick all day to mine the coal demanded. Just as the coal is owned so is the land above, and forest, field and factory, all come under the domination of a few private owners. The rest of the people if they wish to get food, raiment and shelter must ask for permission to use the earth to produce the things they need. Every line of industry is therefore thronged with men who seek this opportunity to work. Some men must work in the mines, for there are no other jobs for them outside. The owners of the coal know this, and instead of digging coal themselves to supply the demand they tell these men, who must work at the mines or starve, to go to work. For their work they will get enough food, clothing and shelter to keep them in moderate working order, but all the coal they mine belongs to the boss, who sells it at a price which is sufficient not only to pay the worker enough to get the food and clothing, etc., he has been promised, but also leaving a handsome surplus or profit for the boss to have fine dinners, fast horses, faster women and worse Bishops to tell the people that this hold-up is ordained of God. One hundred and fifty thousand men must obey the arbitrary and tyrannical will of a mere handful.

How much better it would be if the State, composed of the elected representatives of the 150,000 men who actually mined the coal and the other people who needed the coal, should own the mines! Then the people would not have to pay a surplus to the owners nor would the workers be subject to the despotic will of a few. On the contrary, the people would pay what it cost to produce the coal and the workers would have their equal say in who should be foremen and managers of the mine which all owned in common.

Mrs. Town and Mr. Schwab.

Another instance of the cruelty and wrong of the capitalist system has come to our notice. A Mrs. Town with four young children has been turned out into the street, with no protection from the elements and no money for food. The rent of the hovel in which she had lived had been \$8, but the landlord had raised it beyond all reason and she was unable to meet it. Therefore she was turned out. Her story is a pitiful one. Often without food, clothing always scanty, heart-breaking poverty, her constant condition. Her husband is a waiter, who lost his job at the time of the strike and who also is inclined to gamble when he can get anything to gamble on. For this reason many will lose all compassion not only for him but for the wife and children. But let us see!

There are other gamblers besides this unfortunate waiter. Charles Schwab is a gambler. On his recent European trip he spent several days gambling at Monte Carlo trying to break the bank. But no harm came to him. His wife and children did not suffer. They never went hungry. They were never turned out of doors, shelterless. Quite the contrary. Although Charles Schwab lost more money at Monte Carlo in one week, although he risked more on individual bets than the waiter will earn in his whole lifetime, nevertheless, so far from being turned out of house and home, Mr. Schwab is in a position to spend \$50,000 on a private traveling car which he will occupy a few days or weeks in a year. Fifty thousand dollars for a private car—more than two men ordinarily earn in a lifetime.

Why is it that one man can gamble \$20,000 at a clip and still have thousands for the idlest comfort, while another with a few paltry cents gambles away the food, clothing and shelter of wife and children? Admitting that one of the gamblers deserved poverty, why should it bring hunger and exposure to the innocent babes? There is no answer. Women and children are dependent upon the man for their support under this system and the verdict of the average man—we had almost said average brute—the verdict is that the man deserves what he gets and as for the others, well, it's too bad, but it can't be helped. This is the verdict of capitalism rendered through pulpit, press and platform.

But Socialism finds a solution more humane. Socialism affords a remedy and denies us the right to answer with Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

For thousands of years man has struggled upward toward better conditions. Partly this struggle has resulted in improved methods of producing wealth, partly it has taken the form of improved and juster methods of distributing the wealth produced. During the last hundred years the improvements in production have been marvelous. Labor's productivity has been multiplied many fold by the use of machinery till no longer is there a scarcity in any of the means of life, but, on the contrary, food and clothing and shelter are produced in such abundance that many men cannot find work producing more because the markets

are filled and glutted with goods. Nevertheless, though the storehouses are filled, people suffer from hunger and cold. And this poverty comes because the methods of distributing wealth are wrong. It is evident that, if those who produced wealth received the full value of what they produced, the more they at any time produced the richer they would become. And further, if too much wealth could be produced at any given time, instead of bringing idleness and deprivation of food and shelter to anyone, it would simply mean that those who produced more than they could consume during such time would simply cease producing more until they had consumed what they had previously produced. Thus there would be abundance, not famine. But in this capitalist system the method of distributing wealth is such that when a great abundance of wealth is produced the workingmen who have produced it are thrown into idleness and poverty and privation are their portion. This is because they receive only a part of the wealth they produce as wages and cannot buy it all back. Nor have they sufficient to keep them while others consume the surplus over their wages. If it were possible tho' to provide a method of distributing wealth so that the worker would get the full value of the product of his toil, Mrs. Town would never then be turned out to starve nor would Charles Schwab have fifty thousand dollars for a private railroad palace or twenty thousand to gamble with at Monte Carlo.

The worker does not get the full value of what he produces simply because he is held up and robbed. When he endeavors to produce wealth, i. e., food, clothing, shelter, or anything we use in life, he finds that the land from which the raw materials come is privately owned and the landlord who says that if he wishes to use that raw material he must pay him (the owner) a part of the proceeds, or rent. The worker has to have the land to live and therefore must pay rent, and this rent is paid with a part of the wealth he produces from the land by his toil. When the raw materials are procured and the worker goes to fashion them into articles for use, he finds that the factories and machines are privately owned, and if he wishes to use them (and he must use them or die) he must pay the factory owner a certain sum. This sum also is paid from the wealth which the worker ceases by applying his labor to the raw materials and producing things people use. It is private ownership of the land and machine, the source of and means of fashioning articles of use, that prevents the worker from getting the full value of his labor.

Thus not only is it a crime and shame that women and children starve while a few riot in luxury. But it is because of and for the luxury of the one that the misery of the others is caused.

Who now will dare to cry out against the luckless waiter and applaud the lucky Schwab? Who now will have only pity for the unfortunate wife and helpless babes but admiration for the great trust magnate? Who now will refuse to join the Socialist Party that aims to give the worker the full product of his toil?

Election in Belgium.

Elections for half of the members of the Chamber of Deputies and Senate were held Sunday, May 25th. The returns show an actual increase of the number of conservative or government deputies. The Chamber now stands: Conservative, 96; Liberals, 34; Socialists, 34; Christian Democrats, 2, giving the government a majority of 26. The Senate shows 62 Conservatives, 36 Liberals and 6 Socialists. We cannot tell at this writing whether the Socialist vote has actually grown less or whether the Liberals have lost, or whether, controlling the election boards, the government has gained without the others losing. The news sent comes over the capitalist cables, and the actual condition of affairs will be known only when the European mail arrives. At any rate, our comrades have fought a valiant battle and have obliged the government to take a stand which plainly shows they know their end is near. If the capitalists of Belgium were not dead sure that universal suffrage would mean the triumph of Socialism they would never have refused it when the alternative seemed a bloody civil war. Our comrades are to be congratulated on not losing their heads, and by pressing their demands too far bring upon themselves the bayonets of the soldiery. They chose the wiser course of waiting and growing and perfecting their organization. In the end their victory is sure.

Austrian-Poland.

May 1st was religiously observed throughout Galicia. Nearly all trades were at a standstill. Many newspapers did not appear. Meetings were held in the towns, at which thousands took part. The rest of the day was devoted to pleasure. There were no disturbances and Labor Day passed peacefully here.

K. Erlich Bobrowsky.
Krakow, May 3d.

Poppies and Wheat.

MARY FAIRBROTHER.

And we, shall we too crouch and quail,
Ashamed, afraid of strife,
And, lest our lives untimely fail,
Embrace the death in life?
Nay, cry aloud and have no fear;
We few against the world;
Awake, arise, the hope we bear
Against the curse is hurled.
—William Morris.

Hetty Green, one of the most miserable of the miserable women on the green earth, has asked permission of the police authorities to carry a pistol to protect herself from an enemy in the dark. She is afraid of some person who desires to scare her into giving up some of her treasured millions. The richest woman in the world thus proves herself to be one of the most wretched, for what greater curse could befall one than to encounter the hatred of one's race. It might be a case of hysterics in many women, but not Hetty—she is not that sort. She proposes to look out for herself, and meet hatred with a bullet. It is the old way, and she is only a logical product of the times, as unhappy and aimless, so far as any ideal is concerned, as her pitiful sister on the street, who sells her soul for a drink of rum. Hetty Green with all her millions has no peace of conscience; the beggar at her door has none. If both could understand the cause of their misery, and if the balance of mankind could only comprehend that there is no hope, except in a new standard of life, it might all be changed so easily. The woman who meets hatred with hatred, the woman who meets starvation with a leer of drunkenness, might both be happy and enter into some measure of the joy which the human soul may compass.

There is a movement on foot to organize anew the Consumers' League in San Francisco. That is a measure which the editor of this column heartily approves. If women who belong to it will insist that their goods, ready-made clothing and so on, be the product of honest toil under conditions which the labor unions call fair, it will at least help a few people. Things, good things, come slowly. If the working man and woman may not receive all that they earn, it will better for them to receive more than they do now, because every little helps, and if they obtain more and more, it may finally happen that all they earn may be theirs. If the earnest women of America would awaken to their responsibilities and realize horrors and dangers of sweat shops, not alone to the working classes—of which they have a very vague and calmly sympathetic notion—but to their own children. A mother in this city went to a store where sweat-shop goods are sold and bought her little son two pairs of trousers, the other day. The child has the measles now, and the pair of trousers which he did not wear are in the furnace, or their ashes are. She said it would be the last time. Perhaps it will, and if all the women would call a halt this one evil would be abated in less time than it takes this sentence to go clicking out on the linotype. So while we do not believe any lasting reform will ever come in this way, yet one of the evils of the capitalist system may as well be abolished, and we hope the women will be in earnest until it is done.

A society of women in New York recently held a discussion in relation to wife-beating and how much of it a woman should endure before she rebelled. One woman said she believed that a high state of society would result if women would keep their troubles to themselves and endure a great deal before going to a divorce court. She said it was not degrading, because it was impossible for the acts of one person to degrade another, and that a true woman could never be degraded by any act of her husband's. When I read such reports, a feeling of disgust at women is so aroused that it is hard to keep faith with a mental contract made long ago, that women have enough to bear from unfair men writers, it is the duty of women to stand by their sex. Why will women reiterate the folly and sophistry of the dark ages, and go before an audience and repeat nonsense, like that quoted? The notion that a man may strike anybody who is smaller than himself, simply and solely because she is smaller and happens to be there when he feels like hitting something, is as barbarous and outrageous as a great many other things connected with the marriage relation as it exists to-day. Women have so much to learn and because I believe, as the strongest article in my creed, that the race can never advance until its women get out of slavery, I am desperate, when the finer theories and elevating effects of Socialism come up before my mind in contrast. I wish for the persuasive powers of Francis Willard, the ambition of Joan of Arc, and the strength of Miss Anthony, in order to go out and convert my sex into an earnest, intelligent force for good to itself and to the world. It is

so hard to be patient and to realize the latent power these women possess—and to see it wasted, frittered and dissipated because they are so complacent and so heedless. Socialism will bring to them new hope, new ideals, new ambitions, and yet they are so careless it does not seem worth while for them to do any thinking or to feel in any way responsible.

The large crowd at the Propaganda Sunday evening was very encouraging and the meeting was in every sense a success. It did the cause good service and it would be very difficult for the faultfinder and the critic to get in any work. Those who stay away from the Socialist meetings for the alleged reason that there is nothing going on but a lot of ignorant people hurling personalities at each other and their betters who are absent would have felt like thirty cents if they had done the Sunday evening meeting the honor of their approval to the extent of their presence.

Here is a pen picture of the meeting. On the literature table as you entered, a magnificent bunch of roses which arrived too late to be placed upon the speaker's stand. Young men and middle aged men standing as closely as comfort would permit, even out into the corridor. The audience listening to a recitation, then a reading by two intelligent women members who spoke so they could be heard, and who kept in bounds. Up in front, a chairman, with the thoughtful face of a scholar and the manners of a gentleman. The speaker of the evening, a youth in the first bloom of sturdy manhood, earnest, honest and enthusiastic. Rather slow of speech and not quite sure of himself, but with never a doubt as to the justice of the cause he was pleading. Following him came the first of the five-minute speakers, also a young man, a giant—well built, who was logical, persuasive and eloquent. Then a woman speaker, who gave a touch of poetry to the question, which was the Constitution of the United States. Then a gray-haired veteran in the cause, who made a strong plea for the work of the present generation to be done by its living actors and not by those long ago dead. Finally, like Ajax of old, who thrilled his hearers and convinced the doubters by the fire of eloquence and the logic of a finished orator. A man who talked to hundreds of thousands of people and who is doing valiant service for the great cause in which he has put all of the faith and power there is in him. It was a meeting of people who wished to be entertained and instructed, and it was indeed a delight to be there, for all there is nothing so fine as good work for a good cause.

An Explanation--We're Still On Deck.

Milwaukee, Wis., May 22, 1902.
Editor Advance, San Francisco, Cal.,
My Dear Brother: I hasten to send you this apology for a bad blunder appearing in this week's *Social Democratic Herald*, which went to press last night. In speaking of the movement in San Francisco I stated that the *Advance* had ceased to appear, supposing from the fact that we had not received a copy for many weeks that I was stating a fact. As if to confront me with my crime a copy reached this office this morning. I feel not a little cut up about the thing and hasten to assure you that the wish was not father to the thought, and that I will try to make amends in next week's *Herald*. Hoping this will run down the misstatement and that thus it will not cause you any tangible damage, I am, sincerely and fraternally,
Frederic Heath.

[All right, brother, we've gone through a number of evolutions, sometimes advancing, sometimes retreating, but we'll wage the fight till victory is won—and you'll be there, too.—Ed. Advance.]

Politics in the Union.

Last Wednesday night the Los Angeles County Council of Labor decided that it would adopt political action as a means to enforce the demands of the wage-working class. To this end a committee of five was elected to confer and report to the Council a plan of procedure. The members of the committee are J. N. Pattilo (Democrat), J. A. Gray (Republican), L. A. Swan (Prohibitionist), John Murray, Jr. (Socialist) and Francis Drake (Independent).

The result of this action, as far as immediate results are concerned, no man can tell, but the one lasting effect will be to destroy forever "no politics in the union."

It must not be understood that in this committee a Socialist is conferring with representatives of any capitalistic party, as such, for between privately owned capital and the wage-working class there can be no compromise.

Comrade Murray is Secretary of the Committee and we hope to hear of good work done. Certainly the Socialists are the only party that can really gain in this move, and labor receive any benefit. The Demo-Reps have very dirty hands. Ours are clean.

Child Labor.

BY MARGARET M. FETTE IN THE LOS ANGELES HERALD.

Child labor was the device of the English mill owner to supply the sudden and enormous demand for help, when the factory system was first introduced. Hard times had filled the almshouses with children, whose supple fingers could well replace the adult hand. The poorhouse authorities were glad to be rid of the children, and even paid to have them taken away. Contractors were obliged to take one of the numerous idiots of those ill-regulated times with every twenty children. The children received no pay, were virtually slaves, were sometimes sold at bankrupt sales and invoiced as assets.

The poor child slaves worked, sick or well, often sixteen hours at a time. If they fell asleep at the machine they were awakened by a kick or a blow or a swish of the cowhide. They ate water-porridge morning and evening, while at work, and robbed the well-fed pigs to supplement their scanty dinner. If they tried to escape, heavy chains were put upon them from hip to ankle; in these they worked, and walked to and from the dreaded factory.

Children of three or four years were put to severe labor; babies of six were common in many of the mills. Herded together and almost starved, breathing foul air by day and by night, they succumbed to epidemics threatening the community, and not till then did self-interest rouse the public.

In spite of avarice and trickery to defeat the passing of bills to limit the suffering, some slight advance was made from time to time. But to offset this the new form of oppression, the sweatshop, was inaugurated.

America has not been put on record in the extreme barbarities enumerated, but with the more advanced stage of civilization attained, before the factory system was engrafted here in 1802, have not the industrial conditions, the traffic in the life blood of men, women and children been quite as discreditable?

Some occupations are much more dangerous for children than others. For example, in the making of tinware many children are maimed for life. In typemaking, poisoned, becoming pale, sickly, weak; in cigar making, saturated with nicotine, till lungs and digestive organs refuse to do their work. In some factories gases and smoke cloud the air, hiding even near objects. Some occupations are so severe that in a very short time children are dwarfed by pursuing them.

I have seen a lad struggling with a foot machine, as he put buttons onto overalls; both hands were occupied holding the cloth and with every pressure of the pedal he was obliged to lift himself half from the seat and then use main strength to force the pedal down. His face was white, his eyes heavy, his spine curved and one shoulder was lower than the other.

Phillips Brooks said: "There can be a Christian city or nation, as well as a Christian man."

California is not as yet a manufacturing state, and it is possible to so legislate that the gross cruelties of past time cannot be enacted here. If State legislation keeps abreast of factory growth, may we not hope to have merciful labor laws?

One great advantage with regard to factory legislation in general lies in the lack of uniformity in laws. About half the States have advanced labor laws—the other half by lack of these tacitly invite the soules among the factory owners to bring their mills, with all their nefarious practices, into their midst. A small army of Eastern manufacturers have embraced this opportunity which national factory legislation would cut off. This is the case with many of the Southern States. At Birmingham, Ala., we find a cotton mill in which a man sought employment for the purpose of investigation. Young and old must be in the factory at 5:30 a. m. The man referred to saw babies of 6 and 7 years of age, roused by their mothers splashing cold water in their faces. A little black coffee and corn bread mixed with cottonseed oil was given them for breakfast. With half an hour for luncheon they would grind along till 7 at night, thirteen hours, and walk home to a scanty supper and a pallet of straw. Loss of limbs was common from unguarded machinery; the victims were thrust out to die, no hospital coming into the plan of the owners. The man reporting says with fine sarcasm: "Credit is due to the company for employing a Sunday-school teacher, who taught the wee workers to thank God that their employers were so good as to give them a chance to earn a little, so as to send a nickel to the poor little heathen Chinese babies."

At the Birmingham mills workmen are pushed to the limit of existence. So many yards of cloth a day or no wage. All energy of mind and body goes, loss of sleep and of rest creates false appetites, indigestion, shrinkage of flesh, bent backs and aching hearts.

In the rope walk of Tuscaloosa, Ala., guarding 155 spindles, was a man with

his two children, 9 and 10 years of age, doing twelve hours of night work. Together they earned 10 cents a night. Not 1 cent an hour for the children, though their work at the machine was as valuable as that of the adults.

Alabama once had an eight-hour law. The Gadson Manufacturing Company was planning to build a factory somewhere in the South, but would not in Alabama unless the eight-hour law was repealed. Fifty-seven out of sixty legislators voted for the repeal, saying, when asked why they voted to murder the children, that they could not support themselves on the eight-hour wage. Scientific economists given to fact and not to sentiment state that while child labor may be a temporary relief to the family, it is a permanent injury. What is paid the child, who should be playing and learning, is deducted from the father's wage.

Such is factory torture in this land, reported as worse than Turkish massacre.

Under this system, weakened and overworked and underfed, the mother gives birth to tired, wornout children, who take their turn at hard labor. The factory system leaves its mark upon them. Marks well defined by science as indicative of cruel labor, in close air and with scanty food.

There are a few bright spots which give promise of others to come, yet the broad question still remains: "Should child labor be allowed at all?" Mrs. Florence Kelley, now secretary of the New York Consumers' Label League, answers it after her three years' experience in connection with the child labor problem, as follows: "I am convinced that the only way to deal effectively with the child-labor problem is to keep all children at school; to turn all working children into school children. Why have even the much petted newsboys, with their homes and banks, picnics and theatre performances? Let the unemployed men sell the papers, and put the boys to school as we do our own children, and leave them there until they are sixteen." I would add, make education practical and interesting, and the boys will need no truant officer.

Mrs. Kelly speaks of the child whose hours of work only make him acquainted with parts of any process; who, when pushed out from the rank of child-worker, is fitted for no other place. She says modern inventions should displace the cash child and deprecate the action of so-called philanthropists who by arousing the boy or girl to strive to support the family, foster precocity in morals—which makes wrecks of children as surely as precocity in intellect or genius.

Inspection has shown a greater number of under-sized children among wage earners than among city school children. Stature is indicative of general development, physically and mentally.

In closing she says: "If we prohibit all employment of children for wage until they are sixteen, except in farming and gardening, which strengthen the worker, in ten years we shall find a long step taken toward solving the tramp difficulty and the question of delinquency and incompetence of the unemployed."

The Origin of the Pinkerton Scab.

Newport News, Va.—An agent for the Pinkerton detective agency has been in the city for the past few days for the purpose of securing men to act as guards and officers for the mine owners in Pennsylvania in the region where the strike is now on.

This agent left yesterday, taking with him about twenty-five men, whom he secured here for the purpose. These men will be supplied with rifles and placed in charge of the property where the strike is on, as is the custom in such instances.

The departure of the men from this city is a source of relief to the police department here, as they are about the worst class of people that the police have to deal with. Nearly all of them are cattle-men or "cow punchers," as they are called, and they are a source of constant annoyance to the police officers.

Most of them are foreigners and manage to eke out an existence by shipping backward and forward from this country to England and other foreign countries accompanying cattle. When in port they are usually a lawless set and are the prey of the sailors' boarding house runners.

The destination of the men is unknown here, and in fact they themselves do not know where they are bound for. The agent merely employed them to act as Pinkerton men and told them what they are expected to do. The men know they are bound for the Pennsylvania mines and that is all. It is understood that other agents are in Norfolk and other places in this section and it is thought that several hundred men will be taken from this part of Virginia.—Ev. Telegram.

Remember, no one is exempt in this campaign. You are drafted into the service and are expected to sell at least four subscription cards before July 1st. Start in today.

Cause of Crime.

To explain crime the metaphysician advances the theory of free will, which is based on the supremacy of human consciousness. This theory alleges that every man is a free agent and the abnormal and anti-social actions of a human being are to be attributed to the capricious and criminal inclination of the individual. The materialist denies this and successfully, by proving that the action of man is determined by his antecedents, and also by showing the influences of pre-natal and hereditary powers in determining and governing the actions of the individual. And the strongest argument advanced in favor of the materialist is obtained from the study of statistics showing that there is a regularity in social events. Here the materialist finds a corner-stone on which he builds his doctrine. For indeed, if human events, such as marriage, birth, murder, suicide, are merely the result of the caprice and inclination of the individual (or as the theologian claims, of a Supreme Power) why would there be a regularity in these actions? The regularity, therefore is accounted for by the fact that these actions are governed by certain conditions, and as the conditions vary little from one year to another, the number of births, murders, marriages, etc., which are but the result of underlying social conditions, vary little. Henry Thomas Buckle says, "Every year there not only takes place the same number of murders, but even the instruments by which they are committed are employed in the same proportions. This was the language used in 1835 by confessedly the first statistician in Europe, and every subsequent investigation has confirmed its accuracy."

After explaining that suicide is more dependent on personal inclination than anything else, he says: "Nevertheless, in this vast metropolis," meaning London, "about 240 persons every year make away with themselves, the annual suicides oscillating from the pressure of temporary causes between 266, the highest, and 213, the lowest. In 1846, which was the great year for excitement caused by the railroad panic, the suicides of London were 266, in 1847 began a slight improvement and they fell to 256; in 1848 they were 247; in 1849 they were 213 and in 1850, 299."

After discussing the regularity in marriages and other human actions, he concludes in the following words: "We have parallel chains of evidence formed with extreme care, under the most different circumstances, and all pointing in the same direction, all of them forcing us to the conclusion that the offenses of man are the result not so much of the vices of the individual offender as of the state of society into which that individual is thrown."

Not only does the regularity in crime show that it is the result of some condition in society, but the periodicity in crime corroborates the same conclusion. Says Enrico Ferri, professor of criminal law and Deputy in Italian Parliament: "Offenses against property which are very numerous contribute most of all to the total of annual crime. So that the maximum of 1880 in Italy as well as in France, Belgium and Austria, is especially due to the great severity of the winter of 79-80, which in Italy coincided with an agricultural crisis, attested by the very high price in corn." Again he says: "Crime and offenses against property display extraordinary increase in the severest winter seasons and diminution in milder winters." In another part of the book he says again: "It is notorious that in the year of dear provisions or severe winters a large number of thefts and petty offenses are committed for the sole object of securing maintenance within the prison walls."

A great deal more can be quoted to prove that crime is not simply an accidental result of a capricious mind or of some normal inclination of an abnormal individual, but that it is the result of certain conditions operating in Society.

What becomes now of the arguments that crime is the result of some capricious and abnormal inclination? That it is nothing but an accident which was unforeseen and unexpected? A parallel may be drawn between this argument and the little story told of Johnny and his mother.

"Johnny," said the mother, "I see you have a lump on your head; have you been fighting again?" "No, ma'am." But look here, you can't deny that you have that lump on your head. Are you sure you did not fight with any of the boys?"

"Sure, ma'am."

"Well, then, how did it happen?"

"It happened by accident."

"Accident, did you say? Explain how."

"It happened this way. I was sitting on the head of Tom Brown and forgot to hold his feet."

The accident of crime occurs in the same manner. Society, sitting on the heads of so many individuals and forgetting to hold their feet, the inevitable happens.

Hyman Strunsky.

Chase's Report.

St. Louis, Mo., May 22, 1902.

Leon Greenbaum,
Sec. Labor Lecture Bureau.
Dear Comrade:—Having completed the six weeks' trip in Illinois, lecturing before the Trade Unions and locals of the Socialist Party, under the management of the Labor Lecture Bureau, I think it well to send you a report of the trip for publication. Hereafter I shall endeavor to forward a report each week, so that all interested in this work may be informed of the progress being made.

I have lectured during the six weeks under the auspices of twenty-nine trade unions and eight locals of the Socialist Party. Fifteen of these unions were miners and the balance was divided as follows:

- Trades and Labor Assemblies.....6
- Cigarmakers2
- Sprinkler Fitters.....1
- Metal Polishers1
- Bakers1
- Coopers1
- Carpenters1
- Scandinavian1

The towns and cities where I have spoken are as follows: Iowa—Davenport; Illinois—Galesburg, Canton, Kewanee, Rockford, Bloomington, Dixon, Sterling, Toluca, Colchester, Girard, Nilwood, Witt, Taylorville, Sorento, Decatur, Hilliary, Peru, Carbon Hill, Alsip, Chicago Heights, Elgin, Morris, Spring Valley, Lincoln, Troy, and seven days in Chicago. Number of miles traveled on the trip, about 2,500. My financial report you have before you already, and it will show that the trip has been a self-sustaining one.

I have gone into these details to show the far-reaching effect of the Labor Lecture Bureau. A study of them will show that I have been able to get into places and before audiences that could have been reached in no other way. It will be understood, of course, by those who read this report, that my mission has been to propagate the class struggle and the principles of Socialism among the working class, through the organizations of labor, and I can say to them that the work in that direction has been successful, more successful than I had anticipated on entering this field of work.

Those who are familiar with the history of Socialism in this country know how hard it has been to bring the trade unionists to the belief that Socialism is the only solution of the labor problem and the only means of emancipation of the working class from wage slavery. In fact, the apparently slow progress in that direction has led many Socialists to become skeptical and to assume a wrong position upon this subject. I am one of those who have always believed that the Socialists are obliged to have organized labor with them before they can win, and that organized labor will have to accept Socialism before it can win anything of a permanent nature for the working class.

I am more convinced of this now than ever before, and I believe that the trade unions of this country are fast coming to see this, and are fast awakening to the fact that they are helpless in their struggle without Socialism. In nearly every instance where I have spoken to organized labor I have found a large attendance, and I have yet to find a single instance where the most radical Socialist position was not heartily applauded and accepted by an overwhelming majority. I am firmly convinced that we only need to get before organized labor and state the Socialist position in the right manner to win them over to the support of the Socialist movement. It has been my endeavor to show to those whom I have come in contact with the limitations of the trade union movement in its contest with organized capital, at the same time giving them the credit for what they have done, and I have no difficulty in making it plain to them that there is no possible permanent improvement to be gained under capitalism and that the ultimate aim of trade unionism in itself is the abolition of the wage system.

Once this system is made clear to and accepted by them there is no difficulty in convincing them that political action on independent working class lines is absolutely necessary.

Once they are brought to understand their class position and realize that they are engaged in a class struggle that more readily do they see the need of an uncompromising Socialist Political Party. From my experience of the past six weeks in the propaganda of this doctrine to organized labor I am led to believe that the trade unions of this country are ripe for change.

If Socialists do their duty and handle this question in the future as evolution demands that it should be handled, Socialism will grow as it has never grown heretofore in America. Organized labor is in itself an evidence of the class struggle; organized labor is as a whole honest and seeking, as best it knows how, the emancipation of the working class.

Our duty as Socialists is to bring them into the class struggle politically, and it is my opinion that the Labor Lecture Bureau by sending out speakers who have had experience in the trade union movement and have from that experience gained a knowledge of the limitations of the power of trade unions and can impart that knowledge to trade unionists in a convincing manner, will be a big factor in accomplishing this result.

Get ready, everybody. She's coming.

Yours fraternally,
John C. Chase.

The International Review.

The Review for this month maintains its high standard. A California populist, J. W. Webster, attacks the position of the Socialist on the farmer question, to which our Comrade, Editor Simons, author of "The American Farmer," replies. The appearance of two bulletins from the International Socialist Bureau occasions a notice that the Review is the official American journal of the Bureau. This is quite proper. These bulletins refer to conditions in Norway and Bulgaria. In both places the outlook is distinctly encouraging. Raphael Buck, who a short time ago was a pronounced individualist, contributes an excellent paper on "Natural Selection." J. L. Franz begins "A History of the United States." Comrade Simons' editorial on "The Impossibilist" is good and timely. We hope he will follow up his discussion of this contest between the two tendencies in the Socialist Party and use the influence of the Review toward toning down the antagonism rather than accentuating it. We believe, with Enrico Ferri, the able Italian, there is room for both in our ranks—that indeed the difference of men's mental constitutions make it impossible for us to escape these differences, and we should simply agree to differ, recognizing that party unity is more valuable than the success of either faction.—The International Socialist Review, 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Comrade Walter Thomas Mills will speak Monday, June 2d, at 1:30 p. m., at the Auditorium of the Y. M. C. A. This is in response to an invitation from the Ministers' Association.

The Beef Trust Enjoined.

Judge Grosscup who attained notoriety in the A. R. U. trouble again comes into prominence. This time he grants a temporary restraining order against the meat combine. Ordinarily, one would think that here indeed was an upright judge, but unfortunately for the purity of Grosscup's ermine, the meat combine desired just such action as it wished to show its contempt of the court. The restraining order has been issued but the meat combine will be found doing business at the same old stand. They will be tried for contempt and their contempt will be justified for they will be acquitted. Somewhere the lawyers will find some hole which, no matter how big the criminal or small the hole, will afford a means of escape to those who have plundered the poor. We say the meat trust holds Grosscup in contempt. So do we, but not for the same reason. We do not possess his body and soul, bought thro' fear or favor. But others besides the owner have a right to feel contempt for a bought or intimidated thing. We remember how well Judge Grosscup served the capitalists before. We expect no change of heart today.

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California State Committee

The meeting held May 23d to hear the appeal of Comrade Bersford from the action of S. F. suspending him decided in Bersford's favor. A circular giving majority and minority reports has been issued to party members. As Local S. F. has not appealed it is thought "the incident is closed."—[Ed. Advance]

Meeting held May 26th—Present: Comrades Appel, Messer, Johnson, Ober, Hefferin, Reynolds and Bersford. Comrade Hefferin in the chair. Minutes approved.

Communications read from A. F. Smith, R. J. Everett (2), Leon Greenbaum (3), Herold Hengst, John Diener, E. S. Nash, M. V. Langley, H. B. Weaver (2), M. W. Wilkins (2), Geo. Strong, J. Nace Ferlin, D. T. Loofbourrow, Peter Bisson, A. Meyers, L. H. Dawson, P. D. Noel, M. Echenbeck, F. J. Wildanger, G. S. Holmes (2), Geo. Hengst, B. F. Rotherford, J. K. Harman, P. N. Ferson, E. T. Page, Wm. Messer, M. E. Shore, H. R. Wright, E. B. Helphingstine, T. P. D. Gray.

Remittances received.—From Locals: Porterville \$1.95, Porterville .25, Westminster \$1.25, Long Beach \$2, San Francisco \$10, Corona, \$1.40, Nevada City \$1.35, Three Rivers \$2.60, San Diego \$4, Riverside \$5; total from locals, \$29.80. Returned by M. W. Wilkins of money advanced to him, \$5.

Received as Campaign Contributions—Wm. Messer, Eureka, \$1, E. T. Page, Pinole, \$1, P. B. Raymond \$5, R. G. Tadlock, Madison, \$4.50, J. N. Ferlin, San Diego, \$1, M. V. Longley \$1, Mrs. J. Boyd Sheridan, \$5, J. C. Weybright, Pleasant Valley, .25, W. F. Weed, Arcata, \$5; total contributions, \$26.83. Total receipts for the week, \$61.63.

Petitions received from comrades during the week—L. H. Dawson, Corona; Corwin Phelps, Los Angeles Co.; B. F. Rutherford, Pixley, and \$2.50; D. T. Loofbourrow, Diamond Springs; Geo. Medding, Redding, and \$1; V. B., Raymond; R. G. Tadlock, Madison, \$4.50; J. A. Snively, Eureka; A. Meyers, Weaver-ville; C. G. Witt, Poway; J. Nace Ferlin, San Diego, \$1; Frank McClellan, Hanford; W. F. Weed, Arcata; G. Cox, Florin; J. C. Weybright, Pleasant Valley; A. W. Reynolds, Perris.

Bills ordered paid—F. M. Phelan, printing, \$3.50; Eastman & Mitchell, 2,000 membership cards, 9.50; postage, mimeographing supplies, etc., \$3.74; Organizer Helphingstine, on ac., \$12; Secretary's salary for month of May, \$12; National Committee, dues for May, \$35.90. Total disbursements, \$76.64. Cash balance on hand, \$37.03.

Comrade Wilkins' resignation of position of Organizer for Northern California was accepted but as his letter of resignation reflected somewhat upon the State Committee it was moved and carried that his letter be published, together with a full copy of the rules to which he objects, State Committee believing that the rules can prove no real obstacle to Organizer's work.

"Lorin, May 24, 1902.

"The State Committee, "Socialist Party,

Comrades: After looking the matter over from all sides, and after conferring with many comrades in my own Local and in Local San Francisco, I hereby tender my resignation from the office of State Organizer for the Northern district to take effect at once. It is the consensus of opinion that it would be impossible for an organizer to do himself or the cause justice under the instructions for organizers laid down by your committee, and that it would be a waste of time, money and energy to attempt it. It is one thing to do work under the oversight of the Ex. Committee, but it is quite a different thing to work under the absolute dictatorship of the Committee, with no room left for personal initiative or judgment. Men who know from experience how to do the work will not accept such conditions. It is thought to be asking too much to ask an organizer to subject himself completely to the will of a committee that declares itself in no way responsible for pay or expenses. I enclose five dollars allowed me for postage, and I will bring over the stationery given me. Fraternally,

"M. W. Wilkins."

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 carfare, 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 and 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.

Moved and carried that a call be issued for nominations for State Organizer for the Northern District. Nominations to close on July 14th.

On motion Comrade Geo. S. Holmes was elected organizer pro tem.

A committee, composed of comrades Appel, Messer and Bersford, was elected to draft or select propaganda leaflets.

Dues for May ordered sent to the National Secretary.

The National Committee having donated, by credit, the balance of \$58.60, owing by former State Committee on International (1900), delegate stamp acct, it was moved and seconded that the balance of \$9.90, now in State Committee's favor, be donated to the National Committee to square accounts. Carried. Adjourned.

Thos. Bersford, Secretary.

Organizer's Report

Receipts: April 14, from S. E. C., \$5; May 6, from Frank Simpson, San Diego, \$1; May 22, from Local Alhambra, \$1.50; total, \$7.50.

Expenditures: April 21, stamps, \$1; do., 22d, envelopes .20; letter paper .65; do., 26th, rubber stamps .50; do., account book .10; May 7th, stamps .75; May 13th, postal cards .25; do., postal cards, .15; total, \$3.60.

Amount due on salary, at \$3 per week since April 21st, \$12.00.

Edgar B. Helphingstine, State Organizer, So. Cal.

To the State Ex. Committee of California, S. P. of A.

Meeting of Local, S. F.

The editor has been unable to make connections with the secretary during the twelve hours from the adjournment of the party meeting to the time of going to press but there are some important matters which should be noted, viz.: The charges against King, Reynolds, et al., were withdrawn and the accused exonerated. No appeal was taken in the Bersford case. T. P. D. Gray and King Jr. were elected a committee to draft a statement of the position of Local S. F. to be spread upon the minutes of the local. An era of brotherly love for everybody except the capitalists was inaugurated.

An amendment to the constitution was offered to be voted on at the next meeting. It provides about as follows:

"Local S. F. shall be composed of District Clubs as follows: No. 1, composed of Assembly Districts 28, 29, 44 and 45. No. 2, composed of A. D.'s 30 to 37, both inclusive. No. 3, composed of A. D.'s 38 to 43, both inclusive. Other District Clubs may be formed from contiguous A. D.'s providing they have at least 25 members in good standing.

"A city Central Committee shall be formed, one delegate for each 20 members in good standing."

Complete rules for initiative, referendum and imperative mandate and an Order of Business making reports of members of their work for the cause one of the first and most important things, are proposed. An effort will be made to have proofs of amendments at Sunday and Monday eve. meetings.

When the vote is counted in the fall you will be glad then that you did so little, oh, so little, so very little as to get four new subscribers.

Sell at least one subscription card before you go to bed tonight. Your very next neighbor will probably buy one if you ask him.

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