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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 397

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Socialism and the Church.

Locano, Switzerland, Feb. 17, 1903.

Editor Advance:

Here in this remote Swiss village, where ADVANCE comes to me many days old, I find a kindly reference to myself, in an article on the relation of religion to Socialism, which leads me to think that the writer does not quite understand my position. He says he would go farther than I, in that he would not load the Socialist movement with a Christ, any more than he would a Confucius. I quote from memory as I cannot at this moment find the paper, but I think I have quoted correctly. I am sure that I occupy exactly the same position as the writer, and would not try to attach the Socialist movement to any one great teacher. The mistake of the writer is a very natural inference drawn from lectures I have given in past winters, in public lecture courses in Chicago and New York. Now, it must be kept in mind that, in these lecture courses, my position was that of an exponent of the teachings of Jesus. My college position was that of a teacher of social ethics, based on the teachings of Jesus. I was not before the public as an exponent of Socialism, but of "social Christianity." And, on such occasions, I tried to give a faithful exposition of what an honest interpretation of the word of Jesus would lead to. Of course, Jesus was not a Socialist, and came long before any science of society was possible. But no man can possibly lay his teachings to heart without giving himself to the work of bringing in the co-operative commonwealth. But it does not follow at all that Socialism should adopt Christianity or its founder. I have always been thoroughly opposed to the using the Socialist platform for the propagation of anything known as "social Christianity." I have never, when speaking from a Socialist platform, made use of it for religious propaganda. I believe every such use of Socialism will result in confusion, disaster, and betrayal.

We know nothing, as yet, about the question of right and wrong. We can forecast the ethic or faith of the future, but that is all. We must have light before we can see or lead. And a world whose whole civilization is built upon the exploitation of labor, upon fraud and murder and hate and tyranny—how can such a world tell anything

about the economic basis of life made right, so that men may have an equal chance to live and think; then we shall have a democracy that will give us a free ethic, a noble faith and attitude toward life. But let us begin with the beginning, and not make use of the socialist platform for any end of our own.

Every appeal to men to become Socialists in the name of Christianity will result in the corruption and betrayal of Socialism in the end, and in the use of the movement for private ends. People cannot separate Christ from Christianity. And Christianity to-day stands for what is lowest and basest in life. The church of today sounds the lowest note in human life. It is the most degrading of all our institutions, and the most brutalizing in its effects on the common life. The church is simply organized Christianity. For Socialism to use it, to make terms with it, or to let it make approaches to the Socialist movement is for Socialism to take Judas to its bosom. There is not an instance, in sixteen centuries, in which the church has not betrayed every movement for human emancipation it has touched. Official religion and militarism are the two guardians of capitalism, and the subtle methods of the church, in destroying the manhood of the soul and keeping it servile, are infinitely more to be dreaded by the Socialist movement than the world's standing armies.

Let us keep clean from confusion and self-deceit in this critical hour, and not use the Socialist movement for special propagandas of our own. If we belong to Socialism, if our lives are dedicated to the revolution—and its emancipation of mind and body, then let us give ourselves to it without trying to use it, or without putting conditions in our service.

Never were tyranny and hypocrisy so rampant and insolent as now, and never were clearness of head and heart so needed in the Socialist movement.

Fraternally yours,
GEORGE D. HERRON.

THE SEATTLE ELECTION.

Two years ago the Socialist Party in Seattle put up its first city ticket, under the name "Social Democratic." A. G. Seibert, nominee for mayor, got ninety-six votes. Other candidates had widely varying numbers of votes, according to popularity.

Last Tuesday more than three times that number voted for Geo. W. Scott, and there was almost no variation for the different candidates. Personal popularity counted practically nothing. All these three hundred odd votes were cast for Socialism. No scratching, no fusion, no compromise, no hesitation, no help from outside.

The vote was Scott, for Mayor 312; comptroller, Randolph 345; counsel, McDevitt 348; treasurer, Hicks 337; councilmen, Latimer 340; O'Keefe, 324; by ward, total 313.

VIVE LA COMMUNE!

The Struggle of Proletarian Paris for Equality and Fraternity.

THE Socialist movement is an international proletarian movement. Its fundamental principles are the solidarity of all mankind and the reign of Labor. To the Socialist the perpendicular division of humanity into nations means nothing. His sympathies are not to be enlisted in the triumph of one nation over another. In all lands, among all nations the socialist is at home and feels himself the brother of the proletarian. Hence it is that, when in any place the working-class attempts to throw off the oppressive yoke of the master-class and clear the ground for peace and fraternity, then throughout the world the socialist movement lends its aid and support. It matters not where the battle for human justice may be fought, the success of each battalion of Labor's international army is the concern of all.

In this light, we view the Paris Commune. The memory of the terrible yet glorious struggle succeeding the attack on Montmartre, must forever be revered by those who cherish the sentiments of Equality and Fraternity. History records no more valiant struggle for noble ideals than was made by the workingmen of Paris from March to May, as, inch by inch, they stubbornly defended every foot of ground until the final carnage at Pere LaChaise. And when the insulting victors buried beneath the earth the bones of those who are temporarily the victors, they will make her annual pilgrimage to the graves of the Parisian Communists bearing the world's tribute to Heroes and Martyrs to the Cause of Mankind.

It matters not that they failed. History had decreed their failure as she had decreed their revolt. Impoverished by a long siege, beguiled by traitors, suddenly threatened with degradation by those whose duty it was to protect her, Paris with noble devotion laid at the altar of liberty her all. Not Paris of the dandy, the aristocrat and plutocrat—they were the traitors. It was proletarian Paris, including the courage, the warm enthusiasm, the high ideals of the best hearts and brains of the great metropolis. But the odds against them were too great. The capitalists were too strong and unscrupulous. By lies, they enlisted France against Paris: by truth, they pitted the world of capitalism against a single, proletarian commune.

Organization and unlimited wealth were at the disposal of the capitalist class. Yet Tyranny could not vanquish the devoted courage of the Communists until, during eighty days of incessant conflict 40,000 had laid down their lives for liberty. The commune failed, but the heritage it has left the proletarians is its vindication.

Let us review in brief the progress of this momentous tragedy.

Louis Napoleon, finding the opposition growing too strong for him, attempted a diversion of public attention from the rottenness of home politics to the excitement of foreign war. War with Germany was declared over the question of the Spanish succession. One disastrous defeat followed another. The military machine of the Germans crashed resistlessly thro' the ranks of the French. The Emperor was made prisoner and very shortly Paris was besieged. The bourgeoisie had declared a Republic after the defeat of the Imperial arms and made a half-hearted, futile attempt to stay the progress of the Prussians. By the time Paris surrendered the true character of the "Republican government" was revealed. It was composed partly of blundering incompetents and partly of intriguing traitors—the latter finally securing control. But not only the character of the National government was revealed; its traitorous plans were exposed as well. The bourgeoisie preferred to flourish under the Prussian despotism rather than have their profits curtailed by a proletarian republic. They feared Paris and its

armed and radical working class. They plotted to subjugate it.

On the night of March 17th, the National Assembly, controlled by them thro' fraudulent elections, sent troops to take the cannon placed on Montmartre and belonging to the National Guard. Fortune favored the people, for while the Assembly's troops gained possession of the artillery, they had no means of getting it away. The alarm was sounded and thousands of the workingmen and Guards surrounded the Assembly soldiers and besought them as brothers not to do the dastardly crime their superiors had ordered. These appeals won. The soldiers fraternized with the people and the openly hostile act of the Assembly was defeated. Then the actual conflict began.

We have not space here to recount the varying fortunes of the struggle that followed. The Committee Central, formed by the National Guards, took charge of affairs until the proclamation of the Commune, March 28th. But military ability was woefully lacking. Neither the supply of the munitions, nor the commissariat were properly organized. And perhaps worst of all, for the Assembly seems to have been almost equally demoralized, the leaders seemed fearful of prosecuting a vigorous war, but constantly sought to make peace with their crafty and implacable foe. It may, indeed, be said that it was not the virtues of the Commune that led to its undoing. Humane sentiment led them to hesitate when prompt action was necessary. Honor and morality led them to safeguard the enemy's property whose use might have brought victory. Too late, they learned that necessity has its own ethics and its own duties. They did not comprehend the philosophy behind Rigault's remark: "War is immoral, yet we fight."

If the Commune was a failure as an administrator of war, yet its conduct of civil affairs cannot fail to reflect the highest credit upon it. Assailed on every hand from the outside, within, Paris was never before or since as peaceful and orderly. Murder, theft, drunkenness and prostitution were marvelously reduced. The criminal and vicious inhabitants of the slums seemed to have departed to Versailles with their counterparts in the upper class. Numerous witnesses of unimpeachable integrity testify to the honesty and peaceableness of Parisians who remained with the Commune.

Besides its administration of the police, the departments of finance, of labor, of public service were attended to with zeal and ability. In all its acts the Commune sought to benefit the people. Night work was abolished for the bakers. Arbitrary fines of workingmen were prohibited. Unused factories were appropriated and the beginnings of co-operatives in these were made. Rents which had accumulated while the defense was carried on, were remitted. Pledges of less than \$4 in the Mont de Piete were returned. Salaries of officials were reduced and the wages of workers raised. The families of the soldiers of the Commune were fed, for "for the Commune has bread enough for all" and provision was made for pensioning widows and orphans and disabled veterans. By these measures the proletarian character of the Commune was confirmed.

Not only was the Commune proletarian, however, its sympathies were thoroughly humane and internationally fraternal. Two acts are of especial significance. One was the burning of the guillotine which was a symbol of the brutal punishments inflicted by tyrannical governments. The other was the destruction of the Vendome Column, which stood a monument to imperialism and national hatred. This last act has been condemned by the bourgeois as a bit of vandalism totally unwarranted and unjustified. But those who are free from the narrow limitations of chauvinism

(Continued on Page 2.)

Observations.

BY JOHN A. MORRIS

The other day I saw these words in the San Francisco "Examiner":

"From day to day it becomes more evident that the trend of current events in the United States, to wit, is towards a European form of government. As the dispatches from Washington indicate, our House of Representatives and President has appointed special envoys to the coronation of a king whose unsavory reputation is a stench in the nostrils of the masses of the people of the United States. I for one humble individual do protest. And unless the common people of the United States relegate those Benedict Arnolds who are clamoring for a co-partnership with an empire whose unscrupulous avariciousness is well known to every American citizen, the better it will be for our common country.

Respectfully yours,
Reno, Nev. M. Jordan.

My dear political Protestant what is the use of our squealing about such an insignificant matter as having "special envoys" sent to the coronation of any king or emperor or czar when we have long ceased to be a republic except in name. Don't you know that the world of to-day with all its vast industries is more fully controlled by the Industrial Monarchs of the capitalist and plutocratic class than by presidents, kings, queens, emperors or czars? The people of course, are allowed to think that the world is controlled by the latter kind of rulers so that they will not see the power behind the throne; but the Socialist most thoroughly sees these fine points, and if it were possible, the capitalistic power would turn him down and out. These coronation displays and inauguration shows are simply theatrical exhibitions of the princely puppets and presidential actors upon the stage of life for the pleasure of the real monarchs behind the scenes and the wonder of the people: while the people foot the bills for such productions and both industrial monarch and puppet princeling laugh at the deluded people in their folly. But some day the clown will awake from his sleep of folly and throwing both puppet and parasite from his back, will find their glee to change to sorrow.

Abraham Lincoln, though not a Socialist, but eulogized by the Republican party of today and endearingly called "Father Abraham," once upon a time said the following bold, bad words:

"Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

"It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask brief attention. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital somehow by the use of it, induces him to labor.

"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those whose who toiled upward from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost."

Yet queer as it may seem it is not the "freedom-loving" Republican party that quotes these words from "honest, old Abe" but the Socialist press. Abraham was wiser than his generation in that he saw a few things that as matters of economic science cannot be disputed except by knaves or fools.

Under this system of ours the wage-slave must hunt for a master which having been obtained receives payment from the slave for being allowed to produce utilities or necessities of life. For illustration, I earn \$10.00 worth of labor product per day and only receive \$2.00 a day as my wage. Do I not pay the one employing me \$8.00 a day for so employing me, the \$8.00 being his profit and the \$2.00 my wages? Hence, we hire ourselves to be enslaved, pay for own enslavement and give to another fellow the good things of life because, forsooth, he is willing to be our master and take the products of our toil. This is production for profit, and as long as we are profit-producing animals we can expect only to be robbed in the way we are.

The Methuen method of pacifying the Boers will be found, we believe, to be the quickest and most effective. If adopted generally by the British it is sure to bring the war to an early termination.

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VIVE LA COMMUNE!

(Continued from page 1.)

can only applaud the demolition of a monument to the glory of the infamous though masterful Napoleon I. These acts stand to the credit of the Commune.

But measures of civil administration need protection from outside force. And here is where the Commune failed. War was not their trade. Slowly and surely the Versailles closed in on the Federates. The defence though valorous was inefficiently directed. The lines of investment were constantly advanced and strategic points captured one after another. The Versailles Assembly had at its command experience and discipline. The Commune could meet this only with valor. Inevitably defeat must come.

May 21st the Versailles entered Paris and a week of uninterrupted carnage began. The Communists had raised barricades and defended these with great courage. But it was a lost cause. Day by day they were driven back. Point after point was captured from them. On May 28th the last barricade was taken its defence being made for the last quarter of an hour by a single man. During this time, the completion of the triumph of "law and order," scenes of unparalleled ferocity and cruelty were enacted by the troops of the Assembly.

Thousands of Communists who were captured and disarmed were forthwith shot to death. Thiers, the arch-villain at the head of the Versailles government demanded the blood of the Communists in expiation for their resistance to his tyranny. The account of the wanton slaughter are terrible to read. When the rifles of the soldiery were unable to murder the wretched captives quickly enough they were lined up in rows and mowed down by machine guns. Conservative estimates by such a man as Achibald Forbes, Frank Pixley and others place the number of Communists who were killed, after being captured and after the last defence was gone, to be twenty thousand. What a triumph! Never can the ruling class make expiation for this murderous slaughter of helpless men, women and children—for in their fury they spared neither age nor sex.

The Commune failed. Forty thousand Communists died in battle or were murdered after capture. It is a terrible record. And yet not wholly in vain is the sacrifice they made. The glorious courage of their defence, the noble defence of the barricades, where even the women and children fought with undismayed determination in the face of defeat the whole-hearted devotion to a worthy cause which they showed inspires the revolutionary ranks of labor to-day. Their sacrifice is not in vain. It lays upon the living a duty which they must perform. Not our own wrongs alone must the working-class make right; but with the memory of the savage slaughter of our defenceless comrades at Pere-la-Chaise and Satory that final week with this memory burning in our brains, we must move on to the overthrow of the bloody perpetrators of the crime. We do not demand blood. We seek no reprisals. But by the blood of these martyrs to our class and to humanity, we must consecrate our lives to the Social Revolution they strove for. The rule of the inhuman capitalist class must be ended. Whether in peace or war it is founded on the slaughter and degradation of human life. Murder and exploitation are its foundation stones.

Vive la Commune!

The Iron Trades Council, of this city, have declared the strike against the Union Iron Works off. The men will return to work—if they can get it—at the old terms. Meanwhile they will hope that the Arbitration Committee of the National Civic Federation will intercede with the Scotts to secure by "moral suasion" what the unions failed to secure by force. There is no use trying to disguise the fact that the main fight—against the Union Iron Works—has been lost. In many wars, the conqueror loses individual battles—even campaigns. So may it be with the Iron trades. They've lost this battle, but they will not lose the war—the class war against capital, if they learn the lessons taught, and fight differently next time.

THE COMRADE for March is a Commune issue. Many illustrations are given, including portraits of several of the leaders. Dealing with the Commune is an article by Comrade Wm. Edlin and an editorial by Spargo. Walter Crane contributes an excellent cartoon "In Memoriam." A poem by Paul Shivell, while slightly faulty in technique in places, yet has the true ring, and is given the place of honor. Short sketches by Anton

Checkoff, Amy Wellington and Wm. Maily add appreciably to the value of the Magazine. The editors excellent article on Freiligrath is concluded and the fine poem "The Revolution" works in admirably with an issue commemorative of the March days. Installments of Tolstoi's "Forty Years" and Morris' "News from Nowhere" appear duly. Improvements are announced as contemplated and also publication of a series by Americans "How I became a socialist." If any of these contributions are too lengthy we advise Comrade Spargo to turn them over to De Leon. He'll make them resemble the famous chapter on snakes in Ireland. The cover design is again modified and is much improved over last month. It only remains now for a good color scheme to be secured to make the cover very beautiful.

THE AMERICAN FARMER, by A. M. Simons, published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth ave., Chicago, Ill.

A few weeks ago, in noting an error of Comrade Simons in regard to the status of California, we referred to him as "the distinguished authority on the hayseed." In due time we received his protest against what he considered an "unwarranted slur." We herewith acknowledge our error. At the time, Comrade Simons was not a "distinguished authority" etc.

The volume now before us, however, will certainly add to his reputation for painstaking study, originality of thought and lucidity of style. He has put us in his debt for what may be regarded as a pioneer work in American Socialist studies. Whether his conclusions be accepted or not—and we expect that some will evoke considerable discussion—nevertheless, "The American Farmer" is a book which occupies a novel field and will be found most valuable for the facts presented and the theories deduced. We have noticed that other reviewers have hesitated to indorse the book as a whole, fearing possibly like ourselves, lest endorsement of Comrade Simons explanation of concentration and some other minor points in "Steps to Realization" might compromise their "system" of socialist philosophy. Personally we merely withhold judgment that we may have time for filling in the holes of our ignorance and then, with solid facts to work from, proceed to a more thorough consideration of the problems. Comrade Simons is very modest in his claims for the book, more modest than its merit deserves. It is not the last word, however; it is practically the first. We hope it will be a nucleus around which shall grow up a literature on the broad topic it deals with. It covers broadly much ground that, taken in smaller pieces, may be treated with more attention to details. As a summary, as a comprehensive, but undetailed exposition of the subject treated, it commands much praise and commendation. Comrade Simons' adherence to scientific socialism is unquestionable and the book is a socialist exposition of the farmer question. Some points may be questioned, but the value of the work as a whole must be admitted. Our advice to our readers is to get the book and study it carefully and spread it widely for propaganda. Then, in due time, we believe, Comrade Simons will become "distinguished" etc.

ROCHE RISES TO EXPLAIN.

Editor Advance: In your editorial "Socialism and Trade Unionists" in last issue you have unwittingly done me a gross injustice. That anything in my report could be construed as indicating "an argument against Socialists taking active part in the trade-union movement and the support of the Socialist movement being given to organized labor" is inexplicable to me. Far from wishing to convey any such meaning I wished to impress upon the comrades that we could have no hostile attitude toward the unions, if we were to have any attitude at all.

I distinctly stated that good results had accrued from the friendly policy, and I wish to here repeat that statement. While many of our comrades believe we can avoid having any "attitude," my study of the situation convinces me that an attitude of some kind is forced upon us whether we will or no—and therefore, a friendly attitude towards the unions is not only advisable on general principles, but productive of good results to the party. To further show my feelings in the matter I warned the comrades in the state against flying off at an unfriendly target because of their unfortunate position relative to the unions in the last San Francisco campaign. It being only a local experience should not prompt action inimical to the best interests of the party as a whole. I trust you will as prominently publish this correction as your unfortunate error demands.

Fraternally,
James S. Roche.

[We did not intend to convey the impression that Comrade Roche indorsed a neutral or hostile attitude toward trades-unions. All we said, and we think his report justified us, was that he echoed the opinion that the S. F. experience last fall was an argument against feigning indifference in unionism. This point we emphatically deny. We tender such apology, however, as may be due. Ed.]

Still another seat in Parliament has been won by the Socialists of Germany. In Dobein-Roszwain, a conservative stronghold, the result was as follows: Socialists, 11,781; National Liberals, 6,159; Conservatives, 5,540. This makes 58 members that the Socialists have in Parliament. Emperor Wilhelm tried to drown his sorrow, it is said, by consuming 47 steins when he heard the returns.

THE ANNUAL SOCIALIST DINNER.

The Annual Socialist Dinner will be held this year in Hotel California, San Francisco. Comrades will remember that the dining hall last year was too small; this year it will be large, airy, beautiful.

Socialist songs will be printed and will be sung by the whole company. The German Mannerchor will be asked to sing. Comrade Anna Strunsky will either write and recite a poem or speak. Comrades Reynolds and Mollie Bloom will speak.

Comrades Liess, Costley, King Jr., Walter T. Mills, Stitt Wilson, Payne and others will also speak.

Surprises that will gladden the hearts of all present are now here, and more are coming, from Germany, France, Italy, England, Denmark, Sweden, Japan and from our brothers in the East.

The dinner will cost one dollar, and will be under the auspices of the Ruskin Club. The club is sorry that a good hall at a cheaper price could not be obtained.

Tickets will be on sale as follows: San Francisco, Sunday evening propaganda meetings—John L. Burnside, John M. Reynolds, 422 Sutter street. J. George Smith, Room 309, Hearst building.

Oakland, H. G. Walker, 960 Broadway. F. I. Bamford, Hotel Albany.

Alameda, Halver Hauch, 1411 Park.

Berkeley, James Andrew, 1528 Walnut. We hope that our San Jose, Vallejo, Sacramento and other comrades will make an effort to be with us.

Frederick Irons Bamford,
Corresponding Secretary.

SUNDAY'S PROPAGANDA MEETING.

Comrade Liess, a well known man in the ranks, spoke at Sunday evening propaganda meeting and his audience was interested keenly.

The meeting was in charge of comrade Holmes and comrade Bersford filled the office of reader in a satisfactory manner.

Materialistic history was the theme for discussion by Mr. Liess, and very happy was his mode of presenting the Marxian theory of life. The idealistic, the anthropological, the psychological schools or theories were brought into comparison by the speaker who said that by this method alone could the school of Marx be best understood.

The idealists, who are hero-worshippers came in for some fine satire and history written according to the old methods was held up for scorn and sarcasm. The statement was made that the invention of the iron screw or the steam engine has done more for the civilization of the world than all the great men who lived from Moses to Christ and on down to Mrs. Eddy.

Religion, or more properly speaking, orthodoxy, then suffered under the scalpel and probe of the speaker who explained the conceptions of heaven or hell by different tribes and races.

One of the orators in the five minute section had a very hard time with the German accent and lost his temper because the people laughed. The more they laughed the madder he got and the angrier he became the more the people laughed.

The discussion as taken up by comrade Bersford, tended toward intelligence as worshipped by orthodoxists.

In closing the discussion comrade Liess was practical and helpful and showed how the Marxist comes to understand the class struggle.

One of the pleasant features of the evening was the rendition of "Poet and Peasant" on the piano by Miss Zwern a dainty young school girl, who seemed very much at home at the instrument and played the selection with considerable force and expression for one so young.

LOCAL S. F. PARTY MEETING.

Regular party meeting of Local San Francisco was held March 5th, 1902, as usual with Comrade Molitor in the chair. Jos. DeVries resigned as Recording Secretary. It was voted to endorse Comrade Mills school and to thank him for his lecture of Sunday evening. Total receipts of the week \$87.25.

Comrade King, chairman of the committee, to canvass the vote for State Committee, reported the election of Thomas Bersford, Oscar Johnson, B. P. Ober, Alvin Appel, Wm. Hefferin, John Messer, John M. Reynolds.

It was reported by Comrade Bersford that the State of California is not behind in dues and the mistake explained which led to the publication of the error. A motion of thanks and expression of appreciation was taken in regard to the aid the Maennechor gave toward the success of the ball.

It was voted to hold a festival on the anniversary of the Paris Commune. Comrades King, Bersford, Walker, Appel and Fairbrother were appointed a committee of arrangements.

The room was well filled Wednesday evening, March 12th, showing good interest in the business meetings. Two applications for membership were read and elected. Receipts for the week \$87.75.

The resignation of Oscar Johnson as Financial Sec'y was accepted with regret as was also that of Comrade Holmes as organizer. Oliver Everett was elected vice former and J. A. Smith, the latter. The ballot was taken for State Organizer and the vote ordered left open until after March 19th. This action brought out a protest and an appeal to the State Committee on the part of Comrades Holmes and Messer.

The net profits from the ball were reported as \$85 by Chairman Messer. Mrs. Walker was elected chairman for the Sunday evening propaganda meeting, Mrs. Reynolds reader, and Miss Fairbrother, critic, which, with Miss Strunsky as speaker will give the entire conduct of the meeting into the hands of the women.

The tabulated report of the election of the State Committee by Locals, will appear next week.

Mary Fairbrother, Sec'y pro tem.

Watch your expiration number. Renew promptly.

POPPIES and WHEAT

BY MARY FAIRBROTHER.

"SUFFER the children to come unto me. To my kingdom of greed and gold. No matter how young and tender they be—They are better so, not too old! Their fingers are pliant and they are dumb. When I scold or strike—let the children come! —The Comrade.

THE Illinois supreme court has decided that the bucket shops are more or less illegal that it is unlawful to invest in futures and that those who buy and those who sell are liable to get caught. The courts are great people and occasionally they do a thing that seems sensible. Women, who have a spare ten dollar piece have handed it over to the small branch of the board of trade for a long time, and we hope the decision will open their eyes to the fact that these highwaymen ought to be let alone. The board of trade is an exciting game for those who have money but the school teacher, the stenographer and woman of that class would better spend the money for a pretty, white pipe, a bar of soap and a little glycerine, make soap bubbles and see them burst. The working woman will thus find amusement and get their money's worth. Besides bubbles are substantial, the bucket shop is a chimera.

MISS ELLEN STARR of Hull House has a very readable article on "Handicraft and the Moderns" in the Socialist Review. She gives the fashionable faddists who do things because the balance of the swell set do them, some very nice hits. Faddists would soon run down, if it were not for so many women in the world, who do not think. These women call unto high heaven for something to relieve them of the burden of their unlovely days, and as the centuries of inaction have robbed them of minds, they cannot for the life of them tell what to do next. Some say: "go slumming" or do some work. The thing becomes a sort of exclusive notion and they go to work. Then some one says "sleep" and they sleep and preserve their beauty and thus fads prosper.

THE women of the various women's clubs throughout the United States, who hug themselves as they imagine they are doing "reform work" must find some thing else to "study" now that the Dayton National Cash Register Company has been exposed in its unfairness to working people. For several years the women who compose these aesthetic reformatories and meet for one hour every fortnight and listen to reports compiled by some member willing to do a little of what they call work—for quite a while the Dayton company has stood for illustrations of all sorts of humane dealings with the dog that wears the labor collar, and the applause and the endorsement of these hundreds of thousands of the best women of the United States ought to have permanently fixed the Dayton capitalists on the side of the human slave. It is strange how these things happen to all so wrong, and that no system can be devised whereby a slave may be a man, so long as the profits are handed over to the other fellow. Yet, it is possible, that in years to come a few Socialists may graduate from the Women's clubs. It might happen, for outside their eternally incorrect basic principle, there are several of them who are in earnest in their desire to learn the truth. Let the good work go on.

JNO. EDWARD MORGAN, the poet of Nebraska whose work has the true ring has just issued another volume of poems. The copy sent to the editor of this department has been lost in the mails, but will be noticed at length when received.

ONE of Uncle Sam's soldiers was walking the streets last Tuesday night trying to sell his blue shirt to the men he met and when he had been told by the most of the ones he accosted, that they did not have the price, he finally took it to his Uncle of the hooked nose and heavy purse, who doled him out a few pence. This is not uncommon nor worthy of note, it is just an incident in this end of the great art of possible annexation and is of interest to women, because the most finedish part of it is that all these soldiers are the sons of one of their sisters. In all the sad results of the present conditions, women suffer most. What torment could equal the mothering of a boy who had been debauched and brutalized to that extent. Society in the twentieth century is a fearful blunder.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for March sustains the high standard of previous issues. The only adverse criticism we have to make—we have to do a little "knocking"—is that Eeltweed Pomeroy doesn't deserve the space given him to explain why he does not join the Socialist party. As an individual, he is insignificant; as a type, we're not sure that the Socialist party needs or even wants him—Simons' reply is quite sufficient. The articles of propaganda value are Comrades Burrows' "The Individual's Struggle for a Substitute", Comrade Fortin's "Evolution of Society", Grace Stuart's "The Fatal Flaw" and Mr. F. Dundas Todd's "Who shall Inherit the Earth." John Spargo, editor of "The Comrade", sharpens up his clavers and laying Casson's "Organized Self-help" on the block gives an exhibition that leaves Casson looking like a hamburger steak. He advises as his final blow that Casson take up something more in line with his talents. After improving his English he might try "Is Marriage a Failure?" or compile "A New Anthology of Nursery Rhymes."

The Departments are edited with their usual ability. Comrade Untermann's note on France being of especial interest.

THE SOCIALIST REPLY.

Comrades Carey and MacCartney Protest Against Imperialism and Sycophancy.

THE writer considers himself fortunate in being one of the few socialists present when the two socialist members of the Massachusetts legislature protested last Wednesday against official recognition of Prince Henry of Prussia. It came about so suddenly that speakers and listeners were alike unprepared; a full minute passed before those present realized what taking place. Then there followed a most dramatic scene and one never to be forgotten.

When the order authorizing the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House to extend an invitation to Prince Henry to meet the general court of Massachusetts in joint convention, was read, many of the members did not hear it. For some time the Speaker had been mechanically reading off committee reports on unimportant bills which were passed without even a vote being taken. Some members were talking, others reading, and still others were sitting abstractedly watching the Speaker manufacture laws. Messengers were flitting about, and the reporters in the press gallery were jollying each other. The buzz of conversation ascended to the ears of the whispering visitors in the gallery. Suddenly Carey's voice rang out.

"Mr. Speaker."
"Mr. Carey of Haverhill."
There was an abrupt lull in the conversation. What was it?
We leaned forward expectantly, for Carey's bill to increase the number of brakemen on rail road trains was on the calendar, and we thought he was going to speak on it. But Carey's first few words showed us we were mistaken and laid the whole situation clearly before every one. Then a murmur ran around the house, gradually dying away while the members straightened up in their seats. The messengers ceased their flitting about; the reporters got busy; and the visitors in the gallery glared greedily.

Carey had secured the floor when the Speaker was half-way through putting the question on the order. The latter gentleman appeared embarrassed and a worried look crept over his rubicund countenance. He fingered his glasses nervously, casting around the chamber a helpless glance which ended at the press gallery.

Speaking calmly and deliberately at first, Carey's speech increased in warmth and eloquence as he proceeded. The ringing words cut the silence with thrilling effect. Each moment the air of suppressed excitement grew more intense. Most of the members sat quietly listening, but the leaders of the House were restless. Reed of Taunton, sat two feet away from me twisting in his chair, his face white and his fingers playing a tattoo upon his desk; he could hardly contain himself. Suddenly he arose and moving noiselessly over to the Speaker whispered in his ear. The Speaker frowned and Reed returned to his seat.

Carey spoke as follows:
"I hesitate, and yet a sense of duty compels me to center my solemn protest against the proposition to suspend the proceedings of a body of representatives of the people to do homage to one who appears by grace of a monarchy. I do this deliberately and dispassionately, with full knowledge of its significance.

"I conceive, Mr. Speaker, from what I have gathered in my youth and in my older years, that this Republic is in itself a living protest against monarchy. I conceive a monarchy to be an insult, a wrong and a crime; an insult to the intelligence of the twentieth century, a wrong against man, and a crime against human progress. I cannot gild the insult; I will not condone the wrong; I shall not honor the crime or its representative.

"I cannot forget that serried ranks of the fathers marched to graves that monarchy might not be. I cannot shut my eyes to the vision of the cold gray column on Bunker Hill, which mutely yet eloquently stands as a protest against monarchy, and I declare, sir, that this republic should not halt on its onward march to salute a king.

"I would not stoop to do honor to a monarch, not wholly because of a feeling of enmity, but because I love those things which make up a republic. I believe it to be my right to protest against the surrender of those principles and the calling of a halt in the progress of this legislature to receive the representative of a monarchy that tomorrow may be at our throats.

"It is an insult to those who struggled against monarchy and spared not their lives that a republic might live, to bow at the feet of a representative of a monarchy.

"I say it calmly and dispassionately, that to any man who comes from any country representing the people, I am ready to give the hand of fraternity, but to those who come representing a monarch, I say, 'There is the door. Go!' I say it in memory of those I have been taught to revere and not against any individual.

"I hate all kings and castes of rank and birth, For every son of man is son of God; Nor lives a beggar but is nobly born, Nor wears a slave a yoke or Czar, a crown That makes him more or less than just a man.

"Prince Henry is reported as saying that New York is the haven of many Germans. Yes; Mr. Speaker, New York and the United States have been the haven for thousands of Germans exiled from their native land, and it was the monarch whom this man represents and his ancestors, who tortured, imprisoned and exiled the best and noblest of the sons of Germany because they loved freedom and sought economic and political self-government.

"The monarchical system is maintained through the persecution of men and women who spoke for what this republic is supposed to stand. Human beings have been for ages murdered, imprisoned and sacrificed to sustain Prince Henry and such as he in power; and in the names of those murdered ones I protest to-day. I maintain that Prince

Henry does not represent the German working people who compose that nation. He represents the class that oppresses and exploits the worker and their wrongs cry to us to ignore him. Were he a chosen representative of the people, sent here by their will, no matter what color, race or creed they might be, I would welcome him, but he represents a system that divides humanity and profits by blood-shed.

"As a member of that international movement which seeks the solidarity of all humanity, I would give the fraternal hand of greeting to a representative of the people were he to enter here, but to a titled representative of monarchy I could only point to that door and say one word—'Go!'"

Carey had hardly ceased speaking when Reed of Taunton arose. The Speaker, apparently wishing to prevent further debate, recognized him reluctantly. His speech was a pitiful failure. Immediately the speaker again attempted to put the question, but MacCartney was on the floor before a half-dozen words were spoken. He was recognized, the worried, harassed look deepening on the Speaker's face.

MacCartney could not have commenced a sermon more gently and suavely, but before he finished he had intensified the painful excitement by utterances accentuated by sarcastic delivery and graphic gestures which made them terribly effective.

He said:
"I regret very much that it has devolved upon two inconspicuous members of this body to enter a protest against the passage of this order. I regret the necessity for it, but duty compels me to protest.

"A mighty conflict is going on in the world between two philosophies—imperialism and democracy. This is no mere academic difference, but a struggle which prevades all nations, and the peoples of all nations are organizing for it. Prince Henry is the representative of imperialism and it is our duty and opportunity to register our belief in democracy. We recognize that there are definite relations between nations under monarchical form and those under democratic form. Official representatives should be treated as such, but Henry is not here on an official visit.

"The gentleman, so far as I know history, has done nothing. Accident made him the son of a monarch and the brother of an emperor. His brother has had a boat built in this country, and he has come over to see it safely put in the water.

"He is a private citizen so far as we are concerned; yet the newspapers of this country, pretending to stand for the principles of the republic, have been simply plastered over with pictures and descriptions of royalty. This person does not directly represent Germany. He is a member of royalty. He comes as a member of the royal family, and the great bulk of the German people are not royalists. In view of these facts we raise our voices in protest.

"We meet under this dome, around whose edge are set the names of men who preached and died for democracy, and yet we become saturated with the mania to give honor not to a representative of the people, but a representative of monarchy, and we see the American people led to prostrate themselves in the dust at his feet.

"King Edward is to be crowned, and this country is to send three special envoys to his coronation, and these envoys, these representatives of democracy will dress up in pink tights—yes, in pink pants! We will send over the daughter of the President of the United States to that coronation—we, the believers in the people—we, the believers in democracy will actually fall over ourselves to do honor to royalty incarnated in the person of King Edward of England. There is in this country today an imperialism more subtle and far-reaching than any imperialism of the past—an imperialism of wealth. This imperialism is leading the people to worship other forms of tyranny. Our industrial monarchs unite with the monarchs of the old world to establish a world-wide monarchy and to further this end our capitalists are bartering their daughters to European profligates in return for titles.

"And who pays for all this? 500,000 working men in Germany to-day are out of employment. In the city of Berlin alone there are 100,000 working men without employment and the charitable institutions are strained to the utmost to provide for the necessities of life. Yet to pay for the private gentleman's yacht and his luxuries those people will be ground still further into poverty. And who pays the cost of the gorgeous reception given this representative of oppression? Who but the working men of America? It is from their toil and sweat that the bills will be paid.

"We should oppose recognizing this man because he represents a philosophy antagonistic to progress, a system belonging to a past age, a doctrine that denies the equality of man and which lives on murder and persecution.

"Now, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman will be received with outstretched hands. The members of the party which bears the stamp of democracy upon it will probably vote for this order. Yet our voices will be heard for the people and against monarchy, imperialism and plutocracy. We will fight constitutionally. We will bear witness metaphorically. We will attempt to fan the dying embers of freedom while those to whom the heritage of liberty and democracy is intrusted are paying homage to royalty."

There was complete silence while MacCartney spoke and after he had concluded. Hayes of Lowell interrupted the speaker for the fourth time while the question was being put and was recognized. Mr. Hayes poses as the funny man of the House, and he proceeded to sustain his reputation. He was not very funny, but his attempt at ridicule met with more laughter than it otherwise would because it came opportunely and relieved the tension prevailing.

He was followed by Dean, of Wakefield, a Democrat, who said the courtesies extended to Prince Henry are not a recognition of a form of government, but simply an expression of good will for the people of another nation. He favored the order. Still there was no applause.

This ended the debate. The speaker hurriedly called for a rising vote, and all apparently stood up, except Carey and MacCartney, who afterwards voted in the negative. Carey asked unanimous consent to be placed on record. Hayes, of Lowell, objected. The speaker ruled that Carey's request could only be granted on a ye and nay vote. Carey asked for a roll call, but only MacCartney and he arose, thirty being required. This closed the incident. A large number of member escaped to the corridors to discuss it, and the House assumed its normal condition.

PROVISIONAL STATE COMMITTEE.

Meeting held March 10th. Present Comrades Messer, Johnson, Appel, Hefferin, Reynolds and Bersford. Comrade Messer in the chair. Minutes read and approved. Communications read from A. E. Hawley (2), Frank V. Loring, O. H. Warner, W. J. Gebbie, M. W. Wilkins, J. A. Collier, James S. Roche, Chas. Donohoe, F. Wulff, Geo. S. Holmes, Benjamin F. Wilson.

Remittances, Westminster, \$1.80, Fernando \$1.10, Colusa \$11, Dixon \$4, Los Angeles \$10.40. Total \$28.60.

Bills ordered paid: Mimeographing \$, 100 2ct. envelopes \$2.15, Advance for 5,000 application forms \$2. Total \$5.15.

Charters granted to new locals, Westminster and Fernando. 1000 letter heads and 1000 note ordered. Meeting adjourned 10 p. m.

Thos. Bersford, Sec'y.

SOCIALIST DRAMATIC CLUB.

Chicago, Ill, March 5th.
Editor Advance: The Socialist Dramatic Club of Chicago, organized for the purpose of portraying through the Drama the evils of the present system, and show the only remedy, namely, "Socialism", has been successfully carried out. Our entertainments at the Socialist Temple every two weeks has taxed the seating capacity of the Temple, both by the Socialists and outside public. The only trouble the Dramatic Club has encountered is the finding of Socialist plays, it being impossible to find at the present very many Socialist-dramas. The club at present is having two Socialist plays translated from the German, and expect to put them on the stage in a short time. The Dramatic Club is well organized and desires to state that it is open for engagements from branches and clubs in different parts of the country, and will be glad to hear from comrades wishing to make engagements. Address Socialist Temple, Business Manager, 120 S. Western ave., Chicago, Ill.

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 18th 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.

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The Socialist convention was held
in Minneapolis on Feb. 22 to reor-
ganize the party in accordance with
the provisions of the Indianapolis
convention. The name of the party
was changed from Social Democratic
to Socialist Party. A plan of propa-
ganda work by means of a wagon to
carry speakers through the state on
an agitation tour to organize locals
and distribute literature, was suggest-
ed by Comrade Lockwood, and
unanimously accepted.

KARL MARX' ECONOMIC TEACHINGS.

BY KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated for "Advance" by Kasper Bauer.

(Continued from last week.)

The productivity and intensity of labor is greater in nations where the capitalist mode of production is highly developed than in countries where capitalist development is slow. In the world's market, however, the nation whose labor is most productive and intense determines values. Let us suppose, a Russian weaver poorly fed and undeveloped, overworked and working with poor machines consumes on an average 1 lb. of yarn per hour, the English weaver, however consumes 6 lbs; the value of 1 yd of Russian linen will have no greater value on that account than 1 yd of English linen in the world's market. Labor expended in weaving produces, as we see, more value within the same length of time in England than in Russia; the value of England's product within a given time is represented by a greater mass of gold than that of Russia. Accordingly we see that the money expression of wages in a given capitalistically developed country may stand higher than in an undeveloped country and yet that the price of labor in relation to surplus value may at the same time be much lower in the highly developed country, just because the value of the total product is much higher.

Another thing is this: In the country where the productivity of labor is the greatest, the value of money is comparatively the lowest, therefore, the price of labor in such a country may be quite high without the worker being able to buy with his wages more of the necessities of life than in another country. Great undertakings outside of England such for instance, as the building of railroads in Asia, forced British promoters to employ besides the cheap native laborers also quite a number of expensive English workers. In cases like that, experience has always proven that the apparently dear labor is, in relation to the amount of work furnished and to surplus value, in reality much the cheapest.

With the most miserable wages and the unrestricted exploitation of labor, Russian industry is able only with the help of prohibitive tariffs, to maintain a pitiful existence. Russia cannot compete with English industry, which produces with comparatively high wages and short work-days, with numerous restrictions in woman and child labor, rules relative to health, etc., the absolute price of Russian labor, i. e. its money expression, is low. Its relative price, in comparison with the value of the Russian product upon the world's market, is high.

THE INCOME OF CAPITAL.

We have seen how money is transformed into capital and how the wage worker, through his labor, does not only preserve the value of that portion of capital expended for the necessary means of production, but also how he creates new value, a value which is equal to the value of his labor power plus a surplus value. The circular movement of capital is, however, not completed with the appearance of surplus value; just as commodities have failed in their mission unless they can be converted into money, so it is with surplus value, which also at first is embodied in a given mass of commodities, in the surplus product. After surplus value has been produced in the shape of surplus product, the question is to realize its value in money, to find a purchaser for the surplus product. On its way to realization into money, surplus value, like any other value, makes many an experience, some of them jolly others sad. Today surplus value is realized in an exceptionally high price, tomorrow in a price low out of all proportion or perhaps not at all. At one time the commodity in which it is embodied is sought for by purchasers even before it appears upon the market, again that commodity may lie for an indefinite period upon the shelves. And so on. Other dangers threaten the wanderer in his course. Here it is the merchant who brings about the sale of the commodity and

who for his pains whacks off a portion of the surplus value; there it is ground rent which must be paid to the landlord, then there are other bandits looking around, taxes, tariffs and interest for money borrowed, etc. until the rest disappears in the copious pockets of our capitalist as profit. However, we are not going to deal with all these adventures and transformations which surplus value experiences. This belongs partially in the realm of the circulation process of capital, which has been treated by Marx in the second book of his work, and partially are they to be developed by an examination of the whole process of the capitalist mode of production. The first book of "Kapital" treats only of the one side of the total process, the immediate process of production; only in as far as surplus value effects this does its fate, after it has been produced interest us. We, therefore will always suppose here, unless otherwise explicitly stated that the capitalist sells his commodities on the market at their full value; we will also assume further that the surplus value returns to the capitalist in its entirety. The opposite assumption would merely complicate our analyzes and thereby make it more difficult without materially changing the result.

Surplus value can effect the process of production only in reproduction that is by the repetition of the process of production. Every social process of production is at the same time a process of reproduction, within every form of society production must either be carried on incessantly, uninteruptedly, or it must repeat itself within definite periods. This fact makes it necessary that every form of society produce continually, not only means for consumption but also means of production.

If production takes on the form of capitalist production, then of course reproduction takes on the capitalist form also. Just as it is necessary for every society to continually, or within regular periods produce use values, so is it necessary for capital to continually produce surplus value, if it wants to remain capital. After it once has given birth to surplus value it must be employed for the same purpose again and again. Capital, therefore, constantly produces new surplus value; capital reproduces surplus values which, in turn appears as fruit which gives the seed for new fruit of capital set in motion, it appears as the steady income out of capital: as revenue.

This much of surplus value in as far as it arises out of reproduction. The process of reproduction also affords an opportunity to surplus value to re-enter the process of production. Let us assume a capitalist employs a capital of \$100,000 which yields him an income of \$20,000 per year. What is he going to do with this revenue? There are two extreme possibilities. He may consume the whole amount of surplus value every year or he may increase his capital by that amount every year. Usually neither of the two extremes will take place, but as a rule part of the surplus value is consumed and part of it is added to the capital already in existence.

If the whole surplus value is consumed then of course the amount of capital does not increase it remains stationary. Simple reproduction takes place. If part or all of surplus value is added to the original capital then accumulation of capital takes place and reproduction goes on an expanded scale.

CHAPTER III SIMPLE REPRODUCTION.

Simple reproduction is merely the repetition of the process of production upon a permanent scale, but by constant repetition the process receives many new marks.

Let us assume that the owner of money, who has made money somehow, perhaps by working for it, transforms his money into capital. He possess \$10,000;

\$9,000 he invests in constant capital, \$1000 in variable (price of labor power) capital. By the use of this capital he turns out a mass of product to the value of \$11,000 which he is able to dispose of at its full value. The surplus value, \$1000, is consumed by him, reproduction is carried on upon the old scale. \$9,000 constant and \$1000 variable capita are employed. Here, however, appears a difference compared with what took place formerly. The \$1000 expended for wages during the first process of production, were not produced by the workers employed in the undertaking, this \$1000 arose from a different source; perhaps the capitalist himself produced it. On the other hand whence come the \$1000 which will be paid out upon the repetition of the process of production? They are the realization of values produced by the workers during the prior process of production. The workers not only transferred the value of the constant capital (\$9000) to the product, but they also created new value, to the amount of \$2000, of which one part is equal to the value of their labor power, the other is surplus value.

If we examine the capitalist process of production as the one under which the capital for the first time enters the process of production, then wages will seem to be something which has been advanced by the capitalist to the worker, if on the other hand we examine it as a process of reproduction there we see the worker being paid out of the proceeds of his own labor. In this sense it would be correct to say that the worker receives a portion of the product of his own labor. Only it is, the product of a former period of production, a product already previously sold, of which he, in his wages receives a portion.

Let us return to our illustration. Let us assume that each period of production requires 6 months for its consumation. During every year our capitalist pocket \$2000 surplus value and consumes it. After 5 years the total amount consumed by him will be \$10,000, a value equal to that of his original capital. He, however, possesses now as before, a capital worth \$10,000. This new capital value, from the standpoint of magnitude, is equal to the original sum. Its foundation, however, is not the same as originally. The original \$10,000 did not come from the workers engaged in his establishment, they came from a different source. But these \$10,000 were consumed by him during 5 years; if still possesses \$10,000 besides having consumed that much, it becomes clear that they arose out of surplus value. So we see that all capital, no matter whence it came from, after a certain length of time, by means of simple reproduction, transforms itself into capitalist surplus value, into the accumulation of surplus value, into accumulated capital.

The starting point of the capitalist process of production is the divorce of the worker from the means of production, the accumulation of propertyless workers on the one side, and that of means of production and subsistence on the other side. In the capitalist process of reproduction these starting points appear as results of the process of production. The capitalist process of reproduction. The capitalist process of re-production itself continually re-creates and maintains its own conditions of existence: Capital and the wage-working class.

The means of subsistence and of production evented by the working class do not belong to them, but to the capitalists. The wage worker always emerges from the process of production just as he has entered it, as propertyless proletair; the capitalists however, at the end of every period of production find themselves in possession of new means of subsistence, which buy labor power, and of new means of production which employs this labor power. Thus the worker himself is forced to continually reproduce the requisites of his dependency and misery.

(To be continued)

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