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ADVANCE

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

WHOLE NUMBER 396

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1902.

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NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN'S REPORT.

Comrade Roche Makes an Interesting Statement of his Work.

To the Executive Committee and Comrades of the Socialist Party:

I beg to enclose statement of finances in connection with my trips to St. Louis as state member of National Committee showing amount expended and received to be \$121.15. The work done by the committee in session is familiar to the comrades generally through the condensed account sent by National Secretary Greenbaum to the respective state committees and the party press. In the absence of any special instructions I was guided largely in my actions at the meeting by the acts of our recent state convention in Los Angeles, and my best judgement otherwise. The trade union policy of the party is most pronounced in the East. The organization generally working hand in hand with the unions. On the whole the good results of the course are unmistakable although some of us feel it was oft-times carried too far. Among others I registered protest against sending a telegram of congratulation to the Mine Workers in convention, as well to the policy of sending similar telegrams to all trade union conventions. The majority of the committee, however, endorsed the practice. The conditions obtaining in this state are hardly a criterion of the merits of the Party's trade union policy—and our San Francisco experience should not prompt rash action locally which would militate against the party as a whole. The position under the circumstances is delicate and requires cool judgement on the part of the comrades in California. In the light of the past experience it must be plain to the comrades that if we are to have an "attitude" toward trade-unions at all it must be a friendly one. Whether we can escape or avoid an "attitude" of any kind is another question.

From the complications of the party since the Unity convention it appears that "State Autonomy" is a failure in practice, and was only accepted in fact as a peace measure in the Indianapolis convention. It is reasonable to suppose that the party will return to the old centralized form of organization which seems the most expedient under the circumstances. Your committeeman introduced a resolution to the effect "that no member, speaker, or other representative of the National Committee shall receive as salary more than \$2.00 per day and expenses." This was looked upon as Utopian by most of the delegates, but upon amendment of Harriman of New York, maximum was set at three dollars per day and expenses. I had myself recorded in negative. Personally I felt that \$2.50 per day was the proper figure where expenses do not exceed \$1.50 per day, but insisted upon the \$2.00 limit as the will of the party in California, urging that upon moral and financial grounds as well as from motives of expediency the party should insist upon moderate salaries. No individuals should be allowed to exploit the movement. A revolutionary movement of the wage-workers calls for a sacrifice upon the part of the individual when necessary. The tremendous deficit in the party treasury shows that financially it can hardly afford to pay even two dollars per day and expenses at this time. Then besides large salaries will attract to our movement men of more ability than integrity—a demoralizing element in every way. Prompted by the action of the local quorum in committing the party to a local boycott in St. Louis your committeeman offered the following resolution which carried viz: Resolved that the Local Quorum shall not endorse or commit the Party to the endorsement of any boycott or strike that is not National or International in its scope, and that has not been sanctioned by the National or International executive committee of the organization involved.

Your committeeman also brought up the Hildebrand affair with reference to the building of warships by the government, with day labor instead of by the contract system. Comrade Hildebrand is no more responsible for this resolution than any of the trade-union members of the party who were present as delegates to the convention in Vallejo, California and who voted for the same, nor the members of our party in the trade unions throughout the United States who voted for "that measure. Hildebrand is conspicuous simply because of his prominent position in our party and its councils. The resolution, "that the National Committee disapprove of the action of Hildebrand in voting for the Vallejo resolution," was tabled, partly on this account. The question was raised as to how far the party could properly interfere with its members in their trade union capacity, considering that trade unions by their very nature exist for compromise and betterment of the immediate conditions of their members. This is a very important point in the matter, as Hildebrand offered and supported this resolution in his trade union and not in the socialist party. On the merits of the case, the majority of the committee decided that while our party as a party must stand opposed to the building of warships, yet when they were to be built nevertheless, we were bound to support the trade union demand that such work be done under the direct supervision of the gov-

ernment and not under the contract labor system, as it was in line with the immediate interests of the wage working class represented by the trade unions. This is a very close tactical question and will embrace the actions of our trade union members in the "Chinese Exclusion" convention of recent date. Whatever the decision of the party Hildebrand should not be made a scapegoat in the affair.

A very important question raised at this meeting was as to whether or not the party at this time or any time should demand politically that all existing military organizations of whatever kind or nature be disbanded, and a democratic military organization be effected placing the army in the hands of the masses of the people. This is prompted by the menace to the ballot and as an offset to any move of the ruling class to cut us off in that direction. It is worthy the serious attention of the comrades.

In conclusion, I beg to state that the working class character of our organization cannot be questioned fairly, and while here and there errors have been committed they have been due mostly to the greenness of new locals and men—and have been promptly remedied by the national organization. This report was delayed pending collection of money subscribed to delegates expenses in Los Angeles. I may say here that the state will be credited with due stamps to the amount expended by the National organization.

Respectfully submitted,
James S. Roche,
National Committeeman,
State of California.

FUNCTION AND COMPENSATION.

It is a generally acknowledged truth that Society is an organism. As in the individual organism, it consists of a number of parts, or organs, having different functions to perform, but each being necessary to the life of the other.

In some respects, the analogy between the social organism and the living one, is startling. Take for instance, the formation and growth of each cell, composed of unstable protoplasm, it evolves into a higher organism, feeble in structure and the units, to a great extent, independent of each other. As the aggregate arises in the scale of organization, functions appear, the units becoming more interdependent, the separation of which would result in great disturbance or death. As it evolves higher and higher, more functions are created, until it has reached its highest development, the different parts or organs becoming absolutely essential to the life of the whole. If the lungs are arrested in their action, the heart immediately stops beating. If the stomach gets in a condition where it ceases to perform its duties, all other parts of the organism, by and by, cease to work. If the limbs are paralyzed, thereby preventing the body from securing food, it perishes. We see there is a mutual dependence of parts.

So in the social body. If we go back to the germ we see where a few individuals have formed themselves into tribes, the members being but slightly dependent on each other. Every individual was Warrior, Hunter and the maker of his own weapons. The tribe acted in concert only in case of war or in chase. As the evolution advanced division of labor took place, which demanded a more stable organization, the individuals being drawn closer together, and more interdependent, and eventually reaching a stage where a cessation in one of its parts meant the complete demoralization of the whole. If the coal miners stop work, the iron workers must also cease. If those engaged in producing and distributing food are not acting, all manufacturing will come to a standstill. If the sewerworkers do not look after sanitation, disease and death will ensue. We observe that the scavenger is as essential as the doctor; while the doctor may remove the disease, the scavenger is preventing it. There enters into the Social Organism, however, a factor not encountered in the living one.

We see competition existing in the living organism as well as in the social body. As the general stock of nutriment circulates through it, each organ appropriates what sustenance it requires, sometimes to the detriment of the other organs. But in the social body some of the organs not only consume more, but they put a gauge on the production of this nutriment. This gauge is commonly called property rights and prevents the more unfortunate individuals from securing sufficient nourishment to sustain their lives.

The one great problem in Society today is in the control and distribution of this nutrition. If

it is true, as some scientists claim, that the individual mind, although very feeble, comparatively as yet, will gradually assume control over all parts of the living organism, giving to each organ a more equitable share of the nutriment, holding in check unnatural development, and eventually destroying all of the "Thousand natural shocks," then in Society, while at present it is a sort of grab—everybody for himself—game, nevertheless may not the time be rapidly approaching when that social mind will take control of the different parts, giving to each their just share of nutrition? Unquestionably it is so.

It will destroy that curse, Poverty, which is the cause of nearly all the evils existing in society today and will bring each organ into mutual relationship. Now if the reader has had the patience to follow me this far, and if he is conscientious and lays aside all prejudices, I am confident he will agree with me that the question of Compensation is a stupid one. If all parts of the social organism, as has been shown, are interdependent on the others, should not all of them receive equal pay in proportion to their needs?

Is it not a fact that all we can get out of life is food, clothing and shelter, which comprises of course the general comforts? This is procured by applying our labor to the natural resources. Statistics show us that if all the individuals of society performed some useful labor three hours per day would suffice to produce all that would be necessary to supply the wants of all. If this is so why in the name of common sense are we troubling ourselves whether another individual is getting more than we are, when all we have to do is to open the flood-gates, and the nutrition will pour forth in inexhaustible streams.

Do away with private ownership in land and machinery, which, if traced back, will be found to have been acquired only by violence and fraud. As Herbert Spencer says: "The original deeds

not lawyers, but soldiers were the conveyancers; blows were the current coin given in payment, and for seals, blood was used in preference to wax." Reclaim what has been wrested from you by these unfair means.

Can this be done? Yes, and in a simple and peaceable manner. As has been shown, a very small portion of the individuals constituting society have arrogated to themselves the right to not only appropriate four-fifths of this nutriment but, what is a most remarkable phenomenon they control the output and refuse to allow any one to apply his labor power to mother earth without their permission, notwithstanding the fact that thousands, nay millions, are suffering and dying for the lack of this opportunity to do so. This condition of affairs, as we all can see, has produced a fierce struggle between these two classes, the one struggling to retain its power, and the other to escape from it. In short, the capitalist class and the working class are brought into being as enemies of each other.

Another singular fact is that the working class have that which society has provided for them, namely the ballot. The unfortunate part of it is, that while the controlling class know how to use their ballot, from the fact that they possess more cunning, the working class are woefully ignorant of its use. Hence, the deplorable condition in which they find themselves. Having the means which, if used intelligibly, would set them free they yet sink deeper and deeper in the mire.

Working men, you must free yourselves; no one else is going to do it for you. Don't vote for competition, vote for co-operation, for the public ownership of the land and machinery. There is only one party advocating these measures and that one is the Socialist Party. They demand that the social organism, in other words society, as a whole shall take control of this production and distribution of the means necessary to the lives of all, and from this will result an orderly, systematic and equitable division.

Charles H. Ross,
Santa Barbara, California.

WOULDN'T IT MADDEN YOU.

Comrade Madden of the Post Office department has now taken a job as chief subscription huster for the Seattle "Socialist." He has sent our esteemed contemporary a notice that "they'll have to show him" why they are entitled to second class rates. Wilshire and Wayland don't seem to be the only pebbles on the beach. We await their comments on this latest move of our Comrade with much interest. For our own part, we confess that our business department needs a visit from the third ass in the Postmaster General's bureau. A hundred or a thousand more subs would just about suit our palate. And, by the way, no comrade need wait for Madden to madden him into hustling for us. Payment of subs is always in order. It wouldn't jar us.

CUBA AND THE SUGAR TRUST.

We have received the following letter from Comrade Wilshire and in further explanation of his position, publish extracts from his article, "United States Menaced by Cuba," which appeared in his February Magazine.

Editor Advance: I notice you have a letter in your issue of Feb. 15th in which it is stated that "the growers of sugar-cane are not able to make their supply of sweets meet the demand that exists here for them, and we consequently have to import foreign beet sugar." I think your correspondent is quite mistaken regarding this. It is much cheaper to grow cane-sugar, and there is plenty of it. We never imported beet-sugar; but, owing to the duty upon the importation of cane-sugar, there has been established beet-sugar industries here. This beet-sugar is purely artificial and depends entirely upon the protection offered by the tariff. Your correspondent makes no mention of the tariff at all, and it is a vital point in the sugar controversy. There was never any idea that the beet factory people would not refine. The beet factories establish themselves thousands of miles from refineries, and it is absurd of your correspondent to think that they ever thought of shipping to these cane-sugar refineries. I cannot understand how a man that attempts to write upon a subject should display so much so much ignorance.

Faithfully yours,
H. Gaylord Wilshire.

(From Wilshire's Magazine.)

The total consumption of sugar in the United States will be about 2,860,585 tons. Of this quantity 1,000,000 tons in round figures will come from American sources, say Louisiana being able to produce 350,000 tons, United States beet factories 150,000, Hawaii 350,000, and Porto Rico 150,000, all being free of duty, leaving 1,860,585 tons to come from other sources and on which duty is paid. The average duty assessed is \$36 per ton, or a total of \$48,981,060. The price of all sugar consumed here is \$10.00 per ton.

evident that \$50,000,000 additional is paid by the people in order to provide the government with 49 millions for revenue, of which the government is now in need. If the duty is taken off Cuba sugar the benefit of 85 millions goes to the people.

The quotation for Cuba centrifugal sugar, 96 degrees test free on board Cuba, is about 1.96 cents per pound, duty on same amounts to 1.685 cents—equivalent to 86 per cent ad valorem.

Sugar at two cents a pound means a loss on every pound raised, and it is a plain enough proposition that unless the United States does something to help the Cuban planter to get a better price, then he is going bankrupt. Inasmuch as half of the population of Cuba is directly connected with sugar growing it means that if the industry is ruined Cuba is ruined. The planters have been going on now ever since the war raising bigger and bigger crops and every year going deeper into debt with the steady lowering of the price of their product, until now they are at the end of their rope. * * *

Here we have the richest and most fertile island in the whole world, the "Gem of the Antilles," at the very verge of starvation, not because of too little being produced but because of too much! Could anything in the realm of reason be more absurd? If it were a case of Cuba being ruined by misgovernment it might be explicable, but as a matter of fact she now has good government for the first time for centuries, yet during all the days of the tyranny of Spain she never was in danger of such poverty as now threatens to overwhelm her.

The trouble with Cuba is simply that there is an overproduction of the world's crop of sugar and as sugar is her main crop she is in danger of ruin because she cannot find a market. Her malady is simply a miniature and somewhat aggravated form of the disease which today is threatening the life of all European nations. * * *

The advance guard of the world's unemployed army is mobilizing now in Cuba; it is mobilizing now in Europe. It takes no trained ear to hear its ominous tread. The American contingent is, so to speak, sleeping on its arms, ready at any moment to go on the march whenever the last whistle blows to stop work owing to the market being satisfied. When this occurs, then will be the time for the consideration of "abstract theories," which I see were taboed at the recent Hanna-Potter-Gompers labor conference in New York which was to solve the labor problem by waving olive branches. It is the "abstract problems" which are the most important for such conferences to solve.

The great "abstract problem" for the future to solve is, "How can Mr. Mark Hanna find work for labor when there is no demand for the product of labor? When there is a demand then the only problem to be solved is that of wages and hours." It is simply a question of "How much of the loaf can the worker get from Hanna and how much can Hanna keep for himself?" That is easy. Each takes as much as he can get and must live satisfied with the result. But when there is no loaf at all there is no possibility of satisfaction, no matter how good natured both sides may be. Nobody is yet such a saint that he is satisfied to starve.

ADVANCE



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POLITICAL ISSUES AND POLITICIANS.

A determined effort is being made by the politicians to revive the question of the tariff as a campaign issue.

Both the Republican and Democratic press are booming the question, trimming it up in the latest style preparatory to presenting it to the American people to fight over in the Congressional and Presidential elections to come. Those who had fondly hoped that the issue was dead and done for, are to see it revived. They will witness again the nightmare of long processions of figures and rhetorical bombast over the importation of junk and the exportation of "booze." We will be deluged with literature containing all the fallacies of "after that, therefore on account of that" illogic. English hard times will be recounted with zeal by the protectionists and the "tariff for revenue only" people will reply by the example of high tariff Germany in the throes of a crisis. In short, all the humbuggery of the past forty years will be repracticed and the voters rounded up to continue the same old system that they have toiled and starved under before.

We do not purpose arguing out the question of the tariff just now. All we wish to do is to call the attention of our readers and thro them, of the working people to the manifest dishonesty of the Democratic party in this matter. The Republican party is just as bad, of course, but in this instance it is chiefly the Democracy that is exposed as a fraud.

During the past six years the Democrats have ignored the tariff question. Previous to that time, when Cleveland was President and both Houses of Congress were under Democratic control the Wilson Bill was passed which, instead of being free trade or tariff for revenue only or anything the Democrats had talked about, was a pretty high protective tariff. Then, having stultified themselves on that question, they were obliged to hunt a new issue. This they found in Free Silver. The "crown of thorns" and "cross of gold" episode gave the boy-orator the leadership of his party and he lead them twice to defeat, and the second time pretty near to destruction.

It will not do, however, for the Democratic party to disintegrate; it is too useful a foil to the Republican party. The capitalists demand a "legitimate opposition" which shall pretty evenly divide the people and which, if it does win, must be perfectly "safe." If the Democratic party goes to pieces all the conservative traditions it stands for will go with it and the "opposition" to the governing capitalists will speedily be made up of distinctly working class interests advocating radical if not completely socialistic measures.

Free Silver is completely dead. The Democracy cannot be rallied again around that point. The trust question will be quietly disposed of by the courts declaring it impossible to stop them. Roosevelt has taken the wind out of the sails of the Democrats on that tack. The only safe proposition left is the tariff. On the tariff question, the Democracy can be reconsolidated more than on any other point and still remain "safe." Better to win back the conservative millionaires and lose the poverty-stricken radicals than turn over the party to the latter, so argue the politicians. And the millionaires agree; because some of them find their interests neglected by the Republican party and all of them wish to see a strong opposition remain "legitimate and safe."

An understanding of these manoeuvres should be acquired by every workingman. It proves that the "issues" are merely blinds gotten up to fool the workers and keep them voting "safe." It proves that when the Democrats take the stump and declare the welfare of the workingman depends upon a tariff for revenue only they are either lying then or were lying two and six years ago when free silver was our only salvation. A frank admittance that the capitalists are in control of both parties is in Tuesday's "Chronicle." After lamenting that W. F. Herrin the Southern Pacific Ry. Co's. political agent owns the Republican machine and contemplating the possibility of defeat because of that, it proceeds: "That does not worry Mr. Herrin. He does not care which party is in power." In other words, when the people play against the plutocrats, for the plutocrats it is a game of "Heads, I win; tails, you lose." The workers vote Republican or Democratic—and the capitalists rule—also Republican or Democratic. Is it not time for you to "get wise?"

SOCIALISM AND THE TRADE UNIONISTS.

In his report, which we print in this issue, Comrade Roche echoes a sentiment that seems unfortunately to be rather wide-spread. It is to the effect that the experience of San Francisco in the recent municipal campaign is an argument against socialists taking active part in the trades union movement and the support of the socialist movement being given to organized labor. This notion is exactly opposite to what that experience teaches. The reason, the only reason, that the socialist movement did not get an immense impetus from the labor troubles of the past year, is the fact that members of the Socialist party were not the active and leading men in the trades-unions. It is true that in some unions the socialists led, that socialists contributed greatly toward organizing new unions. Nevertheless in the older and stronger unions they did not have so much place. This is due to the almost absolute indifference to unionism the San Francisco comrades had displayed theretofore. Very little "borjng from within" had been done. Our propaganda had proceeded entirely regardless of any special attempt to educate the members of the trade-unions. In consequence when union labor found itself assailed and betrayed by Republicans and Democrats alike, it had not sufficient acquaintance with the socialist party nor its members to trust its cause in their keeping. The union men had not been educated to sympathize with the socialist cause; nor, as Socialist were not their tried leaders, did they feel called upon to support socialist candidates as individuals who had proven worthy of confidence. Hence, when the class spirit of the union men called for independent politics, they formed a new party. That that party has become dominated by a faction of the Republican party does not here enter into the question. The all-important point is this, that the trades-union movement brought out, in the sharpest lines, the antagonism of interests between the capitalists and the workingmen; it forced the organization of both sides until it was impossible not to see that the struggle was a class struggle; even more, it forced the evolution of this class struggle right along from the original individual conflict on the economic field to independent political action by the working class. If we socialists had done what we should have done during the past eight years that there has been an organization here, when the union labor convention was called to order, instead of being represented by a committee of five who warmed chairs in the gallery while their request for a hearing was turned down with scarcely a voice raised in their behalf, they would have been represented by the delegates on the floor and prevented this spontaneous uprising of the working class from becoming a catspaw for the Republican Primary League monkey, Mr. Abe Ruef. It was an opportunity, a great opportunity. That we failed to take it and lost heavily in consequence is due, not to activity in trades unions, but because the accursed doctrines of De Leon had prevented that preparation necessary to seizing such an opportunity. If we had realized five years ago the full meaning of the theory of the class struggle and recognized the inevitable and important part therein which trade-unions must take despite all conservative leaders, regardless of whether they be such by conviction or "persuasion"—if we had known as much then as we may know to-day, we would have joined the union movement heart and soul and when this opportunity came it would have been seized, and the union labor victory would have been a socialist victory as well—a battle won by the workers in the class conscious struggle against the capitalists.

We are free to admit that the opportunity being lost and a class-unconscious or an unsocialistic union labor party being in the field, matters are somewhat complicated. Yet this we know: the union labor party must either become socialist or perish. The advanced industrial development the intensification of the class-struggle, the logic of inevitable events will force upon it this choice. For our own part, we believe that it is not unlikely if the Republican Primary League is successful at the primaries next August, that the present Union Labor party leaders will attempt to scuttle their ship and get aboard the Republican band-wagon. If this is done, the Union Labor party will die a natural death. If, however, they do not pursue this policy the labor party must of necessity be transformed, perhaps thro' many struggles, yet eventually to be a socialist party.

Meantime it is our unquestionable duty as socialists to enter the trades unions, fight in those ranks not merely for the advancement of socialist ideas, as is too frequently done, but for the actual present-day betterment of the working-class; do trades-union work fearlessly and efficiently that socialists shall become the recognized leaders of the labor movement and through their power and prestige thus acquired by actual service not merely eloquent speech-making, wheel the trades-unions into line to support the workingman's only hope, socialism, the final emancipation of labor from all servitude and thralldom.

Watch your expiration number. Renew promptly.

POPPIES AND WHEAT

BY MARY FAIRBROTHER.

Let us go after the great Companions and to belong to them.

They too are on the road—they are the swift and majestic men—they are the greatest women.

Forever alive, forever forward,

Stately, sad, withdrawn, baffled, mad, turbulent feeble, dissatisfied, desperate, proud, fond, sick, accepted by men, rejected by men.

They go! They go! I know that they go, but I know not where they go.

But I know that they go toward the best—toward something great.

—WALT WHITMAN.

THE discussion is still going on in Socialist papers as to whether socialist men and women should belong to the same branch, or whether it would be better to have separate organizations. Theory of equal rights, and the fact that women need the development as badly as men need it, would seem to prove that there should be but one organization. But, as often happens theory and practice are not harmonious. It is well nigh impossible for poor men and women to both leave home at the same time. There are a number of good reasons for this. If they do and have little children, the children will be neglected. No one could advocate that. Women, too will not take an active part in meetings which are controlled by men. A few may do so, but the majority will refrain. So, the more I think about it, the more I am inclined to believe in separate organizations. And the general women's branch can much more conveniently meet in the afternoon. As the women have no vote, at the polls, the only thing necessary for them is to be thoroughly informed as to why they are socialists, to be thoroughly organized, for work which they may at any time be called upon to do in campaigns and so on; and to meet and enjoy each other's society.

If there is a woman who finds it agreeable and prefers the other Branch and her duties permit her to attend, let her do so, by all means. She can be of invaluable assistance and she will learn a good deal, but generally, I am inclined to the opinion that separate branches would do more effective work for a time, at least. I may say here, that I am open to conviction on this point, as it is very hard for me to believe in anything which is theoretically weak. But facts are stubborn things and the miserable conditions of the present barbarous thing we call "society" demand so much from every poor woman, that her hands are well nigh as full as possible now. Every new thing she learns, however, makes her burden lighter, for she soon begins to grow, and think, even if she has not been in the habit of thinking. We will perhaps, have more on this subject from some of the women readers of Advance.

OCCASIONALLY, a thing said by a woman whose picture is in all the papers comes with a force that the same thing said by a woman unknown to fame would not have. Emma Nevada has spoken against corsets and what is more sensible against spangles and fol-de-rols on women's clothes. At the state Federation of Women's Clubs one evening a woman appeared on the platform with a black gown, ornamented, or spoiled, by beads and gilt, until her really bright argument was lost in the glare and glitter which were positively painful. It would not do for me to try and imagine what it all cost, but the gown was ruined, the speech was ruined and the woman proved herself to be utterly lacking in that fine sense of the fitness of things, no matter how gorgeous and fashionable may have been all that splendor. I had the pleasure of attending the Indian Congress at one of our great expositions in the middle states, and saw the Sioux and some other tribes from Arizona, whose names I forget, decked out in all the splendor of war paint and feathers, and grease and smell. One of the features of that Congress was what they called a sun dance, performed at set of sun, and the costumes were royal indeed, only they were worn by the men instead of the women. The poor squaws were allowed to view the amazing spectacle from a distance, and there I learned where we get many of our notions of dress. No doubt those squaws were envious. When they "evolute" into "queens of American society" they wear the grease, and the paint and the feathers and the beads themselves.

AS to the corset—that is another story. Books have been written—the French have lately passed a law discarding it. The law was passed by men—the corset is worn by women. The law discards it—the women keep right on wearing it. Women have lectured against it. Dress reformers have demonstrated times out of mind how much easier and more artistic it is to dress without corsets. Everybody admits it is wrong and every woman whoever put her form divine into a pair, will swear by all that she holds holy, that she only wears it because other women do and that never, never, does she wear it laced tight. "You can see for yourself that I wear it so loose that it really amounts to nothing. I think it is horrid to lace." And she smilingly puts on a corset the next day, and when her daughter is about half grown, puts her into a pair, to "form her figure, so she will have a waist." This has gone on for quite awhile and, there is one hope for it all and only one. When women develop entirely into sensible beings they will do what sensible beings should do, and until that time, they will follow in the footsteps of fashion, and waste the substance of man's toil for useless and injurious things.

ONE of the most comical things that has happened, is the agitation of the campaign against

bushy whiskers, like Cyclone Davis and the other Populists used to wear. The ordinance, which it is now proposed to pass in the municipality of New York, saying that all milkmen must shave, is downright humor. The long, scientific articles which are justifying the faith are also fearfully and wonderfully funny. Just for a moment, for instance, imagine our handsome Mayor with the whiskers eliminated; only think of the orthodox men of all countries, who believe that Jesus of Nazareth wore a beard, hence it is a sin to shave. Dowie, of Chicago will not come under the ban, for even if he does distribute millions of microbes, he can dispel them again by a miracle as he does other healing, and the sacrifice of a common sheep or lamb would be as nothing, compared to those long, silvery whiskers. But a poor milkman is different. He is not a stump speaker, like the Kansas or Texas gentlemen, he is not a preacher like the orthodox Millerite and all his ilk, he cannot talk fluently and convincingly on both sides of all questions, like the honorable Mayor. All the meek and mute milkman can do is to make a ten gallons of milk do the work of a hundred, and so his beard must go. The mode of agitating the subject, the remarks in the newspapers, prove so conclusively that vanity of the human race, is not a feminine quality alone, that really now is the time to laugh.

HOWEVER, the pure milk question for the little people of big cities is not a laughable matter, and when we remember in of our large cities, last summer, one firm sold milk to the ignorant women, "warranted not sour in in hot weather." So many children died, that an investigation followed and the percentage of formaldehyde in that milk was so large that no one would believe it now. This milk problem has been agitated somewhat in San Francisco, and it depends upon women to see that the ordinance requiring certain things, should be rigidly enforced. If women would take pains to inform the authorities, every time the milk proved unsatisfactory and would tell the men who peddle the milk that they intended to that, and also tell them that they might take a sample of it to the city chemist any time, it would make a good deal of difference. It is a sad commentary on the intelligence of the ordinary woman, that men know she does not care about these things, and in fact does not know the exact difference between good, pure milk, and the vile concoctions of the adulterate trade. Never shall I forget the pity I felt for a woman in the eastern city, who honestly recommended to me a certain brand of milk as mentioned because it did not get thick in hot weather. It did me good afterward, when she gave the vender a piece of her mind tinctured by a not very sweet temper, when she had learned the truth.

COMES now another school teacher, a scientific person, who thinks woman ought to be taught to keep house, get married and rear children, or as he expressed it, do the specific things which nature intended her to do. If he would read a few statistics, some time when he takes a day off, he would learn that in every state in the Union, even in Massachusetts, the old bachelors outnumber the old maids. And it does seem a pity, that in as much as society has long ago decreed that the man should do the asking, that some of these old bachelors don't proceed. Women are in the commercial world because they are on earth. If they were heavenly spirits bright and fair, they could get along without clothes and the cold pickles and baker's bread which come via, the boarding house, but they are on earth and there is no one to provide these things for them so they live and work as best as they may, and always have a better time than the old bachelor. Joking aside, the hard cruel facts of the present system prevent men and women marrying and making a home and living together because both know that they can manage to exist cheaper if they remain apart. Men are not anxious to see their wives do as their mothers did, and worse, and that is the reason homes are going out of style (children have already gone out) and no improvement will come, until society is so constituted that the bare necessities at least are possible to every man who is willing to work. To the credit of this last lecturer to talk nonsense on this subject, it must be said that he does not blame the women. He seems to realize that it is not their fault. So far as it goes, that is all right, for men long ago assumed all legislative and executive powers and with the results women have no responsible part. When we know more, we will realize that the woman is the best friend society has, and to the neglect and ignoring of that element we may trace the undoing of the fabric.

There has not been a rational remedy suggested for at least two score of years, and that is why the thinking people are giving it up, and turning to a new system—to Socialism—before the human race shall be exterminated.

Our esteemed contemporary the Redlands "Undercurrent" is authority for the statement that the New York State Committee is trying to secure our former State Organizer Comrade Fred J. Spring, of Los Angeles to work for the party in New York and that National Secretary Greenbaum is endeavoring to appropriate Comrade Roche.

Considering that Job Harriman and Wm. Edlin are on the New York City Executive Committee it begins to look as if the East thought no matter how high Californians may come, they've got to have 'em. "The Undercurrent" seems a little worried over the prospect. But that's all right, the Mills factory will soon be in working order and we can place agitators on sale in job lots of 1 to 100.

SUNDAY'S PROPAGANDA MEETING.

Comrade Walter Thomas Mills, said a thousand good things at the meeting held Sunday night at the Academy of Sciences Hall. He talked for two hours, and as stenographers go, it would take a rapid writer to keep up with him. He talks at a greater pace than Greenbacker Weaver or Prohibition St. John and is the peer of either in point of eloquence. His humor is irresistible—there could scarcely be a greater contrast than that between Comrade Wise, who spoke the week before and Comrade Mills. The former never attempts a joke and the latter only works his clenchers in between the illustrations under cover of the keenest wit and satire.

His subject was short if the talk was long—one word "Trusts", and speaking of length, the audience begged him to go on, and at the finale gave him an ovation lasting three or four minutes—the enthusiasm was simply electrical.

The speaker took the old hand loom and the boy who used to go out and apologize to the sheep for wearing their second hand clothes, onward and upward, until the mighty factory has the entire earth for its market and no end to its profits.

He endeavored to prove, and did establish beyond cavil, that the men who now own the big factory and compose a corporation without a soul, are not necessarily bad men, on the contrary, they may be very good men. There is nothing special in this sort of thing to keep a man from being mean, but he is not necessarily a mean man.

After Comrade Mills took his audience to the stage of the game where the market had compassed the earth in scope, he then told how the profits from any single corporation could no longer be invested in that particular branch of industry because it was all one, and so they must of necessity reach out after some other industry not so well developed where the market was partially divided among several small dealers. By this course of reasoning he finally came to the time in the future of the world's history where there would be nothing left for the investment of the billions which the working men are piling up for their exploiters, and capital would be valueless unless it civilizes and christianizes the moon.

When that day comes, the storehouses will be well filled, because the poor will be so poor that they can only breathe and work. The scale of life will be so depressed that rice will be all that the people can afford. The Socialists will then come to their own, they will take what belongs to them and institute a new government, not among men, but for all men.

During the recital of the ways by which the Rockefeller are investing their surplus profits in new pastures, Comrade Mills predicted that inside of ten years, maybe only five, everything now handled by the small dealer, the dry goods man, the druggist and the grocers, would be sent out from one central point as the coal oil is now sent, the price fixed and competition dead.

One of the most intensely interesting moments of the evening was when the speaker was relating how the millionaires are reaching out after the small farms. His instances of Iowa and Dakota transactions where the farmers were told that their farms were never to be placed on the market again, were received by the audience in a silence that was almost painfully profound. Mr. Mills, to a far greater degree than any speaker who has addressed the Socialists lately, showed the working man his duty, his opportunity and the inevitable peril and disaster his present inertia will bring. His straightforward and simple language, his earnestness and his hard study of the foundation principles of Socialism, all told in an impressive way upon the men who heard him. His talk will not soon be forgotten and dull and stupid must be the one who did not grasp its awful import for always and ever he remembered to repeat that the center of operations of the world's trust would surely be where raw material and labor were cheapest.

The usual speeches by comrades were omitted and only one misguided outsider undertook to take issue. He may have known what he was talking about and his auditors certainly hoped one person did. Comrade King was chairman and Comrade Reynolds critic. He only spent a few moments trying to express the enjoyment of so fine an address on the part of the large audience and gave the orator of the evening high praise. By the way, the hall was filled to the doors not even one inch of stardring room to spare.

AN OPEN LETTER TO ALL COMRADES OF THE S. P.

Holyoke, Mass., Feb. 15, 02.

COMRADES: Undoubtedly all of you have read the first annual report of the National Secretary. Those that have failed to read it would do well to study the report in order to become acquainted with the conditions prevalent in our party.

The Secretary's report shows that the comrades in various localities are guilty of having grossly neglected their duty in regard to their financial obligations towards our national party organization.

At the time of the Unity Convention the Socialist Party had 6654 members, only 821 of whom paid dues in August. In September 2984 paid dues and in October national dues were received for 3781 members, which goes to show that less than one fourth of the total membership had seen fit to pay national dues up to that time.

Comrades, we need not be astonished to see our National organization indebted to the amount of several thousand dollars. Is this not your own fault? Consider this and make it your business to fulfill your duty more promptly and punctually than you have done in the past. It is your duty to regularly send in your national dues in order that the National Committee may be enabled to carry on a more energetic and successful campaign of agitation.

What do we care for all the cheap noise about the progress and agitation as long as a portion of the membership do not pay their share towards the expenses of the national organization!

Comrades remember that the members of both factions agreed to pay off all debts and accept all liabilities that had been contracted up to that time. We believe that the comrades who helped the party by their work or who advanced their

money at time when the movement was in a critical condition, should get what is due them.

Local Branch Holyoke, Mass., not believing in empty resolutions and sweet talk decided to make a start towards putting our party into better financial condition. At our meeting, held February 9th, it was decided to appropriate the sum of \$10 to the National Committee towards paying off the old debts of the party. Our Local Branch has 36 members at present. Most of our comrades in Holyoke are weavers by trade and their weekly earnings do not average more than \$6.

Comrades of America, ponder for a moment! Can you really not do the same as your poor weaver comrades of Holyoke? Can you not follow our example and do your duty financially towards our party and our movement? We wish to impress upon your minds the fact that talk alone will not make a Socialist movement. Deeds and some little sacrifices are necessary to accomplish this.

Do your duty and within a very short time we shall get rid of the troublesome burden of old debts that will remain a check and obstacle to our movement as long as they are not paid off.

Local Branch Holyoke, Mass., demands of the comrades in all localities that they send within the next four weeks, to the National Committee an amount equal to a per capita of about 25 cents for the above stated purpose.

We demand that the National Committee Quorum, at its next session, also take immediate action in regard to this matter and take such steps as will bring the various locals and state organizations to the realization of their carelessness and neglect of duty towards our national organization of the Socialist Party.

By Order of
Local Branch Holyoke, Mass.,
Socialist Party.
Committee: { K. Schwabe.
L. Basler.
H. Schlichting.

A PROTEST FROM OHIO.

We wish to call attention through the columns of your paper to the condition of the National Committee. In their financial statement just issued we note several states with a larger party membership than Ohio; yet are doing very little or practically nothing towards the maintenance of the National organization. We as the representatives of Ohio, one of the states that has been acting honorably with the National organization hereby enter protest against the indifference as manifested by these states towards the National organization. If the National Committee is going to be continued, as it should and must be, all states must do their share towards sustaining them. We feel that it would be a useless expenditure of time to argue as to the reasons that the National organization should be better supported as all Socialists ought to be clear on that point. However, the fact remains that a few of the states are bearing the expenses of the National organization and it cannot continue very much longer. Locals of the party in all states as well as the individual members should insist on their respective states bearing their proportionate part of the expense of the National organization.
Fraternally yours,
Ohio State Committee,
W. G. Critchlow, Sec'y.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE IN COLORADO.

THE sixth clause in the "Immediate Program" of the Socialist Party reads: "Equal civil and political rights for men and women." We advocate woman-suffrage, not because we believe any marvelous regeneration of the world will result, but because we recognize that women are human beings, with wants and needs, the satisfaction of which is dependent on the laws and constitution of society. It is to express their wants and provide for their needs in a peaceable, orderly manner, that men have the ballot. Mr. Wm. M. Raine bears testimony to the net results of woman-suffrage in Colorado where it has been tested for nearly ten years. He says:

"It has not regenerated society nor abolished political corruption. It has not even prevented bloodshed at the polls and made the election of bad men impossible. The time-serving politician and the ward-heeler have not become ineligible for public preferment, nor has there been in any way a tremendous influence for good brought to bear upon the electorate. As a short cut to the millennium woman-suffrage may be counted out as a failure, for even upon moral questions the line of political cleavage in the woman vote is as decided as among men. In point of fact the ship of state appears to sail on in much the same way as before."

"On the whole, the private character of office-seekers has been of a higher type than before, owing to the close scrutiny of the Civic Federation and other woman's organizations, which have induced conventions to hesitate in nominating a man of pronounced immorality or unworthiness. The emphatic rebuke given at the last election to a very brilliant but profligate politician should make clear to party managers the inexpediency of such nominations.

"The newly aroused interest of women in civic affairs has manifested itself in other ways in the greater cleanliness of streets, in the city park improvements, and especially in the care, ventilation, and artistic decoration of school buildings. The women members of the various state boards have done good work in furthering the interests of their charges. This has been notably true in those boards relating to the care of the criminal and pauper classes, manifesting itself in the more efficient management of the female wards of the state and in the improved conditions of the state institutions generally. The Industrial Home for Girls is a shining example of this. It would seem not only the part of justice, but also of wisdom, to give women a fair representation on the governing boards of those institutions in which they have naturally a special interest, such as charitable and reforma-

tory institutions for girls, women and boys, public schools, and co-educational state universities. The development of the girl both in early life, and later during the four impressionable college years, can hardly be secured along the best lines by placing the direction of their lives entirely in the hands of men, who are confessedly not able to meet the needs of their own growing girls without the aid of a woman. There are, no doubt, qualifications inherent in her sex which give to woman a clearer insight into certain questions than a man can have.

"The fear that woman would flood the public offices, or would take in any way an undue part in public life, has not been realized in Colorado. Since the political enfranchisement of women there have usually been three members of that sex in the Colorado legislature, but at the present time, owing to a mistake of the nominating conventions, there is but one. The only office on the state ticket conceded to a woman is that of superintendent of public instruction."

PROVISIONAL STATE COMMITTEE.

Meeting held March 3rd 1902. Comrade Wm. Hefferin in the chair. Minutes read and approved.

Communications read from: Comrades Leon Greenbaum, Tobias Hoch, W. J. Gebbie, John Davidson, A. J. Underwood, A. F. Snell, G. F. Alexander, J. P. Hynes, Herman B. Weaver, T. W. Clark, Jos. DeVries, C. W. Shook, Frank Simpson, Karl Brocher, Geo. S. Holmes, A. A. Stenzel, F. Phelan, Eastman, S. Wallace Niman, Allan A. Crockett, J. A. Siwezynski, M. W. Wilkins, Carl Mandersheid, F. W. Siefert, Jas. S. Roche, Chas. McDiermid.

Remittances—Chula Vista \$1.50. Alhambra \$2.40. J. A. Siwezynski—\$1.00. Oakland—\$5.00 San Jacinto—\$2.50. Nevada City \$0.40 Total \$12.80 Charter granted Local San Jacinto. J. A. Siwezynski admitted to membership at laage. \$25 ordered sent to Nat'l Sec'y in advance for payment of dues. Fifteen hundred circulars ordered printed. The nominations for organizer of Northern district closed on Comrades M. W. Wilkins and G. S. Brower. Comrade Geo. S. Holmes was nominated by several locals but declines to run for the office. The nominations for organizer of Southern district closed on Comrades E. B. Helphingstine, J. S. Roche and J. A. Mallory.

Moved and seconded that these names be submitted to a vote of the Locals. Vote to be canvassed on March 31st. Carried

Secretary instructed to request Nat'l Secretary Greenbaum to correct his statement that California is in arrears for dues.

After much discussion as to the advisability of arranging a lecture tour for Comrade Walter T. Mills, it was decided that the committee had no constitutional right to arrange lecture tours involving expense upon the Locals without the consent of the Locals, except in the case of duly elected organizers.

OFFICIAL.

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

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




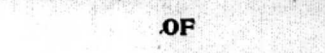


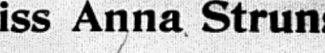

LOCAL ALAMEDA, of the Socialist Party, holds open educational meetings every Monday evening in room 11 Methodist Block, corner Park street and Central ave. Free discussion, questions, etc. Everybody welcome. Address communications to Allen A. Crockett, 1010 Walnut st.

SECRETARIES CALIFORNIA LOCALS.

- ALAMEDA—A. A. Crockett, 1610 Walnut St.
- ALHAMBRA—S. Wallace Niman.
- BENICIA—Wm. Gnauck.
- CHULA VISTA—John Davidson.
- COLUSA—Frank Wulf.
- CORONA—O. P. Hull.
- DIXON—G. D. Van Pelt.
- DEL MAR—Mrs. S. C. Farrar.
- ESCONDIDO—J. B. Hoover.
- FRESNO—G. F. Alexander, Box 656.
- GOLETA—Henry A. Smith.
- HOMET—Chas. McDiarmid.
- HYNES—J. O. Blakeley.
- LONG BEACH—Chas. Shook.
- LOS ANGELES—A. F. Snell, 110 W. 2nd St.
- MERCED—James Hegessy.
- MODESTO—Al. D. Green.
- OAKDALE—O. H. Warner.
- OAKLAND—M. W. Wilkins, 207 San Pablo av.
- OXNARD—L. E. Beals.
- PASADENA—O. T. Fellows.
- PERRIS—Val. Reynolds.
- REDLANDS—A. J. Underwood.
- RIO VISTA—Thos. A. Spivey.
- RIVERSIDE—A. B. Lee.
- SACRAMENTO—H. B. Weaver, 1200 20th st.
- SAWTELLE—Oscar Clute.
- SAN BERNARDINO—W. J. Gebbie, 373 'E' St.
- SAN DIEGO—Frank Simpson, 1614 'H' St.
- SAN FRANCISCO—B. P. Ober, 618 Merchant st., c. o. "Advance."
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Of the twenty-two students in the regular
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KARL MARX' ECONOMIC TEACHINGS.

BY KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated for "Advance" by Kasper Bauer.

(Continued from last week.)

Permanent lengthening of the workday lowers the price of labor. Inversely a relatively low price of labor forces the laborer to subject himself to a lengthening of the workday in order to secure for himself even a miserable daily wage. Low price of labor and long hours have also the tendency of becoming a permanent condition when once inaugurated. Capitalists lower wages and prolong the workday to increase their profits. Competition among themselves, however, finally forces them to lower the price of their commodities correspondingly. The additional profit arising owing to the prolongation of the workday and lowering of the wages, now disappears; low prices, however, remain and serve as means to help wages, even with an extremely long workday, upon the lowest level that has been reached. No lasting advantage to the capitalists, but a lasting disadvantage to the workers! A barrier of considerable strength is put in the way of this tendency by the legal finding of the normal workday.

Another beneficial effect of the normal workday must here be mentioned. Occasionally it occurs in certain branches of industry that the capitalist does not agree to pay wages by the week or month, but buys his employee by the hour. Under this condition the worker must all day long be at the disposal of the capitalist, who according to his pleasure may use him one day beyond endurance the next time perhaps a few hours. The price of labor is determined as we have seen, by the length of the customary work-day. In that way, by paying the normal price of labor the capitalist has the entire labor power of the worker at his disposal without paying him the full value of his labor power. This fact is evident during the days when he employs him fewer than the normal number of working hours, but it is just as true, if less evident of the time during which he employs him longer than this normal time.

The value of the labor expended in every hour is not alike. Labor power expended during the first few hours of the workday is easier to replace than that expended during the last few hours of the labor process. Therefore, the value of the labor power expended during the first few hours is less than that expended during the tenth or twelfth hour, although the use-value of the last hours may be much less than that of the first. For this reason there developed the custom in many branches of industry to regard the workday as "normal" up to a certain point and as "overtime" beyond that point. This custom did not develop as the result of physiological or economic insight, however. Capitalists who employ workers by the hour save for themselves the higher wages usually paid for "overtime."

The difference between the "normal" workday, as dealt with above and "overtime" is not to be understood as if the price of labor during the normal workday represented the normal wage, and that during overtime an extra wage, i. e. a wage greater than the daily value of the labor power, were paid. There are factories that work overtime year in and out. In those factories the normal wage is so low that the worker could not subsist in it and is forced to work overtime. In those places the normal workday is only a part of the real workday and the normal wage is only a fraction of the wage necessary for the maintenance of the worker. The better pay offered for overtime is often only a means whereby the workers may be influenced to exceed to a prolongation of the workday. This, however, means as we have seen, a decrease in the price of labor.

The normal workday has a tendency to put an effective stop to these various means of lowering wages. 4. Piece-wages, and time-wages are the converted form of the price of labor-power; wage

the price of his labor. And even should he see it, he is unable to resist the law compelling him to compete with his fellow workers. The competition of workers with each other and the appearance of freedom and independence arising out of piece-work as well as the isolation of the workers caused by it, make their organization and united action exceedingly difficult.

And still there are other disadvantages which the piece-wage system leads to. For instance, it permits a lot of persons to lead parasitical existences, we refer to middlemen who make a living by making a certain percentage off of the already small wage paid by the capitalist. It makes it possible also, in places where production is carried on by groups of workers, for the capitalists to make a contract relative to furnishing a certain amount of product merely with the leaders of these groups agreeing to pay the leader so much per piece, who in turn may pay the rest of the workers as he pleases. The exploitation of labor by capital is accomplished here by means of workers exploiting workers.

Just as pernicious and disadvantageous as the system of piece-wages is for the worker, so on the other hand, is it profitable for the capitalist, therefore, piece-wages is the form of wages best corresponding to the capitalist mode of production. Even during the handicraft period it was not entirely unknown, but it was not until during the manufacturing period that the system spread to any extent. During the infancy of modern industry it served as one of the most powerful levers to lengthen the workday and shorten the price of labor.

5. National differences of wages. We have now seen a lot of combinations whose underlying principle is the value and the price of labor power and its relation to surplus value and which are determined by changes in the length of the workday, the intensity of labor power and its productivity. Side by side with this there goes on another movement, a movement in the mass of the means of subsistence in with the price of labor power is realized. All these changes necessitate corresponding changes in the converted form of the price of labor power, i. e. in wages. Therefore, the price of labor power is continually moving and differs at different times. These differences are not only differences of time, but also of place. Everybody knows that wages are higher in the U. S. than they are in Germany and higher in Germany than in Poland.

A comparison of wages in different countries is however, not so exceedingly simple. By a comparison of the wages paid in different nations, says Marx, all factors which determine the change in the mass of values must be taken into consideration, such for instance as the cost and amount of the common, historically developed necessities of life, the cost of raising and apprenticing the worker, the part played in it by the work of women and children, the productivity of labor, its intensive and extensive power. Even the most superficial comparison demands that above all the average wage paid per day in a given trade in different countries be reduced to working days of equal duration. After this generalization has been made, it is necessary that time-wages be converted into piece-wages, since it is only piece-wages which is the measure of the productivity as well as of the intensive power of labor.

The absolute price of labor may be relatively very high in a certain nation and yet relative wages, i. e. the price of labor compared with the amount of surplus value or the value of the total product and real wages (real wages, i. e., the amount of means of subsistence which the worker is able to purchase with his wages) may be very low.

(To be continued)

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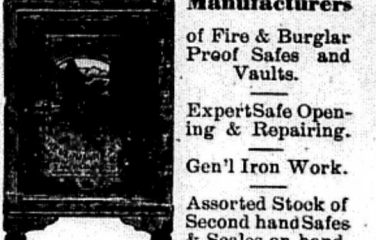
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