

The Twentieth Century.

An Address by A. R. ANDRE.

We are all nineteenth century people, but we are living in the twentieth, and we have not grown used to it. We all remember how, in the eighties, we looked forward to the twentieth century much as the devout Christian looks forward to Paradise. The great dailies, when they were short of the necessary sensation, would take up the subject of the twentieth century and the well-trained imagination of the hack writer would give us such delightful impossibilities to believe, that we looked forward to the twentieth century with the same pleasure as we look back to the days of chivalry. The twentieth century was a phrase to conjure with, and the yellowed journal the more often did it invoke the aid of the fake scientist, the bogus sociologist and the penny-a-line prophet to lie about the rapidly approaching millennium.

Man is the product of his environments and if we desire to make an estimate of his character we must study the conditions by which he is surrounded. The primitive savage, living at a time when creation, struggling for existence with other brutes which he has since exterminated, a part of that nature which is "red in tooth and claw," was a monster treacherous and cruel, an unlovely ancestor of whom we seldom boast. The Knight of Old was a bully, and carved his way to success with a cleaver or double-handed sword. We love to think of him as a warrior, bold in battle and gentle in peace, but he was far from what historians, playwrights and authors have painted him. Thinking gave him a headache, and he solved all questions with cold steel or poison. He lingers with us yet in the brawler, the prize fighter and the class we call criminal. Yet his was the only character that could survive in the dark ages. Fortunately they have passed away.

The nineteenth century was an age of dissimulation. The man of muscle has been laid low by the bullet of civilization. Commerce has taken the place of war; and the firearm that put an end to the feudal system rests in the hands of mercenaries paid and directed by governments of merchants. We no longer kill our enemies outright; we ruin them and assassinate their characters. Deceit has become so necessary in the struggle for existence that only a few scientists can afford to speak the plain truth. Reformers and revolutionists who tell the truth regardless of consequences die young. Perhaps that is the reason there are so few of them and progress is so slow.

And just as the primitive man could not struggle with his brute competitors without becoming brutish; just as the warrior could not wage war without becoming cruel and treacherous; so the nineteenth century man could not engage in commerce, could not deceive others, without at the same time deceiving himself.

The humorous side of the situation is that while we can see people practising deceit and self-deceit all around us, we fail to see these things in ourselves. The religious man, often with a college education and a fair knowledge of science and philosophy, believes in an impossible creation and an unseaworthy Noah's ark. Yet he laughs loud enough at other forms of self-deception. The professor in his chair studies social and economic conditions. He honestly wants to know. But the chair is comfortable and somehow his lectures become apologies for "the predatory rich" who endow universities and incidentally pay his salary. Poor fellow! He is looking for the truth but he only finds chains for the down-trodden and for himself infamy.

The commercial magnate contemplates his own virtues with entire self-satisfaction. He robs a community and calls it business enterprise. He builds for himself a million-dollar head stone in the form of a free library or other public institution and expects to be called a philanthropist.

The patriotic soldier loves his fellow-citizens so much that he is willing to murder everybody else to prove it. His patriotism and love for his fellows stops at an imaginary boundary line on the other side of which they become lust for the blood of innocent men, women and children. Yet he is so self-satisfied that he delights in wearing a uniform to call attention to his trade and also demands a head stone over his grave, with a few simple lines from that wearying crop of poets, who, like some women, prefer blood-stained hands to clean ones.

And the revolutionist, most curious of all self-deceivers, too often converts his love for humanity, than which no nobler impulse ever rose in the breast of man, into belief in a theory or plan of social reform. He falls in love with a plan to elevate mankind and sooner or later it usurps his entire mind and he loses all power to think independently of it. Objections to his plan he resents as insidious attacks on human progress. Arguments meant to convince him that it is wrong, or even reactionary, are cunning tricks of the enemy to prevent him from releasing the exploited from the tyranny of capitalism; and since most plans to ameliorate society are formed by people who have not the faintest conception of the fact that society is an organism, that society is evolving on a plan of its own, which does not concern itself with the plans of its friends or enemies, and that all we can do is to make the transition periods as painless and frictionless as possible; he throws himself in the path of social and industrial progress—and gets rolled in the mud.

What sacrifices this type of man will make for the movement as he loves to call the peculiar ideas which dominate his mind! The fact that his adherents grow less and less in numbers, as newer plans take the place of the old, makes him the more determined never to waver. He begins to quarrel with his friends. Having lost the power of thinking his ideas soon stereotype into set phrases which he repeats, over and over, on all occasions. He visits all kinds of meetings, and getting the floor on various pretexts, repeats them parrot-

fashion, until people learn to look for his ritual and laugh in his face. He becomes a freak—and he started with the noblest idea the human mind can grasp, the desire to make the world better for his having lived.

The workingman who realizes that there is a fight to be fought against the tyranny of employers and the special privileges of kings and lords, finds himself confronted with two plans of social and industrial reform, labelled respectively trades-unionism and socialism. The plans, as presented to him, may be the crudest expressions of either of these two movements, but hating indecision, a most painful state of mind to a man who wants to do something for his fellows, he joins one or the other, being influenced in his choice by his enviroing circumstances. Soon the trades-union or the Socialist party engrosses his entire attention and in a short time colors his every thought and action. He becomes, not a man desiring to better his class by any means in his power, but a trades-unionist, or if his temperament and conditions are slightly different he becomes a Socialist.

The trades-unionist soon learns to regard his movement as the only possible solution of the labor problem. The strike, the boycott, the union label—these are the weapons with which the workingman must be emancipated, and no others. Independent political action of workmen is a dream of dreamers. And while he would cut off his right hand rather than scab on the union, he votes for a Republican or Democrat on election day, because the workingman cannot organize politically. Socialism is all right, but—and waving his hand with the air of a superior person who hates impracticable schemes of social regeneration, he votes to be governed by his masters.

The Socialist sees so easily the only plan to better humanity, and the plan is so simple, that he loses all patience with any one who does not or will not understand it. Vote for Socialism! Everything else that you do is a waste of time or worse. The trades-union movement is rotten to the core. It never occurs to him that if workingmen are too corrupt to be trades-unionists they must also be too corrupt to be socialists. And when he listens to a trades-unionist advocating an early-closing movement or the use of the union label, if he does not hear the magic word Socialism, plentifully interspersed in the speech, he shrugs his shoulders and explains to every one within hearing that the fellow is a fakir far too intelligent to be mistaken, and manifestly dishonest.

The missionary, carried away by the plan of salvation, there is of course no other, is so sure he is right and the rest of humanity wrong that he cheerfully plunges the nations of the earth in a long and bloody war in the name of the Prince of Peace. We may question his intelligence, but who will question the sincerity of a man who allows himself to be boiled in oil to prove that the Confucian plan is wrong and the Christian right?

The theosophist, the single-taxer, the anarchist and a host of other devotees of plans of social regeneration—not to mention the impossible Carrie Nation and her hatchetmen and women—would all, if they had the power, ram their theories down the throats of every one by brute strength. They all begin with a desire to make the world better. They all end with blind submission to a plan which, of course, is always the only possible and practicable one.

But these are all nineteenth century people, born and nurtured under a system that puts a premium on dishonesty and mendacity. The penalty they pay for surviving under such conditions is the universally practiced vice of self-deception.

Man is the product of his environment; his character patterned from his surroundings. The successful savage was a brute; the knight of the middle ages who survived a bully; the nineteenth century man who kept his head above the sea of competition was forced to deceive everybody. He deceived himself the most.

But unfortunately, though men stand still, and hold to ideas long after they have become absurd, the world moves on. The conditions that alone make character are ever changing, and though men are instinctively conservative, another word for stupid, each generation changes with the changing times. The nineteenth century is gone. Let us try with all our might to forget our prejudices and superstitions! Let us unlearn the trick of deceiving our fellows! It is only thus that we can undeceive ourselves and see the things that are all around us.

Savagery is dead, feudalism is dead. Competition is dying. Industrial democracy, the co-operative commonwealth, the workers' republic—call it what you will—is being born, and with it real men and women, with hearts true as steel, with sympathies as wide as the world. The many movements that fought one another, oh so bitterly, to save the world, are now beginning to co-operate to that end. Each is laying a foundation stone of the new social structure. We are no longer Socialists, trades-unionists or co-operative colonists in the old sense, poor dwarfed creatures whose intellects were bounded by the narrow limits of their particular movement or party. We are men and women who take part in any or all movements that make for progress. We recognize the good and the evil in each and strive to bring them all into harmonious co-operation, a mighty combination of social forces that shall swiftly sweep all the misery, the suffering, the crime, the villainies, the lies and the fraud of the nineteenth century into oblivion.

Some philosophers tell us that heaven and hell are not localities, but states of consciousness. Be that as it may, one thing is sure, and that is, if we adapt ourselves to the universal environments of the twentieth century we may be relatively happy. If we think in the terms of the nineteenth century we shall surely be miserable. The nineteenth was the century of su-

(Continued on Page 4.)

Cullings, Comments and Conclusions.

BY JOS. J. NOEL.

What Dr. Jordan Used To Say.

"If there be in this country a town, north, south, east, west, on the banks of the Yazoo or the Hudson, where an honest man cannot speak his honest mind, without risk of violence or social ostracism, in that town our freedom is but slavery still, and our civilization but barbarism, thinly disguised."—From Dr. Jordan's address to the graduating class of 1892 at Stanford University.

Dr. Jordan is always fair of speech. No doubt it would be unjust to imagine him voicing in his baccalaureate address of 1893 something in which he did not believe. But—

In the heat of battle one cannot look at certain actions without bias. Passion makes of one a hoodman-blind. One may be honest and sincere, but also incapable of looking at both sides of a question. To arrive at a proper conclusion, what might be termed the scientific mode of thought is absolutely necessary. An exercise of this presupposes a well-balanced mind and the ability to wait patiently for all data that bears on the subject.

This latter we have done and have come to the conclusion that Dr. Jordan is fair of speech. The noise of the shouting over Dr. Ross' dismissal has subsided, and we can be impartial. Perhaps there was an element of truth in the remark of Professor Bacon that a private institution can dismiss its employers without an appeal to the public. But if so, why have Stanford University classed as a quasi-public institution to evade the taxes. And why did Dr. Jordan withhold the dismissal of Dr. Ross for speaking an honest thought honestly till after the election.

But, Dr. Jordan might say, my baccalaureate address referred to towns on the banks of the "Yazoo or the Hudson," and not to universities. And it is true. The bit of well-balanced rhetoric covered only incorporated towns, wherein, if a man spoke his honest thought in an honest way and ran the risk of violence or social ostracism, it would be a rebuke to freedom. We are willing to give Dr. Jordan the benefit of every doubt. Perhaps he wished to limit the application. But if the truth is always true and he stated specifically that freedom is slavery in a town where a man may not speak his honest thought in an honest way, how is it he kept silent when men were arrested for this not ten miles from his university? Could he not repeat merely that the civilization of San Jose is but barbarism thinly disguised. One word from him at this time, protesting against the imprisonment of our comrades, would have done much to restore confidence in his integrity. Aside from that desire, it was his duty as a man to speak. Later on, perhaps, he will refer to the matter in a general way in one of his essays on the "Degeneracy of Freedom in America." The dear old lady, Mrs. Stanford, will have quite forgotten the incident, so also will the Santa Clara Valley aristocrats. A few well-intentioned but short-minded reformers may remark, on reading the essay, "Dr. Jordan is really a radical and quite fair—of speech."

What An Ex-Mayor of New York Says.

Mr. Abram S. Hewitt, a former mayor of New York, has astonished a gathering in the Pro-Cathedral with an eloquent outbreak upon the unequal distribution of wealth. In a remarkable address, the speaker declared that while the national wealth has increased five times as much as the population, the rich have not even begun to do what they ought to do to ameliorate the condition of the poor. "If these terrible tenements," he said, "these overcrowded districts, these dark, foul dwelling-places, and their attendant miseries, must be associated with industry, then I would to God every industrial center could be destroyed. The rich are not giving, in proportion to their wealth, one-half of that which was given by their families a generation ago. Have they the right to take all this wealth and do nothing to correct the evils created in its production? If this is the result of our industrial development, our prosperity as a nation is purchased at a staggering price."

This from a former mayor of the chief city of the country, is pretty strong. Unfortunately it is mere calamity howling with no adequate remedy for the cause of the howl. Suppose the rich of today kept up the almsgiving in proportion to their wealth, that the rich of the earlier times indulged in, would that relieve the distress? If it did make the slums a little cleaner, if it did feed a few more starving creatures, would it breed a race of independent men and women? Would it really add to the good of the world? To save a man and make of him a time-serving lackey is to damn him for all time. The suggestion of charity as a means of saving humanity from the scourge of poverty may show a kindly heart in the possession of the meliorist, but it also gives evidence of a limited understanding. Charity no man wants who is worthy the gift of manhood. Rather death in hunger and rags than life that must be sought by bending the pregnant hinges of the knee. Rather a shallow, unmarked grave in the potter's field than the empty show of tears, the pained violet, and the maudlin sentimentality of a few scented Delilahs of the capitalist class. It is better that a race should suffer and through that suffering come to the larger life of freedom, than be lulled to rest in chains that are velvet-lined by a certain charitable dole. Mr. Hewitt is a good man, a kind man; but his heart dictates his thought. If he really wished to be of service to humanity he could reason just a little and he would find the cause of poverty in private ownership of the means of production and exchange. Reasoning further he would learn that common ownership of the means of production and exchange would solve this problem that so vexes him. At least, if he used his brain to think with, he would learn that charity has been tried for centuries and is a dismal failure.

What Frances E. Willard, Temperance Worker Says.

"I would take not by force but by the slow progress of lawful acquisition, through better legislation as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and

women, the entire plan that we call civilization, . . . and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give the finest physical development, but not enough to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practicable—indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism. I believe that competition is doomed. . . . What the Socialist desires is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher law; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of Christ's gospel. Nothing else will do it, nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood."

What a Texas Preacher Says

Rev. E. M. Wheelock in "Farmer's Review."

"The day is at hand when a pauper will be as impossible as a millionaire. The very spirit of greed is teaching us the wastefulness of blind competition. The lesson of our present national misery is being taught so well that it will never be forgotten or need a repetition. The very selfishness in human nature is teaching us the splendid economy of combination, the wise thrift of co-operation and the financial soundness of the principles which underlie the monopolies and trusts. This lesson is being learned so well that all men will receive it—even the wayfaring man, though a fool.

"The answer to the question, 'What is to be done with the trusts?' is, 'Run them.' When the millions of working men get their brains out of their stomachs and think, the question will soon be acted upon. 'Trusts help those who are on the inside. When the whole people stand on the inside, the whole people will receive benefit. Machinery has brought misery and starvation to the many because it is owned by the few; but machinery itself is not a curse; the curse is in private property in machinery. The world trembles, said Emerson, when a thinker is let loose. But fifteen millions of voting mules are beginning to think at last, and the politicians are greatly troubled.

What the Vice President of a Railroad Says.

Chicago Inter-Ocean, (Republican)

"I do not believe it will be a good thing for the country or for the railroads, but the logical result of 'centralization of financial control,' is government ownership of railroads," said a leading official of one of the most important western systems. "Today the government could arrange with not more than a score of men for the acquirement of the Pennsylvania system, the Baltimore & Ohio, New York Central System, Northwestern, Union Pacific, Illinois Central, Alton, Kansas City, Southern, Erie, Southern and Southern Pacific railways. When it is demonstrated that it is better to have the policy of all the railroads controlled by a few men, and this is being demonstrated today, it will not be long until it is urged that these quasi-public corporations should all be controlled by the government. Few railway officials are willing to admit that the railroads could be successfully operated by the government, but the government would have little trouble in securing the services of the very men who are now successfully operating railroads. Under government ownership it would not be necessary to have so many high-salaried officials. In fact, the men most easily to be dispensed with would be the railroad presidents. While now they earn all they get, much more as a rule, the main work they now do would not be needed with the rivalry that exists between the private corporations. Government ownership would end competition without checking the development of the railways or interfering with the service given to the public. In fact, the service both to travelers and shippers could be greatly improved. The number of passenger trains could be reduced and schedules adjusted so as to afford much better accommodation than now, and freight rates could be greatly reduced. Whether right or wrong, government ownership of railways is coming, and I think it will arrive before this century is very old."

What a Chicago Lawyer Says.

I do not think there is such a thing as crime, as used in the ordinary sense. These men in jails are not criminals. They are men who have found themselves in that position where all opportunities of obtaining subsistence in an honest way are closed to them. They are not criminals because they are forced to reach out for something to sustain life, of which they have been deprived in a community where a few men control everything.

Every time the trusts in Chicago raise the price of meat, they send a certain number of poor people to the penitentiaries and jails. Every time they raise the price of oil they turn numbers of poor girls from honest labor out upon the streets. The men who cause this ruin are the only ones who can be guilty of a real crime and a crime that is worth considering. Australia, like America, was originally settled by outcasts and adventurers. In one generation they were building churches and hiring police for themselves.—Clarence S. Darrow, Lawyer.

Perhaps Mr. Darrow knows of Spencer's relative ethical principle and how he placed it in juxtaposition with the ultimate ethical principle that transcends all other. If so, he has learned why the men who steal because they are hungry, in a land where all should be fed, are held as criminals. Mr. Spencer is a great philosopher; he is also a friend of the successful. Now, according to the ethics that obtain, a man who is caught is not successful; he is also unfit to survive. It is really immaterial if he has not the "jimmy" of the burglar in his disposition. It matters not if, under more favorable circumstances, he would build churches, the fact that he broke the eleventh commandment, "Thou shalt not be caught," places him in a position to be condemned. And he is condemned. The judge closes his eyes to the trifle of truth contained in the

(Continued on Page 4.)

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.

Subscription, per year 50 cents; six months 25 cents; three months, 15 cents.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

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Contributions and items of news concerning the labor movement are requested from our readers. Every contribution must be accompanied by the name of the writer, not necessarily for publication, but as an evidence of good faith.

We have a grand country, rich and glorious, but why should we hand it over to the syndicates. It belongs to us. Without workingmen the natural resources of the country would still be undeveloped.

The Democratic party's permanent candidate for President has published a paper. This is ancient history of course, but the fact that it was published without the union label is our excuse for bringing the matter again to the attention of our readers.

We always knew that Bellamy's "Looking Backward" was many and various things, but that it was a sugar-coated pill and that Bellamy had confessed to the sugar-coating we never suspected till Zola mentioned it.

Representative Lentz of Ohio will soon be appealing to the country to raise a free-speech fund for his own benefit. He dropped a few remarks about the price Brother Hanna paid for his seat in the Senate and they were blue-penciled.

The "Lexow" committee which has for some time been investigating the San Francisco Police Department recommends to those chief culprits whom it found guilty of disobeying the law that they cease their wickedness and turn into the paths of righteousness.

From all over the country come complaints of the grafting done by members of the various State Legislatures. This is a periodical thing—not a Legislature meets but what the members from some scheme to extort money from the public treasury or the private corporations.

The wide-spread scare which the formation of two billion-dollar trusts created in the sanctums of prominent papers made many of them forget on which side their bread was buttered. As a result we have the greatest number of editorials in which governmental ownership of the trusts is advocated.

The Cubans' object to being "benevolently assimilated." The possibilities of war, or as it will be called, to shut off outside interference, revolt, are very great. The Cubans want to run their own country in their own way.

The eight stipulations that were suggested by McKinley, Hanna & Co., to guide the constitution framers in their work and, incidentally, to confirm the North American Trust Co. and the American Indies Co., and the other American vultures in their possessions, is beautifully ignored.

Cuba becomes a sovereign State. To reduce Cuba to a condition of vassalage and to break this nation's pledge to the Cubans is possible to McKinley, Hanna & Company, but fighting will be the outcome.

SOME REAL OPPONENTS OF UNITY.

[This editorial by Comrade Noel was unfortunately misplaced last week. It appeared in the London Letter, by Comrade Penny. We give it space this week because the moral at this time should be considered well by every comrade.]

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.

We are not omniscient. 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.

THE REPUBLICAN REMEDY.

The formation of two billion-dollar trusts within one week has aroused such alarm that the politicians have deemed it advisable to make some show of legislative antagonism. The following telegram shows the puerile bluff of the Republican party:

"Washington, February 14th.—Representative Babcock, the chairman of the Republican National Campaign Committee, gave an authorized interview tonight in which he asserts that he will push his bill for placing on the free list all of the articles which are proposed to be controlled by the new gigantic steel trust.

"Mr. Babcock in his interview sounds the same kind of alarm to the Republican party which was sounded in the Senate today by Senator Lodge on the extravagance of the party in appropriations.

"The Republican chairman will probably have a chance to prove the sincerity of his protestations during the extra session of Congress, which seems to be assured."

The utter insincerity of the Republican party and the absolute stupidity of the Democratic party, in supporting this measure, can be best comprehended when its complete insufficiency is understood. Here we have the trust fully formed, with a practical monopoly of its industry, able, therefore, to dictate prices and terms, and crush any incipient opposition.

The American trust is so powerful, so cheap a producing agency that so far from fearing competition in American markets, it has gone boldly forth and beaten the English and Germans in their home markets.

For proof of this assertion read the following, clipped from the daily press. The first is the testimony of a German in regard to our agricultural products:

"Dr. Vosberg Rekow, President of the German bureau for preparing commercial treaties, has just published a book reviewing the economic conditions of the world, in which he says that American exporters of agricultural products have organized 'in such a masterful manner as to defy all competition,' and that they have since begun the exportation of industrial products 'put at so low a price that they will in a very little while conquer the world markets.'"

The next is a telegram from Wall-street—certainly competent authority—and proves the trusts' superiority in finance and manufactures:

"New York, February 17th.—Conservative men are inclined to believe that the formation of an enormous company to control the steel industry will lead to disaster in the long run. It would certainly eliminate competition for a time, as it would be almost impossible for a new concern to enter the field successfully for the manufacture of steel rails, for example, when the same bankers who would control the gigantic steel combination would also have the dominant voice in the management of the big railway systems.

"Gradually the sceptre of empire in the money world has been transferred to this city, the financial centre of the Western hemisphere. When Europe needs gold to relieve pressing necessities it can only be obtained in this country. In like manner, demand for steel and iron products must shift to the United States.

"In this country all the natural resources bend toward the production of iron and steel in an economical way. The enormous supplies of coal which can be turned into coke for the furnaces, the almost inexhaustible iron mines of the Mesaba range and the cheap transportation facilities, will enable the manufacturer to undersell the producers of any other country in the world. Europe must receive its coal supply from here in the near future, as well as its steel.

The capitalists who have in hand the steel combination are no doubt looking far ahead and appreciate the conditions not only of the present but those likely to exist in the future.

Lest any fail to realize the real import of this conquest and understand the adverse conditions under which it was made, let them read this third note:

"One of the ways in which Germany has been seeking to shut out American goods from her markets is by refusing advertisements of things made in the United States. Frank H. Mason, the American Consul-General in Berlin, reports to the State Department that for the last six years the German trade papers have refused to publish advertisements of American bicycles and sewing machines. The tariff did not shut out the American bicycles, so the German manufacturers got together and declared that they would

patronize no paper devoted to the bicycle trade which took advertisements of American wheels. Several German manufacturers of bicycles are also manufacturers of sewing machines, and they decided to include those in the boycott list. At first there was considerable damage done to American trade, but after a while the Yankee traders flooded Germany with gorgeous posters and 'taking' circulars, and now are in a position to ignore the German trade papers—which they do."

In view of the fact, then, that American trusts undersell foreign manufacturers in their own markets, what chance do the Republicans or Democrats think the foreigners have to gain an American market for their goods? To state the proposition is to show its absurdity and expose the hypocrisy or stupidity of those who claim a free list as the remedy for trusts.

Slavery In South Carolina.

Charleston, Feb. 17.—A form of slavery more binding than that which flourished before the Civil War has been existing in Anderson county to such an extent that bloodshed may be necessary to end it. The same system is said to flourish throughout South Carolina. Prominent people are implicated.

There is a State scandal involved, and the sensational investigation now pending will bring men to justice who owned slaves in the '50s just as they practically own them to-day.

A slave made an attempt to escape. His owner shot him dead. The trial jury freed the slave dealer. The exposure following the trial came like a bombshell. Proofs are shown that the owner of the convict was allowed to trade him. The laborers themselves, for certain periods, must submit to the savage rules and are warned that death will follow an attempt to escape.

The original secession State is rather crude in its methods. They even shock the nerves of the perpetrators of the "bull pen," Hazelton, Latimer and Homestead atrocities.

And the best people in the State are implicated. How truly unsophisticated these Southern exploiters are! Could they not hire the thing done by deputy? The very thought of one soiling his hands and linen, not to mention his reputation, by coming in contact with the lower orders, shows an amateurish intensity to get the uttermost farthing that is quite regrettable.

There is a much better, cleaner, surer way to secure willing service, starvation. Flood the country with lies about the possibilities to make a fortune in South Carolina. Advertise cheap rates on the railroads and have the Chamber of Commerce give away as premium to the first hundred settlers a ten-acre farm that can be conveniently situated in the heart of one of the many swamps of the State.

Don't intimate, of course, that the prize winner must go after his prize with a fishing net. Immigrants will begin to flock to the State. At first they must be treated about half well. By degrees the necessity for politeness will wear away, then you can show the stuff you are made of.

You can borrow foreign capital at a very low rate of interest to build factories and railroads. All the immigrants really want is work. This you can furnish to, say, half, and with the other half idle, and, continually knocking at the gate, you can keep the first half in subjection without resort to actual violence.

Violence, unless by deputy, is low. One must never be haled before a common jury for killing a common workingman, even for trying to escape over a stockade. Let one or two escape. You can solace yourself with the thought that for every one who succeeds in getting away, at least a hundred perish.

Learn from your Northern brothers that reserve in those affairs which makes life so pleasant. What is all this machinery of government for, if not to keep the workers in their proper place. One need have no anxiety while one has the National Guard.

On the Way To Socialism.

Socialism will come because the capitalists will so organize industry and exploit the world that a few will control all the wealth and capital will find no further opportunity for investment; because labor, displaced by such organization and impoverished by such exploitation, must combine for its own emancipation from the hard condition of the wages-system; because, finally, the Co-operative Commonwealth is the only possible solution which at once preserves the economies of organized industry and gives to every citizen equal enjoyment of its benefits.

Along the line of industrial organizations, we have made the following notes: The billion dollar steel trust has been incorporated in New Jersey. The properties included are valued at \$1,100,000,000. Besides plants and claims located in various parts of the United States, it has reached out to control Canadian plants.

The Armour Company is getting a monopoly of the refrigerator cars. The American Tin Can Company will, after April 1st, control the output of every factory in the United States. Thirty-five factories, employing four thousand people, will be shut down.

The billion-dollar railroad combine is planning reduction of expenses possible by its complete organization. Twenty thousand men, including three thousand men in the higher offices and drawing \$11,000,000 salaries, will be dispensed with.

Cramp & Sons and Vicker & Co. are negotiating for the formation of an international ship combine, with a capital of \$32,000,000. Rumors are afloat that the Union Iron Works of San Francisco, Cal., may also be included.

Yerkes, the Chicago street-car magnate, has sold out to a company in which Pierpont Morgan is a leading spirit. The United States Steel Company (the billion-dollar trust) is laying its wires to secure control of the Australian steamship lines. We presume this is preliminary to the invasion of China it seems also to contemplate.

With all this trustification going on the Universal Trust looms up nearer and bigger every day. And then Socialism. Let the Nation own the Trust.

When purchasing goods see that they bear the union label.

IN THE Industrial Arena BY JOS. J. NJEL. 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 into 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.

We always like to open up the "Arena" with a bit of news that encourages the workers. There is nothing better. To feel that progress is being made in organization, that victories are being won against the common enemy, that workingmen are acquiring the habit of sticking together and making an injury to one, the concern of all, marks the real progress of today. There may be progress in art and invention, but the progress that really counts is the progress that finds expression in workingmen's organizations.

The bit of goods news we have relates to the back-down of a capitalistic organization known to fame as the "Typhothetae" in its fight against the allied printing trades. For years this organization has spent its fury on the ranks of the workers. It established non-union employment offices and registration bureaus, where, if a man was known to carry a union card, he ran serious risk. It raised only last year \$100,000 to fight the union label. It levied fines on its members, and that meant nearly all the employing printers of the country, for hiring black-listed printers. It dictated in some States legislation against union men. Now it is on its knees before the union.

Again it was organization against organization (as in the case of the millmen) and the workers, because they had learned in former struggles the advantage of solidarity, won out. One of those touches of sarcasm that fate keeps in store for her favorites came when the committee was appointed to make peace. The most prominent members of the committee had been the most bitter opponent of unionism and swore on several occasions that he would see every union man in Hades or some other summer resort before he would sign an agreement—he was first to sign.

We received today a letter from one of the old fighters in the Socialist ranks, E. M. Anthony of Stockton, that is a slight evidence of the solidarity we speak of. The letter contained the following self-explanatory circular, which was distributed by thousands in Stockton.

Wanted Teamsters. To know that the Union Teamsters, of San Francisco, are on strike for better conditions. If you believe in a fair day's pay for a fair day's work do not accept employment from the local Employment Agents, who are trying to induce workmen to scab. DO NOT SCAB! E. M. Anthony, Organizer, Local Stockton, Social Democratic Party.

When you see comrades of their own volition paying for the printing and distributing of hand-bills to protect workingmen they have never seen and who may even be opposed to Socialism, your faith in the ultimate victory of our movement is justified in growing.

The comrades of Stockton are to be congratulated on their display of disinterestedness. An unselfish act so entirely successful in its outcome (the agent who was looking for men to take the places of striking teamsters was chased out of town) is a credit to the Local and to the Socialists generally.

The Vinegar and Pickle Factory workers are organizing. There is fully a thousand of these men and women in this city working for what it pleases some well-fed, well-groomed inheritor of other people's money to give them. They have absolutely nothing to say about the length of their work-day; they have absolutely nothing to say about anything concerning their own welfare. The well-fed, well-groomed inheritor of other people's money says, not in so many words, perhaps, but says, nevertheless: "I am the brains of this concern. I will think for every man and woman in the factory. I will order your coming and your going. I will tell you how much you can eat. The clothes you wear you get because I permit it. If you marry and have children, you do so because it pleases me to advance your wages. If you die I can allow you to be buried decently or otherwise, according to my humor. In fact, you are only cogs in the wheel of a machine of which I, with the members of my class, have assumed control. True, you have a certain freedom, such as the 'freedom of contract,' that is denied the ordinary cog in the inanimate machine, but really, it is only pleasant fiction of the political economists. You belong to me or to one of my class as truly and emphatically as if I had ordered your making. I control you by giving you work or leaving you idle at my pleasure."

The Pickle Factory Workers may have a word to say about this in a day or two. They are organizing and a strong union is promised. A call for a meeting will be announced in this paper soon.

Perhaps it will be hard to convince the "Arena" readers that a cafe catering to the aristocrats only, the millionaires, where a man pays twenty-five cents for a ten-cent drink and half a dollar for a sandwich, pays the waiters \$26 a month and extra help a miserable quarter of a dollar for working from ten o'clock till one or two in the morning. The Cafe Zinkand does this and the Louvre does worse. The waiter must begin at five in the evening in the latter place and work till one or two in the morning for the miserable quarter of a dollar. A man is expected to be honest and upright for such a salary. The conditions are no better in the hotels of the city. In the largest and finest—"The Palace"—waiters receive \$35 a

month and board. One would imagine this rather good if the "board" did not contain possibilities that shock. The food is of the most wretched kind. It is thrown at the men as though they were dogs. The sleeping accommodations are on par with the food. Bunks are furnished in the head-waiter's home, and a man must sleep in this rabbit warren, no matter how distasteful it may be to him.

Another large hotel compels its men to get on their knees and scrub the floors in the few hours they have between serving meals. A strike of small dimensions occurred against the indignity and as a result colored men are serving in place of the white men.

The Waiters' Union, which is growing at a wondrous pace, will formulate a few demands in a day or two for consideration by these restaurant and hotel proprietors. That workingmen have been brought to accept such terms as the proprietors are willing to offer is regrettable. If a strong organization had been maintained this could have been reversed and conditions fit for a man could have been demanded and obtained long ago.

In line with evolution comes organization of organization. The small steel plants, organizations of the capitalist class, are combined into one great organization, the steel trust. The promoters grow wealthy on the savings from dispensed, useless advertising and still more useless drummers.

If you want a thing from the steel trust, you can write and get it—if you have the money. There is no friction; there is no waste. Energy and power are put to good use and to good use only. Every order comes from a responsible head of a department. There is no question on part of the subordinates as to the right or the wrong; they simply obey.

In the working class a different spirit prevails. True, they obey the behest of evolution and organize organizations, but on a basis of democracy and interdependence. In the workingmen's organizations the humblest member can voice his opinion. There is no feeling that one is an unthinking automaton, a pawn on a chess-board to be moved at the pleasure of a man hidden behind a door marked "Private."

The organization of organizations in the working class finds concrete expression in Councils of Labor and Federated Trades' Councils. The latest to come to our notice is the Retail Trades' Council. The object of the Council is to push such boycotts as are levied by the San Francisco Labor Council, against such business as may be connected with the retail trade and whose union is a member of the Retail Trades' Council. A complete net-work of unions that are affiliated will be thrown around the business to be boycotted. The retail clerks will keep in the back-ground products of non-union shops, and the members of union shops, where goods for the retail trade are manufactured, will insist that only union clerks handle their products and that they be served by union clerks when they buy. The object of the Retail Trades' Council is to bring the unions that in a measure depend upon each other in closer touch with their sister organizations. Early closing can be pushed along to a successful conclusion by this alliance between workingmen who are producers and workingmen who are salesmen and the sale of union-made goods increased one hundred fold.

The first convention of the Retail Trades' Council was held Wednesday, February 27th, at the office of the Milkmen's Union.

Mrs. Leslie Carter of Chicago, Actress.

After winning fame enough for ten women by the happy expedient of a divorce that was rich in detail; after dissipating that fame in the "Ugly Duckling" and other dramatic fiascos; after being pounded and beaten till her ribs ached, and dragged up and down a room by her titan-hued hair till she shrieked; after causing two continents to weep over the cruelty of her creator and manufacturer, Mr. Belasco, Mrs. Leslie Carter, former wife of Mr. W. L. Carter, merchant, bursts upon our astonished gaze a mimetic genius of high order.

It is of little moment to us while looking at her vulgar, unbooked "Zaza," that the emotion is handmade and the tears unreal. David Belasco took this "Ugly Duckling" with nothing but a past and transformed her into an actress in a way the peer of Bernhardt. He could do the same for a thousand women could he find that many willing to endure physical discomfort for the silly hand-clappings and the little bursts of fame; he could do the same for a million, perhaps ten millions, could he multiply himself or be reincarnated, each time with an increase of power equal to his experience.

And "Zaza," the weak, foolish, loving "Zaza," vulgar and lewd, tawdry and commonplace, responding to her environment much as a mechanical doll responds to the key of its maker, a creature warped and twisted by this forced civilization of ours, destined by circumstances to the life of a trull, a slave in instinct, a degenerate in action, showing, when aroused, that deeper purity which is the heritage of every woman. "Zaza" brushes away the cobwebs that have blinded so many good people to the fact that "uniformity" of thought and action is not only possible, but highly probable, with uniformity of stimulus. In other words, the sameness, the oneness of humanity is an uncompromising and a woful truth. The outward trappings which so many superficial thinkers imagine will become uniform under Socialism, are really the only distinguishing marks. We meet on so many common grounds that difference in the texture of our raiment and in the methods of combing the hair will be absolutely necessary to keep us from dying of ennui.

A million Mrs. Carters are possible with a million dramatic carpenters like Mr. Belasco to shape them. A million "Zazas" would go to the homes of their lovers with the intention of denouncing them to their lawful wives, and meeting "la bebe" change their minds and weep real tears over the child, forgetting the perfidy of the father in the wave of emotion.

There is a Mrs. Carter and a "Zaza" in the disposition of every woman. All that is necessary to the making is a Belasco and a divorce, or a lover with a wife and a baby.

LABOR'S POLITICAL STRUGGLE

GERMANY.

The Socialists in the Reichstag have introduced a bill abolishing child labor.

The German Government is still astonished at Herr Bebel's case of "lese majeste" in his recent speech in the Reichstag.

The city of Heidelberg has just purchased and begun to operate the street-car lines in that city, as well as the electric plant.

Comrade O. Stolten, editor of the "Hamburger Echo," was elected to the municipal council of Hamburg. He is the first Socialist that entered that exclusive body.

A second ballot for the city council elections at Brunswick resulted in the triumph of the two Social Democratic candidates, Comrades Guenther and Stegmann. All the capitalist parties had united against them. The Socialists of Brunswick now hold four mandates in the city council.

A bill was recently introduced in the German Reichstag forbidding working men to organize under pain of imprisonment. Auer, a Socialist member, in opposing it charged a high State official with being bribed by a capitalist to secure the passage of the bill, and he is now having an investigation made.

The Rev. Dr. Stocker has been finding fault with the Socialists because they are too selfish, but as Singer told him in the Reichstag, this is a strange accusation for a man to make who belongs to a party that has made bread dear for the people.

According to the Berlin "Vorwaerts," the central organ of the German Social Democracy, not less than seventy-six Socialists deputies have been elected to fifteen out of the twenty-four Diets of the different German states. The number of Socialist representatives in the Diets is as follows: Bavaria, 11; Saxony, 4; Wurtemberg, 5; Baden, 7; Hesse, 6; Wiemar, 2; Oldenburg, 1; Meiningen, 6; Altenburg, 5; Coburg-Gothe, 9; Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, 2; Reuss-Schleitz, 1; Reuss-Gera, 3; Lippe-Detmold, 3; and Bremen, 11. There are several thousand Socialists in the municipal councils.

FRANCE.

Comrade Aleman won a decisive victory February 17th, in the eleventh arrondissement, Paris, over a notorious "Jew-baiter." The latter, M. Regis, headed the list of a previous election, but on a re-ballot our comrade came out victorious.

BELGIUM.

The Belgian Minister of War reports that Socialism has made great inroads in the army, but that the army can still be relied upon to fight against foreign invasion.

SPAIN.

Republicans in Madrid paraded February 11th to celebrate the anniversary of the declaration of the republic. The police dispersed them and they retired to their halls.

GREAT BRITAIN.

J. J. Territt, councilman from West Ham, England, is up against the imperative mandate. He violated his pledges to the Socialists and gave such evidence of weakness and compromise that the comrades felt justified in sending his signed resignation to the council.

CANADA.

The Canadian Government is preparing to take over the telegraph business of that country. An inventory is being taken of the property of the company. Everything will be paid for but the franchises, the item that figures so prominently at a hint of governmental ownership of anything outside of a yellow dog on this side of the boundary line.

AUSTRIA.

In the recent election at Vienna, Austria, the Socialists gained 10,000 votes.

The yearly conference of the Social-Democratic Labor Party will be held at Easter, and will be chiefly devoted to the elections and the relation of the party to the trade unions.

The other day no less than fifteen persons selling the "Arbeiter Zeitung" in the streets of Vienna were arrested, their papers confiscated, and the men fined. This shows with what difficulties the Austrian Socialists have to contend. It is illegal to hawk papers, though it is done, and the other papers are not interfered with, but the Socialist never knows when the police will drop on to him.

UNITED STATES.

The Milwaukee comrades have the privilege of publishing a column on Socialism in the "Daily News" of that city once a week.

The Chicago School of Social Economy has started a correspondence department. Those who wish to learn something of Socialism, its development, its aim, should write for a circular. The cost for a course of study is nominal. Address Walter Thomas Mills, 3962 Langley Ave., Chicago, for particulars.

LABOR'S ECONOMIC STRUGGLE

GERMANY.

A new law has been passed by the Reichstag in which industries dangerous to health are brought under the law. Formerly, according to the provisions of the law of 1887, there were only 11 of these trades; there are now 23.

DENMARK.

The employees of the State railways threatened to strike if they did not receive an increase of wages. The Minister of Public Works has agreed to grant the advance asked for.

The dressmakers in Copenhagen have formed a union, and over 1,000 women have joined; they have succeeded in getting their wages raised.

FRANCE.

The strike in the Paris dressmaking trade has grown serious. About sixteen firms are involved, including Worth and other leaders.

As the strikers employed on the underground railroad at Paris were about to be replaced by other workmen, they decided to accept the minor concessions offered at the commencement of the strike and the regular train service will be resumed this morning.

ITALY.

According to "L'Internazionale," an Italian publication issued in London, in 117 villages in Italy bread is unknown, and in 1,702 villages it is not made with corn but with beans or chestnuts.

UNITED STATES.

Four thousand silk workers are locked out in Scranton Pa. They dared to organize a union.

Coal miners gained nearly 70,000 in membership last year in the United States.

Reports to Dun's agency show failures in January 1,242 in number and \$11,220,811 in liabilities.

Another large batch of Porto Ricans sailed from Santa Monica on the 16th, en route to the plantations of Hawaii.

Machinists gained 100 new unions in 1900 and 13,000 new members. Forty-five shops were unionized without strikes.

Labor agitators and organizers have been warned to keep out of North Carolina.

A strike of Ohio coal miners is threatened, the operatives and miners being unable to agree on a scale of wages.

Typographical unions are increased 75 in number and 4,600 in membership since a year ago. The cost of strikes was \$84,000.

The South Carolina Legislature has joined her sister State of Georgia in siding with corporations in killing the child labor bill of that State. Greed and avarice was thrown in the scales on one side, and innocent childhood on the other—the former won.

The Union Iron Works Company of this city is importing workmen from foreign countries. Eight suits were filed against Irving M. Scitt and his associate benefactors of the poor Wednesday, the 20th inst.

Of course, the thing will come to trial, but there will be nothing seriously done to the company. There never is.

Six labor organizers, who were leaders in the late coal miners' strike in the Georges Creek (Pa.) region, and who were sentenced to terms in the House of Correction by the Allegheny County Courts on the charge of inciting to riot during the strike, regained their freedom recently by habeas corpus proceedings, before their terms expired.

Two hundred Chinamen who were employed by a clothing firm in Los Angeles as clothing cutters, tailors and operators, have been discharged and replaced by members of the United Garment Workers of America, as a result of the anti-Asiatic labor agitation and the strong demand for union-labeled goods recently developed.

Revolutionary Ideas of Socialism Upheld in San Diego

San Diego, February 25.—The convention of the Social Democratic Party for the nomination of a city ticket to be voted for in April, was held tonight. The attendance of delegates was large. For mayor Frank Simpson was named and for treasurer and tax collector J. J. Padrick. The ticket also included Aldermen, delegates, members of city Board of Education and library trustees. It was difficult to fill all the offices with the names on hand. A platform was adopted affirming allegiance to the revolutionary principles of international socialism. A demand was also made for the abolition of the contract system, and the doing of all the work by the city direct. The principles enunciated in the platform of 1900 were reaffirmed.

CALIFORNIA ITEMS.

Local Vallejo has started a Socialist debating club.

Stockton Local is arranging for a vigorous campaign. The State Executive Committee has been requested to supply speakers.

Branch San Jose, Local Santa Clara holds business meetings every Monday evening at their Headquarters, 72 N 2nd st., Sleeper Hall Building.

T. D. Marshall, secretary Visalia Local, writes that they hope to increase the organization in Tulare county to at least one hundred members.

Report comes from Eureka that Judge Wilson yesterday affirmed the judgement of the Justice Court in the matter of the People vs. A. Levin and ordered that a copy of said judgement be transmitted.

Riverside Local in addition to the establishment of a reading room has decided to have speakers from Los Angeles and San Bernardino and steps have been taken to secure a column once each week in the local paper.

Modesto Local, by a unanimous vote passed a resolution recommending that if proper national unity can not be effected and the socialists of the U. S. amalgamated into the S. D. P. that California members withdraw affiliation from the N. E. C. and continue the state organization until such unity can be made between the contending factions.

We received just before going to press five dollars for the Levin defence fund from the Progressive Club of Oakland. Free speech must be bought and paid for from the earnings of the intelligent. Instinct tells us that no greater barrier stands between liberty and despotism than the privilege of telling the truth under all circumstances.

John W. Farwell vs. Evolution and Prof. Herron.

John W. Farwell, a pleasant-faced, kind-hearted hypocrite of Chicago, has been saying things about our Comrade Geo. D. Herron, and Herron is talking back. This Farwell is a millionaire, a writer, a scientist (?) a saint and a dry goods butcher. His religion is a queer mixture of the sayings of the Nazarine and Dun's Mercantile Reports. His business in life, since he annexed a large portion of the State of Texas, is to preach the former with a modern twist to the poor and lowly and to live up to the standard of the latter under any circumstances. Professor Herron stated in a lecture that socialism would come, either peaceably or otherwise; and Farwell accuses him of mocking the esteemed author of the Sermon on the Mount when he (Herron) intimates a possible bloody revolution.

Comrade Herron answered: Socialists will never bring about bloodshed. The only danger is that a few capitalists may stand in the way of evolution and may have to be brushed aside. And Farwell, to show his science, makes the retort idiotic that the theory of evolution has still to be proven.

Labor and Politics.

Written for ADVANCE by JOHN PENNY.

Labor Representation.

At the Plymouth Trades Union Congress in 1899 a resolution was passed instructing the Parliamentary Committee to convene a conference of working-class organizations to consider ways and means of obtaining more representation for labor in the House of Commons. The Conference was duly held in February, 1900. It was attended by delegates from the Trade Union and Socialist bodies. The Co-operative Societies had also been invited, but could not see their way to be represented. The result of that conference was that it was decided to try to secure the return of Labor men to Parliament who should form an independent group in the House and be in no way under the control of either the Liberal or Tory whips. A joint committee of twelve was appointed, seven representing the trade unions, two the Social Democratic Federation, two the I. L. P. and one the Fabian Society. The committee was not to run candidates itself, but it had to make the way easy for the various organizations to run them, to prevent clashing, and to render all the assistance in its power to the candidates put forward.

Twelve months have elapsed since the formation of the committee, during which time a general election has taken place, and the First Annual Labor Representation Conference was held in Manchester on Friday, February 1st.

According to the Committee's report 41 trade unions, with an aggregate membership of 353,000 had affiliated, paying the fee of ten shillings per 1000 members, during the year. The Independent Labor Party had paid for 13,000, the Social Democratic Federation 9,000, and the Fabian Society 861, while seven Trades Councils representing 101,000, had also joined. The total membership, therefore, was 476,931.

The endorsement of the Committee was given to fifteen candidatures in October last. Five of these were directly promoted by Trades Unions, eight by the I. L. P., one by the S. D. F., and one was jointly I. L. P. and S. D. F. Two candidates were successful, viz. R. Bell at Derby and J. Keir Hardie at Merthyr, and in every constituency, save one, the vote obtained for Labor was larger than in 1895. Altogether the candidates polled 62,698 against 114,302, secured by their opponents.

Other points in the report were not of great public interest and at the Conference there was not much debate, the report and a number of resolutions being carried with practical unanimity. The general feeling was that the basis was quite definitely enough laid down and consequently there was no attempt on the part of one section to score off another. This augurs well for the prospects of the political Labor movement in the future.

The London Docks.

What is probably the biggest scheme any municipality has ever taken in hand was under consideration at the meeting of the London County Council, last week, when it was proposed by the Rivers Committee that the Council should obtain power to buy out the various dock companies and place the whole management of the Thames from Teddington to the sea under the control of a board to be called the "Port of London Committee." The committee, it was suggested, should be selected from the Council, the City Corporation and the Shipowners, but the Council would raise the whole of the money required, estimated at twenty millions, on the security of the rates of the county, and would retain control of the capital expenditure. The scheme was adopted without any serious opposition, which implies that Parliament will probably acquiesce when the Bill embodying the proposal is laid before it. A step of such magnitude in the direction of public ownership and control is almost startling and the fact that it was supported by Moderates and Progressives alike makes us realize the truth of Sir W. Harcourt's famous aphorism, "We are all Socialists now."

Tips.

The Amalgamated Waiters' Society in this country has long waged war on the system of "tipping" which is so prevalent in hotels and restaurants, holding that men and women should be paid fair wages for their services and not be dependent for their livelihood upon the gratuities they receive from the customers. The union has not as yet, however, been very successful, and in many places it is the custom to pay the waiters and other employes no wages at all, or even to extract from them varying sums for the privilege of serving. In France a bill consisting of one clause has just been introduced into the Chamber under which "it is forbidden to employ servants without remuneration, or to take into account, directly or indirectly, any gratuities or gifts which may be voluntarily conferred by any donor whatsoever." The bill, of course, is specially intended to apply to employes in cafes, restaurants, hotels, etc., but mention is made of sextons, pew-openers and other persons employed in places of worship. The bill does not prohibit the giving of tips, but it is based on the assumption that if it be known that the attendants are in receipt of fair wages, the system will gradually fall into disuse.

American Civilization.

From "Labor World" Tokio, Japan.

The following vigorous paragraph would be amusing, coming from the source it does, if there were not so much truth in it:

The following is a sample of Christian civilization in the United States. Out of a population of 70,000,000 souls we have 60,000 clergymen to help civilize us, 90,000 lawyers to help distort justice, 85,000 professional criminals and fully ten times as many non-union criminals, mostly in high society and in Congress, 75,000 paupers and only 6,000 authors and scientists. We have 1,000,000 tramps and 5,400 professors; 127,000 bartenders and 9,700 actors; 5,000,000 common laborers and 9,300 designers and inventors. It can be truthfully said that we have discovered how to make money, but not how to make men.

OFFICIAL

National Executive Committee.

Springfield, Mass., Feb. 17, 1901.—There are still about 50 Locals which have failed to send in their semi-annual reports...

SOCIALIST DEBATING CLUB.

Pythian Castle Hall was far too small to hold the audience that assembled on Sunday evening to hear a debate on: "Have the religious organizations of the world advanced or retarded the intellectual, moral and economic progress of mankind?"

Scott Anderson was chairman and introduced two of Comrade Baiduhn's children, who favored the audience with a violin solo, with pianoforte accompaniment.

John Baiduhn dwelt largely on the misdeeds and crimes of Christian ministers.

Mr. Eagle gave some of the crimes of Judaism and of Christianity.

In closing the debate Dr. Scott maintained that there were only two creatures in the world that had any religion—man and his companion, the dog.

The subject for debate at the Socialist Debating club Sunday evening, March 3d, is "Resolved, That Socialism as the next step in social and industrial progress sure to come."

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS.

On Thursday evening there was a large attendance at the Academy of Sciences Hall. Comrade Frances Nacke occupied the chair, and carefully explained to the audience the object of the meeting.

Thursday, March 7th, Ed Rosenberg, Secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council, will speak at Academy of Science Hall.

There was a large crowd at Sleepers Hall, San Jose, last Sunday to hear Comrade O'Brien recite his tale of the treatment he received in the city prison.

Los Angeles, Feb. 26, 1901.

Editor "Advance": Our propaganda meeting Sunday evening, February 24th, was addressed by Comrade Peter Boyle, who spoke upon "Twelve Years in a California Dungeon—a Personal Experience."

It is to be hoped that he will continue to tell his story of sorrow and suffering and wrong—and tell it better as he tells it oftener—to the end that what has been a life loss to him may be a permanent gain to his class and humanity in general.

REVIEWS

We are in receipt of Bersford's "Facts," a pocket-book of statistics. A third edition of this work has been found necessary to supply the demand.

To mention just one discovery of Mr. Bersford's, that is convincing of his exhaustive research and close

attention to detail, one need only allude to his expose of Carroll D. Wright's jugglery with figures. In his "Evolution of Industry" Mr. Wright, to show that machines do not displace workingmen, says: "Between 1860 and 1890 the increase in the number of persons working in all industries was 176.07 per cent."

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

perceptions, of visions, of dreams. The twentieth is the century of action, of organization, of co-operation. The nineteenth of pessimism, the twentieth of optimism.

Man is a social animal, a member of many groups of his fellows. In each he is a factor for good or evil. He can be a Socialist, a trades-unionist, a member of a fraternal order or co-operative association and preserve his character; in a word, be consistent, in any or all of them.

And since this is a meeting of the Social Democratic Party and this audience is composed largely of Social Democrats, let me say in conclusion that while this is the greatest movement on earth, no party or organization is large enough or comprehensive enough to contain the activities of all the men and women who are doing great and good work to make the world better.

Our bodies were born in the nineteenth century, but only our bodies. Let us unlearn the unlovely past, and turning our faces to the glorious future, let us cultivate character, character corresponding to our wonderful new environments.

Let us be twentieth century men and women. Let us be great men! Socialism is international. Let us be universal! Socialism prefigures a state of society where people can be relatively happy.

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CLIPPINGS, COMMENTS Etc.

saying, "Every man has his price." He forgets that under similar circumstances scarcely a man would escape the stigma of criminal. He forgets that he himself, reduced to the ranks and robbed of the helpful special privilege that places his class beyond the temptation of the petty, would act in just the same way.

The One State in America a Real Man Can Select for a Birth Place.

"Whereas, the sympathies of the American people go out to all nations, and all people struggling for liberty; therefore, be it resolved, that the House of Representatives of the XLII General Assembly of Missouri extend sympathy to the people of the Philippine archipelago in their heroic struggle for freedom."

When workingmen come together and each names the state in which he was born, the Missourian always says, "I'm from Missouri; now laugh, — you." But it will be so no more. To have been born in a state where the members of the House of Representatives obey the wishes of their constituents is unique enough to confer distinction.

San Jose Defense Fund.

W. Gnauck, Benicia, 50 cts; J. M. Reynolds, 25 cts; Friend, Santa Cruz, 50 cts.

Levin Defense Fund.

W. Gnauck, Benicia, 50 cts; Friend, Santa Cruz, 50 cts. Progressive Club, Oakland, \$5.00.

Advance Improvement Fund.

Paul Trefz, 50c; John Messer, \$6; W. C. Rush, \$3.50.

ATTENTION COMRADES!

A singing society composed of Socialists will be organized in this city. Every Comrade with the ability to sing should join.

People, especially those for whom the existing order is more advantageous than for others, regard the existing order as conducive to the welfare of all. Therefore, for the sake of this welfare they not only deem it allowable to act unlovingly toward certain people, but also believe it to be just and good to commit the grossest inequities so that the existing order may be maintained.—Tolstoy.

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