

WARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
FEB 28 1901

This is Number 342



If No 343 is on your label your subscription expires with the next number.

ADVANCE

Published weekly

We Demand the Collective Ownership of all the Means of Production and Distribution

The ADVANCE is never sent on credit. If you receive it, it is paid for.

WHOLE NUMBER 342

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY FEBRUARY 23, 1901.

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR

The Social Lesson of the Paterson Case.

N. Y. PEOPLE.

A most sensational criminal trial was held in the city of Paterson, N. J., last week. The reports of the trial and of the crime which occasioned it have been read throughout the length and breadth of the land. The facts that have been revealed in naked detail are shocking—almost incredible, were they not so well attested. It were well that they should not be allowed to pass without serious comment and deep consideration.

Those who have ever read "The Tale of Two Cities," by that master painter of social types, Charles Dickens, cannot have forgotten the story of the elder d'Evremond's crime against the helpless bride of one of his serfs. Now, it is remarkable that in reading that chapter, written with Dicken's most consummate art, what most profoundly impresses us is not the black wickedness of the cruel and sensual lord, but a conviction that this particular tyrant and debauchee stands as a type, a representative, a personal incarnation of the spirit of his class. In that foul and obscure crime, we see the historical justification of the Red Terror that was to come. The inexorable woman who, in after years, sits calmly knitting while she counts the titled heads that fall under the guillotine is, we feel, the appropriate, the right and inevitable sequel to old d'Evremond.

We are right in so feeling. "No man lives unto himself alone." Our crimes and our virtues are not purely individual matters. D'Evremond's guilt was the guilt of his class; the revenge of the Defarges was the revenge of their class. However it may fail to square with traditional teaching or with ideas of abstract justice, this is the lesson of history.

Let no one imagine that the punishment of three or four men in Paterson, however speedily and impressively accomplished, will avenge or atone for their heinous crime or will prevent the repetition of like crimes. They were not alone guilty, nor was Jenny Bosschiet alone the victim. There is, indeed, no court of law that can listen to the accusation of the workers against the ruling class. But there are higher courts than courts of law—and they work more slowly but more surely.

We would not be misunderstood: Not for a moment do we suppose that there are many McAllisters among the capitalists. There were not many d'Evremonds among the old nobility of France, nor Legrees among the slaveholders of the Old South. But it was by these, their extreme products, that these ruling classes had to be judged at last.

There is a most distinct social lesson in this Paterson case. It was by no accident that the Paterson criminals all came from the higher ranks of society, and that their victim was a poor mill girl. The one consideration that saves the strongly attested story of the crime from being morally incredible is the well-known callousness of the self-styled "better classes" to the welfare or the suffering of those whom they call the "lower classes."

Ask your capitalist about prostitution and he will tell you that it is "a necessary evil"—and will give you most convincing reasons for his belief. Even the best of his class, the "reformers" and "crusaders," do not think of putting an end to it, but only of restricting or concealing it. Do you flame out in righteous indignation against this infamy? Your well-bred friend smilingly puts you down as a "crank." Why? Maybe he himself does not know the reason, but it is this: His sister and daughters are safe; it is only your sisters and daughters, oh workingman, who are in danger of this earthly damnation.

Show your capitalist how many workingmen are murdered at their work by sudden accident on the railroad or in the mines, how many thousands of workingmen and workingwomen are slowly murdered in mill or factory, how they are poisoned in their tenements, how their children are stunted in body and mind and perverted in spirit by drudgery in the days that should be spent in play—show him these things and he may give a sympathetic sigh, but his conclusive answer is that dividends cannot otherwise be paid.

We cannot expect a ruling class to understand or feel for the sorrows of those they rule. They are bound, almost to a man, to be cynical and callous to these things. And if the best can pass by prostitution and child labor as "necessary evils," what shall we expect of the worst? What but crime like that of Paterson?

Punish those individuals by all means. But never think that you have thus removed the cause. You will have removed a minor, proximate cause of crime; but you will have left the greater, ultimate cause untouched. That will be removed only when class rule is at an end.

No, we do not expect the "masters, lords, and rulers" to understand or to feel. We call to the victims, the subject, the disinherited, the toilers, to arise and ease off their rule. Do we preach "class hatred," then? Well, we shall not quarrel about the word; but class struggle assuredly we do preach.

The British are running Italian anarchists out of England, while the Boers are running the British anarchists out of Africa.—Missouri Socialist.

In discussing the Cuban constitution Gen. Sanguinly said, "If we do not invoke God, whom can we invoke?" Is it possible he has never heard of Mark Hanna?—Saginaw Exponent.

Rockefeller, Morgan & Co.

JULIAN HAWTHORNE in S. F. Bulletin.

THE financial and industrial affairs of the world are taking a logical course. The thing about it chiefly remarkable is that they are taking it with striking rapidity. The world looks on with interest, but upon the whole with equanimity. For, whatever alarmists may say, we are tolerably satisfied that the majority of the citizens of civilization will not submit to become the slaves and pensioners of a fantastic minority. The latter are taking advantage of certain existing laws, passed at a time when the present developments were not foreseen, which appear to safeguard their operations.

Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. are, when you come down to hard pan, a handful of persons who lay claim to great possessions. Their sole strength and importance consist in the willingness of the rest of the American nation to admit the validity of this claim. But this claim has no basis in natural right. The gentlemen in question never have done, and it is needless to add, must forever be incapable of doing anything to entitle them, in equity, to the possession of the valuables they ascribe to themselves. And their tenure of the property rests solely on their demonstrating that they can and will administer them in such a manner as to ensure the greatest good to the greatest number. As soon as they cease to demonstrate this, or as soon as any one else demonstrates that their tenure is hostile to the common interests, they will be stripped of their holdings, and the latter will be administered in such manner as the commonalty may deem most expedient.

It would be irrational, meanwhile, to feel any animosity against Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. Separate from the natural resources with which they deal and the natural process of industrial and social evolution which they illustrate, their own, private, personal equation, and you will surprise yourself in seeing how almost nothing the letter appears.

The earth bears iron, coal and oil; science discovers methods for getting out these materials and manufacturing them and transporting them to market; civilization creates an orderly social organism whereby, in return for observing certain formalities, a man is said to own material property—and it is only after these conditions have been enumerated that the share in the matter of Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. begins! Obviously, nothing could be more insignificant. It is hardly more than automatism; they are helpless creatures of circumstance and environment. In their place, most men would have done like them. Neither they nor any millionaires have been persons of more than average intelligence.

But even supposing them to have been giants of ability, still their excess of fortune would be out of all proportion with their deserts. An individual is valuable to the community in so far as he can perform some use which no one else can do so well. Judged by this standard, Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. would be dear at, say, a thousand dollars per annum. Here they are, however, and we have no grounds for assuming that they are not doing the very best they know how. It would require a man of more than Napoleonic genius, indeed, to do anything else—to use their wealth for vicious ends. The utmost that they can expend selfishly is a mere drop in the bucket in comparison with what they have. They must expend the remainder in the conduct and creation of more industrial enterprises.

It is plainly to their interests to do this work in a manner not to antagonize the community. They may be trusted to study their interests in this as in other things, and their only weak point is that they may lack the ability to move the big machine wisely. That is a very weak point, to be sure; but, as we said just now, it would be irrational and unjust to blame them for what they cannot help, owing to their human limitations.

But though we need not blame them, we may nevertheless see fit to relieve them of their functions. This whole phenomenon of allowing vast industries to fall into the hands of individuals is an accident of civilized evolution, and it is practically certain that it will turn out to be injudicious. We permit the experiment to be tried, but we are already doubting its expediency, and it is dollars to doughnuts that we shall ere long decide against it.

The objectionable elements are not so much on the industrial side as on the human side. The coal is mined, the oil is refined, the iron is manufactured; but tens of thousands of men are placed on the payrolls of certain individuals, who, so long as the present laws are enforced, have power of life and death over them. This situation does not favor the development of independent and self-respecting manhood. The owners may not, probably will not, starve their workmen; but that they have the power to do so is distasteful.

And again, there can be no guarantee of social stability in a community where industrial wars are liable at any moment to take place. If a hundred thousand or a million workmen strike, and the public, perceiving that their cause is just, support them, an economic loss must ensue, greater or less, according to circumstances. Hitherto, the owners have always yielded when public opinion was against them; but in the possible case of their holding out, to the continued inconvenience of the public, something would be certain to occur which would be detrimental to all concerned, but to the owners would be simply annihilation. Such a possibility, we say, should be eliminated, and the only way to eliminate it is to abolish private ownership of great industries. Now, this may be done by legislation, but the difficulty there is that leg-

islators are apt to be needy, or at least greedy men, and they are therefore apt to be bribed to betray their trust.

Certainly, if money to any amount will serve to persuade Judges or juries or Senators or Presidents that a given law had better not pass, that money will surely be forthcoming before legislation will put an end to private ownership. And the moment the public is convinced that the courts and the Supreme Court of the United States with the rest, can be or has been bought by capitalists, at that moment all law of human making will be in deadly peril, and the people will return to natural law and repossess themselves of their own.

This peril may be more imminent than might be supposed, because men with unlimited powers of bribery at their command, and with ends in view which do not harmonize with public convenience, are strongly tempted to control legislation and governmental procedure in matters of even trifling (comparative) import.

The more plainly this tendency of capital is recognized the nearer is the doom of capitalists. And it strangely happens that great combinations of capital, like this of Morgan, Rockefeller & Co., though they seem at first sight to favor the powers of the latter, in reality lay them open to easy destruction. For we remember that Burke said that an indictment could not be brought against a whole people. In the same way we perceive the obstacles in the way of holding to account a large and largely unnamed and unknown group of capitalists. But if this group is reduced to two or three the obstacles vanish.

Socialism, which is closely watching the trend of affairs, would see here its best opportunity. It is safe to say that nothing could better have pleased Socialists than the transaction which has just been consummated between the great capitalists controlling the coal, iron and oil industries of this country. When they are ready to strike they will know exactly where to aim their blow. Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller have only one neck apiece, and there are millions of lamp-posts at hand. Of course, it may not come to hanging; probably not; it is to be devoutly hoped not; but it may. And if it does, then Morgan, Rockefeller & Co. will be found to have themselves constructed their own gallows.

There would be chaos for a while; but when society reorganizes itself it would be found that private ownership of great industries would have received a final discouragement. That will be the upshot, whether it be reached by violence or by peaceable common agreement. All visible signs point in that direction. In the latter case, the transient reign of chaos would be avoided.

Meanwhile, as we began by remarking, the rapid evolution of the drama is full of interest. Mr. Carnegie has, whether from wise foresight or for some less sagacious reason, withdrawn his name from the cast, and has thereby only rendered the imminent catastrophe more poignant. Mr. Morgan is stubborn, bold, and by far the ablest actor in the scene. Let us see what he will do next!

On the Way To Socialism.

The Standard Oil Company is gobbling up the Texas oil-fields.

Horseshoe manufacturers organized a pool, only one large concern remaining on the outside.

Another international steel combine has been formed. Six American and Canadian concerns have been assimilated and several British concerns are to be joined with them.

A new apparatus to turn out electro-engraving is being put on the market. One man can do work in fifteen hours that formerly required a month, and the most delicate details created by the hand of the artist are preserved.

The American-Cuban fruit trust has just gobbled up 198,000 acres, or 300 square miles, of the most fertile land in Cuba. This is only one of its tracts. The trust will also control warehouses, steamships, etc., and it is the intention to secure the Eastern market and drive out California products.

A Chicago dispatch says the Morgan-Hill-Rockefeller railway combine has notified the express companies that their contracts will not be renewed after they expire, and that combine will do the expressing. In the line of economy it will prove an immense saving, as thousands of men will be laid off.

Missouri Supreme Court has practically killed the anti-trust law of that state in deciding to quash the action to annul the charter of the street railway monopoly of St. Louis. The court is Democratic in politics. It would be well to hear from Messrs. Bryan, Jones and Stone, the great trust-busters, on this question at this time.

In a Chicago office a process has been put in operation to print and rule bill-heads, statements, etc., in two colors at the rate of 10,000 to 20,000 an hour. A new folding machine is being put in large book offices that enables two men to do the work of twenty-four, and a new rotary press, operated by three men, does as much work as 38 men with ordinary presses. New machines in typesetting department are also being experimented with in several places.

The Encyclical on "Socialism"

The fiat has gone forth. The oracle has spoken. The greatest masterpiece of organization which the world has up to the present ever known, has launched its thunderbolts against "Socialism"—and wonderful to say, "nobody seems a penny the worse."

Whether the encyclical is the individual production of Leo XIII or the result of the collective wisdom of the Ecumenical Council, is a matter of little moment. It contains nothing that was not expected by Socialists, and nothing calculated to give much assistance to capitalism in warding off the inevitable.

Like every other reactionary document that has ever appeared the encyclical carefully "defines" what it intends to demolish, and its definition of Socialism is purposely contrived to render the demolition easy. The object of attack is described as something "which concerns itself solely with material possession," and which is "always seeking to establish perfect equality and a common holding of goods." Now, whatever this thing may be—that is, if it has any real existence—it is certainly not Socialism, and the warning given to good Catholics to avoid it is, to say the least, superfluous. Such a bogey as this has no existence; Socialism does not concern itself solely with material possessions. Such a definition would fit capitalism with infinitely more truth. Socialism deals with material possessions as a means to an end—capitalism makes them the end.

Socialism does not seek to establish equality, in the sense that the readers of the encyclical are left purposely to infer. It cares nothing for equality in material possessions, and recognizes to the full the mental and physical inequalities of individuals. What it does insist upon, however, is equality of opportunity, the right of the producer to produce and enjoy the full product, be that product great or small, and this the Socialists will have in spite of every so-called "religious" institution on the face of the earth.

Socialism cares nothing for holding "goods" in common. It declares that the machinery for the production of these "goods" shall be collectively owned by those who collectively operate them—which is an entirely different matter.

What, then, has the encyclical to offer? Schemes for the "amelioration of the lot of the working classes." Why should the lot of the working classes require "amelioration" unless robbery is being committed upon them? Does not their labor produce all wealth? Why, then, should they not have it? But these "amelioration" schemes are now in full blast under the direction of the robber class, and for no other reason than that the system of robbery may be preserved.

"Alms-giving," "charity"—never a word of "justice." "Charity does not degrade," says the encyclical. No, it only transforms men and women into liars, crawlers, and hypocrites who "concern themselves solely with material possessions" which are modestly limited to a crust of bread, a rag of clothing and a filthy hovel—but it does not "degrade."

"Justice" will breed men—"charity" can only produce slaves who will be "respectful to their masters" as the encyclical says.

Socialism has not been attacked in this production; on the contrary, it has been carefully ignored. And in this respect the encyclical does not exhibit one particle of difference from its predecessor of ten years ago. The advice which it gives to the Catholic proletariat to avoid revolutionary movements is being rendered impossible by capitalism itself. They have no more choice in the matter than non-Catholics, for the reason that they are all equally the product of an industrial revolution which has brought them into existence so that they may make it complete.

Against economic evolution the fiat of any group of men is utterly impotent, a statement which can be easily sustained by a glance at the growth of the present. And the fact that the present one is devoted entirely to an attack upon a pretended "Socialism" is further proof, if such were needed, that the actual movement is more of a menace than ever before.—Workers' Call.

The Trades' Council of Ann Arbor, Mich., invited representatives of the various parties to address it, and there was a large audience of workmen present for the occasion. Comrade D. J. Janneret presented the Socialist side of the question, and he is reported as arousing enthusiasm by his clear-cut representation of the class struggle and the profit system. The old party speakers, one of them a state senator, had hard sledding and had difficulty in explaining their position.

The Berlin "Vorwaerts," the leading Socialist organ, prints a remarkable story to the effect that Emperor William's sudden departure for England was not only due to a desire to bid farewell to his dying grandmother, but still more to the Prince of Wales' urgent wish to settle a private debt to the Emperor before ascending the throne. This debt, the "Vorwaerts" asserts, amounted to 24,000,000 marks (\$5,700,000), which Emperor Frederick, immediately after ascending the throne, loaned to the Prince of Wales in order to place the latter in a position to pay accumulated debts to that amount. The loaned money, it is further asserted, was part of the savings, amounting to 56,000,000 marks, left by Emperor William I. The report is, of course, vigorously denied in official circles; but more than once "Vorwaerts" has been able to bring positive proof of statements denied in the very highest quarters.

ADVANCE

The Official Organ of the Socialists of the Pacific Coast.

Published weekly by Local San Francisco Social Democratic Party, at 134 Murphy Building, San Francisco, California.
Telephone: Folsom 1301.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Send all money directly to ADVANCE, if you do not subscribe through our accredited agents. No other person is authorized to receive money for this paper.
Send money by postal order or express order. Checks or drafts some times give unnecessary trouble; 10 cents or less may be sent in 1 cent stamps; never send subscription in 2 cent stamps; we are overcrowded with them.
When asking for change of address be sure and give your former address in full, including number on label.

Communications must reach the office by Wednesday preceding the issue in which they are to appear.
The fact that a signed article is published does not commit the Editor to all opinions expressed therein.
Contributions and items of news concerning the labor movement are requested from our readers. Every contribution must be accompanied by name of the writer, not necessarily for publication, but as an evidence of good faith.
Short communications giving reports of organization and progress of the Socialist movement are desired from comrades in all sections. Nothing is of greater interest to readers than this feature. Our readers want it and will enjoy it.

WAR DEMANDS MORE VICTIMS.

The self-seeking cowards who dictate the policy of the Republican administration find that the bloody work of establishing their tyranny in the Philippines does not progress rapidly enough. The valiant resistance of the natives and the malarial climate combine to check the progress of the American arms. The field of profitable investment for the immense revenues of the trust magnate is not being opened quickly enough nor can it be properly safeguarded with the present force. Consequently, the edict has gone forth for more troops. Grim Mars demands his tribute of flesh and blood. The adventurous and brave must be sacrificed. Mothers' hearts must be wrung with keener pain. More children must be orphaned. More lives must be lost or wrecked, but the capitalists must have the Philippines.

Washington, February 18th.—President McKinley wants a standing army of 150,000 men. He has just been authorized to increase the army to 100,000. Unless conditions in the Philippines change materially he intends to ask the Fifty-seventh Congress, which will assemble in extra session some time in April and in regular session next December, for 50,000 more. His reasons will be that officers and men cannot stand more than two years of service in the Philippines without serious injury to their health, and the extra men are needed to keep the forces in those islands at full strength.

You, workingmen, are marked for the sacrifice.

Liberty Under Socialism.

Last week we promised to review further the attack of Bishop Montgomery on Socialism. The Bishop is much concerned over the status of the family and the liberty of the individual in a Socialist community. Regarding the family we spoke last week. This week we deal with the liberty of the individual.

The indictment of the Bishop is as follows: "In our present material development there are three things which all people under such new conditions would certainly demand:

- "First. Freedom of individual demand.
- "Second. A more or less determinate unit measure of value for purposes of exchange.
- "Third. Freedom of the individual to choose an occupation and to qualify for it.

"No one accustomed to the present civilization will be willing to exchange it for a new order of things unless he shall be able to provide himself with what he needs, or thinks he needs, as easily as at present; unless we shall have some measure of value and medium of exchange no less convenient than what we now call money; and unless we shall have at least the same chance as now to select our occupation and vary it as we like.

"I do not believe that any Socialism yet proposed can supply these three needs as demanded in modern civilization. The whole system would have to be managed by bureaus or committees. It is hardly possible for the human intellect to conceive the enormous governmental machinery necessary to discharge these functions of the new state. And I believe it would generate a system of bureau or committee despotism such as the world has never seen."

We will take up the three objections in order:
First, the freedom of demand. The Bishop assumes that a person could not get what he needed, or thought he needed. This is purely gratuitous. Socialism implies production for use. Anything, therefore, that is used, that there is a demand for, will be produced. Why should it not? The price of all articles will be their labor cost, and it is immaterial to the community what fanciful direction the desires of individuals take so long as they pay the cost of production. This is the old bogey of "uniformity" that so constantly bobs up, undismayed by the unmerciful batterings it has received. Socialism, however, will encourage variety or artistic individuality; because producing in the least possible time the common, utilitarian and perishable commodities it will allow more time to be devoted to the works which, being enduring, are more worthy of artistic treatment. By its superior education of the people it will cause in them a desire for variety and beauty. And being democratic, their desires will soon find their expression and satisfaction. It is rank nonsense to assume that any considerable party in any society would ever advocate absolute uniformity of costumes and customs when the egoistic instincts of man are accounted in.

Second, a determinate and convenient unit of value for purposes of exchange. Socialism does offer this, if nothing else. Labor-power measured by time is that unit. Does the Bishop imagine that certificates of hours of labor may not be issued, using either metal or paper, or if issued would be worthless? With all the liabilities of failures and bankruptcies, business house notes and bank checks are today circulating as convenient and determinate mediums of exchange. A Socialist community, remaining always solvent because of the issue of no currency without the receipt of equivalent wealth, would surely find its notes honored and accepted. Possibly the Bishop thinks that Bellamy's utopia, with its personal account system, is the only possible arrangement of a Socialist society. If so, we hasten to assure him of his mistake. Neither one hard and fast system nor another is Socialism.

Socialism is the public ownership and co-operative use of all the means of producing and distributing wealth. On this broad basis many different methods of management may be devised. Before satisfactory results are reached probably many various experiments will have to be tried. But the failure of one or of many methods for solving the problems of details does not by any means invalidate the general proposition.

Third, the freedom of choice of occupation. We would like to inquire how many exercise such freedom now? We would like the occupation of capitalist. We desire it very much. Its attractions in the way of income, leisure and independence excel anything existing in the economic world. Why do we not exercise our right to that choice? Because one cannot be a capitalist except by inheriting or acquiring wealth. Only a few people can inherit wealth, because the parents of most people have been plundered of the product of their labor and left penniless wage-slaves. It is evident that the son of a poor man cannot choose to immediately occupy himself as a capitalist. But the son of a rich man can. Will the Bishop say that here is an equality of freedom? It is true that the poor man by becoming a wage-worker may, through dint of hard toil and stinting economy, acquire some wealth and start himself as a capitalist after some time. But his choice is not at all free in the first step. It is dictated by necessity. If the Bishop believes that capitalism allows liberty of choice, let him ask the workmen in his diocese whether their present occupations were accepted from preference to all others or to starvation. He will find the great majority take up the business, trade, or work which first offers them a job. Boys and girls today, without education, without ever having had a chance to learn the different kinds of labor that supply the world's wants, are forced into the first shop or factory, not that they choose, but which choose them out of the score of other applicants for the chance to earn a living. Is that freedom?

Socialism, on the contrary, assures every child of an education which shall give the recipient a competent outlook in life and enable him or her to choose wisely. People will not be arbitrarily assigned to this or that work. It is unbelievable that such a notion should be seriously entertained by an honest thinker. It is not at all necessary to a Socialist state. Hours and conditions of labor can be so equalized that each industry will attract to it the full quota of workers necessary. If a man wishes to enter any department he can apply and obtain employment. If more apply than there is room for, while in another department there is a scarcity, that will be an indication that a readjustment is necessary; for it will be evidence that one department is specially favored. If there is a surfeit of workers in all departments, and new men apply, then the hours of all must be reduced.

When the government can obtain the labor it needs why then should it dictatorially assign positions? On the other hand, since every man receives only the value of his own labor, there cannot occur an excess of demand over the productive powers of the community; or, to reverse the statement, a scarcity of labor is impossible. We see, thus, that the notion that Socialism must or would interfere with the choice of occupation is as groundless as that the exchange medium would be destroyed or the individuality of demand suppressed.

As to the final assertion, that an all-pervading and tyrannical bureaucracy would be the inevitable and awful result, we shall now answer only briefly, to deal with it more fully at a future time.

To begin with, a certain amount of goods must be produced to support the nation. Either the various industries supplying these commodities are organized or they are disorganized. If disorganized, the industry is in the hands of numerous petty, competing, irresponsible individuals, who, forced by the struggle for existence, cheat, adulterate, and defraud with practical impunity. They are petty tyrants over their employees, and practically parasites on the consuming public. If the industry is organized, and let the Bishop note the marvelous rapidity of the movement of consolidation and organization, then it is under the control of a few powerful and irresponsible combinations, who are superior to the laws and dictate with absolute authority and decision the terms to the public and the employees alike. The problem for us to solve is not whether Socialism is freer than that savage state where each man sits under his own vine and fig-tree, and is beholden to none for aught that he possesses or needs. Our dilemma is either to choose responsible officials to conduct for the good of all the industries whereby we all live, or to allow Morgan, Rockefeller and Co. to run these industries in their own behalf. Whether our vital necessities shall be controlled by men who can discharge any of us at pleasure, as at present, or by men whom we have elected for their service to us, and whom we can remove at pleasure. Which system, dear Bishop, do you think is the more tyrannical? Which the more democratic?

For an answer we refer him to the following telegram clipped from the daily press:

"New York, Feb. 16.—The lawyers connected with the gigantic new steel combination spent the day in perfecting their plans for an absolute Caesarism of the iron and steel industry. There is much speculation as to the ultimate policy of the new organization. It will have an absolute monopoly of many things necessary to human existence. If it follows the lines upon which trusts are usually built it will raise the price of its products and lower the rate of wages. It is said that many of the correlative plants will be shut down and their trade thrown into the hands of the more favored mills. In this manner great economies are expected through the reduction of expenses of operation."

As to the creation of an authoritative bureaucratic class, we can point out that there will be fewer officials under the further organization of industry contemplated by socialism than there are at present. In proof, let the diminution of the office forces that occurs after every consolidation bear witness to the fact. Besides this, we cut out the capitalists proper entirely. And finally, every official that remains is dependent on his subordinates for continuance in position.

From what has been said it can be easily seen that what Bishop Montgomery attacks is a straw man of his own making, and its denunciation and demolition leaves Socialism unharmed. The Bishop very wisely never attempts to prove that Socialism does mean and

carries with it all the terrible propositions he so boldly attacks. He contents himself with merely asserting that it does include immorality and tyranny, uniformity and bureaucracy, and then says, what none will dispute, that these things are bad. We hope that, in the future, he will reform. We ask for proof.

ARE THERE CLASSES.

The following two telegrams depict vividly the social contrasts of our time and land. Remember, that if there were no millionaires there would be no paupers. Both are the products of a system which allows one man to accumulate all the means of livelihood and denies another the chance to work:

"New York, February 14th.—Wall street received, through a private cablegram today, intelligence that English speculators awaiting the outcome of the negotiations for the steel trust, have insured J. P. Morgan's life for a sum aggregating nearly \$20,000,000. The rate is said to be the enormous sum of three per cent a month."

"Benicia, February 16th.—After the arrival of a freight train at the railroad depot about three o'clock this morning an unknown man who was being held by the conductor of the train for breaking into a car, succeeded in freeing himself and running to the edge of the wharf leaped into the bay. Since then nothing has been seen of him and it is supposed that he was drowned. The man was evidently a tramp stealing a ride and there is as yet no clue to his identity."

The Possibilities for Education in S. F.

At least two hundred children in the restricted area of one school district of San Francisco have been turned away from the public schools in that district because there are no accommodations for them. This district is south of the Park panhandle, extending up Ashbury Heights in one direction and a few blocks east of the Park in another. The principals of the schools in that district are not at fault—their buildings are already overcrowded. But the fact remains that two hundred children in this comparatively small area are deprived of the educational advantages which the law says every American child shall have.—"Examiner," Feb. 19, 1901.

This is a charming prospect, surely. In a municipality where the rich are so common they engender a certain contempt, children of school age are compelled to remain unlearned. And the riches for the most part were made here; they are the unpaid wages of the fathers and brothers of these little ones. If the fathers and brothers were given all they produce the Irving M. Scotts would have a few million dollars less, but beyond question the children would have sufficient room wherein to become acquainted with books. It is a deplorable condition of affairs, even as the "Examiner" puts it, but the worst has not been told. The neighborhood is in some respects fortunate. There is possibly not a dozen children in the district that could not attend school if room were provided, yet we know where children are living in noisome places, wretched in body and mind, thinking only of something to eat; quite unconscious that such a thing exists as a school. There is about fifty-two and a half per cent of the children of school age unable to attend school in this city. About two-thirds are deprived of this blessing because the school board will not supply room for their accommodation. But the other third suffers the misery of hunger and cold; their clothes are ragged and torn; their little feet are bruised and bare. To speak of educating these children before you supply the necessities that sustain life is to rebuke the intelligence of even such a stupid thing as a board of capitalistic school directors. The board knows its duty. By limiting the supply of schools agitation may be made for room for those children fortunate enough to have no other want. Meanwhile the condition of the very poor is lost sight of. They may stay from school because they are hungry, or because they have no shoes; but while the papers are engaged fighting for the piling up of more bricks and mortar, the children are forgotten, and if memory should come, eventually, they may be dead.

Anything for a time—anything to create a diversion. The committees of the capitalistic class play their parts well. What one saves on schools, the other expends on prisons. They maintain a condition of stable equilibrium that only the dissemination of knowledge will upset. Ignorance is the bulwark of the present system. The school directors know this, and bend all their energies towards keeping the people amused by laying themselves open to an occasional attack from the "Examiner."

STOPS AT NO CRIME.

The following clipping is made to prove that the present is the best possible of all systems—develops individuality and that enterprise necessary to commercial progress; encourages men to take a high moral stand, and yet furnishes an incentive to labor:

"Chicago, February 17th.—Detective John Thompson, one of Captain Collier's men, declares, after three days of investigation, that the incendiary fires were started in the Palmer House, the Majestic, Grace and Great Northern Hotels, to make opportunity for the introduction and sale of a fire extinguisher. He claims to have discovered in the downtown district the headquarters of those who are promoting its sale."

Something More About Unity.

We are in receipt of a set of resolutions from Waterbury urging unity. Some of the resolutions are of excellent quantity. A convention of all class-conscious Socialists is advocated. A novel feature of representation at the convention is allowing delegates on a basis of the combined vote of the S. L. P. and S. D. P. in the different States. This spirit in the rank and file of toleration and respect for the convictions of men that a year ago were bitterly opposed is one of the most healthful signs of our movement. It will be bound to react on the leaders of the different wings. There is really no quarrel on anything of the least moment. Some of us merely forget that we were comrades, bound together by a principle, and allowed the teachings we received in the system we have sworn to overthrow to warp our judgment. Five years hence we shall be heartily ashamed of ourselves. The Waterbury resolutions have the proper ring. Nothing will stay unity with such a spirit in our ranks.

IN THE Industrial Arena

BY JOS. J. NOEL.

Wage-workers, who belong to any trade that is not yet organized should send their names and addresses to the "Labor Editor." These names will be assigned to their respective trades, and as soon as enough are obtained of any occupation, a meeting will be called and a union organized. All unions organized through the medium of "Advance" will be affiliated with the Labor Council and the American Federation of Labor. Address all communications to "Labor Editor ADVANCE," 134 Murphy Building.

My duties have so multiplied in the labor movement of late that I find I must sacrifice my post as associate editor of the "Advance." Joseph J. Noel, well known in the labor movement on the Coast, and who for the past month has written the "Industrial Arena," will take my place. He is well qualified to fill the position of assistant editor, and being a good trades-unionist as well as a thorough Socialist, he is bound to give satisfaction to the readers of "Advance."
ARTHUR R. ANDRE.

The Union Bakers have decided to issue the Union label to be put on every loaf of bread baked in a union shop. No doubt there will be a cry against it from the doctors and other wise people on hygienic grounds. There always is. The yellow press may draw on its imagination and give Homer Davenport pictures of horrible, creeping things that inhabit the saliva of the average baker. It was done in New York, pictures and all. For a while the people were fooled, but by and by it began to percolate through their skulls that it was only another scare-head hold-up. The truth of the matter is the Union label stands for hygienic surroundings more than any other single thing in the business of producing the staff of life. The label itself is not put on by means of saliva. It is put on the bread while the latter is being rubbed over with a damp brush that is always used to give the gloss so much in evidence on bake-shop bread, and nothing else is used that has not been in use for years and years. By asking your baker to leave you bread with the Union label you will be sure of getting bread that is really fit to eat. The poorest and most wretched shops are the non-union shops. If you could see the bakers in the latter, working from fourteen to sixteen hours every day, Sunday included, sweating and weary, not caring what goes into the bread, cursed by the boss, if he sees the least hint of lagging; discharged if a word of protest is uttered, and contrast it with the Union shops that work their men no more than twelve hours (enough, in all reason), and give them one day off a week to become acquainted with their wives and children, and treat them in other respects as though they were human.

There is work, of course. There is rushing; there is the sweat of men; but, nevertheless, the bread is fit to eat. From the non-union shops it is not fit to eat. Think of this when you buy your morning loaf after Sunday, February 24th, and demand the little bit of red or yellow paper with seal of the Union on it.

As predicted in these columns at the outset of the trouble, the millmen have won their strike for shorter hours. It is a glorious victory. Energy and brains won in the contest. The organizers of capital went up against the organizers of labor, and the latter showed they had learned something in their former struggles. By convincing the capitalists that workingmen are able to own and operate their own tools, half the battle was won. To do this, the Building Trades Council, aided by all organized bodies of workingmen, built their own planing mills and ran them on the co-operative plan. After waiting for the "split-up" for six months, the mill owners finally concluded that the men who worked with their hands had overcome the tendency to think with their feet. It is the most hopeful sign along the whole line of battle. If workingmen once learn the advantage of co-operative effort and organization, the regime of capital has a finish in sight.

The daily papers are taking to themselves credit for the outcome of the fight. The workingmen are good subscribers, also good voters. The usual patting on the back is being indulged in with an eye to future use. But surely the men who have sufficient brains, energy and skill to pull them through such a crisis will have intelligence to recognize the true forces that made for their victory.

Public opinion is a good thing; the aid of the press (such as it is), another; the influence of certain politicians, with hope for place, etc., another; but the things that won the millmen their strike were co-operation, organization, and solidarity. Public opinion, the press, the politicians, have been on the side of the strikers before, and strikes have been lost. The suggestion for the men to own their own tools of production did not come from any of these sources. Yet that was the sterling factor which made victory possible. Organization by workingmen, other than Democratic or Republican organization, is frowned down upon by both the politicians and the press. Solidarity, wherein a Union man refuses to handle a non-union product, is a sore spot to that chaos of ignorance and superstition called public opinion. The dear public cannot see what quarrel a carpenter who receives union wages has with a mill-owner who don't happen to pay his men scale price. It delays work. It stops progress. It is evidence of stupidity. The house or the factory should be finished with whatever lumber the owner pleases to furnish.

Solidarity is a new word in the vocabulary of many well-meaning but otherwise uninteresting people. Others have not grasped its entire significance. True, the Socialists have been preaching it and teaching it these many years. They show on every occasion the gradual amalgamation of the workers. They have pointed out the necessity for it, but only in such a stress as the millmen's strike does it come home to the dear people with anything like its true force.

Co-operation is another word the Socialists have been driving into the consciousness of the people. Organization another, and yet the Socialists are looked upon with suspicion. There is very little else to Socialism than is contained in these three words.

Workmen, consider well the factors that really won the victory for the mill operatives. Consider well the words of certain crafty politicians who worked their way to the front at the finish. Consider well the shal-

low pretensions of certain daily papers, and when you have you will find you won the victory yourselves because you had organization, co-operation, and solidarity as watchwords.

The blow struck by the millmen of San Francisco will be felt by many capitalists before the century is much older. There is a continual yearning for greater freedom by the working class. That yearning finds expression in strikes, etc. By and by it will find expression in something else. Gradually the necessity for a certain action takes root in the minds of men. With dogged persistency the necessity clings to them. Go where they will they cannot escape. This is how it will be with co-operative effort. Having received a hint of its power, the workers will apply it wherever the occasion demands. There may be, there will be, failures. But day by day a little more knowledge is acquired, day by day a few more of the difficulties of organization are surmounted, and finally the whole problem of the supremacy of the working classes will be solved to the satisfaction of the working class.

There is really no other class to consider. By the time the workers have learned their lesson by heart, by the time the yearning for greater freedom finds concrete expression, there will be only one class left in the world. A handful of men like Carnegie, Morgan, and Rockefeller would not constitute a class worthy of consideration. They will be brushed aside like so many flies when the workingmen of America are ready to act.

But meantime, side by side with the idea of greater freedom for the workers, has grown up a determination to suppress that freedom by the possessors of the special privilege. This determination finds expression in anti-labor bills, government by injunction, and compulsory arbitration. It was on the last of these Mr. Ed. Rosenberg, Secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council, lectured before the Socialists Tuesday evening. His consideration of it was clear-cut and concise. He struck the keynote when he said there are two factions struggling for supremacy in the world. One holds the power, the capitalistic faction; the other is trying to wrest that power away, the laboring faction. The first sees a possibility of diminishing strength and invents compulsory arbitration, the second sees its growing vigor and ability, and declines to listen to the siren note of the law givers.

Reduced to the simplest language possible, the arbitration tribunal would be composed largely, if not entirely, of members of the capitalist class, and decisions would be rendered according to the interests of that class. In other words, the faction Mr. Rosenberg and his brother trades-unionists are fighting would have another court to issue injunctions restraining workingmen from thinking with their own brains.

Whatever faction or class is in control will always make laws, establish courts, appoint arbitration tribunals for the benefit of its members. Now, workingmen are not members of the class that is in control in this year of grace. In fact, they are only tolerated by the fellows who are in control, when they obey, and when they do not obey tribunals of arbitration are invented to help them acquire the habit of obedience.

In connection with the label agitation now going on the following story may be pertinent. It might be called—

THE FABLE OF THE MAN WITH FROID PIED.

Once upon a time there was a Sympathizer with the Workers who wanted a pair of Socks. He knew the Wage-Slaves of the Sock were numbered among the Wise People. An Organizer of Good Standing in Labor Circles Flagged them at the Post and started them off in a Bunch with Union cards in their Pockets. The cards made the Wage-Slaves hold up their heads on a level with the best Element of the Town. When the Foreman got Gay a Committee went to the Head Office. After that he kept his eyes glued to the Chalk line and never Talked Back to the Hands.

The Sympathizer also knew that the Retail Set were no Mummies. The Emporiums flashed cards with the Pass Word of the Union in Large Letters, and a hint to select your Cemetery Lot if you went Shopping after 6 p. m. Furthermore, he had seen the Sandwich men Working Hard and knew it was all off with the Small Fry. It was a Walk-Over. Union made goods sold by members of a Union. The Solidarity of the working Class, that Pipe Dream of the men of Words made a reality at last by the men of Action.

When the Clerk offered to Wait on him he thought he would prove that a Sympathizer could be Polite occasionally, by refusing to be served before his Turn. Also he did not see the wisdom of asking embarrassing questions before people.

"Wait on the others; they were here first."
"But," said the clerk, in a stage whisper, "that's a drummer and the three proprietors."

"Is it? Well, I'll wait, anyhow," and the one whose sympathies were with the Workers tapped lightly on the Glass Case to prove he was at ease. He listened to the conversation, which was really a Monologue by the Knight of the Grip-Sack. The latter was anxious to make a sale and Rattled Off some of his Best Stories. He told of flagging a through train at a Cross-Roads where there was no Policeman, and after piling on with the curses of all the train hands Ringing in his Ears, Making Good to the Conductor on the strength of a Big Sale he just missed by the five minutes the train lost. Picking him up.

The Proprietors laughed and one of them slapped him on the shoulder. Encouraged by the success of Number One (1) on his list of Good Things that Really Happened, he ventured on Number Two (2), preparatory to pumping the Hot Air that would make Visible Returns. He told of hiring two Rural Citizens in a town where he never Sold a Thing to steal his sample trunk and go about a mile down the road with it. Then getting a horse and buggy he raised a cry of "Stop thief." This brought the Substantial Business Men of the Town to their doors. Selecting the one he wanted he offered him a seat in the buggy and a reward for catching the thief. The last of the story was a picture of the Successful Drummer sitting on a sample trunk in the middle of a country road, surrounded by a collection of large-mouthed creatures of the Open Spaces, waving a five hundred-dollar contract above his head, that he had Pulled from the Substantial Business Man who had helped him regain his trunk.

The Sympathizer laughed with the others. In fact, to show his good nature, he laughed louder than any of them. They looked at him. He smiled. They looked at him again. He began to feel embarrassed and then he called the clerk.

"I want socks," he said.

The clerk brought them.

"Have you none with the label?" he said, in a whisper.

"No," answered the clerk, in a voice that suggested a dealer in state secrets, it was so low.

"Well, I'll take these, anyhow," and he did. The man who sympathized with the Workers was bluffed into buying non-union socks by fearing to offend a drummer, who had to always telegraph ahead for his Hotel Expenses.

Moral: Don't listen to Drummers' Yarns if you want to keep your Head.

G. D. V. P., Dixon, Cal.: The best way to organize a union is to get a list of names of those you wish to join and set a time for meeting when the list is complete. Then have an organizer from the city or elsewhere come up and address you. It is necessary that an organizer with some knowledge of the union movement address you the first night, to get you started in good shape.

Correspondence

Resolutions of Sympathy.

Headquarters Local Los Angeles S. D. P.
127 N. Main St., Feb. 16, 1901.

To ADVANCE:

I have been instructed to send you the following: "Resolved, That we, the members of Local Los Angeles, Social Democratic Party, join with all other militant Socialists in mourning the death of our Comrade Chris Nuss of the Socialist Labor Party, and pledge ourselves anew to the work of emancipation, in which he was so earnestly engaged; and,

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Local, a copy sent to the organization of which he was a member, and also to ADVANCE and "People."

"Yours Fraternally,
"A. F. SNELL, Sec."

A Letter from the San Jose Prison.

City Prison, San Jose, Feb. 18, 1901.

To the Editor of ADVANCE—

Dear Comrade: This day completes my twenty-sixth day in my present residence. During the time that I have spent here I occupied my mind with studying Buckle's "History of English Civilization." The following are some of the admirable passages which attract and are pertinent to the present fight for free speech:

"The freedom of the press and the right of assembling in meeting for the purpose of public discussion are two of the most important of all our institutions. As long as they are preserved intact, as long as they are frequently and fearlessly employed, there will always be ample protection against those encroachments on the part of the government, which cannot be too zealously watched, and to which even the freest country is liable. To this may be added that these institutions possess other advantages of the highest order. By encouraging political discussion they increase the amount of intellect brought to bear on the political business of the country. They also increase the total strength of the nation by causing large classes of men to exercise faculties which would otherwise be dormant, and which, by these means, are quickened into activity and become available for other purposes of social interest."

"To be willing to perform our duty is the moral part; to know how to perform it is the intellectual part; while the closer these two parts are knit together, the greater the harmony with which they work and the more accurately the means are adapted to the end, the more completely will the scheme of life be accomplished and the more securely shall we lay a foundation for the further advancement of mankind."

"It is necessary that men should learn to doubt men—should learn to doubt before they begin to tolerate—and that they should recognize the fallibility of their own opinions before they respect the opinions of their opponents."

"The intimate connection between scientific progress and social rebellion is evident from the fact that both are suggested by the same yearning after improvement, the same dissatisfaction with what has been previously done, the same restless, prying, in-subordinate and audacious spirit.

"Ignorant men are mischievous in proportion to their sincerity."
Fraternally, "NO. 5"

CALIFORNIA ITEMS.

Fortuna Local has started a debating society with good results. The attendance is large.

The Free Reading Room recently opened by Riverside Local, S. D. P., is well patronized. A good selection of literature is kept on file and more will be added.

Report has just come in that the Supreme Court has denied the writ of habeas corpus in the matter of Comrade O'Brien, arrested for speaking on the street at San Jose. He will have to serve his full term in the city prison, though the case will be carried to the United States courts.

Comrade J. J. O'Brien, who, about five weeks ago was arrested and sentenced to thirty days in the county jail, for the crime of speaking on the corner of First and Santa Clara streets, will have served his term and be released Friday of this week. He will lecture at the propaganda meeting in San Jose on Sunday evening, the 24th. The comrade will tell his experience during his incarceration, and his thoughts on the exercise of free speech in general. Every lover of truth should hear him. Admission free. Beginning at 8 o'clock sharp, at 72 N. Second street, (Sleeping Hall Building), San Jose.

Labor and Politics.

Written for ADVANCE by JOHN PENNY.

General Federation of Trade Unions.

According to the sixth quarterly report of the General Federation of Trade Unions, just issued, 64 societies are now affiliated with an aggregate membership of 386,575. The income during the quarter has been £7,728 2s 8d and the expenditure £920 17s 7d. The latter includes £743 paid in dispute benefit, of which the Gasworkers received £436 15s 0d and the Engineers £160 15s 0d; the management expenses were £177 17s 7d. The balance at the credit of the society now amounts to £34,958 14s 11d. The report does not make any mention of the ballot now being taken by the Gasworkers' Union as to whether it shall secede from the Federation, probably because the G. W. U., is acting entirely on its own in the matter and as yet the Federation has no official cognizance of the matter. If the Gasworkers do withdraw it will mean the loss of over \$3,000 to them. This fact will probably be not without influence in deciding the result of the ballot. It is to be hoped that the secession will not take place, because many leading trade unionists are agreed that such a step would mean putting back federation and the whole progress of Trades' Unionism a good many years.

The L. C. C. and Its Public House Licenses.

At the sitting of the London County Council on Tuesday afternoon, one of the chief points to be decided was what should be done with the thirty-four licenses which have come into its possessions in connection with the new street from Holborn to the Strand. The Public House Trust, Limited, had made application that twelve of the licenses should be transferred to them and they undertook to run the houses on the same lines as those under the control of the People's Refreshment House Association in various parts of the country. The extremists on the Council, however, carried the day and by fairly large majority decided that all the licenses should be lapsed.

While respecting the earnestness of the temperance party led by Mr. J. W. Benn, one can not by regret this decision. It simply means that while the Council has probably sacrificed £80,000 or £90,000 marketable value, every public house within the quarter of a mile will be benefited. To entrench and protect a section of the publicans is not very satisfactory from a temperance point of view. It is a pity, moreover, that an opportunity for testing the effect of the establishment of model public houses has been allowed to go by.

The King.

I have nothing, good, bad or indifferent, to say about King Edward VII personally, and shall not endeavor to conjure up something, but the passing of the Queen and the accession of His Majesty is bound to exercise a very powerful effect upon the social and political events of the next few years. It is no exaggeration to say that in the early years of the reign of Queen Victoria, England more than once trembled on the verge of revolution. Republicanism was strongly advocated and the scale might easily have been turned, but during the last thirty years the universal respect for the Queen as a woman has reconciled even the theoretical Radicals to the constitutional monarchy which she embodied. To the younger generation the Queen has been a tradition and almost a deity, and as she has never crossed the popular will, their loyalty as a populace has never been strained.

With the coming of the King, however, things are put on an entirely different footing. The King is not a tradition; he is not enveloped in a mythological haze. The question of his fitness was not satisfactorily settled by a previous generation. He is a King on trial today. The personal loyalty and devotion to him as a man is entirely absent. He may be severely criticised. Doubtless, his virtues will be magnified, but his failings will not less certainly be dragged to the light.

Already there are indications of a change. I have it on the best authority that, had it not been for the fact that the Queen was lying unburied at Osborne, the vote of congratulation to the King, passed by the short Parliamentary session last week, would have been challenged by an amendment regretting that advantage had not been taken of the opportunity to declare the monarchy an anachronism. Such an amendment would have received more influential backing than is generally believed. Republicans are beginning to move; organization is being talked of; and unless I am not greatly mistaken we shall have strenuous attacks directed against the throne before many weeks have elapsed, which six months ago would not have been dreamed of.

What are the advantages or disadvantages of a Republican form of government as compared with the monarchical one I am not discussing. What I am pointing out is that "the fierce light which beats upon a throne" has been practically extinguished during the last thirty years and now it is going to burn again. The effect will be far-reaching and will involve greater changes in our social and political relations than many people imagine.

The Miners Ballot.

At the present time the Executive of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain is taking a ballot on the question of levying their members' six pence each per year for a fund to defray the election expenses and maintenance in Parliament of Labor members. There is considerable probability of the proposal being carried and in that event a wonderful change will come over English politics. If the miners agree to the levy other industries will immediately follow suit, and it is calculated that fully £50,000 will be amassed between one general election and another for fighting purposes. Such a sum would enable the Labor Party to run two hundred candidates and would completely alter all existing political arrangements. It may be considered too previous to refer to the views of such candidates, but this much can be said with certainty, that although they would differ upon many points, there are some items upon which they would be perfectly unanimous. Old-age pensions, for instance, would be certain of endorsement; housing would be another point; payment of election expenses and members of

Parliament from the public funds would constitute a third; and so on. The miners would demand nationalization of the mines, and probably other trades would concur; railway men would put forward nationalization of the railways with the same result; the textile, engineering and other industries would place their particular requirements on the program, probably without dissent. The net result would be a strong, united platform, having Social Reform of a collectivist nature for its basis. Differences would arise on questions of foreign policy and these would afford opportunities for the wily reactionary to sow dissension, but so far as domestic matters are concerned, we should have such a powerful demand for social and industrial reform as Britain has never previously seen.

English Blacklegs at Antwerp.

When Englishmen go on a strike they are told that they are ruining the country and handing the trade over to foreign competitors. When continental workers strike English competition is held as a dire threat over them. A peculiar illustration of this was revealed at the West Ham Police Court last week when thirty dockers were sued by the Shipping Federation £1 each, damages for one day's detention of the steamship "Swedish Prince."

As it was thought to be impossible to get labor at Antwerp, owing to the strike, these men were taken on board the "Swedish Prince" (of the "Prince" line) to that port, there to load the vessel. They signed a contract to work nine hours a day at six shillings per diem, with one shilling an hour overtime. On the fifth day, however, the thirty struck, complaining of cold and bad accommodation, and Belgians had to be engaged.

The case of the men was that they had signed in such a hurry none of them had an opportunity of reading the agreement. Moreover, they slept on the open, wet deck, and since their return home some had been in the hospital; one was still there.

The magistrate, observing that the defendants were justified in refusing to work, dismissed the summonses, and allowed the men five shillings each.

Portsmouth Telephones.

The Portsmouth Town Council is considering the question of establishing a municipal service of telephones, with the result that the National Telephone Company has taken the alarm and has initiated strong opposition, even going so far as to send out reply post cards to all the electors, asking them to sign a protest against municipal telephones. Naturally, the municipalizers have also been aroused to action and the question is being very actively fought in the borough.

We are in receipt of several communications which from the headlines might be thought considerations of the unity problem, but are in reality personal attacks upon Eugene V. Debs and other prominent party comrades. We refuse to give such articles space in this paper. If there is one thing that has caused more unnecessary heartaches and dissension in our party than any other it is descent into vituperation and abuse to prove a point. If the cause of unity demanded such tactics we should be against unity. But unity does not demand; it forbids such character assassinations as the articles in question.

We are not omnipotent. The actions of men arise from causes about which we may know nothing. There is a jot of reason in all of us, and till a man has been proven absolutely dishonest and incapable of reasoning, we refuse to hold him up to the scorn of his fellows. Even the absence of the reasoning faculty is no great crime, and the man so handicapped by fate will soon drop to his proper level in our ranks. About dishonesty we have nothing to say but this: Seek in the groups about you—the religious, the moral, the ethical, the cultured, the aesthetic, or the financial groups—and see if the men and women that compose them are as honest in speech or action, as true to principle, and as vigorous in defence of it, as are the Socialists. Give each man the benefit of the doubt. There may be something hidden from us that he sees; there may be something hidden from him that we see, but in no case is mental blindness an excuse for the production of such articles as those to which we refer.

Sheffield Housing Association.

This association, which was established thirteen years ago, took up the work of agitating for sanitary reform and the better housing for the poor. At the commencement of its labors it found that the corporation paid practically no attention to the sanitary condition of the houses. All that it seemed to care about was the drainage of the city. Sanitary inspectors never thought it was their business to go inside the houses and inspect the roofs or spouts. What the Association did was to appoint an inspector of its own, who found out defects in the houses and reported them to the authorities. The Association received the minutes and reports of the Corporation and was thus able to see whether its complaints had been dealt with. The result of this kind of work is that the city now has six additional male inspectors and seven female inspectors, and houses have been closed as unfit for human occupation in every part of the city. The aim of the Association all along has been to see that the extensive legal powers of the Corporation in this direction are properly carried out and that they are not thwarted by the landlords and interested parties who have seats on the Council.

The Equal Suffrage Association and the Trades Council of Saginaw, Mich., held a joint public meeting and discussed the question: "How are trade unionism and kindred reforms related to equal rights and privileges for all?" Mrs. Mary Doe presided. A. H. Gausser of Bay City Trades Council, spoke for old-time trades unionism. Mrs. Martha Root of Bay City spoke for equal suffrage, and John W. Clark, clerk, John A. McGarvey, miner, and Clarence Neely, printer, all of Saginaw, presented the Socialist view of changes necessary before equal rights could be enjoyed by all. They held that while the trades union was needed in the economic fight by the working class, yet it was necessary that labor should engage in the political struggle as well, to the end that the wage system be overthrown and its place taken by a co-operative commonwealth. It was held that political without industrial equality would be of no use to the workers. A complete political and economic revolution was proposed.

OFFICIAL

National Executive Committee

Meeting held Saturday, Feb. 9th. Comrade Wren in the chair. Record Secretary: S. O. Quinn. Present: S. O. Quinn, J. H. ...

Socialist Debating Club

On Sunday there was another overflow meeting in Pythian Castle to hear the debate between the anarchists and the socialists. The question to be debated was, "Would Anarchism Remedy the Evils of Capitalism?"

C. H. King, Jr., followed on the side of socialism. He said the Socialists seek to destroy the evils of capitalism by abolishing the capitalist absolutely.

Mr. Anderson then spoke for Socialism. He said Socialism stood for law and order, the abolition of bad laws and the establishment of good laws.

Mr. Cummings replied, and then the audience voted. The vote stood five to one in favor of the Socialist debaters.

Comrade Sorensen acted as critic. He was fair and impartial. Some critics wander from the judicial poise and give to their remarks a flavor of their personal predilections.

The subject for debate February 24th is, "Have the Religious Organizations of the World Advanced or Retarded the Intellectual, Moral, and Economic Progress of Mankind?"

The subject for debate at the Socialist Debating Club next Sunday, February 24th, is: "Have the religious organizations of the world advanced or retarded the intellectual, moral and economic progress of mankind?"

February 28th, Comrade A. F. Strawn Hamilton will lecture at the Academy of Science Hall; subject, "Social Selection."

PROPAGANDA MEETING.

On Thursday, the 14th, Rev. F. I. Wheat, who had been announced to deliver the address on "Trade Balances," apologized for not having had time to prepare, and elected to speak on "Co-operation."

At the close of the address the chairman, Scott Anderson, made an earnest appeal for assistance to help wipe out the indebtedness of the party organ, the "Advance."

Questions were then in order and several having been put and answered, the following speakers took part in the meeting, viz., Messrs. Jones, Doherty, Barnaby and Lilienthal.

The speaker, February 28th, will be Frank S. Hamilton; his subject, "Social Selection."

Beer Bottlers.

The regular meeting of the Bottlers' Union, No. 102, was held on Tuesday, February 19th, at the headquarters of the Union, 1159 Mission street.

A communication was received from Mr. August Iken, secretary of the Milkers' Union of California, requesting the Union to send delegates to a convention of provision trades.

It was resolved to send a full delegation and to assist the project in every possible way. R. Crosse, T. Tuite, Ch. Cantert and A. R. Andre were elected delegates to the convention.

Conrad Stein reported that he had taken up a collection for the benefit of Wm. Dathe, a member of the Union who has been the victim of a series of misfortunes.

A communication was received from the Bottlers of Los Angeles stating that they desire to affiliate with the Union. The matter was referred to the secretary.

Respectfully submitted, MAT. O'BRIEN, Recording Secretary.

REVIEWS

The American Socialists are at last beginning to sing. This is a hopeful sign. Few things bind men more closely than songs they have sung in common.

"Men whose boast it is that ye Come of fathers brave and free, If there breathe on earth a slave, Are ye truly free and brave?"

The "International Library" Publishing Company has issued two lectures, by Gabriel Deville of Paris, in neat pamphlet form.

"Therefore the class struggle is not an invention of the Socialists; but the very substance of the facts and acts of history in the making that are daily taking place under our eyes."

In his other lecture Comrade Deville considers the State in its relation to Socialism. He draws a fine distinction between State Socialism and Democratic Socialism.

These two pamphlets are well worth reading. The language is attractive and simple. Comrade Deville was fortunate in the selection of a translator.

"Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism"; "The State and Socialism," by G. Deville. Published by International Library Publishing Co.

Some of the Locals of California S. D. P. have sent in their semi-annual reports. In most instances they show that the movement is in an encouraging condition.

Testimonial Benefit TENDERED TO JUSTIN MCCARTHY UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE Shoe Workers' Union and his many Friends AT TUNONIA HALL 1822 Howard SATURDAY eve. March 2, 1901

Public Ownership Official Organ of the S. D. P. ERIE, PA.

The Workers' Call Official Organ of the S. D. P. 56 N. Clark st. Chicago, Ill.

Do You Want to Know What Oregon Socialists are doing? Subscribe for the PEOPLE'S PRESS.

California Schuetzen Park SAN RAFAEL, CAL. Located in the most picturesque section of Marin County, one mile south of San Rafael, offers to the general public a most desirable resort for a day's outing.

P. Westerfeld & Co Bakery and Restaurant DINNER AND WEDDING PARTIES SUPPLIED

Alameda Gymnasium holds classes for boys on Monday and Saturday from 4 to 6 P. M.; for girls, Tuesday from 4 to 6 P. M.

Bonstell & Co PAPER 401 & 403 Sansome st., cor Sacramento, San Francisco, Cal.

Stuetzel & Richardson PRINTERS 109 California Street 'Phone Clay 221

Father McGrady, one of the most eloquent speakers and able writers in the Catholic Church, has come out for Socialism as the only hope of the working class for freedom and equality.

NATIONAL UNION OF THE UNITED BREWERY WORKMEN UNION BEER

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

LOCAL OAKLAND, of the Social Democratic Party, has again on Wednesday evening lectured at Fraternity Hall, 1156 Washington street, bet. 13th and 14th st.

LOCAL ALAMEDA, of the Social Democratic Party, holds regular free public lectures every second Sunday evening at Foresters' Hall, corner Park street and Santa Clara ave.

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO, Social Democratic Party holds regular weekly lectures every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock and economic subjects at Academy of Sciences Hall, 89 Market street.

THE SOCIALIST DEBATING CLUB holds regular Sunday evening meetings at Pythian Castle, 625 Market street, beginning at 7:30.

ACTIVE SOCIALISTS will find Comrade Bersford's "Derringer book of Statistics" and "Scientific Socialism" of great value.

S. D. P. SENATORIAL DISTRICTS. Time and Place of Meetings. 17th-227 5th, 1st and 3rd Friday each month 8 p. m.

18th-408 5th, 2nd & 4th Monday each month, 8 p. m. 19th-3111 24th st. Folsom 1st Monday each month.

Bottlers' Union Bulletin (Revised Weekly.) THESE SHOPS EMPLOY ONLY UNION BOTTLEERS.

THESE SHOPS REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE BOTTLEERS UNION OR EMPLOY ONLY UNION BOTTLEERS.

Emblem of Fair Labor MANUFACTURERS HAVING UNION LABEL THE ONLY GUARANTEE OF HOME INDUSTRY.

G. B. BENHAM PRINTER 38 Turk Street SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

N. Y. People Official Organ of the S. D. P. 184 William st. New York City.

LOCAL BUSINESS DIRECTORY

H. LOITZIN BOOTS AND SHOES 1247 Kentucky Street Near cor 20th POTRERO

A. CONTI All Kinds of Rubber Stamps and Printing 1433 Market, bet 10th & 11th

GUS. POSTLER Dealer in Paints, Oils, Wall Paper, etc. Prompt Attention to all Orders

SCOTT ANDERSON Sign and Show Card Writer Banners, Mottoes and Lettering of all kinds done

PACIFIC COAST SHIRT FACTORY FRANKLIN & GRONER, Proprietors Manufacturers of Custom Shirts

L. LEMOS Suits to Order, Easy Installments \$1 00 Per Week 1117 Market st., bet. 7th & 8th

ELCHO HOUSE 863 1/2 Market Street Opposite POWELL and EDDY Streets

W. W. WALMSLEY, Prop. Furnished Rooms 15, 20, and 25 cents per Night First Class Reading Room. All Daily Papers

WM. SCHLOTHAN 408 Fifth street Dealer in Butter, Eggs and Dairy Produce

P. PARSSON General Blacksmith and Wagon Maker First Class Horseshoeing

Abet Bitters The only Remedy for a disordered stomach. It cures catarrh, dyspepsia, biliousness, constipation, disturbed stomach and cleans the head.

CAMERON H. KING ATTORNEY AT LAW Murphby Building, 1236 Market Street

A. SHAU Fine Boots and Shoes Shoes Made and Repaired 1945 Mission street near 16th

GAMBRINUS PILSENER Portland, Oregon The Best in the Universe In Kegs and Bottles

ROBERT LUTGE Upholsterer and Carpet Layer Mattresses Made Over and Returned Same Day

WORKMEN'S SICK and DEATH BENEFIT SOCIETY Of the United States Branch 102 Meeting every Last Sunday of the month, 9 a. m. The Temple, 117 Turk St.

DR. CARL CHEMEL Surgeon Chiropract Operations on Ingrowing Toe Nails a Speciality

TURK ST. COAL YARD R. LATHROP, Prop. Wholesale and Retail Coal Office and Yard 133 Turk Street

Surveys and Drawings OF ALL KINDS J. GEORGE SMITH, C. E. 212 Hearst Building

L. Van Alstine 335 Gough st. near Hayes FIRST CLASS BOOT AND SHOE REPAIRING OF ALL KINDS

Ask the Shoemaker for his Union Card when you want your shoes repaired