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## The Climax of Capitalism.

By Eugene V. Debs.

At the present rate of industrial and commercial concentration it will not be long before competition in the realm of production will practically be a thing of the past. The great capitalists of the world, through their agents and promoters, are engineering gigantic deals and schemes to absorb or crush out all competition, thus giving them substantial and undisputed control of the situation, and enabling them to exploit the people at their own sweet will and exercise despotic authority over their countless victims. So completely are these capitalists absorbed in their manipulations that it is doubtful if a single one of them realizes that they are working with might and main for their own financial undoing and that at the climax of capitalism they will be "hoist by their own petard," and Socialism, which they affect to despise and dread, will relieve them of their crowns and sceptres, abolish their despotic functions and give them equal opportunities with others to earn an honest living and enjoy "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

When that glorious day dawns the capitalists will work for what they get and the workers will get what they work for. The hideous inequalities which now mock civilization and deform society will be known no more forever, except in the historic annals of the "dark ages" of capitalism.

In this terrific rush toward the climax, which may be spelled cataclysm, Andrew Carnegie, whose income is a million a month, is having a desperate time resisting the surplus value that is forced upon and threatens to engulf him. The other day he made a gift of four millions in charities for the benefit of his disabled and supernannated employes. He scatters libraries as the wind scatters leaves in autumn. It may be that the Scotch-American multimillionaire sees some writing on the wall, or that in his advancing years, as the horrors of Homestead come back to his memory, and he sees the streets slippery with the blood of workmen he robbed and then hired Pinkerton thugs to murder, his conscience festers with accusation and he hopes to blot out the awful tragedy by tapping the vast reservoir of blood which his cupidity prompted him to drain by force and crime from the veins of his helpless wage-slaves.

The tragedy of Homestead is fresh in our memory. The wound in the body of labor, "poor dumb mouth," is mutely crying for vengeance. Carnegie the philanthropist, who went to Europe, and left Frick, the monster, in charge, cannot escape responsibility for the infamous crimes of the three hundred Pinkerton thugs who murdered his workmen in 1892. He was deaf to every appeal, and upon his soul the blood-stains are as ineffaceable as the spots on the skin of a leopard, and though he build ten thousand libraries, the ghosts of his victims will surmount them all and point their fleshless fingers of guilt at the rankest Pharisee in Christendom.

The days in which we live are indeed pregnant with great possibilities. The working-class is charged with the gravest responsibility of the ages, and the day of action draweth nigh. What a privilege to have a part in the closing acts of this stupendous drama! The slavery of all the centuries is to be blotted from the earth forever, and it is for this sublimest of achievements that the Socialists of all lands are marshalling their hosts to do and to dare until capitalism is overthrown and the working-class seizes the sceptre of authority and rules the world.

Workingmen of America, do not forget for an instant that the great struggle in which you are engaged is a class-conflict, and that the lines must be sharply drawn in every battle, whether on the economic or the political field. The slavery of your class is responsible for your chains, rags and crusts, and never until your entire class is emancipated can you escape from the iron grasp of your capitalist masters.

So far as this struggle is concerned, there is no good capitalist and no bad workman. Every capitalist is your enemy and every workman is your friend. You have got to stand and act as one. Solidarity is your salvation, and Socialism points unerringly the way.

Day by day the class-conscious Socialist movement increases in power. It scorns all compromise. It firmly holds every inch it conquers. It cannot be intimidated by frowns nor frightened by threats. It is pursuing its historic course and come what may, it will press on and on until the goal is reached and labor rules the world.

The marble mines of Vermont are uniting.  
A \$1,500,000 pulverized fuel trust has been incorporated.

Glue manufacturers are going to stick together in a trust.

Arkansas comes forward with a \$2,225,000 sugar trust.

About \$225,000,000 of capital was trustified during the month of March.

All the wire glass concerns have trustified, and all but two of the plants will be closed to curtail production.

The two soft coal trusts and many independent companies are being combined by Morgan and capitalization will be upward of \$200,000,000.

The cigar trust has absorbed the \$10,000,000 Havana-American combine, which controls seven big plants in New York, New Orleans, Chicago, Tampa and Key West.

All the gas and electric lighting combines in Greater New York are about to be merged into a \$300,000,000 trust. The Standard Oil people are engineering the deal.

The linen and yarn manufactories of Austria, Germany and Belgium are combining into a gigantic trust.

## Labor's Marseillaise.

Ye sons of toil, awake to glory!  
Hark! Hark! what myriads bid you rise!  
Your children, wives and grandsires hoary:  
Behold their tears and hear their cries,  
Behold their tears and hear their cries!  
Shall hateful tyrants, mischiefs breeding,  
With hireling hosts, a ruffian band,  
Affright and desolate the land  
While peace and liberty lie bleeding?

To arms, to arms, ye brave!  
The avenging sword unsheath!  
March on, march on! all hearts resolved  
On victory or death!

With luxury and pride surrounded,  
The vile, insatiate despots dare  
Their lust of power and gold unbounded  
To mete and vend the light and air,  
To mete and vend the light and air.  
Like beasts of burden would they load us;  
Like gods would bid their slaves adore;  
But man is man, and who is more?  
Then shall they longer lash and goad us?

Oh, Liberty, can man resign thee,  
Once having felt thy generous flame?  
Can dungeons, bolts or bars confine thee?  
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?  
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?  
Too long the world has wept, bewailing  
That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield;  
But Freedom is our sword and shield,  
And all their arts are unavailing:

To arms, to arms, ye brave!  
The avenging sword unsheath!  
March on! march on! All hearts resolved  
On Victory or Death!

## Socialist Propaganda

By Job Harriman.

Your correspondent has kindly asked me for an article on "Propaganda in the East." But since we are always hunting for new worlds to conquer, I will strike out "in the East" and instead of a descriptive article, will state, what seems to me, are the necessary elements of a successful Socialist propaganda.

For the past fifteen years of our agitation in this country we have had much to say of the class-struggle, and it is right that we should so continue. Much energy and time has been expended telling how the capitalist gourmands have gorged themselves and their coffers, and how they have lived lives of sumptuous luxury in their ill-gotten palaces, and neither should our energies abate in this direction, for the half has not been told.

We have portrayed the awful physical, moral and intellectual agony of the oppressed, nor yet should this work be diminished, for neither tongue nor pen can paint the pictures of the hovels and sweat shops, about the mines and the factories as black and lurid as they are.

We have told of the irresistible power in the hands of the down-trodden, and our efforts in this direction will increase with years, even though our voice has scarcely been heard, nor have the oppressed been aroused.

We have told of the Co-operative Commonwealth—the advantages it affords, the opportunities, the delights. We have shown that life need not be a burden, nor a battle for existence; that food and clothing, luxuries and flowers, parks, palaces, travel and education could be enjoyed by all in this new commonwealth, man's heaven on earth; and yet, in every city, great masses of these very sufferers have nodded their assent and turned away with a faint gleam of hope lingering for a moment in their hearts when they again resign themselves to their accustomed tasks, apparently content.

Shall we say that they have not suffered enough? Shall we continue to tantalize them by telling them more of the luxuries of the rich, with the hope that this will arouse them? Is it sufficient to continue to uncover their bleeding hearts and running sores before their very eyes? Can we expect to inspire a living hope and a militant activity by painting a beautiful picture of a possible condition which seems to them far away, and which is immediately dimmed by their tears and privations?

A heaven on earth that is out of sight is worth no more, nor will be a no more potent inspiration to the masses of the oppressed than is any other heaven that lies beyond the grave. Heaven must be in sight to be effective nowadays. The fumes of hell have frightened and the jasper walls and pearly gates and golden streets of the mystic heaven have dazzled the mind's eye and absorbed public attention, while those more indifferent to public welfare took advantage of the occasion and robbed and pillaged the workers.

So are we, as Socialists, today, painting pictures of the capitalist Hades, together with the splendors of our coming commonwealth, while the workers' immediate interests are overlooked and the opportunity is taken advantage of by men who are in the pursuit of wealth, and who are indifferent to the public weal. They seize upon the opportunity to take profits, to gain power and to subdue the people.

The working-class has long since deserted the clergy's heaven, and they will be loth to accept ours until they can in some way see it or feel it. Just as great events cast their shadows before them, so Socialists must advance some advantages, some material interests of the class they propose to set free, or a deaf ear will be turned to their calling. A mental vision of the possibilities is not sufficient, nor even will the clear,

round voice of an agitator suffice to call them to action or to arouse them from their lethargy. They must see and feel our heaven with their stomachs and their backs.

A hungry man can get a far better focus upon the Co-operative Commonwealth with a beef-steak, than he can with a lecture or a leaflet. The latter given first will drive him mad; given last it will be sauce to his meat. Lasting impressions are made with food and clothing. It seems that the eyes are not for seeing nor the ears for hearing, but they are simply mirrors for reflecting the condition of the back and stomach. Whatever and whoever supplies these wants, these necessities, will get the ear and the heart and the intellect and the energy of the recipient.

Any movement for a better condition which does not touch, at least to some extent, the immediate interests of the masses will never weld them by any theory or idea, however beautiful or true, into a great mass movement. The sufferer must be touched, not only in theory, but in fact; not tomorrow with prospects, but today with things.

Shall we cease holding meetings and speaking and teaching and agitating? Not that we should do less of these, but that it is imperative that we take more vigorous action in practical affairs.

How can the Socialists be instrumental in rendering immediate pecuniary advantages to the working-class is the problem to be solved and put in execution. Until we do this our principle will not be heard by the working-class, much less be understood. But on the contrary, opposing doctrines will be taught, believed and followed.

Can we, an organization without means, render pecuniary assistance to the hordes of organized and unorganized workers? Can we enter the economic field and cope with the billion-dollar capitalist combinations? With the press, the schools, the pulpits, the libraries, the political machinery, and the machinery of production in their hands, can a small and poor organization make its efforts felt in a pecuniary way upon the unnumbered hosts of workers?

These are the difficulties before us, the obstacles we must surmount. The bridges are burned behind us; retreat is impossible; and the war is on. In order to share in the glories of the victory we must share the hardships of the battle. It accordingly becomes imperative for the Socialists in every industrial center to hold a council of war, and therein devise ways and means of delivering pecuniary advantages to the working-class, without supplying the cash from their own purses.

To this task the Socialists alone can respond. They above all others know the interests of the working-class and the adverse interests of the capitalist class. They know why capital grows and poverty increases; when capital is courageous and when it is timid; why wages go down and profits go up; why manufacturers organize and trades unions appear; why lockouts come and strikes develop; why the workers vote and the judges decide; why the workers persist and the militia shoots; how the strikes are broken, the few capitalists rejoice and the many workers mourn; in short, they know better than all others the elements entering into the political and industrial class war, and how to work to the end that the workers' interests will be conserved.

They know that when work is flush wages may be raised; and that when work is slack it is the best time to argue for shortening the hours. They know that a strike, whether local or general, is more easily won before than after an election; they know that an attack at the capitalists' political machine is a strike at his purse; they know that the capitalist is fully aware of this and that he fears it like poison; they know that if a strike is precipitated immediately before an election, that all the class feeling and interests manifest in the industrial field will become also the potent factor in the political field; they know that when the workers see their power in the political field that they will use their political power with the same solidarity as they now use their industrial organization. They know best the dangers in the industrial strike, the advantages in the political, the conflicting interests and the safeguards. They, above all, are best able to determine when the chances are favorable to, and when they are against the working-class. By experience they have learned the necessity of discipline, of courage and of decision.

Hence it remains for the Socialists to apply their knowledge to the daily affairs of the working-class—to council them in their strikes; to point out their strong and their weak positions; to stand in the thick of the battle; thus to become an important factor in causing to be delivered, immediate pecuniary interests to the working-class from the capitalist class.

This can only be done in the economic field, where, by reason of services rendered, the Socialist influence will spread, and they can then move on with the mass of workers to the political field. Our work in the political field has and will find but little response among the working-class previous to work in the economic field.

Whenever a Socialist is instrumental in shortening the hours of labor, or increasing the wages, or adding any other advantage to the working-class, to that extent he places, as it were, a telescope before their eyes, which brings the Socialist commonwealth within the range of the workers' vision. They begin to feel the benefits. By showing them how to apply their power and thereby gain immediate advantages, he makes his opportunity to show them how to apply the same power in the same or different ways and gain more remote advantages.

By such means only can we turn the working-class from POLITICS to WORKING-CLASS POLITICS. In this way only can we convince them that class politics has all the elements of the industrial struggle and the solidarity of the economic organization will be increased by class political action.

We must remember that we do not reach men's stomachs through their intelligence, but we do reach their intelligence through their stomachs. Hence we must touch the interests of men in order to reach their ears. And it is right that it should be so. We will not be known by our words but by our works.

Why should the working class, who has made no study of our principles accept our words and make a plunge in the dark and to them along untrodden paths. Only by making every succeeding step easier and smoother and by being instrumental in adding victory to victory, will we be able to dispel their prejudice, their suspicion and their hatred toward all extraneous influences and principles, and to open up their minds to that flood of light and hope which the philosophy of Socialism brings to the working-class. This done, an entirely different fire will burn in the heart of the labor movement; a different courage will crown their efforts; a different hope will inspire their actions. The discouragement that now follows a defeated strike, tending to the disintegration and downfall of the unions, would not develop. Having changed their goal from the mere raising of wages and shortening of hours, to the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, the wages and hours would be on incidents in their fight, and though failures should come their hope and determination to win the new goal will hold them together and bear them on to victory. Hence the work of the Socialist, when properly done, will not only hold together the present members in the economic organizations, but it will be the means of gathering an infinitely larger number into the organizations which could not otherwise be reached. Socialism in the labor organizations is a cement as well as a magnet, and its power increases with numbers.

The essential elements of a successful Socialist propaganda are not only the teaching of the class-struggle and the picturing of the present hell and a future heaven on earth, but we must enter into the struggle itself; we must help plan the campaign; we must take our stand in the front ranks of the battle.

A successful propaganda does not mean alone to philosophize about the class-struggle, but it means to live it, to taste it, to feel it, and to act it.

Victory arises, not out of principles in books, but from principles put to the test in life's battles.

Action, well defined, wisely planned action, will find a rich soil in the hearts and minds of the working-class, in which our principles may be planted with our deeds; and the tears flowing from the oppression of capitalism will not then drown them out, but they will be as spring showers, under the influence of which the knowledge of the working-class will expand into a full comprehension of the Socialist Commonwealth, and all it has in store for them, as well as a comprehension of their rights, their power, and their duty.

## Socialism vs. Individualism.

By Rev. Charles H. Vail.

The individualist method of abolishing social evils begins with the individual. The individualist sees that people are actuated by selfish motives, and so concludes that the social evils from which we suffer are due to the "ever selfish human heart." The clergy as a rule belong to this class. They seldom if ever really inquire as to the cause of selfishness, much less take the time and study necessary to analyze present industrial conditions. They rather fall in with things as they are; that is, they are inclined to accept the present system as final, and observing that their precepts are seldom practiced, they usually ascribe the cause to the perversity of human nature. It rarely occurs to a member of this class that there are environing forces which nullify all his efforts. Not being familiar with the economic question, he naturally traces all social evils to man's selfishness, and his remedy, of course, is to preach and awaken the conscience and inculcate the desire for better things. This is well as far as it goes, but if sermons were all that is necessary to elevate society, it would have been accomplished long ago. We have had over eighteen hundred years of this method, and it is no wonder that our friends talk of the ever selfish human heart, for their method seems largely ineffective in even bettering the individual, to say nothing about society. The failure of the remedy to abolish social evils ought to suggest to them that there is something lacking in their method, and that possibly by beginning at the other end of the problem they might create conditions wherein their preaching might be more effective. A man may go to church and listen to a fine discourse on the law of service and be moved to help his fellows, but he goes out into a world of competitive strife and is obliged to take advantage of those he comes in contact with or suffer failure himself.

The fact is, the "ever selfish human heart" is chiefly due to an ever selfish economic system. Under all forms of industry in the past individuals have been arrayed against each other, but in no system have the antagonisms been more pronounced than in the present order. There is scarcely a field today where selfish interests, begotten by a selfish system, do not dominate. Just so long as it is to man's interest to be dishonest and selfish, we need expect no improvement. There is no use lamenting this condition so long as we retain a false organization of society. We ought not to expect the law of love to be practiced under an environment of the law of strife. Sermons will not extirpate the evils; they are too deep rooted—they inhere in the system itself. We may preach brotherly love, but let us not be so foolish as to expect it to be practiced to any extent under the present order.

Socialism would abolish all these evils by removing the cause. Selfishness is only possible when one man can gain at the expense of another. Under Socialism no one could thus gain, for the interests of every man would be identical with the interests of every other man. No one could serve his own interests without



The Trust.

By Thomas J. Morgan.

Are you discontented? Are you interested in the trust question?

"I should think I am! When that rascal Armour, with all his millions, commences making mince-meat and takes away the trade I have worked up during the last ten years, I should think it was time to get interested."

"When he began to take my biggest customers away, I wrote him and asked him to stop; told him how hard I had worked and how he was hurting me; but he took no notice of my letters. Then he started after my small customers, and again I wrote him requesting him to keep the big customers, but to leave me the little ones, but he would not stop. Then I got out a lot of circulars denouncing him; but he is going right along and my business is destroyed. That is why I am interested."

This protest may amuse other Socialists as it did me when I heard it; and yet the speaker was the "stuff" that the average business man and citizen is made of, and as he talked, I wondered if he would ever be able to see the cause which produced the effect that had killed him as a business man and landed him in the great field of discontent in which Socialists make converts.

"The right to buy, to manufacture and sell, to have and to hold all things which all must have, and to make a profit out of the necessities of those who must have so they may live, is not questioned. Only when, in this holding and buying and selling, one hurts the other's chance to do the same is a protest heard, and then only against the personal pressure, and for the chance for the squealer to join again in the profit-mongering business of private production, ownership and exchange."

The average wage worker's protest is the same, in substance. He says: Give me a few cents more a week, month or year, a few minutes less labor a day; this is all I ask as my right. I do not question your right to the field, the mine, the factory or the tools, or your right to discharge me and to refuse to re-employ me again. I believe all of these rights are yours, but my wage should be raised from \$250 to \$253 a year; I think I have a right to the extra \$3. Concede that, and I declare my strike off.

The average business man says: Yes, competition is the life of trade; production and distribution for profit is all right, but don't cut the price below my figure; don't compete with me in my line. You have a right to sell hams, sides and carcasses of meat, but for goodness' sake, don't cut into my mince-meat business. Leave this road open to me and I will sing again, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee."

Each class, from the street-sweeper to the president of an average corporation, holds its varying conception of rights, each differing from the other and each protesting against that which seems to injure them.

The Socialist alone traces all the varying effects down to the root-cause, from which the individual, the firm, the corporation, pool, combine, syndicate and trust, will derive their power of monopoly. This cause is the principle and institution of private property.

The Socialist knows that all discussion which fails to reach this fundamental depth is superficial, no matter how exalted or distinguished the participants in the discussion may be.

But fundamental discussion is so disturbing, that not only will very few business men permit it, but the organized wage workers as a rule exclude it from their gatherings, while those who officially speak for organized labor, almost without exception, emphatically support the principle and institution of private property, though it compels every man they represent to take off his hat and bend his head, and beg to be permitted to use a tool, a machine, or to cultivate the earth or to extract its treasures, and to thus be enabled to live.

In doing this they bend their heads and give their hearts and minds to pagan worship, the most degrading idolatry known to man, the worship of private property; the curse of the past and present, the blind, ignorant fetish of undeveloped men.

Blackstone, speaking of this to the young lordlings he was teaching, the future owners and rulers of the British Empire, expressed himself thus:

"There is nothing which so generally strikes the imagination, and engages the affections of mankind, as the right of property, or that sole and despotic dominion which one man claims and exercises over the external things of the world, in total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the universe. And yet there are very few that will give themselves the trouble to consider the origin and foundation of this right. Pleased as we are with the possession, we seem afraid to look back to the means by which it was acquired, as if fearful of some defect in our title, or at best we rest satisfied with the decision of the laws in our favor, without examining the reason or authority upon which those laws have been built. We think it enough that our title is derived by the grant of the former proprietor, by descent from our ancestors, or by the last will and testament of the dying owner; not caring to reflect that (accurately and strictly speaking) there is no foundation in nature or in natural law, why a set of words upon parchment should convey the dominion of land; why the son should have a right to exclude his fellow-creatures from a determinate spot of ground, because his father had done so before him; or why the occupier of a particular field or jewel, when lying on his death-bed, and no longer able to maintain possession, should be entitled to tell the rest of the world who of them should enjoy it after him. These enquiries, it must be avowed, would be \* \* \* troublesome in common life. It is well if the mass of mankind will obey the laws when made, without scrutinizing too nicely into the reasons for making them." "But when the law is to be considered not only as a matter of practice, but also as a rational science, it cannot be improper or useless to examine more deeply the rudiments and grounds of these positive constitutions of society."

"In the beginning of the world \* \* \* the all bountiful Creator gave man 'dominion over the earth; and over the fish of the sea, and fowls of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the face of the earth.'"

"This is the only true and solid foundation of man's dominion over external things, whatever airy metaphysical notions may have been started by fanciful writers upon the subject."

"The earth, therefore, and all things thereon, are

the general property of mankind."

Neither slaves nor serfs were capable of understanding this common right of all to all.

It has remained for the twentieth century, with its labor-saving machines, railroads, steamships, electric current, wide diffusion of ideas, mingling of nations and races, to bring this comprehension not alone to professors of the law, but to the masses, who, as they realize it, turn in thought away from the past, and in the future see the principle and institution of private property so identified with the trust, that all the reverence and idolatry of this most ancient basis of civilization will disappear before the open-eyed reason of this brighter day.

In the trust private property loses all its personal and individual character, which, as Blackstone says, so strikes the imagination and engages the affections of mankind.

"The word 'mine' is lost in the trust ownership, is merged in the indistinct word 'stock,' whose intangible form floats on the stock market and passes hither and thither with the rush and swirl of the shifting currents of speculation."

The trust organized in distribution or production, eliminates all the personal relations so intimately connected with individual business.

The president of the trust, its managers, superintendents and other underlings may be changed a dozen times a year, without the slightest effect on the organized machinery which includes as so many cogs the thousands of wage workers, and these, too, are reduced to mere numbers which are checked off by other cogs of the same great machine, in which skill and chance have no further place as individual factors.

The trust not only annihilates the principle and institution of personal, private property, with all its ancient attraction for the individual possessor, but it also eliminates production and distribution from the position of first importance in human life, by making it a mere mechanical operation and calculation which frees mankind from all kinds of animal drudgery. As the trust develops it casts out from the field of manual labor tens of thousands into the ranks of the unemployed; next, thousands of small "mince-meat" men, and last the intellectual classes, whose education, culture, artistic accomplishments, are not required in the swift-whirling, trustified machine.

"Ah," said a sociological professor a few years ago, "anyone can make a piano, but it takes brains to sell it." But with the coming of the trust the machine not only makes the piano, but it sells it also. Brains are not required to either produce, sell or deliver the products of a trust; the automatic machine, partly inanimate and partly human, does it all.

The trust has come to turn our thoughts from the low animal plane of competitive production and distribution—a mere dog-fight over a bone with but little meat on it—to the consideration of a corporation banquet of all the natural and intellectual products of all the ages, an everlasting feast, to which all the children of men are to be invited.

Then speed the trust. On with the monopoly of "mince-meat" and other businesses. On with the automatic machine. On with the destruction of all reverence and respect for private property. On with the evolution with revolutionary speed. On, though it jars, and bumps, and squeezes and hurts, physically and mentally, for thus mankind becomes "interested" and the world's thought moves on.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN NEW YORK.

By Leonard D. Abbott.

It is natural enough that the eyes of Socialists all over the country should be turned toward New York. The great Eastern metropolis is the centre of most of America's activities; it is the place where we touch the pulse of the nation. Above all, it is the stronghold of Socialist thought. Upward of 17,000 votes were cast for Socialism in Greater New York last November, and they represent a body of men who are pledged steadfastly to the fundamental principles of Socialism, even though they are not agreed as to Socialist methods and tactics. There are today no less than four Socialist daily papers in New York—the Social Democratic "Volkszeitung," the Jewish "Forward," and the two De Leon organs, the "Daily People" and Jewish "Abendblatt"; and this in itself bears striking testimony of the strength of the Socialistic sentiment in New York.

The pioneers of Socialism in New York (and, we may say, in America) have been the Germans and the Jews, and it is these two nationalities which still furnish the majority of the rank and file of the Socialist movement in New York. The two races are essentially unlike in their characteristics. The German approaches Socialism from the economic, the analytical point of view, while the Jew is emotional and idealistic. The Hebrew characteristic is generally supposed to be that of greed and money-grubbing; yet it cannot be forgotten that the race that is credited with producing a Shylock has also evolved a Jesus, and in many Jews the bump of altruism and generosity seems to be very much more strongly developed than is the bump of acquisition. From the Jewish race have come, and come today, many of the most active comrades in our ranks.

The Socialist movement on the East side of New York is a fitting study for the psychologist, and here may be found the type of every human temperament, from the young man ablaze with his first social idealism to the "war-horse" grown old, and, perchance, pessimistic, in the movement. Here is one who has become a Socialist because he believed in the teachings of Christ: there is another whose Socialism is rooted in dogmatic atheism. The "man with the red button" is in evidence at all times, but his activities become more apparent around election time, when the street-corner oratory and the brass bands and transparencies and parades force Socialism upon the attention of even the most lethargic. All the year round, however, the Socialist propaganda in New York is going on. In dingy halls, in Masonic meeting places, over and behind saloons, public meetings are held week in and week out. But a handful can be induced, as a rule, to come to these meetings (the greatest problem in our movement is the problem of how to reach the people), but those who do come are generally in earnest, and they listen intently, almost greedily, to the new gospel of industrial emancipation. It is strange, yet true, that a big hall can be filled easier than a small one; for it is a fact that a meeting in the great historic New York auditorium, the Cooper Union, is seldom a fail-

ure. The East-siders are hero-worshippers, and they flock out by the hundred to hear a Debs, or a Harriman, or a Herron, in Cooper Union.

A feature of the Socialist movement in New York that would be tragic, if it were not so ridiculous, is the intensely bitter feeling existing between the S. D. P. and the S. L. P. A well-known comrade, who has recently come into the movement, remarked the other day that during his lifetime he had run up against every kind of bitterness, including the bitterness of the ecclesiastic and heretic-hunter and the bitterness of the capitalist whose economic position is threatened; but he had never yet experienced anything that could even begin to compare with the bitterness displayed between Socialists! That eventful Tenth of July, now almost two years ago, when the flames of revolt against De Leon's suicidal policy finally broke out, bred hatreds that will probably last as long as life itself. The "revolutionary patriots" who outlived that most sanguinary and glorious encounter have been fighting their battles over and over again ever since, in the press and on the platform. De Leon's abuse of us poor, benighted "kangaroos" is like Tennyson's famous book. It goes on forever. Day after day, and month after month, emanate from the editorial sanctum in New Reade street the brilliant diatribes, to which we have become so thoroughly accustomed, on such fresh and original topics as "Carey's Army," "Capitalist Jobs in San Francisco," and the "Obscene Volkszeitung," subsidized by Tammany in the interests of the Republican party—not to mention the profound articles on "How to Reorganize the Socialist Movement of the World on De Leon Lines," and "How to Smash the Trade-Unions." Verily, if influence were gauged by quantity, instead of quality, of argument, we Social Democrats of New York would be swamped indeed!

Yet, in spite of every obstacle that blocks progress inside and outside of our movement, the great cause moves steadily onward. Socialism is invincible, and the spirit of the Socialist is unquenchable. The Socialist who is grounded in the philosophy of his belief and upon whom Socialism has taken the grip of a real religion, can look out from the midst of the maelstrom of party strife with unclouded eyes and unflinching gaze. He knows that Socialism will come, not because he personally desires it and believes in it, but because it is inherent in the nature of things and the forces of social evolution are giving it birth.

A good example of the grit of Socialists in New York was furnished last fall when the "Social Democratic" name figured for the first time in State politics. The task on our hands was a tremendous one—nothing less than the collection of fifty signatures (all of which must be attested by a notary) in sixty counties of a great State. The undertaking entailed great expense, following closely on the heels of exhausting party litigations. The comrades rose to the occasion in splendid fashion. The De Leon organization suffered a severe defeat right in its own stronghold, although it had everything in its favor, including a daily paper, and the well-known name and emblem. In the State at large the S. L. P. candidate for Governor received about two hundred more than the Social Democratic candidate, Ben Hanford, although Maloney received less than Debs.

New York State still stands at the head of the column. Massachusetts has developed a movement that is stronger in certain localities than ours, but the aggregate vote of the S. D. P. in New York State is considerably larger than in any other State of the Union. Moreover, our movement is growing with every week that passes. A persistent agitation has been carried on this winter, and the lecture tours of Hanford, Harriman, Vail and Bigelow have covered the State from end to end. The seed thus sown is already bearing fruit, as is shown by recent election results. At Frankfort, New York, where no movement existed at all a year ago, 226 votes were recently cast for the head of our ticket. Peekskill, which gave 61 votes last year for Debs and Harriman, now gives 117 straight Social Democratic votes in its village election, and Catskill has tripled its presidential vote. Watertown cast a big vote last year and shows great promise. Rochester probably has a better organized movement than any other city of its size in the country and its corps of able Socialist speakers includes such men as William Thurston Brown, Frank A. Sieverman and Philip Jackson.

The Social Democratic Party is an ever-growing factor in the politics of New York State, and as the lines are drawn closer in the mighty struggle upon which we are but just entering, as we approach nearer the vision of the Co-operative Commonwealth, the New York comrades can be depended on to do their share of the work that lies ahead.

UNITED STATES.

There are twelve thousand sweat shops in New York.

The Machinists' Union is increasing in membership at the rate of 1,000 a month.

A lockout of the union carpenters by the members of the Master Builders' Association at Minneapolis, Minn., became effective on the 15th, and 300 men are idle.

About 200 members of the St. Paul (Minn.) Union of the Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators struck for an increase of wages.

Stone masons employed on the new State House at Jackson, Miss., went on strike recently because the contractor placed three Negro masons at work on the building.

During the past year organized labor has gained 16,000 members in the Coeur d'Alene district, in spite of the "bull pen" and Gov. Steunenberg.

Hazleton (Pa.) Typographical Union boasts that there is not a non-union office or printer in that city. The only newspaper outside the "fold" was unionized last week.

A league of 1,500 business men of Belleville, Ill., has been formed and the trades unionists believe that its purpose is to wage a bitter war against the unions.

The quarterly bulletin just received from the New York bureau of labor statistics reports 1,679 unions in the State, with an aggregate membership of 242,484 workmen and women. It is an increase of 44 additional labor organizations during the last quarter.

A strike of the employees of the velvet mill at Mystic, Connecticut, which has lasted two months, was ended on the 9th, when the management announced that the rule requiring payment of fines for spoiled work, which caused the strike, would not be enforced.

servicing the interests of others, and conversely, no one could injure the interests of others without injuring himself. The solidarity of humanity so long preached, Socialism would realize. Socialism would make the interests of one identical with the interests of all, and vice versa. Under such a system selfishness would be plucked up by the roots. The very first requisite, then, of the ideal state is the establishment of harmony in the industrial realm—the substitution of co-operation for competition.

"But," says our individualist friend, "you cannot make men honest and unselfish by legislation." Very true, we cannot directly, and no one expects to. What we do expect, is to surround men with a suitable environment—one conducive to honesty and unselfishness. We desire to so reconstruct society that if a man is inclined to be honest and unselfish he will not have to be dishonest and selfish in order to succeed. If a man is placed in an infectious district and compelled to remain there he will become sick. What we ought to expect to do by legislation, is not to prohibit his sickness, but to provide for his removal or the removal of the infectious environment. When we have removed by legislation the cause of the disease, the effect will disappear. So when we remove the infectious environment of capitalism its evil results will disappear.

Again, says our individualist friend, "You might completely change the machinery and procedure of society; we should only have a new tyranny, a new injustice, a new exploitation of man." Of just what this new tyranny, injustice, and exploitation would consist has never been pointed out. I presume it would trouble our friend somewhat to give, even to himself, a satisfactory answer. The objection, however, betrays a failure to trace these evils to their source, and an utter inappreciation of the changed conditions which would exist under Socialism. As a matter of fact, these evils can only exist in an economic system of special privilege, where some, by virtue of their ownership of the instruments of production, are enabled to take advantage of their fellows. The source of all tyranny, injustice and exploitation is the economic dependence of the oppressed upon the oppressor. The private ownership of land on, and tools with which to labor, means, for those not possessing these instruments, economic slavery. The basis, then, of every kind of servitude, social misery, political dependence, and industrial tyranny is the dependence of men upon the monopolists of the implements of work and the sources of life. Socialism would destroy this economic power by the few, by placing the instrument of production in the hands of society. Socialize these means and laborers would become their own masters, and justice, liberty and freedom would be attained.

The fact is, as we have noted, to abolish social evils the individualist is at work at the wrong end of the problem, and the reason he supposes that a change in the procedure of Society would effect no relief is due to his failure to trace the evils to their source. It is true that no change short of a complete abolition of our present system would be effective. All remedies of the mere reformer, whether religious or social, leave the internal mechanism untouched, and so fail to touch the root of the trouble. Society is an organism, and just as when the physical organism is out of order the symptoms manifest themselves in various directions, so when the social organism is diseased, the symptoms take on various forms, expressing themselves as intemperance, crime, pauperism, prostitution, etc. All these symptoms evidence a diseased body economic. There is but one solution, therefore, to all these problems—all are effects of the same cause.

We need to recognize that economic conditions give color and shape to social and political institutions, and even affect intellectual and moral tendencies. The Socialist method of abolishing social evils is based upon this scientific fact. It demands betterment of economic conditions. The present condition of all classes of society—whether the poverty and hardship of the poor, the worry and anxiety of the middle class, or the idleness and luxury of the rich—are fatal to a noble life.

An unselfish heart will not save a man from the evils of our perverse economic order. Many a man of ideal character is a victim of our system of grab and greed. And even were all unselfish—a thing impossible under capitalism—the very fact that business must be conducted on the competitive principle would necessitate the existence of these very conditions against which we protest. The evils are social and can only be removed by social readjustment.

The Socialist offers the only effective method of uplifting society. He proposes to begin with the economic conditions. He recognizes the scientific fact that man is a creature of circumstances. What man is depends largely upon his surroundings. While heredity is important in regard to special talents, environment is the chief factor in moulding character. This fact has been demonstrated by social experiments. Socialism proposes to better economic conditions and establish an environment favorable to the development of moral qualities.

The Socialist has faith in human nature. The great majority of men are not bad. Separate them from their economic interests and you will find that they are morally sound. Human history shows that according to the light which men have had they have done grandly well. Socialism would secure to human nature proper soil and environment. It will guarantee men the physical basis of life, give to each the full product of his toil, and secure leisure to all. Until this is accomplished there is no use talking about teaching science, art and literature to the masses. These fields are barred to all who do not possess the requisites—the millions of the over-worked and out of work.

The Socialist presents the only effective method by which to abolish the social evils. And even the end which the church seeks, that of personal righteousness, can only be realized to any extent in such an environment as Socialism proposes. The church should aid in establishing the new order as the first step toward the realization of its ideal. The whole competitive struggle for existence leaves scarcely any margin for the practice of a real Christianity. The basis of our industrial system is unjust and unrighteous, its operation unchristian, and its results damnable. The social and industrial evils from which we suffer are inherent in the present system of production, and can only be abolished by the abolition of the system itself.

Speed the day of the new order of brotherhood, of universal justice—the Co-operative Commonwealth.

About a dozen minor railroads have united or been absorbed by larger roads during the past two weeks.



## The May Day Questioner. With Answers.

By Peter E. Burrowes.

What would you do?

I would restore to the despoiled and enervated laborers, and to the much fearing manhood of all the submerged multitudes whose names are not written in the bank's book of life, some of that courage to fight for themselves which history ascribes to them. When under the command of the dollar they make war against themselves on the economic fields, the ballot fields and the battlefields of the world.

What would you do?

I would establish one democracy in the United States to succeed the present veiled monarchies, and I would extend the privileges and blessings of labor to every healthy man. On this basis of citizen-service I would invite the capitalists to come in and serve, and if they declined, I would send them a notice to quit on the ground that the race has outgrown them; that the usurpation of government by a private organization of capitalists is no longer endurable. As the soul and the brain of the private profit-monger are too shrivelled to wield the mighty forces of the twentieth century I would kick them out—that's what I'd do.

What would you do?

I would establish an economic system by which we would exchange products for products only, and not producers for products, by which a man might get a loaf to put under his waistcoat without giving the entire contents of his whole suit of clothes for what should be so small a matter in our times. I would attach asses' tails and ears to the statesmen whose working people were not assured of the means of providing themselves with the necessities of life; they should be banished as traitors or despised as fools or as frauds, who are not able to solve the bread problem in the twentieth century.

What would you do?

I would restore to the world's workers the world's instruments of working, to all crafts and professions I would restore their tools, and as the race skill and the race work became less personally and locally divided, and more nationally organic, I would reduce the policy of the nation into accord with the chief activity of the nation, and so transform the modern Kaiser and McKinley state to an industrial commonwealth—that is, I would begin to vote for Socialism at once, as all things are now ready.

What would you do?

I would endeavor to restore the lost virtue of public spirit which we read about in pagan authors, such as Plutarch, or I would compel every profit-monger in the land to shut up shop three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, as an act of public mourning over the lost virtue of patriotism, until he found it, where he had hidden it away, under his private fortune. I would then reward him according to his patriotic services, that is, his labor; and I would teach him the meaning of "the country"—a name which the sacrilegious lips of the exploiting commercialists so long have desecrated.

What would you do?

I would so order it that instead of one select class of inside gentlemen swiping away to themselves all the proceeds of modern invention and progress, the rest of the nation would be also permitted to share civilization with them; and share it in a natural and equitable ratio of numbers, and according to the rights of the producer over his product. This right I would make inalienable; and as all production is now rapidly becoming national, the private owner who stops the wheels of progress I would soon grind out of the way.

What would you do?

I would give the producers the right of way in the public service. They having been trained in the work, and the conduct of it, I would seek my new statesmen among the labor organizations of the country, and I would give to the present capitalistic politicians what they never gave to me—a long holiday, with pay (for I would pay them for keeping out of the way until they learned to do something).

What would you do?

I would make war for, and rent for money as unnecessary and foolish as it would have been for the Jews to fight for, or rent the manna dews in the wilderness; for I would take away all fear of poverty by giving the right of work to all, and thus break the sceptre of the money king and of the devil. By destroying that social gulf of the pauper-proletaire, I would remove all terror, hatred and strife from our cities; the miser would put on a clean shirt and come out laughing, scattering to the winds his fear-born bonds and mortgages. The fiends of competition, which now scourge the human race with whips of mad fear to escape from poverty, or to obtain greater mastery over the poor, would languish and die. Sin would disappear from the earth and there would be no more talk of hell.

What would you do?

Teach the working man that as a producer it is his happy privilege to have been depersonalized; that the magnificently organized industry of the world has wiped him out individually, thank God. And I would teach him the splendor of the new interest and identity which he has thus obtained with the race. I would show how this economic disintegration of him down to a helpless atom was the process necessarily preceding the moral and social reconstruction of society.

What would you do?

I would exhibit from our daily papers and the daily doings of our legislators that the right of a dollarocracy can endure no other right; that it is its nature to translate every human interest into terms of itself—into fractions of itself, and as such to destroy them by competition; that all morals, religion, art, poetry and learning must in time submit to this process of pricing; and once priced, must pass under the yoke and sceptre of the profit-monger.

What would you do?

I would certainly see to it that our greatest achievements could not become our greatest curses; that internationalism could not become what it has in the hands of commerce, a sluice gate through which demoralization, deterioration, cheapness, idleness and despair come upon the hapless working people of each nation, taken by itself. I would see that the world market was not turned into an international club to beat down separately the life of every man.

What would you do?

I would advise you to tell every one of your labor-

ing comrades, and to tell them every day in the year and all day Sunday, that private capitalism is the enemy of labor. I would advise you to hinder it, to expose and indict it, as the enemy of man, the modern Antichrist, the black pilot which is steering the nations of the world to barbarism and anarchy.

What would you do?

Teach my children to be among the first of the new intellects to rise out of those tombs of the profit-monger, the modern factories. I would be among the first to roll away the stone for those that are not alive enough to roll it away for themselves. I would teach every laborer the sanctity of his private property in the ballot.

What would you do?

I would set up a great Socialist oven in which I would sterilize every dollar in the land; so that no idler could live a barren life upon the evil fecundity of money out at interest. I would cut off all those little tentacles from the dollar by which it always lays hold upon something for its owner more than its owner laid down.

What would you do?

I would so raise the tone of property morals that a man would be ashamed to possess anything for which he had not rendered adequate service, so that property based upon the gift of a bad past, or as the unavoidable gift of death, would lift its voice upon the street and ask for opportunity to justify itself in the service of the present and the future. Having thus obtained public credentials to its right, the arbitrary and demoralizing nature of private property through gift, theft or inheritance would be taken away and it would become possible for a man to be both rich and honorable.

What would you do?

I would establish a professional chair in all the colleges, from Stanford to Yale, where there should be demonstrations given of the fact that profit is not the mere innocent exchange of one sum of money for another larger sum of money; but that it is the art of so placing a piece of money near the poor, hungered life of the laborer, that in his effort to obtain through it the power of getting bread, he parts with that portion of primitive value residing in labor, as is expressed in the difference between the sum laid down and the sum taken up by the profit-monger. I would do this if the colleges would let me; but would they?

What would you do?

I would obtain permission to go through every factory in the country to address the people working there, in order to show them that profit is a guilty deal between one branch of the monarchy and another branch of it, made over the head of the bound laborer, and made distinctly with reference to his inability to resist the crime, and made upon the compulsion under which he lives to work, and to pay out of his hide all balances; and that he cannot, or will not, resist. Then I would take dinner with the boss if he asked me; but would he?!

What would you do?

I would do my part to show that we are not kicking against the intercourse of nations which capitalism has brought about; but against the superficiality, the mere commercialism of that intercourse, and I would gladly acknowledge that commercialism, after its private teeth and claws are extracted and the individualistic poison is purged out of it, will have proved a good schoolmaster for leading the nations away from competitive private property, into the light, liberty and equality of socialism.

What would you do?

I would, while admitting the exchange of commodities between nations and persons to be always natural, just and necessary, most energetically deny that it is either natural, just or necessary that such exchange should always result in making one of the parties poorer and the other richer; and I would keep before the public mind this fact, that the two principles in all the complexities of modern trade are the class producing and the class buying; that the consumers are only the field upon which trade is a prolonged battle between capital and labor, arrayed in classes against each other, and I would transfer the struggle to the political field—that's what I'd do.

What would you do?

I would accept nearly all the facts accomplished by capitalism as good and useful facts for mankind to absorb, and since the capitalist has established the law that a man cannot derive any profit out of himself, but must derive it out of others if he is to have it, I would commend that lesson to all the pursuers of really good things and show that the good of each is derived only by contributing to the greater good of all. In fact, I would show what an excellent thing capitalism is when you turn it upside down.

What would you do?

I would write it deep on the memory of man, what a cruel, savage principle that of profit-hunting is. I would embalm, if it were possible, the rotten corpse of capitalism, so that future times might see it with minds unpolluted by its demoralizing effects and never forget. I would put on record the hired cynicism of the pulpit towards the poor and conquered laborers. I would immortalize the brutalities of our great editorial leading articles on questions pending between labor and capital. I would put on a high gibbet half of the speeches now printed in the Congressional Record, so that generations to come, who would not read them, might at least smell them and flee; and I would preserve the evidences now multiplying around us that the profit-monger is a traitor to every principle, obligation and government that does not mean his own private democracy, and nothing else triumphant.

The London Express announces that electrical printing, without the use of ink, is a success. The inventor has secured patents. Printing can be done on web presses.

J. P. Morgan has secured control of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton railway, paying \$5,000,000 for it, and J. J. Hill has grabbed the Lake Superior road and the D. O. & S.

The billion-dollar steel combine has absorbed more independent mines in the Lake Superior region, capitalized at \$2,000,000, and has gobbled the American Sheet Co. of Pennsylvania.

It is almost settled that the pet project of Morgan will soon be accomplished by the absorption of the bridge trust, and the gobbling of the Rockefeller mines, railroads, and steamships will mean the addition of another quarter of a billion to the present capital stock of the United States Steel Corporation.

## Socialism in Chicago

By Laura Willard Taft.

Chicago Socialists were much encouraged by the results of the recent city election. John Collins, the candidate of the Socialist party for mayor, received 5,384 votes, the Social Democratic candidate reports 2,043, while the candidate of the Socialist Labor Party received 679 votes, making a total for Socialism of 8,106 ballots. This is a gain of nearly 2,000 over the total Chicago vote for Debs and Harriman last November, and of more than 3,000 over the Socialist vote of a year ago, when there was but one Socialist ticket in the field. Indeed, the Socialist Party alone shows an increase of nearly 400 votes over the entire Socialist vote last year, while the vote for Comrade Collins is more than four-fold that for Comrade Klenke at the last mayoral election two years ago, when our ticket was in the field under the name of Socialist Labor Party.

The present Socialist Party of Chicago represents the united Socialist movement in this city. Throughout the trying summer of 1899, the Chicago Socialists remained practically united. During the fall and winter of that year, the desire for a union of all Socialists steadily increased, and the action of the Rochester and Indianapolis conventions was heartily endorsed. In common with many other sections of the Socialist Labor Party throughout the country, this desire for harmony and unity led the party in Chicago to vote almost unanimously for the name Social Democratic for the united party, in spite of the personal preference of a majority of the Chicago membership for a name which should include the word "Socialist."

Although this desire for union was for the time defeated, the party continued to increase rapidly in membership and effectiveness, twenty-five open-air meetings being held weekly throughout the summer of 1900. As the time for the presidential election approached, independent Socialist bodies, particularly the Federation of Social Justice and the Social Crusade, became increasingly influential, and aided by their urgency, which had always been in favor of union, a representative convention of all Socialist bodies in the city was held in September, at which a basis of union for the fall campaign was agreed upon under the distinct understanding that a truly representative national unity convention would be favored by all present, at as early a date as possible in 1901.

After the close of the fall campaign, two-thirds of the membership of the joint campaign committee, backed by an overwhelming majority of the Socialists of Chicago, desired to continue the local union till a national unity convention could be held. None present will be able to forget the magnificent mass convention for unity held in Brand's Hall on November 18th, where, in spite of an all-day rain, morning, afternoon and evening sessions were held, the two last being crowded to the doors by an enthusiastic audience, which frequently interrupted with applause the splendid appeals for a united Socialist movement made by Comrades Wise, Mills, Stitt Wilson and Herron. Readers of the ADVANCE have doubtless already read the resolutions favoring a National Unity Convention drawn up by the Committee of Fifteen, elected at this meeting, and unanimously adopted by the audience of the evening. These resolutions were sent to the national Socialist boards and were furnished to the Socialist press.

It is needless to go into details regarding the subsequent events in local Socialist history. Indeed, the movement has been so rapid that it would be difficult to describe it fully in the limits of a single article. Suffice it to say that the party having headquarters at Washington street thought it best not to join the effort for union, and finally nominated a separate city ticket. Before this had been done, however, one more effort was made by the majority of Chicago Socialists in the direction of honest unity, and a delegate convention numbering 165—five from each of thirty-three wards—assembled in December in Uhlisch's Hall, party lines not being drawn, all Socialists having been invited to the preceding ward conventions, which were called by the joint campaign committee. It was here decided to take the name Socialist Party in the coming spring campaign, a strong city platform was drawn up, and John Collins of the Machinists' Union was nominated for mayor at the head of a full city ticket.

The campaign just closed has been carried on with earnestness and enthusiasm. The comrades entered strenuously on the difficult work of securing petitions, 13,000 names being finally handed in—an excess of nearly 5,000 over the number required by law. Full town tickets were nominated, and aldermanic tickets in nearly all the wards, the Socialist Party being the only one of the seven parties in the field, outside the Democrats and Republicans, of which this can be said. Large public meetings were held each week in every part of the city, practically all of the speakers who aided last fall in the campaign for Debs and Harriman, in addition to many new recruits, working now for the Socialist Party. In these meetings factional discourses was absolutely excluded, arguments being directed solely to the merits of Socialism as compared with a capitalist organization of society. In this connection mention should be made of the splendid aid given by Comrade C. H. Vail of New Jersey, during the four days he spent in Chicago, and to the preparatory and educational work done by Comrade George D. Heron in his Sunday afternoon addresses at Central Music Hall, from January to March inclusive, and by Comrade W. T. Mills, in his Night School of Social Economics.

During the last week of the campaign forty-two public meetings were held, and in addition Comrades Collins, Berlyn, Morgan and Mills spoke before twenty-two different local trade unions on the claims of Socialism. There were distributed in Chicago alone 20,000 copies of the illustrated campaign edition of the "Workers' Call," 50,000 pink stickers containing the Socialist Party name and a picture of John Collins, and 100,000 copies of Comrade Collins' letter of acceptance. In addition, thousands of hand-bills and posters were printed and distributed by the comrades of the various ward branches, announcing the local meetings.

The Socialist movement in Chicago has never been in so prosperous a condition as now. During the past year the membership has more than doubled, now including over 1,200 dues-paying members, in addition to the affiliated branches of the Poles and Lithuanians, making a total of nearly 1,500. Not only this, but the spirit of friendliness and harmony and mutual tolera-

tion has greatly increased, while at the same time the education of the comrades in the fundamental principles of Socialism was never so rapid as now, nor the individual earnestness of the membership greater than at present. Permanent headquarters have been established in several of the city wards, notably at the Socialist Temple on Western Avenue, where a Socialist meeting in some form is held on nearly every day of the week, in addition to three Sunday meetings, and at "Socialist Hall," in the northwest section of the city. Spite of the chilly lake winds, arrangements are already being made for open-air meetings, which will be held from May to October on some prominent corner in each of the wards of the city.

In all public meetings more and more attention is being paid to Socialist songs, the recently issued Socialist song book being a new aid, and the services of Comrade Strickland, the West division organizer, being in frequent demand as conductor.

For more effective propaganda, the city has recently been divided into four organization districts, each electing a paid organizer, who will devote his entire time to the work. The General Committee of the Socialist Party now meets but once each month, thus securing a full attendance at each meeting. This committee is composed of two members from each of the thirty-four ward branches, with one additional delegate for each twenty ward members over a minimum of twenty. Routine business for the party is conducted by an executive committee of seven, meeting each Monday night at 36 N. Clark street.

The last meeting of the General Committee was of particular interest, owing to the unanimous decision reached to affiliate with the Springfield Committee while retaining the present local name of Socialist Party, the party having been independent of all national boards since the city convention held in December. It is of interest to note that the motion for affiliation with Springfield came from Comrade Strickland, the secretary last year of the Indianapolis convention. As to the party name in this city, it is the almost unanimous sentiment of Chicago Socialists that the ultimate name for the party which will unite the Socialists of America must be one which will stand plainly and simply for SOCIALISM, without danger of confusion with any capitalist party, and this the name "Socialist Party" distinctly does.

A statement of the present status of Socialism in Chicago should not close without reference to the part played by the "Workers' Call" as an educator and organizer. Owing to the growth of the Socialist press in other parts of the country, the "Call" has come to be a local organ more than was formerly the case, but has steadily increased in value and influence. Recently its cartoons have been a feature of new influence. The two years of its existence have been distinctively the years of greatest growth of Socialism in Chicago.

Chicago, April 19, 1901.

## THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN MICHIGAN.

By George A. Eastman, Detroit, Mich.

What can I write from Michigan that will at once be of interest to Socialists and instructive to those wage-workers not yet aware of what Socialism is? This is the question that perplexes me in my attempt to write an article for the May-day number of the ADVANCE.

The first thing that occurs to me is to advise both to subscribe for this worthy paper; and if, at the end of the year, the Socialists do not find in it anything of interest, and the others nothing in it instructive to them, I think the Socialists hard to please, and the wage-workers very dull indeed.

The next thing that occurs to me is, that in 1896 the total Socialist vote in Michigan was less than 300; this spring's election we polled 925 votes in Saginaw county alone, 300 in Flint, about 500 in Detroit, 67 in the little town of St. Clair, 125 in Ann Arbor, and other cities and towns throughout the State in like proportion; and, although the total vote is not all in, it will exceed that of two years ago, which was 3,190, by many thousands. This is a story in itself. The wage-worker, who cannot gather from this instruction as to his place in politics, or at least set him to studying the question of Socialism, cannot be classed among men—even though they be wage-slaves; the most appropriate title for such as they would be simply "It." In fact, were it not for the power they wield against the interests of the working-class by the misuse of the ballot, they could be considered nonentities.

Michigan is decidedly the home of the middle class, being, as it is, made up largely of small farmers, or rather farmers operating small farms, and industries which have, for the most part, as yet not developed into trusts; and is, for that reason, one of the hardest fields for propaganda in the Union—at least, that is what we think who have to face middle-class egotistic philosophy in all its pomposity, and only win our progress towards enlightenment and freedom of the wage-slave by fighting for every inch of the ground gained.

We have with us also the "humane" employer, who has large, well-ventilated work-rooms for "his" employees; which are considered an offset for the small wages he pays, as well as the reason they should continue to vote him or his class into public office—so as to reduce the car-fares to three cents in order that they may more fully enjoy the nice workshops—and less pay.

The "labor leader," who knows about as much of political economy as the devil does of holy water, yet, from his activity and shrewdness in the trades union movement becomes a prominent figure in the public eye as one who has "influence," and is nominated on one or the other of the old-party tickets, as a bait to catch the votes of trades unionists for one of those parties who stand for the protection of the bosses and the subjection of the union, is another quite dangerous breed—or rather half-breed—wolverines, that Michigan Socialists, as well as trades unions, are cursed with.

Then there is the "friends of labor"; the one plank directs the legislation; the single taxer; the double taxer; the equal taxer; the Christian Socialists; the Utopian Socialists; the philosophical anarchist; and, last but not least, the "Socialists—too"; all ranting and raving over the horrors and injustice of present conditions; but, when asked for a remedy, advise the workers to vote for either the Democrat or Republican party, "in order to have their votes count"; that it may be said that "your party won." None of these

Continued on Page 6.



## ADVANCE

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## TO OUR COMRADES AND FRIENDS:

ADVANCE gives you fraternal greetings. Europe, America, Australia, Asia and Africa join hands in a cordial hand-clasp around the world. The international proletariat, rising above the petty national hatreds and race prejudices which the ruling classes seek to foster, proclaims the solidarity of mankind. Let each comrade take fresh courage and renewed vigor. The cause of labor prospers. Capitalism totters to its fall. The Socialist Commonwealth looms up nearer, brighter and better than our fondest hopes had pictured. Rejoice! Our victory is sure.

Thomas A. Hickey has been declared "Un-constitu-tional."

The rumors of a ship-building trust are evolving into well-founded reports. Well, why not?

The man that works himself will find his life bounded in the shallows and miseries of poverty. To get rich you must work others. Carnegie vouches for this, and who should know better?

Don't forget our dance at Turn Verein Hall, Saturday evening, May 4th. Aside from the good to the party, you should attend for the good to yourself. A splendid time is guaranteed. This is a special occasion. Come and make it a success with your presence. Don't forget. This means you!

John Wanamaker has changed his mind. A year ago he thought there was nothing discreditable in the trusts. Now, since Morgan has gone into the dry goods' business, he thinks they should be destroyed. A little block of the "Preferred" may cause John to change back to the complacent view. He always was susceptible to a little change, was John.

The Tuesday evening "Bulletin" had two suggestive headings on its first page. The first was, "The Czar Exiles Count Tolstoi." The second was, "The President Pardons a Bank-wrecker." Thus in Russia the good are punished and in America the bad are pardoned. In both the oppressors and exploiters of the people are more powerful than those whose lives are devoted to the popular welfare.

Pettigrew is said to have made nearly a million dollars in stock speculations recently. The dispatch announcing this states that Pettigrew will try for re-election to the Senate, and naively adds, "It is thought that his chances are much improved over last fall." We hope so. It forwards the general scheme to have the successful gamblers lay down the rules to govern that gambling hell, the United States of America.

Our May Day celebration will surpass anything of recent years. The speakers are among the best in the party. The music will be of first-class quality. Madame Carbonetto, soprano, Miss Herold, soprano, and the Maennerchor will entertain the audience between the brief speeches of the comrades.

Don't forget. Wednesday, May 1st, at Metropolitan Temple, Fifth street. Bring a friend; if possible, bring two.

A capitalist sheet of San Francisco indulged itself in an underhanded, insinuating attack on the character and integrity of our Comrade Prof. Herron. Next day comes a telegram which proves that the allegations are either perversions of fact or falsehoods made out of whole cloth. The editor ought to exercise a stricter censorship of his dispatches. He will not then so often stultify himself. We will give him a tip: The people understand what your attack means. They know that you wish to disgrace Herron, because you wish to discredit the Socialist movement. They know and are not misled. Their first thought is, "You lie in every word."

Next week the official organ of our party in New York will come out under the heading, "The Worker." Under the old familiar title of "The People," it did valiant service in the cause of the worker of this country. Under its new title, "The Worker," it will continue to do the same service in the cause of the people of the same country. There is no difference. A change of name means nothing. That middle-class reformer, Mr. De Leon, is welcome to the use of the name of the courts secured for him. The people will listen to "The Worker," but unless the reformer aforementioned changes his attitude towards the proletarian movement, the worker won't listen to "The People." This will be inconvenient for Daniel. But, then, he was ever content with a small audience.

Benjamin Ide Wheeler, president of the University of California, in a speech to the students of that institution, commended the act of Stanford students in ducking Montgomery, who had the manhood to denounce the acts of Jordan in suppressing academic freedom. He claimed that criticism was not loyalty, that students should be loyal. This is a case of like causes producing like effects. Wheeler and Jordan are boon companions. Mrs. Hearst has been endowed the University of California as Mrs. Stanford has endowed the Stanford University. Wheeler is the protege of one as Jordan is of the other. The interests of the two are identical with the interest of all capitalists. Education must be used to foster prejudice against and perpetuate ignorance of Socialism. Hence all radicalism must be suppressed. Those who object to its suppression must be denounced as disloyal and forthwith "ducked" to cool their ardor for liberty. A pretty sight of disgusting servility is this, for the heads of two institutions whose financial resources might lift them to a commanding position in the intellectual world. Seldom indeed do men make themselves so contemptible as these two, over whose bodies, prone before Mammon, a decent dog would not spew his vomit.

## HURRAH FOR THE FIRST OF MAY!

"A nation is known by its holidays," says an old writer. If this be so, the international holiday of Labor will be its glory. Springtime, the time of growing life, of freshness, of joy—springtime, when the grass is green, when trees and flowers are budding and blossoming into fragrance and beauty—springtime, then when the mating birds never display brighter plumage or sing more sweetly and cheerily—springtime, when the sap goes up the trees and the warm blood floods the arteries, full of fire and life, when the sky is blue and the breeze breathes joyous music through the trees. What time so appropriate as this for Labor's festival?

May-day, the first of May, celebrated by the people from time immemorial, a day of rejoicing, of dancing, of merriment. On this day the ancient Romans sacrificed to Maia, the "fruitful mother." With flowers and wreaths, with songs and dances, the people and priests went forth to do homage to the eldest and fairest of the seven Pleiades, the goddess of new life, of growing crops, of youth and increase. With the invasion of England this custom was introduced and planted in the British soil. There it prospered. The spread of Christianity robbed it of its religious character, but its symbolic significance did not diminish. Early in the morning the jovial villagers went to the woods, selected a May-pole, brought it home to the village common and garlanded it with wreaths and flowers. Then about it they held their dances and games. May-day has always been a merry, popular festival, nowhere more merry or more popular than in old Merry England.

The working-class could not have hit upon a happier day than this when it declared the First of May the International Labor Day, and called upon the toilers of the earth to hold a festival and make a demonstration of their multitudinous numbers and their fraternal solidarity throughout the world. The proletariat accepts the old significances of the day. Who more than they, whose very name signifies offspring, should do homage to the "fruitful mother," Maia? Who, more than labor, should celebrate with joy and merriment the day of beginnings, of growth, of life? We, that wish labor to be common to all, fruitful to all, pleasurable to all, surely none other than we should have this day with its glad memories. For Labor's holiday no other time will do than that when all the earth is pregnant with growing life, with budding fruitage. Labor, the creator of wealth, the tiller of the field, the delver in the mine, the artisan in the factory, the toiler of the sea. Labor, that takes the gifts of nature from the uttermost ends of the earth and with infinite patience and toil transforms them into all the beauties, the luxuries and necessities, ready for mankind's use. Labor shall take for its time of jubilation the immemorial feast of the First of May.

But a new significance is added to it now. The changes of the times have brought new duties and inspired the proletariat with higher hopes and more glorious ideals than ever yet have pulsed in the hearts and brains of men. Throughout all history, since the earliest times, the mass of the human race has dwelt in poverty and ignorance. Proofs are plenteous that there was a time when neither master nor slave existed. But then the primitive people were barely able, by the most strenuous toil, to win a living. Later, when accumulating knowledge and advancing civilization rendered the labor of earning a living far less arduous, the "captains, lords and masters of all lands" appropriated for themselves the surplus and the people worked on in misery and degradation. So it has been, even down to this, our day. The progress of civilization seems but to be the greening of the distinction between the rich and the poor. It was so in Rome, and since the fall of Rome, as Europe has shaken itself free from the chaos of that fall and builded up its own imperial states, the fruit of this work of ages has been plucked by the rich, the ruling class. In America, too, since the stern and resolute band of Pilgrims landed on the inhospitable New England coast, with all the wonderful stores of wealth since uncovered by western emigration, with all the marvelous mechanical devices that the ingenious Yankee brain has invented, multiplying the efficiency of labor a thousand fold; yet there are thousands and tens of thousands in our city maelstroms, whose lot is worse than that of the first band of snow-bound, famished Puritans. Three centuries of labor have gone to make the multimillionaire. Labor is still under the yoke of a master. But now at last the end of this is attainable and plain.

Three centuries of labor have gone to make the multi-millionaire. But to create him, it has had to first build up a mighty industrial organization, the like of which, in breadth of scope, productiveness and perfection the world has never seen. Conflicting, competing interests have been co-ordinated. Individual enterprises have been assimilated into great associations. Organization, specialization, co-operation and centralization have become the watchwords of business management. No longer is there a multiplicity of independent concerns. The mammoth trusts have combined all these and a unity of administration and solidarity of interests pervade the various industries, from Maine to California. Co-operation has become the governing principle of industry, with the necessary unity of control. This has prepared the way for national ownership and fraternal co-operation of the productive and distributive institutions of the country. It has made straight the paths for the army of emancipation to assault the capitalist fortress within whose dungeons humanity and progress are confined. On May Day rings out the defiant battle-cry of Labor as it advances to storm the entrenchments of its enemy.

This new significance has been added to the First of May, that on that day Labor declares its independence of capital and celebrates in the hope of a better time.

Labor Day—what hope is in the term! Its institution proclaims at last the consciousness of labor of its common interest the world around. It proclaims that organization of Labor, for Labor's welfare is effected. And this implies vast changes, mighty transformations. Once more the world shall go through the birth pangs of a new society. Labor, that conquers all things, shall be victorious over the hosts of darkness and reaction. It will overthrow the capitalist system of society, which makes men the dependents of dollars, and establish the workers republic, where manhood, not money, shall be the criterion of the people's worth. No more confusion! Labor will manage all things in an orderly manner without waste. No more

competition! Labor will desire co-operation to secure the most productive results. No more war! Labor desires only peace, to prosper. The sword and torch are useful to those only who seek to enslave and impoverish. No more slavery! Labor cannot exploit without betraying itself. No more poverty and dependence! Labor will produce in plenty and all will have the right to work.

Peace and Plenty, Equality and Justice, Liberty and Fraternity—these are the things of which the International Labor Day is significant. Hurrah for the First of May!

## A WORKINGMAN COMMITS SUICIDE AND SELLS HIS BONES TO FEED HIS FAMILY.

A machinist out of work committed suicide Tuesday in this city, and bequeathed his body to any medical institution that would give his wife and children food for a month. Discouragement followed in the footsteps of the poor mechanic's inability to find employment. And death was the only method he had of changing a mean condition into one that, while not grand, perhaps, can at least be tolerated, though he may be unconscious of the toleration.

They say the dead do not feel, neither do they think. But even if dust and no more than dust, the man who once possessed the breath of life, who could feel the surging of the blood through his veins at a glimpse of the sea, who could walk bare of head beneath the stars, who could commune with nature and hear her whisperings, who could know the kindness of a father and the true greatness of a friend, to compel a man with such possibilities to suffer and to die from lack of bread, is sufficient condemnation for a thousand systems of exploitation such as this. Perhaps, as the "Call" says, it was cowardly to die in these prosperous days, but the suicide willed his share of the prosperity to his wife and children, and as long as the "Call" knows where this thing that brings joy to the soul is located, perhaps a line from the editor to the family would not be amiss.

It is one of the saddest possible commentaries on our civilization that a man willing to work, strong and capable, with a family to live for, should be compelled to lay down his life. The time is fast approaching when any man, no matter what his position in society may be, who demands work, will have it furnished. There will be no charity in it. There will be no benevolence in it. Men have the right to be born and, being born, they have the right to life. Life does not mean the poor privilege of begging for work to sustain that life. It means that men with courage and conviction will sweep aside this system of inequality and degradation and establish in its stead a system of equality and true manhood. The right to be equal will be a "natural right," and like all "natural rights," will find its sustaining qualities in the strong arms of those who support it. Then will be quality of opportunity, and that shall go hand in hand with equality of duty, an opportunity to do the best for yourself and a duty to do the best for your neighbor. These things will come, fellow-workers, when we are ready for them. Because we are not ready for them; because we have not the intelligence to demand and the courage to enforce the demand, we are imposed upon by the capitalist class. This class tells us certain laws are at work, under the inspiration and guidance of nature, whereby men like this mechanic cannot survive. Shall we listen with patience much longer? Shall we go on hoodmen-blind to the end of the chapter? Shall we trust our master's word or our own true judgment? These are things we must answer when we read of a workingman selling his bones to a medical college to feed his starving babies.

## LETTER BOX

Inquirer, N. Y.—Delednism is a noun, derived from the Latin *delco*, "I destroy." Applied to the labor movement it comprehends those tactics in trades unions and Socialist organizations which, by sowing suspicion and discord, destroy solidarity and disrupt the society. For further information apply to Ananias Hickey, formerly of New Reade street, your borough.

"Kangaroo," Oakland.—I. Yes. Thomas Ananias Asinine Hickey has been expelled. E. T. Kingsley has been expelled, Geo. Speed and others are out of it. 2. Insubordination and misappropriation of funds. Possibly too bad, even for the S. L. P. 3. "When thieves fall out, honest men get their dues." 4. McGinty speaks, but Austin Lewis is hors du combat. Griest and France do not agree. Latter, of course, is on top. Alphonso does not compare favorably with either right or left Bauer.

S. D. P., City.: "Should Socialists oppose the tendency of public ownership of the public franchises in municipalities where the working class is not in control of the public powers, though in possession of the elective franchise?"—No. The "tendency" is the inevitable result of our industrial evolution. The franchised industries have become monopolies, and the logic of the situation drives the class-unconscious people to desire them to become public monopolies—the taxpayers to save taxes, the workmen because of a deep-seated, though undefined, dislike of millionaire monopolists. We should be as foolish to "oppose" this as to oppose labor-saving machinery or the trust. Our attitude should be to show that public ownership by a government controlled by the capitalist parties is only making the city or state take the place of the private capitalist in the exploitation of the men who do the work of operating the industries. We must draw a distinct line between municipalization to save taxes and municipalization to benefit the workingmen. The middle class seems more and more to shift to the platform: "Let the nation own the trusts." Our work as Socialists must be to organize the working class so that it shall own the nation. National ownership of industries without the working class in control of the nation is not Socialism; it is state capitalism—a thing to be avoided. If that comes, our battle will still have to be fought for the workers' commonwealth.

A \$15,000,000 board box trust is being formed.

Trading and transportation concerns of Alaska trustified and capitalized at \$10,125,000.

The two cereal trusts, one having played "independent" to get opposition concerns in line, will now unite with \$40,000,000 capital.

The American, Adams, United States and Southern express companies are going to consolidate.

## IN THE Industrial Arena

BY JOS. J. NIEL.

Wage workers, who belong to any trade that is not yet organized should send their names and addresses to the "Labor Editor," whose name 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," 184 Murphy Building.

Divested of all sentiment, removed from all conceptions of abstract right and wrong, the irrepressible conflict between capital and labor presents evidence of a force it would be well to pause and consider. Without sympathy for one side or the other, an appreciation of their relations will bring forth much that will astonish the average man outside of the Socialist ranks. And all May Day sermons are for these outsiders.

Combination by the capitalists is an accepted fact. There may not be a firm, oath-bound organization of the owners of the means of production and distribution, for the purpose of bringing co-operation among themselves into being, but, nevertheless, the co-operation is here. The continual wrangling with isolated unions may have accelerated the process, it may have been the cause of the first impulse to combine, but if the unions get the credit, or just plain evolution, is immaterial. All combinations are offensive or defensive in character, and where the necessity for defence is reduced, the opportunity for offence is increased. This has been observed of these combinations of capital. Having an impregnable position, they wage war with impunity. They ride rough shod over the wishes of all not members of the trust; they have no respect for either producer or consumer; they ignore the laws, and where the laws cannot be ignored they purchase a favorable decision. That these combinations, on the other hand, have accomplished good cannot be gainsaid. Waste in a thousand ways has been eliminated from the production and distribution of things. And chief among the good may be mentioned the eventual, permanent quietus of that drag on civilization, the little bourgeois. There is nothing more distasteful to the man of sense than this product of a past age, with his small pretenses and his noisy egotism.

But the evil far outweighs the good. In fact, the good is only incidental. The trust has a natural impulse to crush the producer and the consumer to a position of abject subserviency. Nothing, apparently, stays this impulse. All the forces of society, legal and other, are with these soulless combinations. Absolute control of the market is not only possible, it is assured. The universal trust can dictate terms to all men, for it will possess all the means whereby men get food. It can ask whatever price it pleases; it can pay as much wages or as little as it likes. To the consumer it can say, "Unless you pay what is asked you will not consume." To the producer it can say: "Unless you take what wages are offered you will not produce." And both, being barred from dealing with a competitor of the trust, will be compelled to make terms.

Side by side, almost step by step with these combinations of capital, however, has labor made progress in combination. The task has been a harder one. Labor is even more conservative than capital. It is less mobile and is cohesive only under stress. But there is a law that even labor, with all its conservatism, is compelled to obey; that is, to resist with a ferocity commensurate with the intensity of the assault. Activity that is offensive will bring into being active defence. Every onslaught of capital will compel a building of fortifications and will eventually bring forth a demand for reprisals. These fortifications of labor are undoubtedly the labor unions, and from the labor unions will march that army which will stay the heavy blows capital inflicts upon our common humanity. The trust will be met in the field by an enemy equal in force, equal in extent and equal in powers of consolidation. The day when any single capitalist or combination of capitalists could corner an isolated union and beat it into submission is past. The national union, finding its membership among the skilled mechanics of the country, has come to realize that co-operation on the part of its unions, not as separate organizations, sub-divided according to a special department of human skill, but as a combined organization, moving at the behest of a central body, is the only safeguard against the encroachments of capital. The trust is capital centralized. The national union is labor centralized. The trust is moving towards further centralization, and a trust of trusts is the inevitable outcome. Already the national unions are moving towards consolidation, and there will be a vast union of unions. It is only a matter of time till these conflicting forces confront each other on a single battlefield. Already the guns are being unlimbered for action.

The sullen growls preceding the compromise between the Amalgamated Trades Unions and the steel trust, give a hint of the fierceness of the battle when it occurs. Two hundred thousand men were arrayed against Schwab and his associates. Through combination this general manager Schwab is able to draw an emperor's salary of one million dollars a year; yet he discharged men who advocated combination whereby they would be able to make two or three dollars a day. The contrast is so glaring that the most dense can appreciate it. And they will be urged on by this contrast, when the struggle comes, to do desperate deeds.

But back of Schwab is the whole system of government. Through idiocy the workingmen have held themselves aloof from the government so long that it is entirely in the hands of the capitalist class. And being so, it has become an instrument for the undoing of the workers. That is why Schwab, who gets a million dollars a year, can dare to force two hundred thousand of our fellow creatures to the verge of starvation, if he so wills. The pernicious education of workingmen in the trades unions and out, that they have no concern with politics, is the cause of it all. If the government were back of the men, and there is no reason to suppose it could not be supporting them in their just demands, the steel trust magnates would possibly cut in a little on their own profits before condemning two hundred thousand men to wear out their souls for a pittance. As an instance of the power of the ballot to win a victory for labor, one need only refer to the coal miners' strike of last year. McKinley had to be elected, and Hanna undertook to negotiate terms for the miners. The terms were entirely satisfactory, as both McKinley and the miners



retained their former positions. But if there had been no presidential election and no demand for the votes of workmen, the miners could be still out on strike, or, broken and defeated, they could have accepted the mine-owners' terms. Neither Hanna nor McKinley would have cared, only to send a section of the regular army into the district.

Does not that lesson come home to the workers? And how much more effective would the vast army of toilers be if they marched to the polls and registered their votes for themselves? Yet the next phase of the irrepressible conflict, if the signs and portents of the times count for anything, will bring forth such an army, showing a solid and unbroken front to the enemy, not alone in the economic, but in the political field. It is in the political field that the really great battle will be fought.

The struggle by the trust magnates, for profits and by the workers for life will reduce itself between them into a struggle for control of the state. There can be only one outcome. With a knowledge of the proper means to get freedom and a firm belief in their own strength, nothing will keep the workingmen of this country in a position of semi-slavery. And under a system where a Schwab has the power to subject two hundred thousand men to possible starvation, no man is really free.

## LABOR LAWS AND COURT DECISIONS

By Cameron H. King, Sr.

The conflict of class interests between labor and capital is as noticeable in the action of legislatures and executives, and in the decisions of courts, as it is in the management of industry and general conduct of capitalist production.

Labor is not represented in the legislative executive or judicial departments of the government. All of these being under the control of the capitalist class, it will only be the interest of that class which will be conserved.

A capitalist legislature is seldom induced to pass an act which is in the interest of labor. If such an act is passed, it generally falls before the veto of a capitalist executive. Should, it, however, be born into existence as an actual living law, it can scarcely hope to avoid immediate arrest and condemnation, or to escape the judicial ax of a capitalist court.

The New York and New Jersey courts furnish the latest illustrations, though only the last of a long series.

The labor unions of New York, with much effort, great expense and persistent lobbying, secured the passage of a law which compelled contractors engaged in doing public work to pay the prevailing rate of trade union wages. The New York court declared it unconstitutional, as an interference with the freedom of contract.

In New Jersey a law requiring the union label on all official printing has been held unconstitutional on the same grounds.

The constitutional provision with which these laws are claimed to be in conflict is as follows: "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law." (Fourteenth Amend't, U. S. Const.)

This provision of the United States Constitution, which upon its face appears so eminently just and righteous, is also repeated in substance in the several state constitutions.

"Freedom to contract" is not mentioned in express terms in the constitution, but the argument of the courts in all this class of cases is that "the privilege of contracting is both a liberty and a property right." (Frorer vs. Peo., 141 Ill. 171.) "Liberty includes the right to acquire property and that means and includes the right to make and enforce contracts." (St. vs. Loomis, 115 Mo. 307.) "Labor is property and the laborer has the same right to sell his labor and to contract with reference thereto as has any other property owner." (Ritchie vs. Peo., 155 Ill. 98; 46 Am. St. R. 319.) "The right to labor or employ labor and make contracts in respect thereto upon such terms as may be agreed upon between the parties is included in the constitutional guaranty above quoted" (St. vs. Goodwill, 33 W. Va. 179; 25 Am. St. R. 863; Godcharles vs. Wigeman, 113 Pa. St. 431; Braceville Coal Co. vs. Peo. 147 Ill. 66; 37 Am. St. R. 206.)

I have said that the New York and New Jersey decisions were but the last of a long series; for almost every state in the Union will furnish instances where labor legislation has been defeated by the courts.

In California, an ordinance of the city of Los Angeles, making it a misdemeanor for any contractor to employ any person to work more than eight hours a day when the work was to be performed under contract with the city, was held unconstitutional and void. (Ex parte Kuback, 85 Cal. 274.)

The constitutionality of a law which provides that eight hours shall constitute a day's work where a department of the government or a city employs the laborer directly, has not yet been questioned and it is difficult to understand why the right to enforce an eight-hour day upon public work does not exist because such work is being done through a contractor. It tends to raise a doubt as to how far the courts may some times go when the dealing is even directly between the government or city and the employee—how far, indeed, the doctrine of liberty, property rights, and freedom of contract may be finally carried in such cases.

In some other court decisions will also be instructive, as showing the persistence with which capitalist courts overthrow all attempts at the amelioration of the hard conditions imposed by capitalists upon laborers and which the latter, without the assistance of legislation and the friendly aid of courts, are powerless to resist.

In Nebraska a statute declaring that a day's work for all classes of mechanics, servants and laborers, excepting those engaged in farm or domestic labor, shall not exceed eight hours, and that the employer should pay extra compensation for over time, was held unconstitutional. (Low vs. Rees, Print. Co., 41 Neb. 127.)

In Pennsylvania, where an attempt was made to avoid the shameful robbery of "pluck me" company stores, a law made all orders given by employers, engaged in manufacturing, to their workmen payable in goods of any kind but money, void. It was held unconstitutional. (Godcharles vs. Wigeman, 113 Pa. St. 431.) A similar law was set aside by the courts of West Virginia (State vs. Goodwill, 33 W. Va. 179),

Missouri (St. vs. Loomis, 115 Mo. 307), and Illinois. (Frorer vs. Peo. 141 Ill. 171.)

A statute to protect miners from fraud and robbery by their employers, which provided that coal taken from a mine should be weighed in a certain place at the mine, and that it should be unlawful for any person, whose miners were paid upon the basis of the quantity of coal which each mined and delivered to his employer, to take any portion of the same by any process of screening or other device, without accounting for or crediting the same to the miner, was adjudged unconstitutional. (Millett vs. Peo. 117 Ill. 294; Ramsey vs. Peo. 142 Ill. 380; In re House Bill No. 2, 21 Colorado 27.) Thus a law to punish stealing where the theft was only from a common miner was unconstitutional, as interfering with freedom of contract and personal liberty. Oh, Liberty! What sins are committed in thy name!

A law prohibiting the employment of females in any factory or workshop more than eight hours a day, or forty-eight hours a week, was declared unconstitutional. (Ritchie vs. Peo. 155 Ill. 98.)

Many other decisions could be cited, but these are sufficient to show the antagonistic attitude of capitalist courts toward labor legislation.

Had the courts been in sympathy with the cause of labor it would not have been a difficult task for them to have upheld all these laws as a proper exercise of the police power of the state. "The police power of the state," says one of these very courts, "is that power which enables it to promote the health, comfort, safety and welfare of society" (Ritchie vs. Peo. 155 Ill. 98). We are all familiar with the constitutional provisions that the people shall have the right to freely assemble to consult for the common good and that the right of free speech shall not be abridged, yet we have seen that capitalist courts find no difficulty in sustaining the constitutionality of laws and ordinances which prohibit free assembling and public speaking upon the public streets. Such laws and ordinances are upheld as a proper exercise of the police power of the state, notwithstanding the constitutional provisions. But then, it must be remembered that it is only the workingmen who speak on the public streets. The capitalist can hire halls.

The courts deem it perfectly proper and often exercise this power, to restrain the freedom of contract in many particulars, and hold that the right to contract may be subject to many limitations growing out of the duties which the individual owes to society, to the public or to the government. Such limitations on the freedom of contract are often imposed by the demands of public policy, or the necessity of protecting the public from fraud or injury, or the necessity of protecting insane persons, infants or spendthrifts. Even the constitutional provision as to liberty and freedom of contract loses its force when, by virtue of this police power of the state, usury laws are framed to protect the necessitous borrower from the hard demands of the extortionate lender. So, too, an attorney's dealings with his client or the transactions of a guardian or trustee with his ward or beneficiary are made subject to the control of the court, notwithstanding the constitutional provision as to freedom of contract. But these are cases that arise within and affect the capitalist class. Capitalist courts seem to find no way to apply the same principles for the benefit of the working class.

Does it not seem strange that a law which restrains the borrower from freedom to contract for the payment of a usurious rate of interest should be upheld as constitutional, by the same courts that declare unconstitutional those laws so imperatively demanded by justice and public policy, and so necessary for the preservation of the health, safety, comfort and welfare of society, such as the eight-hour and other labor laws which I have above quoted?

A half-starved laborer seeking employment from the capitalist certainly stands in greater need of protection than the average borrower. Usury laws which prevent the freedom to contract for the payment of a greater amount of interest than a certain fixed rate are certainly as great a restraint upon liberty or freedom of contract as are those labor laws which have been so quickly declared unconstitutional. Usury laws are sustained because public policy will not allow the lender to take advantage of the necessities of the borrower. Public policy declares that the borrower and lender in such a case do not meet upon equal terms, and where there is such gross inequality there can be no freedom of contract. Therefore the law stretches out its hand to protect the weaker.

Look at another picture. A fat employer trying to get labor for the smallest wages and longest hours. A hungry workman begging for a job while he thinks of a starving wife and children at home. To say that there is freedom of contract between these two, or that they meet on equal terms, is not merely ridiculous; it is a monstrous lie. If ever the protection of the law was needed to insure justice to the weak, it is in such a case as this.

Is it not clear to even the dullest intellect that if the courts had any sympathy whatever with the working class, they could find ample reasons and write able and learned decisions sustaining labor laws, even upon the same grounds upon which they now sustain many capitalist laws when occasion demands it?

The working class has the remedy in its own hands. The workers need but to unite politically and elect their own judges. Listen to the teachings of Socialism as it proclaims the class struggle, and vote into office men of your own class. Elect your own executives, legislators and judges. Then, and not till then, will be found court decisions sustaining labor laws.

Smelters' trust gobbled independents and capitalized at \$10,000,000.

The Illinois anti-trust law is causing much merriment. Courts have just discovered that the law provides no penalty in case it is violated, and it is, therefore, a dead letter.

It is estimated that fully 5,000 persons have been displaced by the new tin can trust in closing down plants in various parts of the country. Prices have been advanced 25 per cent.

New York advices say Standard Oil crowd secured control of coffee trust and sent price up one cent a pound. This means that Rockefeller and his piratical crew will clean up, by this advance, an additional \$6,500,000 a year.

Union linemen employed by the New England Telephone and Telegraph, as well as the Boston Electric Light Company, have given notice of a strike on May 1st, unless they are given an eight-hour day and a raise in wages of 50 cents per day. A strike would affect more than 1,000 men.

## THE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

By H. Quelch.

It cannot be said that the Socialist movement in these islands is booming, but there are signs that it is making steady, if but slow, progress. The Social Democratic Federation, generally spoken of as the S. D. F., which was started in 1881 by a mere handful of men, now numbers 10,000 members in its ranks. It is the oldest of existing Socialist organizations in this country, and is also the most aggressive and revolutionary. It adheres strictly to the principles of scientific Socialism as set forth by Marx, Engels and their disciples, and aims at the conquest of political power by the proletariat as the means to its social and economic emancipation. While participating in elections wherever possible, it is irreconcilably hostile to all bourgeois parties, and is prepared to use any means other than political, if they should ever be available, for the emancipation of the working-class. At the head of the S. D. F.—although occupying no official position in the party, beyond being a member of its Executive Council, consisting of twelve members elected annually—is H. M. Hyndman, a man of great ability, belonging to the upper middle-class, but whose work for Socialism is known all over the world. Without a doubt Hyndman has done more than any other living man to make the works of Marx and the principles of Scientific Socialism known to the English-speaking peoples of the world.

The Independent Labor Party, known as the I. L. P., was founded in 1892. The original object of its founders was not to form an organization in rivalry with the S. D. F., but to combine together all the working-class organizations, Socialist or other, which were nominally in favor of independent working-class political action. It did not succeed in this object, but was successful in bringing into its ranks a considerable number of people, some of whom were Socialists, who were disaffected towards the middle-class parties. While it was thus largely a combination of people who were not Socialists, the I. L. P., from the beginning, inscribed Socialist proposals in its program, and as time went on became more and more definitely Socialist in its policy and propaganda. The result has been that, notwithstanding occasional differences, owing mainly to the want of rigidity in regard to principles of the I. L. P., the two organizations have come to work together in various ways. In some places the practice has been to run candidates jointly by the branches of the two bodies, and generally, in any case, to support each others' candidates. In consequence of this growing tendency to united action efforts have been made from time to time, to effect a fusion or amalgamation of the two organizations. In 1897, these efforts went so far as the taking of a vote of the members of both the S. D. F. and the I. L. P., with the result that a majority of those voting declared in favor of fusion. For some reason or other, however, the I. L. P. Executive refused to be bound by this vote and eventually after discussing the matter at their Conference agreed to a resolution in favor of federation instead of fusion. This the S. D. F. did not think worth troubling about and so the two bodies remain separate. The fact is, I believe, that the chiefs of the I. L. P. regard the S. D. F. as being too rigid and disciplinarian. At any rate, that is how the matter stands at present: the two bodies are distinct and separate, but generally work together. The I. L. P. is, however, much more latitudinarian than the S. D. F., and is much more ready to work with anybody. At present it has some 13,000 members. Early in last year, as the result of a resolution of the Trades Union Congress, a conference was called by the secretary of the Congress of delegates of trades union and Socialist organizations to form a combination for the promotion of Labor Representation in the House of Commons. As a result of that Conference a Committee was formed consisting of two delegates from the S. D. F., two from the I. L. P., one from the Fabian Society, a body of semi-Socialist Liberals, and seven from the trades unions, which gave in their adhesion to the Committee. There are forty-one of these unions now affiliated to the Committee, with a membership of 353,000. This, however, is but a small proportion of the total number of trades-unionists in this country; the number represented at the Trades Union Congress amounting to nearly two millions. Even those who are represented on the Committee are by no means pledged to carry out the decisions of that Committee, because the members of our trades unions, as trade-unionists, do not accept the lead of their officials in politics. In other words, the trades unions of this country do not exist as political organizations at all, and are mainly composed of Liberals, Tories and "Nothingarians," mostly the latter. There is, however, a growing number of Socialists in the ranks of the trade unions, and these are frequently the most active and prominent men among them. The result of this is that at delegate meetings and Congresses of trades unions it is not at all an uncommon thing to find a majority of Socialists, and thus we are able to pass Socialist resolutions at these Congresses. Unfortunately, however, the rank and file are too often far behind their representatives and do not act up to the spirit of the resolutions passed at the Congresses. Seeing that the bulk of the trades-unionists do not feel themselves bound by any resolution of their representatives on political questions, it is doubtful if any good is likely to come out of the present attempt to work jointly with them in this Committee. In my opinion it is necessary to first convert the rank and file to Socialism. In Scotland, where a similar committee was formed a few months before that in England, the S. D. F. branches have severed their connection with it as they have concluded that it was not of the slightest service to the Socialist movement. It is more than likely that the same conclusion will be arrived at in England when the S. D. F. holds its annual Conference in August. We shall have had time by then to have tested the value of this attempt to get people of different views and holding different principles to work together for a common political object.

We have no adequate means of testing our full electoral strength here as you have in America. The Presidential election gives you an opportunity of counting all the Socialist votes in the United States. Here we could only count all our votes if we could put a man up in every constituency in the kingdom. This we have neither the men nor the money to do. In the last general election for Parliament the S. D. F. ran two candidates, who polled between them 6,977 votes, or nearly 3,500 each. The I. L. P. contested

seven seats and secured a total vote of 26,103, or an average of nearly 4,000, and two candidates were run jointly and polled 7,997, or nearly 4,000 votes each. This gives a total of 41,097 votes for Socialist candidates in eleven constituencies in England and Wales. In Scotland the I. L. P. ran one candidate, who polled 3,107 votes. The British House of Commons consists of 670 members, 465 of whom are elected by English and Welsh constituencies. The total Socialist candidates run in English and Welsh constituencies were eleven, or less than a fortieth part of the whole. The total number of electors in England and Wales is given at 5,287,285, of these less than 4,000,000 voted. Thus a hundredth part of those voting voted for the Socialists, although there were Socialist candidates in only a fortieth part of the constituencies. Put in other words, about forty per cent of those voting in the constituencies contested voted for the Socialist candidates, and one per cent of the total number of people voting in England and Wales did so. If the average held good throughout the kingdom, and we were able to contest every seat, this would give us something like a million voters for Socialism. Of course the average would not be so good all through as we naturally choose the most favorable places to fight; but there are few, if any, places where we should not get a number of votes, and in many places we could do as well as in those we have contested, if we only had the men and the money. A Parliamentary election here costs the candidate or his party from two to five hundred pounds, and that is a serious consideration for us; moreover, most of our members are workmen, and it is not easy to get those who have sufficient leisure to stand as candidates. It will be seen, however, from the figures I have given, that the Socialist movement is becoming a political power in this country, although we have so far no member of our party in the House of Commons, and only one member of the I. L. P., Keir Hardie, who was elected for Merthyr, in Wales. It must be confessed that Hardie did not run on a very strong Socialist program; but he is well known as a Socialist, and there is no doubt that, had his expression of political opinion been very much stronger than it was, he would have polled just as well. In connection with the figures I have given, too, it must not be forgotten that the election took place at a period of jingo excitement, and that the Government appealed to the people to vote for them on the strength of their patriotic prosecution of the war in South Africa. Mr. Chamberlain declared that every vote given against the Government would be a vote given for the Boers. Every Socialist candidate was naturally an anti-jingo, and that made the good vote we scored all the more remarkable. Besides these Parliamentary contests we take part with more or less success in local and municipal elections; and have members on Town Councils, School Boards, Boards of Guardians, and other administrative bodies throughout the kingdom.

There appears to be considerable misunderstanding in America as to the constitution of the electorate in this country, the impression appearing to exist that the majority of the workmen here are unfranchised. There are many electoral anomalies and anachronisms in this country, but things are not quite so bad as our friends across the "pond" seem to think. Every man is entitled to the Parliamentary franchise who rents a separate tenement, even if the rental be but a shilling a week. If he is a lodger, however, that is to say, if he rents a room from a person living in the same house, he must pay a rent equal to four shillings a week or he is not entitled to the franchise. But in our large towns there are not many rooms let at less than four shillings and in the rural districts almost every man rents a small cottage, so that, apart from the disabilities involved by the long residential qualification, twelve months, practically, there is manhood suffrage here, and it is safe to say that three-fourths of the electors belong to the working-class. In municipal elections all householders may vote, women as well as men, but women are not entitled to the Parliamentary franchise. The official expenses of all elections except those for Parliament are paid out of the rates, and women are eligible for election to School Boards and Boards of Guardians.

In Scotland there are a number of flourishing branches of the S. D. F. and of the I. L. P.—in fact, Scotland has been to some extent the stronghold of the latter organization. There are not wanting signs, however, that the latitudinarianism of the leaders of the latter body is being resented by some of the rank and file; and it will be necessary in the near future for the I. L. P. to adopt a more definitely uncompromising attitude, or drop back into the ranks of the Radicals. In Ireland the people are mainly taken up with the Nationalist movement, and Socialism has but little show there. There is, however, in Dublin, a sturdy little band of stalwarts, who are strenuously preaching the gospel of international Social Democracy, and they may be expected to give a good account of themselves in the future.

Apart from the political side of the movement, there are forces at work which cannot fail to help on Socialism in this country. We appear to be getting to the end of our period of good trade, the war is sending up the price of everything, while the capitalists are combining and threatening cuts in wages, and the trusts, which have developed to such an extent in America, are making their appearance here to some effect. Taking it all together, while we cannot say that the Socialist movement in this country is booming, it is going ahead, and very much faster than some people think.

The Tennessee coal and iron railways and mills are forming a \$100,000,000 trust and may soon pass into control of the billion-dollar trust, which has also gobbled the Pittsburg Steamship Co. and more iron mines.

The Standard Oil Co., it is reported, has paid a large sum for the patent rights of an invention owned by parties in Salt Lake City. It is said to be a process for converting crude petroleum into gas for lighting purposes, which will give a more brilliant light than is possible with electricity. The Chicago "Workers' Call" says the Standard Oil Co. will not use the patent. It was merely bought so that no other parties can use it.

Two large watchcase companies in Newark, N. J., and one in Sag Harbor, L. I., have informed their employees that they will no longer employ members of local unions. This movement, to make employment conditional upon the relinquishing of membership in labor unions, is said to be the result of an agreement reached by all manufacturers of watchcases throughout the country.



Progress in Denmark

"Social-Demokraten," official organ of the Danish Social-Democratic party and leading Danish daily comments on the passing of the old year as follows: "In the year just passed away we have seen on the one side conservatism and reaction make a last desperate stand, which only resulted in the breaking up of the Conservative party; and on the other side we have seen the Social-Democratic party more firmly entrenched and conquering one position after another. One ministry had to retire, and Mr. Estrup, the Danish Crispi, was again called into power and named by the King as a member of the lands-thing. The Crown Prince appeared in public on three different occasions, and defended the tactics of the government party and appealed to the people to be patriotic, to stand by the King and the country, which he said was one and the same thing.

"The year 1900 was an election year. It began with city and town elections, and proved that the government party (the right party), no longer has a majority in the city councils throughout the land. Out of 401 seats the government party only obtained 192, while 209 fell into the hands of the opposition. The Social-Democrats were victorious in all large cities and in quite a number of smaller ones. Fifty-six Social-Democrats were elected and received 24,303 votes, as against 10 Social Democrats elected by 9,999 votes, at the last election in 1894.

"At the election in Copenhagen, which took place in the month of March, the Social Democratic party polled 15,000 votes, as against 11,000 for the government party, and re-elected one candidate and elected four new members of the city administration.

"At elections held in several towns, in the months of August and September, the Social Democratic party polled a big vote and elected 74 representatives for minor offices.

"In the last quarter of the year elections were held in half of the villages throughout the country, and the result, 170 Social Democrats elected, against 30 in 1894. This goes to prove that socialism has taken hold of the rural population.

"The Social Democrats held at the beginning of the year 1900 280 communal mandates, and at the close of the year had increased the number to 556.

"A compulsory arbitration law has been passed, and the state has been forced to recognize the trade union as the representative organ of the working class. In Copenhagen is now established communal labor bureaus.

"The party was duly represented at the International Congress held in Paris last summer, and the program and resolutions adopted there shows accordance with the tactics of the Danish Socialists.

"The party press has made great progress during the year. "Social-Demokraten," the party's leading organ, has, since March 24th, issued special editions with offices in the towns of Lyngby, Helsingor, Roskilde, Holbek, Nakskov and Rone.

"Since July 1st new papers have appeared in the towns of Silkeborg and Rinkjoberg.

"Besides "Social-Demokraten" the party now publishes 14 papers in the provinces, and it is estimated that 80,000 copies of the Danish Social Democratic press is issued daily.

"The party has lately obtained its own building, in Norrefarimaget street, in Copenhagen, where "Social-Demokraten" is issued from its own printing presses.

"During the year several buildings have been obtained for meeting places in many cities. A co-operative meat market has been established in the city of Aarhus, and in Fredericia a park has been bought for picnics and for holding open-air meetings. In "Falkets Hus," one of the party's buildings in Copenhagen, theatrical performances are now held several times a week.

"Several red flags have been dedicated during the year, and hundreds of Socialist meetings have been carried on in country and towns. One hundred thousand workers took part in the First of May demonstration.

"Dr. Gustav Bang has lately given a series of lectures on Socialism in the University of Copenhagen, which have been well attended.

"All in all, it can be said that the Socialist movement in Denmark through the past year has proved to be on a sound and solid basis."

THE MOVEMENT IN MICHIGAN

recognize the economic and political struggle between the working-class and the capitalists' class. Not one of them know what capital is, nor do they realize the necessity of this knowledge before we can intelligently throw off the power of capitalism. Not one of them understands that the wage-class of today must become the dominant class tomorrow; not dominant over men nor over mankind, but over the tools and necessary means of production. Not one understands that the advent of the working-class into political power means the termination of this class struggle over the products of labor, by the introduction of the co-operative commonwealth; where each will not only be protected in an opportunity to produce the wealth upon which they must subsist, but protected in their right to own and use it for the individual satisfaction of their material wants. Not one of these know that, in order for the working-class to accomplish this freedom from wage-slavery, it must build its own political organization upon a platform that demands the overthrow of the capitalists' system of production. In order to do this they must understand the capitalists' system, and to understand that they must study Socialists' literature; as the capitalists' class will not, and would be foolish if it did, tell the truth about the system they use to such good advantage in subjecting the working-class to its exploitation.

We in Michigan are doing all in our power to clear away the confusion caused by these different baited hooks thrown out by reform parties and freak political economists. The enormous gains for the Social Democratic Party here is proof that our efforts are not without results. Our greatest success comes from teaching the trade-unionists that they are organized to fight capitalism instead of capitalists. This leads them to study what capital really is; then they discover the conflicting interests between capital and labor. Then they at once recognize what is meant by the class struggle; which side in this struggle they should take and how to take it; in fact, know that

this struggle is no longer a physical but a mental battle; since the ballot takes the place of the bludgeon in settling the question of rulers—at least, that is for what it is intended. And, although the present legislature has been fondly caressing the many disfranchisement bills already in the field, they have done nothing more than abolish the regular election in municipalities the coming fall; allowing the present officials to hold office over a year longer than they were elected for. The Michigan Socialists send greetings to all comrades, with the assurance that whenever or however the capitalists' class fix the elections, we will meet them with an ever-increasing vote for the complete overthrow of their power over wage-workers, and the establishment of equity and justice to all mankind—but, first of all, freedom for the wage-slave.

Labor's Political Struggle

NOTES INDICATING THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD'S SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

GERMANY. The Minister of War has instituted proceedings against "Vorwaerts" for publishing letters from China in which the atrocities committed by the troops at the instigation of "God's faithful ally" are related. But "there are judges at Berlin," and the result of the trial will probably make the Government regret their action.

DENMARK. The municipal elections have been held at Copenhagen. The Liberals and Social Democrats ran a joint list of candidates and returned these by 15,700 votes against 10,400 to the Conservative candidates.

Elections for Parliament have been held in Denmark. The Conservative, or Government party, has been nearly wiped off the earth, securing only eight seats out of 110. The Social Democrats captured 14 seats, a gain of two, and stand a good chance of winning several more on the second ballot. The Liberal and Radicals control 88 seats. It is only fair to say that the latter promised to introduce many popular reforms that are demanded by the labor organizations, and quite a few claim to favor Socialism.

AUSTRIA. One of the deputies elected to the Reichrath is a school master, working under the Vienna Communal Council—which is the school authority. Herr Lueger, the burgo-master, who is an anti-Semite, has dismissed him. This measure, which is contrary to all precedent, has aroused a great deal of opposition even among many Conservatives and Liberals, and his action has been condemned by many bodies. Anti-Semitism is beginning to be found out in Austria, as it will be elsewhere.

BELGIUM. The Belgian Social Democrats are preparing for a general strike and a policy of obstruction in the chamber.

Socialist deputies are trying to secure better wages and conditions for the postmen, but so far have not succeeded. The postmen now get only two shillings a day.

An indictment has been brought before the jury of the Assizes against our contemporary, "The Worker," of Antwerp. The accusation is that it used too strong language in reference to the last dockers' strike, in one of its numbers.

The Socialist members have made in Parliament a strong protest against a scandal at Antwerp, in giving the tram-way monopoly to a syndicate of capitalists. The Socialist representative of Antwerp, Comrade Terwagne, showed that they simply bought the press to work on their behalf. The Government did nothing to prevent it.

HOLLAND. The Liberal Party in Holland is disintegrating. The executive committee has resigned and the Radical members left the party en masse. Attempts are being made to organize a new party.

In the election on the second ballot for member of Parliament in Holland, Comrade Polak received 1,583 votes, against 1,876 given to the re-elected Liberal candidate. Clericals, Liberals, Radicals are united against the Social Democrats, again proving that the manifestations of class-conscious political action for Socialism by the proletariat always arranges the enemies of labor into one opposing camp.

GREAT BRITAIN. Latest returns from England state that Social Democrats won seats in Edmonton, Burnley, Lynn, and Rockdale at local elections.

FRANCE. Municipal election at Puteaux, near Paris, resulted in Socialists defeating the Nationalists by 1,457 to 642 votes.

The city of Marseilles voted \$10,000 for the assistance of the striking dock workers in their struggle with the dock companies. The municipality is controlled by Socialists.

SPAIN. The anniversary of the proclamation of the Commune was celebrated in several Spanish towns. Pablo Iglesias in "El Socialista" draws attention to the importance of the event in the history of the proletariat.

Reports from Spain are to the effect that the cry of "Down with the Jesuits!" is giving place to strikes of railway and textile workers and other laborers, and a cry of "Success to the Social Revolution!" is raised.

CANADA. The Labor party of Winnipeg, which elected A. W. Puttee to Parliament, is discussing the advisability of adopting the name of Social Democratic party.

AUSTRALIA. Trenwith, a prominent labor agitator of Australia, has been appointed as a member of the Cabinet of Victoria. He is a member of the Labor party, and has publicly declared that any time when he commits an act not in harmony with the views of organized labor he is willing to step down and out.

ITALY. In Suzzara (electoral district of Gonzaga that elected Enrico Ferri) the administration has been in the hands of the Socialists for a long time. The transition of administrative control from the hands of the "moderates" into those of the Socialists was not only accomplished without a revolution, but has even terminated the personal feuds that ruined the country. The Socialists, by ceaseless agitation for improvements in the municipality, have completely changed Suzzara

within twenty years. A new town hall, the most magnificent hospital in the province, many new buildings and model schools have been erected. The industries have also developed splendidly. The level of general education is very high, thanks to the industrial school, having classes in physics, chemistry, mechanics and agriculture. \* \* \* Elections are held in perfect order. \* \* \* The administration distributes 200 tickets to farmers and poor people when the theatre is open. The children receive meals in school, assisted by a small family tax.

RUSSIA. A Vienna paper gives some interesting details of the alliance between the working-classes and the Russian students. It says that in October, 1900, a manifesto was issued announcing a fusion among the different factory committees, and advocating political action. Demonstrations were recommended as an effective means of promoting the objects in view. When, in November, 1900, the students of Kieff University issued a protest against the interference of General Dragomiroff with the affairs of the university, which led to wholesale arrests, the Central Committee of the Russian students held a secret meeting at Moscow. Resolutions were adopted declaring that as the students were not by themselves able to enforce their demands and to safeguard their academic rights, they must unite with the workmen's associations in order to give their action a political character. The manifesto concluded with the first verse of the "Russian Song of Labor." These documents were scattered broadcast in Russia. The result is a strong political movement of a distinctly revolutionary character. As many of the factory operatives are peasants, who spend a part of the year in agricultural labor and the other part in the factories, the agitation of the student revolutionists among the operatives is spread from the cities into all the rural communes. This is a deliberate policy of the Russian Socialists and is working very successfully.

UNITED STATES. Holland Social Democrats in Chicago are making efforts to start a paper in the Dutch language. "Public Ownership," of Erie, Pa., has temporarily suspended, but will probably be re-issued by a stock company.

Rich Hill, Mo., re-elected a Socialist police judge, Comrade Wright, and elected a Socialist alderman, Lawrence Griffith.

The "Appeal to Reason" says the Social Democrats of Texas polled over 8,000 votes, which were returned in the "scattering" column.

An audience of about 800 gathered in Poli's Theatre, New Haven, to hear Comrade Harriman. The address was well received.

The German Socialists of Providence, R. I., who have remained unaffiliated since July, 1899, decided to take a charter as a local of the Social Democratic party.

Ralph Beaumont, a People's party orator of national reputation, is now publishing the "Tribune" at Newcastle, Pennsylvania. He is now a Socialist and stumped the State for Debs in the last campaign.

Raphael Buck, author of "The Emancipation of the Workers," antagonistic to Socialism, has come out in an open letter stating that he has destroyed the plates of his book and turned Socialist.

W. Bohannon, a Toledo Socialist, was arrested by the hypocritical "Golden Rule" Jones' police for making a speech on a street corner. He landed in jail just in time for dinner, and shortly after was bailed out. He carried his "dinner" back to the street corner and displayed it to a large crowd. It consisted of a piece of bolegna and hard bread.

"L'Union des Travailleurs" is a new French Socialist paper at Charleroi, Pa.

President Naitzger, of the Fourth National Bank, of Wichita, Kan., said in an interview that "the corporations are educating the people of this country in Socialism, or public ownership of all public utilities, faster than all the other associations that ever existed." He adds that "Carnegie saw the handwriting on the wall and pulled out in time to escape the coming storm."

The "Liberator" is the title of a breezy little publication that hails from Sedalia, Mo., and is published by the Socialists of that town.

Judge Doster, of the Kansas Supreme Court, says: "Young man, Socialism is the coming power. Make your peace with it. It is an oncoming tide which will sweep over this and every other civilized land in the next twenty-five years and down every party and politician that try to impede its flow."

The Social Democrats of Mt. Olive, Ill., made splendid gains in the municipal election on April 16th. In November their vote was only 43. This time their lowest vote was 76 and their highest 138. The strength of the Socialists is shown by comparing the vote received by Comrade Hubert, 138, with that received by his opponents: Democratic, 197; "Citizens," 231.

The Social Democratic vote at the municipal election in Portsmouth, O., was as follows: Mayor, W. Bayby, 148; marshal, C. Reinhard, 134; solicitor, W. C. Edwards, 123; street commissioner, W. H. Howe, 136; water works trustee, W. H. Braunlin, 118; cemetery trustee, Jacob Imm, 135. Debs and Harriman polled 81 votes last fall.

San Diego, April 20th.—An election was held in this city today on the question of issuing \$600,000 in bonds, the proceeds to be used for the purchase of the plants of the United Water Supply Company and the San Diego Water Company. The proposition was carried almost unanimously, the vote standing for the bonds, 2,369; against the bonds, 142.

Social Democrats are active. Prof. Herron is speaking in New York and New England. Com. Vail is in Iowa, J. Stitt Wilson is taking a trip toward the Pacific, "Mother" Jones is again in Pennsylvania, James F. Carey keeps going in Massachusetts, Frank Gessner in Pennsylvania, and Job Harriman and Nick Geiger in New York, while Father McGrady has been lecturing in Ohio, and B. F. Wilson and W. H. Wise were active in Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, and Com. Bigelow in New York.

Calhoun county, Michigan, which includes the city of Battle Creek, gave 900 votes for the Social Democratic Party and a little over 100 for the S. L. P.—1,000 Socialist votes in all, as against 337 last spring. The city of Battle Creek gave 474 for the S. D. P. State ticket and 97 for the S. L. P. Last fall the city gave 192 for our national ticket. On the Monday following election the comrades organized a propaganda

club, and started to push educational work, which they expect to keep up steadily.

The S. D. P. organization in Paterson, N. J., is getting well under way. Lectures are held in German and in English. An English branch has recently been organized with twenty-six members, mostly young men. DeLeonism is dying out, especially since the withdrawal of Maguire, its former leading representative, and Paterson bids fair to regain the grand position it once held, as the banner city of New Jersey in the Socialist movement.

Labor's Economic Struggle

NOTES SHOWING THE STRIFE BETWEEN ORGANIZED LABOR AND CAPITALISM.

GERMANY. On top of the news that nearly a hundred thousand iron and steel workers of Germany have been thrown out of employment comes the report that thousands of building craftsmen, wood-workers and other craftsmen have also been forced into the idle army.

A recent article in the "Berliner Tageblatt" takes a gloomy view of industrial conditions in Germany, which, it says, are so bad that charitable efforts are powerless to cope with the situation. Reduced production and the consequent dismissal of working people are so general as no longer to attract notice. The writer declares that it is safe to say that twenty-five per cent of the working classes are either idle or insufficiently employed.

BELGIUM. A correspondent of "Le Peuple" draws attention to the way in which the law forbidding the employment of young children in factories is evaded. Instead of the children working in a factory they work at home, and under those circumstances the law does not apply. The men and women working at home receive in many cases only one franc (20c) a day. It would be advisable to prohibit home work, as it leads to a great deal of sweating and the work is often carried on under very insanitary conditions.

AUSTRIA. The Austrian Government is seeking to allay the discontent among the working people by inaugurating public works on a large scale. The plans involve railways costing about \$100,000,000 and canals costing from \$100,000,000 to \$140,000,000. The construction of the railways thus planned is to be spread over a period of five or six years and that of the canals over to be an equitable arrangement, will be entered into.

HUNGARY. A terrible account is given in the "Pecsi Figyelo" of the condition of Hungarian agricultural laborers. They have no day of rest; they begin work at 3 a. m., and do not leave off till 10 p. m.; three or four families herd together in one room, and their food is often nothing but bread and bacon.

GREAT BRITAIN. Miners and iron workers by the hundreds of thousands are having wages reduced in England. Cause: Can't compete with American "pauper" labor.

Thirty thousand miners and engineers are on strike in Lanarkshire, for an eight-hour day. As a result furnaces and mills are closing down and a general depression is expected.

A dispatch from Middlesborough states that the wages of the blast furnace men will be reduced twenty-one per cent for three months and that the wages of the Northumberland miners will be reduced thirteen and three-quarters per cent.

A cable dispatch reports that the London County Council has decided to buy 225 acres of land, on which to build workmen's houses to accommodate 42,000 persons. The cost will be \$7,500,000. But why should workingmen have to depend upon the municipality to have decent homes?

The Lancashire Master Cotton Spinners, who have about \$40,000,000 capital in the industry, have, it is reported, decided to content themselves with five per cent profit. The men are to be asked to accept wages which will allow this profit and no more to be made and if they agree, what appears on the surface of the French miners vote in favor of a strike.

Six thousand miners on strike in Wales, two thousand quarrymen on strike at Buxton, five hundred laborers on strike at Tilbury Docks, four thousand Penrhyn quarrymen on strike, two thousand Glasgow joiners resisting a threatened reduction of wages from 10d to 9d per hour—such are a few of the cheerful indications of prosperity with which the laboring classes begin the new century, says the "London Labor Leader." Scottish iron workers have had to accept a ten per cent reduction, and the unemployed list is daily growing larger.

FRANCE. At Chateau Thierry a workman was dismissed by his employer for belonging to a trade union. An action was brought, and the man succeeded in obtaining compensation.

A cable dispatch from Lens, Department of Pas-de-Calais, reports that the Miners' Congress has voted in favor of a general strike if the men locked out at Montceau-les-Mines (Department of Saone-et-Loire) are not reinstated within ten days, provided a majority ten or fifteen.

The congress also adopted a resolution declaring that if the Government did not agree, within six months, to the eight-hour day and the old-age pensions a general strike would be declared after a referendum.

"Jacques Bonhomme," writing in London "Justice," says that the reports from the Marseilles strike are exaggerated, and "as far as I can judge, there has not been anything like the disorder or the riots which our yellow press has talked about."

ITALY. In Mantua, 17,000 farm laborers have recently organized into one provincial union, representing 116 different unions.

At a meeting of the ship-owners, held at Genoa, it was decided that the owners preferred to lay up their vessels rather than yield to the demands of the strikers.

SPAIN. Strikes have occurred in Catalonia because the employers do not carry out the provisions of the recent law relating to the employment of women and children.

SOUTH AMERICA. The bakers' strike in Lima, Peru, continues, and only five bakeries are in operation. Bread is selling for double its former price.



INTERNATIONAL MAY DAY CELEBRATION

OF THE Grades Unions Social and Singing Societies.

Sunday, May 5th

AT GERMANIA GARDENS (Harbor View.) Games for Young and Old Shooting and Raffle Cash Prize Bowling, etc. Grand Orchestra till 12 pm Admission 25 cents

28th Annual Excursion OF THE

Journeyman Tailors

Protective Union of San Francisco Sunset Park, Santa Cruz Mountains Sunday, April 28, 1901 Boat Leaves Ferry Landing at 9 A. M. TICKETS, \$1 CHILDREN 50c

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A School of Socialism. If you wish to understand Socialism or to be able to work for it, you should take this course of lessons by correspondence. Sets of the printed lessons can be obtained for the use of local classes. If you can take these lessons either in a local class or by correspondence you can do effective work for Socialism afterward. For full particulars address, with stamp Walter Thomas Mills, 3962 Langley ave., Chicago, Ill

Organic Unity in View

The following correspondence between Comrade Theodore Debs, the National Secretary of the Chicago faction of the Social Democratic Party, and Comrade William Butscher, the National Secretary of the Springfield faction of the S. D. P., is self-explanatory:

Chicago, Ill., March 28, 1901. "Mr. William Butscher, Nat'l Sec'y, S. D. P., Springfield, Mass.—Dear Sir and Comrade:

Pursuant to the action of the late national convention of the Social Democratic Party, with headquarters at Chicago, Ill., held in said city, beginning January 15th, it becomes my duty, as it is my pleasure, to advise you, and through you the party you represent, of the approval by referendum vote of the membership of our party, of the enclosed resolutions, adopted at said convention.

"It is respectfully requested that you refer this communication and the resolution herein certified to your executive board, or other proper authority, for such action as may be deemed necessary to meet the purposes stated in said resolutions, and that you advise me of the result of said action at the earliest practicable day, so that arrangements can be made accordingly.

"I have the honor to subscribe myself. "Yours fraternally, (Signed) "Theodore Debs, Nat'l Sec'y."

CHICAGO RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, The Socialists of the United States are at present divided into several parties, whose essential principles are identical, and such division is productive of ceaseless friction that tends to weaken and retard the progress of the Socialist movement, therefore be it

Resolved, That a more thorough organization of Socialists is demanded, and that for the purpose of effecting the same a general convention be called to meet as hereinafter provided.

First: The call for the convention herein proposed shall be subject to a referendum vote of our party, the same to be submitted to the several branches and voted upon not later than February 25th, and due returns thereof made to the national executive board without delay, and if approved by a majority vote of the members, the same shall be forwarded by the national secretary to the national secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, the national secretary of the Social Democratic Party, with headquarters at Springfield, Mass.; and to the state secretary of each of the several unattached or unaffiliated state or territorial parties.

Second. The convention herein called shall be held in the city of Indianapolis, Indiana, beginning the second Tuesday in September, 1901, and shall include the Socialist Labor Party, with headquarters in the city of New York; the Social Democratic Party, with headquarters in Springfield, Mass.; the Social Democratic Party, with headquarters in Chicago, Ill., and the several unattached or unaffiliated state or territorial Socialist parties.

Third. The basis of representation shall be as follows:

1. Each branch, local or section shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential.

2. Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of the same state to represent them; provided, that in such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signature of members attached as herein provided.

3. No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or be entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty days prior to the opening day of the convention.

4. All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

5. The national secretary shall furnish each branch with a sufficient number of blank credentials for the purpose herein specified.

6. No branch shall be represented unless organized at least thirty days prior to the opening of the convention.

Fourth. If the convention herein proposed is not approved by at least one other national party herein named, or at least three unattached or unaffiliated state or territorial parties, on or before June 1st, then these resolutions shall be null and void and this call shall stand revoked.

Fifth. That a committee of five be chosen by this convention to make the necessary arrangements for the proposed convention, if same be held.

Sixth. That the results of said proposed convention, if held, shall be reported to our branches by the committee herein designated and a referendum vote be taken upon the same, and if approved by a majority vote of the members of our party, such shall be the verdict of the party, and the books, papers, moneys and all other property in possession of the national party shall be delivered up to such officers or boards as may be chosen at said convention to receive the same; if less than a majority of our party vote in favor of said report the same shall be rejected and the party shall proceed as heretofore.

Springfield, Mass., April 15, 1901.

"Theo. Debs, Esq., Nat'l Sec'y, S. D. P., Chicago, Ill.—Dear Sir and Comrade:

"I received a certified copy of the call for a unity convention of all organized socialists of this country, adopted by the last national convention of your party, as well as your communication of March 28th, 1901, advising me of the fact that the said call had been approved by a referendum vote of your membership, and complying with your request, I submitted both documents to the National Executive Committee of our party.

"Our party has always stood for organic unity of all true Socialists of the United States, and welcomes the stand taken by your convention, as an important step towards the accomplishment of that great object.

"While your party was voting upon your call, our party, by practically unanimous vote, adopted a resolution, a copy of which I enclose and which, you will notice, calls for a general convention of the Socialists in terms similar to those in your call. It is with great pleasure that we exercise the authority conferred on

us by the said resolution and accept your invitation for a joint unity convention.

We have appointed Comrades Greenbaum and Putnam of St. Louis, Mahoney and Hamilton of Indianapolis, and Hayes of Cleveland as a committee to co-operate with a similar committee of your party in all necessary preparations and arrangements for the convention, and we hope that they, together with any additional committees that may be appointed for that purpose by other socialist organizations, will pave the way towards a successful and expeditious accomplishment of the task of the convention.

"In conclusion, we desire to urge upon you the advisability of modifying the terms of your call in some details in the common interest of the Socialist movement of this country.

"We believe the date set by you for the convention, the second Tuesday of September, is not well chosen: it is too remote, and it will very materially interfere with the fall campaign by compelling us to open the same with our forces still divided, and by taking from it all our available funds, and the time and energy of our most active organizers and speakers. We suggest that the convention be held in the early part of July.

"We also believe that the actions and decisions of the convention should not be submitted to the general vote of each separate party organization participating in the same, but should be final, so that a united Socialist party might, at the conclusion of the convention, become an accomplished fact and not a debatable proposition, and in order to avoid unnecessary prolongation of the unfortunate division in our ranks, with the inevitable friction engendered by it.

"In advising that course, we follow the example of our comrades in all European countries on similar occasions, and do not in any way offend against the principles of democracy within our ranks, as the party members have ample opportunity to manifest and enforce their desire in electing and instructing their delegates.

"We believe we voice the sentiment of the overwhelming majority of the comrades in the ranks of both of our parties in advising these modifications, and hope your Board will find it possible to accept the same, or to submit them to a referendum vote of your party, if necessary.

"With best wishes for a speedy union of all true Socialist forces. By order of the National Executive Committee, S. D. P., W. Butscher, Nat'l Sec'y."

SPRINGFIELD RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That a National Convention of the Socialists of the United States, for the purpose of effecting a union of socialist forces and establishing a solid party organization, be called for an early date.

2. That all locals of the Social Democratic Party affiliated with the Springfield N. E. C. be invited to participate in such convention.

3. That all branches of the S. D. P. affiliated with the Chicago N. E. B. be invited to participate in such convention.

4. That all sections of the Socialist Labor Party be invited to participate in such convention.

5. That all Socialist State organizations not affiliated with any national committee be invited to participate in such convention.

6. That all other Socialist organizations recognizing the class struggle and the necessity of independent political action of the working class be invited to participate in such convention.

7. That the only condition of participation in such convention be a pledge to abide by the decisions of the convention.

8. That the basis of representation for all such organizations be one delegate for each local organization and one delegate for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof.

9. That two or more organizations be permitted to co-operate for the purpose of sending delegates on the above basis.

10. That such convention be held in the city of Indianapolis, Indiana.

11. That the N. E. C. be authorized to fix the date and change the place and basis of representation of the convention with the Chicago N. E. B. or any State organization, if requested by such organization.

Dressmakers are rapidly organizing. They recently held a national convention with delegates from 29 States present. The outlook is good.

A movement has started in Chicago to start uniform ranks in labor organizations. They will be drilled in military tactics same as secret societies.

Owing largely to recent unfavorable court decisions, New York trade unionists are again talking of calling a conference to take independent political action.

Twenty textile mills in Massachusetts closed to curtail production, and 8,000 persons are out of jobs. As the workers all have "full dinner pails," according to the Republicans, they won't suffer much.

Of the fourteen "labor bills" that the trades unions brought before the Nebraska Legislature, all but two insignificant ones were turned down. Serves 'em right. Why do they elect politicians? Why don't they elect their own people?

It is estimated that the knocking-out of the law compelling contractors in New York to pay the "prevailing rate of wages," which means the union scale, on all public work, will save those capitalists \$100,000,000.

International Typographical Union has decided by referendum vote to adopt the arbitration agreement with the National Publishers' Association. The vote stood 12,544 for the proposition and 3,530 against.

Cigar trust cut wages in one of its factories in Binghamton, N. Y., and then received 1,500 applications in one week from people who wanted jobs. The "full dinner pail" is not being worked in that burg as formerly.

The International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics (new name for Bicycle Workers' Union), is preparing to join the Machinists' Union in next month's general movement for a shorter workday.

The bill in the Connecticut Legislature, making eight hours a day's labor, was rejected by the Lower House of the Connecticut Assembly on the 11th, by a vote of 160 to 39. An opinion of the Attorney-General, in the main adverse to the bill, was read before the vote was taken.

A GRAND Entertainment and Dance -Will be given by the- Social Democratic Party SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1901. Turn Verein Hall, 323 Turk st. A Special Program has been arranged. Music by DiJean Band. Admission 25 cents. Ladies Free.

DON'T BUY AFTER 6 O'CLOCK HAUCH'S Cash Stores 1411 Park Street 1546 Seventh (Webster) St. THE Leading Grocers OF Alameda Ernest Rehor Artistic Tailor Suits Made to Order. Fit guaranteed. 44 San Pablo Ave. Opposite City Hall Oakland, Cal. VINCENT'S MEAT MARKET TELEPHONE MAIN 161 Porterhouse Steak.....\$ .11 Tenderloin..... .11 Loin Steak..... .11 Round Steak..... .10 Rib Roast..... .10 Beef to Boil or Stew..... .06 Corned Beef..... .08 Mutton Chops..... .10 Pork Chops and Pork Roast..... .10 Pigs' Head and Feet..... .05 Spring Lamb..... .12 Frankfurter..... .10 Sausage..... .10 7th and WASHINGTON Sts. OAKLAND, CAL.

LOCAL OAKLAND, of the Social Democratic Party, holds regular weekly lectures every Thursday evening, 8 p. m., at Becker's Hall, 918 Washington st. Admission free. Address correspondence to J. GEORGE SMITH, 212 Hearst Bld'g., San Francisco LOCAL ALAMEDA, of the Social Democratic Party, holds regular free public lectures every second Sunday evening at Foresters' Hall, Cor. Park street and Santa Clara ave. Educational meetings for members every Friday evening at 9434 Central ave. room 8 Address communications J. C. STAMER, 2061 Encinal ave LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO, Social Democratic Party holds regular weekly lectures every Thursday evening on social and economic subjects at Academy of Science Hall, 8 Market street. Meetings begin at 8 o'clock. Open discussion follows each lecture. Questions answered; free platform; public invited. Admission free.

PETER LIPPERT C. SONNICHSEN The Temple Bar 115 Turk Street. Trades Union Headquarters Only Union Goods on Hand Telephone South 168 H. F. Suhr & Co FUNERAL DIRECTORS 1137 MISSION St. bet. 7th and 8th SAN FRANCISCO

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Dr Christensen DENTIST MAIN OFFICE Cor. Mission and 23rd sts. SAN FRANCISCO ALAMEDA OFFICE; 1325 Park Street, Mondays Only

May Day Celebration ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 1st. A Grand Mass Meeting Will be held at Metropolitan Temple Admission Free

The Staff of Life SHOULD BE Wholesome, Substantial, Clean This is guaranteed only by THE UNION LABEL IT STANDS FOR: 1. Clean Bread 2. Sanitary Workshop 3. One day's rest a week Buy no other!

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

HELP -THE- Barbers' Union PATRONIZE Barber Shops before 8 P. M and before 12 M. Sundays and Holidays. Only Patronize Barber Shops that display the UNION CARD IN THE WINDOW

Jno. F. Wetzell, M. D. PHYSICIAN and SURGEON Office, 813 Van Ness ave Bet. Eddy and Ellis Sts. X-RAY Laboratory. Dividends On Your Regular Household Expenses.

The San Francisco Rochdale Company (co-operative), incorporated September 22, 1900, is doing a general grocery business at 1814 Market street. This company is purely co-operative and at the same time thoroughly business in all its dealings. Its members can only hold one membership share and have but one vote, thus making all equal. They sell goods at regular prices, and return all profits to members in proportion to purchases, after deducting a fair rate of interest in proportion to investment. A family who trades \$300 in a year and receives a dividend of 12 per cent, or \$36 on an investment of six dollars, in the San Francisco Rochdale Company, has certainly made a good business investment—besides fostering co-operation. Dividends have been returned as high as fifteen per cent on six months' business in some Rochdale companies in this State. W. C. Ellis, the manager of the company, is thoroughly acquainted with the grocery business. They carry a full line of fancy and staple groceries, and will be pleased to furnish full information about the business and its officers.



City Central Committee.

The minutes of the C. C. C. of the meeting held Wednesday, April 24th, Comrade Appel in the chair, were as follows:

A bill for \$15.50 was referred to the Ball Committee. Bill to J. J. Noel for work done as Organizer and Associate Editor of ADVANCE, for postal cards, \$12; ordered paid. Bills to G. B. Benham, 75 cents, and to New York "People," \$1.20; ordered paid.

The report of the Committee on Municipal Programs was received and referred to the Party meeting, May 7th. A motion was carried that the report be printed in ADVANCE.

A motion was carried that the Organizer be empowered to act in the matter of renting the store on Howard street for a headquarters, that the rent begin with May and that he endeavor to make arrangements with the landlord about the fitting-up of the place. The Organizer was also instructed to make arrangements with regard to getting furniture.

A motion was carried that Propaganda Committee be empowered to transfer Debating Club from Pythian Castle to Howard Street as soon as possible.

A motion was carried that C. C. C., in calling the Party meeting for May 7th, call it for the expressed purpose of voting on the reorganizing of the city in three large districts, and on the different amendments to the constitution that have been proposed.

A motion was carried that a special call be made for the Party meeting and that members show cards of good standing to secure admittance; that the payment of dues be made the first order of business of the Party meeting, and that the Financial Secretary be empowered to sell due-stamps.

A motion was carried that the matter of the redistricting of the city and all other amendments be published in ADVANCE.

The vote of the District Clubs for Board of Directors, Organizer and member of State Executive was counted. The elections are as follows: For Board of Directors of ADVANCE, Comrades Lilienthal, Messer, Johnson; for Organizer, J. J. Noel; for State Executive, Com. Dunne.

Com. Dunne resigned from State Executive, and a motion was carried that all vacancies be filled at the Party meeting.

The Treasurer reported the receipts of the week as \$13.54; expenses, \$20.50; deficit, \$2.14.

Chairman for Thursday, Com. Noel; for Sunday, Com. Dunne.

Adjourned, to meet May 8th at 336 Howard St. Respectfully submitted,

ANNA STRUNSKY.

BEER DRIVERS' UNION, LOCAL UNION, 227.

1159 Mission Street, San Francisco, Calif.

1159 Mission St., San Francisco, Cal., April 24th.

The regular meeting of the Beer Drivers' Union was held at the above address on Monday, April 22d, President Mueller in the chair. The Secretary reported that the Brewers' Association was prepared to sign the agreement regulating wages, etc., if the same was acceptable to the Union. The agreement was adopted as read, and referred to the Secretary to be signed.

The Union decided to levy an assessment on all of its members of one dollar, to assist in defraying the expenses of the recent strike in Portland; and the dues of the Union were raised to one dollar per month in conformity with a regulation of the National Union that all locals in the same city must pay equally high dues.

LATER.—This afternoon, in the office of the Secretary of the Brewers' Protective Association, in the Flood Building, the officers of the Brewers' Association and the Beer Drivers' Union attached their signatures to the agreement. This regulates the employment of Beer Drivers and Stablemen in all the breweries of this city, with the exception of two. The wage-scale rules and regulations agreed on in the contract will go into effect on Monday, April 29th, 1901. A. R. ANDRE, Sec. Local Union, No. 227.

CALIFORNIA ITEMS.

The Journeymen Bakers will hold their moonlight picnic and May Festival Wednesday, May 1st, at Germania Gardens. If you want a good time on May Day, be sure to take the Union street cars to the Germania Gardens.

Next Sunday the Journeymen Tailors will tie themselves to the mountains of Santa Cruz. It will cost you just one dollar to go with them. The boat leaves foot of Market street at 9 a. m. Your children can go along for half-price.

This is the last notice you will receive about the Socialist dinner, to be given under the auspices of the Ruskin Club. The dinner will take place next Tuesday, April 30th, at Oakland. Everything has been arranged for an enjoyable evening. Get tickets from the secretary of the party.

A grand May-day celebration will be held by the trades unions social and singing societies at Germania Gardens, Harbor View, Sunday, May 5th. This celebration is for the benefit of the local German Socialist paper, the "Tageblatt." There will be games, shooting and some prize bowling, etc. Music for dancing will be furnished by a first-class band. Admission, 25 cents.

The two railway equipment and lighting combines have fallen under control of Morgan and Rockefeller and will be united.

GRAND

May Festival and Moonlight Picnic  
ARRANGED BY THE  
Journeymen Bakers and Confectioners Union, No. 24.

—AT—

GERMANIA GARDENS, Harbor View

WEDNESDAY, MAY 31, 1901

ADMISSION 25 cts. Take Union Street Cars

Correspondence.

Los Angeles, April 18, 1901

Editor Advance: The movement in Los Angeles is gradually assuming a more encouraging aspect. The lethargy which has existed since the national campaign is being thrown off and the events occurring in the industrial and commercial world are following each other in such rapid succession, that the comrades are once more getting into the harness, confident that that the irrepressible conflict is nearly upon us, and also realizing the absolute necessity of binding the working class into a class conscious body with a definite object in view. Street meetings are being held every Saturday and Sunday night and are attracting large crowds. Considerable literature is being sold. Comrade Geo. S. Holmes has been elected organizer and is doing good work. Our Sunday night meetings in Woodman's Hall have a good attendance, showing that the interest taken by the public in socialism is growing.

The Karl Marx Debating Club is proving a great success. The question discussed last Wednesday eve was, "Resolved, that the attitude toward trade unions should be one of friendliness." The debate drew out a great number, and was the most successful meeting that has been held so far. Comrade Parker, of Texas, state organizer of the A. F. of L. of that state, took the affirmative and Comrade Miss Frances Nacke the negative. As her views are in thorough concord with the party's policy regarding trade unions, she was somewhat reluctant in accepting it, but as no one else was desirous of tackling that side of the subject, she was prevailed upon to do so. She made an excellent argument from a DeLeonistic point of view. But the affirmative had the best of the discussion and was so decided by the audience. Comrade Holmes who was critic made the best talk for the affirmative; the gist of his remarks were that in so far as the economic program of trade unions went, all socialists should extend to it their support and friendship. That every socialist should join the union of his craft and use every legitimate way to propagate the principles of socialism in the ranks, striving to show every individual member that instead of fighting and begging favors of the capitalist parties, they should adopt independent, uncompromising political action, having for their goal the cooperative commonwealth.

The following subject was adopted for next meeting: "Resolved, that man is a creature of environment." Comrade L. T. Fisher will take the affirmative and Comrade Frank Elder the negative.

We are all very much pleased with the "Advance." Every copy being an improvement on the previous one.

Fraternally,  
Chas. H. Koss.

Independence, April 15th.

I am glad to see that the subject matter of my letter is beginning to bear fruit, in earnest discussion and action. It is not too late to cooperate, so long as there is an acre of land left for agricultural production to the people not in with the capitalist forces, or a foot of land on which cooperative industry can be prosecuted. Production for use on farm and in workshop, by and through the socialist comrades, cannot solve the industrial problem, but it can and will mitigate the evils of capitalism as well here as in Belgium, France or Germany. Wherever and whenever there is genuine cooperation in any industry, productive or distributive, there is success just in proportion to its scientific management. It is no longer a theory but a condition that confronts the socialist organization, and its success as a propagandist of better industrial conditions will be commensurate with its practice of the principles in detail and wholesale. We must practice what we preach, no matter how small the scale we start on. How can I tell my boy how to swim and forbid him going near the water. "Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus." Our principles are just as applicable the present conditions and in detail as to groups, states or nations. We seem to be afraid of putting our principles to the test. Not so the limited "socialists" of the capitalist school. They get together on some materialistic problem of production or distribution, by combining all their financial, intellectual and physical forces. To use a pun or two: the leather trust got together because they put their whole "sole" into it. The yeast trust got together by "raising" prices. Individually, the socialists are very weak, but collectively they have sufficient strength, if they choose to exercise it, to have their own socialist daily in San Francisco; their own wholesale grocery store; their own oil producing wells, etc. to the end of the list. All these not in competition with capitalist production, but solely for use on the lines of the Belgian Vooruit.

Fraternally  
X X

REVIEWS

Will Wallace E. Nevill

Please go to the Devil

And give this poor office a rest.

Your logic is bad;

Your "science"—egad!

It is positively worse than a jest.

Tho' we read sixteen score

Of fool books—or more—

And each we deem worse than the last.

As the scale we descend

You'd be at the end

To put even nonsense aghast.

This doggerel verse

Is really no worse

Than that which with no reason at all—

No cause that's apparent—

No cause that's apparent—

Nor any good warrant,

But consummate gall—you airily call

The Science of Sociology, Wallace E. Nevill. Price, 25 cents. 2925 Sacramento street, S. F.

The oyster companies of the South organized a trust.

Two paper trusts have combined. The two cereal trusts will combine. And thus competition goes a-glimmering.

Recently the tobacco trust, feeling that it needed a few additional millions in fat dividends, raised the price on plug tobacco one cent a pound. The jobbers tried to shift the tax on to the shoulders of the retailers, but the trust stepped in and sold to the retailers at the original figure, and it looks now as though the combine is preparing to wipe the jobbers out of existence.

Illinois coal operators are organizing a \$75,000,000 trust, and down in West Virginia and Pennsylvania more independent mines have gone into combines. Kansas operators held a preliminary meeting and discussed a proposition to form a trust. A well-known Chicago operator is authority for the statement that inside of two years all the important bituminous mines in the country will be merged into combines.

The greatest individual winner in the bull market is said to be John D. Rockefeller, who is \$300,000,000 better off than a month before the election of McKinley. The advance in Standard Oil alone shows a profit on the 38 per cent interest aggregating \$65,000,000. On his known holdings it is easy to figure profits of at least a quarter of a billion from prices ruling half a year ago. W. K. Vanderbilt is believed to have been the biggest winner in Wall street next to Rockefeller. In addition to his immense investment holdings Mr. Vanderbilt loaded up with the largest speculative line of stocks ever carried by a single person—more than 1,000,000 shares. He is probably ahead \$35,000,000, and his fixed holdings have increased correspondingly in value.

Chicago grain elevators controlling 75 per cent. of the grain that enters the city formed a trust.

PROPAGANDA MEETING

Academy of Sciences Hall was crowded Thursday evening to hear the lecture of Comrade Hyman Strunsky. The title of the paper was "Socialism and Spiritual Progress." The subject was well thought out and clearly and ably presented. The arguments that socialism would cause degeneration and mental and moral atavism were taken up, explained and thoroughly refuted. Altogether it was one of the best lectures with which we have been favored this year. Advance has secured permission to publish it and it will appear in our columns at an early date.

Next Thursday, May 2nd the speaker will be Thaddeus S. Fritz, his subject: "The Coming Triumph of Labor."

SOCIALIST DEBATING CLUB

"Resolved, that it is for the best interest of the working class to accept donations from Carnegie for building a home for labor." Such was the question debated Sunday night, April 21st at Pythian Castle. It was the result of a challenge. Comrade George R. Thompson object to the article by Comrade J. J. Noel which appeared two weeks ago denouncing the acceptance of any gift from Carnegie. A debate was therefore arranged and, anticipating a lively time, a large crowd was in attendance.

Comrade Thompson argued that it was our duty to get power from any source whatever. That money was power and if we could get it from our exploiters it would be better than having to weaken ourselves that much, than draining our own resources. "To spoil the Egyptians," he maintained, was entirely right and proper and the working class would be fools not to accept donations of much needed funds.

Comrade Noel on the negative showed that the socialist movement was founded on the class struggle of labor. In order for it to succeed, therefore, it must build up a strong, self-reliant, class-conscious organization. Even dependence on wealthy socialist comrades tended to weaken the stamina of the movement and make it parasitic. How much more, then, he argued, would be the danger of accepting gifts from an avowed enemy of the working class. Gifts would be the fruitful source of suspicion and ultimately dependence would weaken and distrust disrupt the organization which dishonored itself with blood-money of the enemy. Corrupted and traitorous would be the workmen's verdict.

Comrade Thompson replied in a ten-minute rebuttal and a vote was taken. The vote on the merits of the debaters gave Thompson 48 and Noel 55. The vote on the merits of the question was affirmative 60 negative 49. Several other comrades then spoke, and the evening closed with the critics report.

MINUTES GENERAL PARTY MEETING.

Organizer J. J. Noel called meeting to order in Pythian Castle, 909 Market st. and was elected to the chair. Comrade C. H. King Jr. was elected secretary. Report of Headquarters Committee received. It was moved that the meeting endorse the project for securing headquarters on Howard street and that C. C. C. be requested to get it ready beginning with May. Carried. It was moved that propaganda meeting in A. of S. Hall be transferred to Headquarters when procured. Lost. It was moved that Socialist Debating Club be transferred to Headquarters when procured. Carried. Collection was taken to a art fund for furnishing headquarters. \$1.05. It was moved that when meeting adjourned it adjourn to meet Tuesday, May 7th at the new headquarters. Amended that all comrades present p-14 up membership cards at door for admittance. Carried. Organizer instructed to visit members, collect dues and procure speakers for street meetings. The purpose of meeting of May 7th is to consider a a means of more effective organization. All comrades are urgently requested to attend. Fraternally  
C. H. King, Jr.



The following Breweries have signed the eight hour agreement with the Brewery Workmen:

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(Revised Weekly.)

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