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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 406.

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FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR.

SPEAKS FOR THE CHILDREN.

Carey's Fight on Child Labor in the Massachusetts Legislature.

Boston, April 26.—If, through the agency of some occult power, the working people of Massachusetts who really care about such things could have seen what transpired in the Lower House last Thursday afternoon, they would have witnessed a strange sight. They would have seen members who claim to represent especially the "labor interests" voting and even speaking against a bill to restrict the employment in factories of children under sixteen years of age. They would have heard these men, trade unionists at that, put forward the specious plea that because their constituents had not made a special petition for this bill, therefore its passage was not necessary.

The discussion upon the bill could not be dignified by the name of debate. The replies to Carey's argument for the bill were in the nature of apologies for the adverse report of the Labor Committee, rather than arguments against the bill itself. Incidentally some of the Labor Committee members scolded Carey for insisting upon the bill's passage, apparently because he had put them on the defensive in explaining their report.

When the adverse report of the committee was reached, Carey moved to substitute his bill for the report. Very few members were present at the opening, again revealing the intense interest taken by "Labor's friends" in bills of this kind. Carey called attention to this in opening his argument, saying that some bills during a session came to be known as "most important." In his opinion legislation that affected the welfare of the children of the people constituted the most important that could come before any legislature; and yet many members did not interest themselves sufficiently in the bill to be present. Any matter that affected the fathers and mothers of the future was of fundamental importance and demanded the most earnest consideration.

CAREY'S ARGUMENT.

In order that the importance of this measure can be grasped, we must realize that we are living in a commercial age in which everything is reduced to the level of commodities. This age was supported by all races and all creeds. Some one had said that this age was a godless one, but this was not true. The present age has a god and all races and all creeds worship it—and that god is Profit. In order to satisfy that god the lives and happiness of millions of human beings are sacrificed daily in blind obedience to its desires.

This god Profit had its existence from the present system and its reign depended upon the reduction of all things to commodities, and consequently human labor is a commodity also, like beef or old junk. The price of beef is regulated by the cost of production, and the trusts recognize this by regulating the cost of production and then gain a monopoly price by adding to the cost of production. Under free competition supply and demand regulated the price of commodities, but under the trust system combinations regulated prices. The only commodity now subject to free competition was labor power, except where labor organizations interposed.

The price of a day's labor is the cost of subsistence of the laborer for that day. The effect of a constantly increasing supply of labor upon the market without a corresponding increase of demand is to beat down the price of labor. The introduction of labor-saving machinery into industry throws men out of employment, ever increases the supply, and reduces the price of labor. In former times the chattel slave was put upon the block and sold to the highest bidder. At present the wage slave is put in competition with his fellows and sold to the lowest bidder. Formerly when a chattel slave escaped, bloodhounds were put on his trail to scent him out; now the average workman needs a bloodhound to scent him out a job.

29,000 CHILDREN IN FACTORIES.

There were 29,000 children at work in the mills of Massachusetts and the pressure of their competition upon the market sent the wages of the workers downward. Machinery is being constantly introduced that can be operated more easily, and the owners of the machinery take advantage of the workers' condition by putting children to work and thus throw men out in the street, intensifying the competition among the workers.

We know that those whose interests are at stake object to any restriction on labor; these are the people who believe that competition is a good thing for the workers but a bad thing for themselves. The manufacturers were not in favor of restricting child labor, because that would assist the workers in getting more wages. The ability of the children to operate machines made them valuable in the capitalists' eyes, and gave the employers more power to control the price of labor, while also increasing profits.

These are the economic reasons why this bill should become a law, but there were other reasons which were greater in some people's eyes, ethical, moral and physical reasons. Carey went on to describe the conditions prevailing in the mills and factories, and related how he had heard that a member of the Labor Committee, during the Committee's recent tour of the factory districts, had to leave one of the mills to avoid becoming sick.

And yet we allow children to work in an atmosphere like that! Modern conditions in the mills tend to the deterioration of the moral and physical standard of the children.

Children at fourteen years of age have not matured, and it is torture to compel them to perform such labor at that age. Physical misery results in moral deterioration, and the continual sucking away of their vitality into everything produced unfits them for the duties of later years. Not a man present would put his children into the mill—because they knew that conditions in the factory do not accrue to the fullest development of the child.

PRECIOUS COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY.

Carey anticipated the argument that to take these children out of the mills would interfere with the commercial supremacy of Massachusetts. He would ask: Why did men suffer and die to establish this government? Was it to ensure its commercial supremacy? The man who says that flies in the face of history and denies the sublimest theory of human progress. Our highest ideal should rise above the desire to produce a yard of cloth cheaper than a Chinaman. If this commonwealth of Massachusetts is great it is not because of its commercial advantages, but because it has led in the fight for progress and liberty, and because it numbers among its sons and daughters those who had done the most for freedom, enlightenment, and human elevation. This is what constitutes true greatness.

"What opportunity," he asked, "do you think children who work in these mills have to develop and grow to the real stature of men and women? What chance have they to learn what we learn and grow up our way? They are kept in a prison-house and denied a glimpse of all that makes the world sweet and worth living in. For them, instead of the glitter of the sun upon the stream, there is only the sheen of the revolving machinery; instead of the cries of nature they are deafened with the roar and din of the factory; instead of the beautiful scenes they have the dust-grimed windows and the monotonous bench and walls of their prison. When Massachusetts is called upon to choose between its children's happiness and commercial supremacy, there should be no hesitation. Massachusetts should stand first for humanity. It is better that one child should grow untrammelled into manhood than that Massachusetts should gain the earth."

After Carey finished several spoke half-heartedly in favor and many against it. Finally the bill, upon a rising vote, was defeated by 71 to 28. Carey demanded a roll call, but only 19 responded, 30 being necessary. The Committee's report was then accepted.

Immediately afterwards Carey's bill to raise the school age from fourteen to sixteen came up and was defeated by a vote of 46 to 27.

FALSE REASONS AND REAL REASON.

Summed up, the following were the arguments for the Committee's adverse report: The Committee had decided to kill the bill to make room for other "labor measures," not one of them as important as this one—a fact well known to the Committee and to those who defeated the bill and to the labor men most of all; the present law was not enforced, a confession of guilt on the part of the administration; the parents would miss the children's wages, an acknowledgment of the poverty of the textile operatives; the children had not asked for the passage of the bill; and the sooner children went to work in the mills the quicker they would become skilled workers—and thus displace the older workers who could not keep up the pace.

The real reason was not mentioned: Because it would interfere with the capitalists' profit-making facilities. It would not do to state that, of course, but everybody knows that is the reason why all such gifts are defeated. But what an old story it is, to be sure.

—William Mailly.

A Practical Illustration.

Mr. N. O. Nelson's profit-sharing establishment at LeClaire, Ill., illustrates two contentions of the Socialist. First, the advantageous results of decent conditions of living, as witness this interview:

"In founding LeClaire I chose 125 acres eighteen miles from St. Louis and picked the very best land. Here I built airy and commodious factories and planted grounds around them so that they are now surrounded with beautiful trees, vines and flower-beds. Every provision was made for personal cleanliness and shower baths are provided in the factory buildings. There is a large dining-room for those bringing lunches and all is done that can be accomplished to make the work as cheerful and as little humiliating as possible. Full provision has been made for games and a baseball ground, tennis courts, a skating pond and a library, all belong to the village.

"The results have been astonishing to me, although I expected much from the idea. The way in which the

men and women and, more than all else, the children respond to beautiful surroundings and steady work continually surprises me. Our children are splendid, strong, unusually good-looking and affectionate. But this is not achieved without care, for we look after them from the very first and have provided a kindergarten and primary school in the village. For the graded classes the children go to the neighboring town of Edwardsville.

"The town has no governing body. Each man does what he pleases and nobody does wrong. We have no mayor or city council and get along splendidly without them. The sociability of the little community is very marked and as a matter of fact we furnish amusement for the entire neighborhood. We have a high-class lecture course every winter, and a dance at least once a week, with no end of concerts and other entertainments. It is no transient experiment for LeClaire has been established for twelve years now and constantly increases its wealth and population. The young people remain in the village and the boys begin their work in the factories of the Nelson Company, while the girls take up dressmaking and such feminine occupations."

Secondly: the ability of the workers to manage a factory:

"Our company manufactures all sorts of plumbing work, and uses iron, stone and wood in the production of its commodities, so that we employ many different kinds of labor, and our organization is complicated and requires careful management in these times of hard competition. Still our employees assist us in every way, and in fact during my absence are managing the business for the company as they will entirely for themselves some day."

Mr. Nelson also said: "With regard to the matter of child labor, that is of overwhelming importance to the community. In no respect has the value of trades union been more clearly shown than in this. It is due to the union more than to anything else that the laws regulating the employment of children are now on the statute book. If for no other reason the unions are entitled to the consideration and regard of the community."

San Francisco Opens up Socialist Headquarters.

At last.

For practically four years local San Francisco has struggled along without any home or headquarters. Committee after committee has been appointed, plan after plan has been suggested, speech after speech has been made, and project after project has been abandoned. The burden of supporting the paper and pretty acrimonious debates contributed to almost a continual deficit in the party funds, the one by exhausting the treasury, and the other by preventing its being refilled.

Comrades have come from all parts of this and other states and wondered why we had no headquarters. The state executive has been dependent partly on the offices of the comrades and partly on the dingy ramshackle at 618 Merchant street where "Advance" has been published. The local has crammed itself into a little room in the close and smoky Labor Bureau where the inconveniences have not tended to increase the mildness of debate. On the whole the local comrades were very very badly housed.

But now things are changed. A fine, large room has been secured in the Odd Fellow's building. This will serve as headquarters, open in the day and evening. It will be the business office of the "Advance." It will furnish room for the State Committee and the local to meet. It will be a rendezvous for the comrades and a reception hall to our visiting friends.

There is every indication that the great meetings of Comrade Mills are arousing the workers into activity, and renewing their interest in the Socialist movement. It is time the local took hold. Throughout the East, in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, Colorado, everywhere, our Socialist agitators and orators are on the stump. In California, also, everything is looking up. San Francisco is the metropolis. It has every prospect for great gains in the fall elections. These can be won if every comrade will lend his aid.

The headquarters are procured, but they must be furnished. Let the comrades donate liberally for this purpose. Let every one who can, be present at the local meeting next Wednesday night, May 21. Organizer Smith has plans to put every one to work doing something for Socialism. We will stop talking about it and do something for it.

Initiations of new members should be a special order, and when the roll is called see that you answer with a new subscription for "Advance" and a new member for the local.

Socialist headquarters, the office of the "Advance" and the local meetings are now at Odd Fellow's building, corner of 7th and Market streets, Room 8. It is in the west corner of the building, facing Market street and up only one flight of stairs. Be sure and be there next Wednesday evening, May 21.

Every once in a while we hear of a discussion in literary circles over the best ten books of the century or decade. In my estimation there is one book that has influenced the century past and the people thereof more than all the dictionaries, encyclopedias, bibles, books of poetry, Shakespeares or classical tomes of learning and scientific research—aye, more than all combined, and that is—what? Pocketbook.—Los Angeles Socialist.

The Socialists Militant.

PENNSYLVANIA.

A great deal of agitation is being done in this long dormant state, Erie, in one corner, will start a daily Socialist paper owned by the party. They have hopes of carrying the city.

Klenke and Collins have been and are stirring up things wonderfully in Pittsburg and Allegheny. While in the eastern part Comrades Louis Goazieu and Charles Vail are carrying on a splendid series of meetings.

NEW YORK.

Comrade Fred J. Spring has spoken with great success at Peekskill, Cold Springs, Newburg, Troy Schuylerville, Schenectady, Fort Edward, Johnston Gloversville and Utica. A great number of new members have been secured, much literature sold and ground work laid for future work.

The May day parade and the May day concert of the party in New York City was highly successful. A great amount of money has been raised for the DAILY WORKER fun.

MASSACHUSETTS.

A fine May day meeting was held in Boston with Ben Hanford and Mac Cartney as speakers. A great amount of organization work is being done. Comrade Goldstein delivered an able address on May day at Lynn. He was listened to by a large and appreciative crowd. There is still some confusion over fusion in the smaller locals of the state but they are gradually being led into the straight, narrow and victorious path.

MISSOURI.

St. Louis held a convention with 400 delegates in attendance. The enthusiasm was unbounded. A ringing platform and declaration was adopted and a full ticket nominated. The St. Louis comrades are profiting now from their able and intelligent "borings from within." They have the hearty support of many unions and expect to hold a very great vote this coming election.

The "Missouri Socialist" declares that "victory is not impossible." But at all events a magnificent increase and grand vote are sure. Pretty soon the Missourian will be the most highly respected member of the Socialist party.

MICHIGAN.

Comrade W. E. Walters writes that he intends stamping the state. He is candidate for Governor and is an able organizer and speaker. To aid his work he will take "Advance" as it is "one of the best propaganda and organization papers—clear and popular but strictly scientific. Well, Comrade, when you and we get after the Michiganders—our modesty forbids stating how great the results will be. We expect good news.

NEBRASKA.

E. B. Ford, editor of "The Referendum," the Socialist paper of Fairbault, Minn., has been sentenced to pay a fine of \$100 and costs or go to jail for 90 days. He was convicted of "criminal libel," having exposed the swindling practices of one of the local capitalist crooks. Ford refused to pay the fine and is now in jail, and, he writes in "The Referendum," is trying to convert his fellow prisoners to Socialism. "The Referendum" will be continued with the help of his wife and the local comrades, the conditions of his imprisonment in the county jail "at Moshier's boarding house" permitting work there.

THE RIGHT KIND.

Showhegan comrades are congratulating themselves upon their unexpected good fortune. Comrade Roland T. Patten, formerly a prominent member of the Republican party and treasurer of Somerset County, who formally severed his party connections and resigned his office to become a member of Local Showhegan, has purchased an automobile, which he has placed at the disposal of the State Committee during the progress of the campaign in Somerset County. Carey, Patten, and the auto ought to be an invincible trio, and roll up a handsome majority in this, the banner county of the Socialist movement in Maine.

Our membership now number 189, all but 37 of whom are in good standing; gain for the month, 18 to date.

FINE PROGRESS IN TERRE HAUTE.

In the city election in Terre Haute, Ind., the total vote for the various candidates was as follows:

Mayor—	Votes
Henry C. Steeg, Dem.....	4,128
Alex L. Crawford, Rep	3,121
S. M. Reynolds, Soc	553
R. M. Hollingsworth, Ind.	630

As usual the only party that made a gain was the Socialist party. The vote was more than double that received in the last city election and more than 60 per cent more than the total vote received in the county by Debs in the Presidential election of 1900 which was 331. The Socialists are thoroughly satisfied with the result, and will hold a meeting Sunday afternoon at 2:30 to close up the business of the campaign, and at 4 o'clock the same afternoon another meeting will be held at headquarters to arrange for the fall campaign. Eugene Debs will attend this meeting and it is likely that the room will be packed.

Waking Up!

"Sidney Carton" says in the Omaha Examiner: "It has occurred to me that the tremendous combinations which are now being so rapidly consummated will finally develop into the most formidable and portentous foe of the working classes that has ever arisen in the history of mankind." He advises unity at the ballot box on the part of the working classes.

Father Hagerty of New Mexico, a scientist of eminent ability, has resigned his parish to preach socialism. He is said to be a power on the rostrum, equal if not superior to Father McGrady.

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There were two errors in last week's *Advance* which we wish to correct. The article by N. A. Richardson on "The Trust Dred Scott Decision" was not credited to *The Undercurrent*, as it should have been. And "Classes at home and Castes in the Orient" appeared with no indication that it was an abstract of Prof. W. T. Mills' weekly lecture at Metropolitan Temple. The mistakes were due to the imminence of a change in publication office, which interfered with the usual editorial supervision of the making up of the forms.

Comrades should hustle those petitions. At least 12,000 names should be secured. We need 3 per cent of the voters to have our petitions accepted and 4 or 5 per cent would remove all chance of rejection. Some localities will have to make up for deficiencies in others. Anyone can sign the petition who is entitled to vote. Rush them in! The comrades must double their efforts in this.

California for Socialism.

California will be the field of a hot campaign this fall. As a State it has always been well to the front in the Socialist ranks and it depends on the comrades now whether it shall retain the honorable position which by past agitation it has achieved. In 1898 we polled 5,000 votes for Governor, in 1900, despite all the terrible internal troubles of the S. L. P. we polled 7,500 votes, an increase of about 50 per cent. Since 1900 agitation in the State has revived and Comrades Vail, Stitt Wilson, Ben Wilson, Anderson, Roche, Murray, and Walter Thomas Mills have been speaking through the State. Literature has been spread broadcast. Three papers are published in the State advocating our principles, and the party organization is almost twice as large as it was in 1900. We have two Organizers, both capable men, who will shortly take the field and the campaign will be on in good earnest. It is probable that the services of the Wilson brothers will be available throughout the campaign and Comrade Mills will give us a month's agitation in July. This assures California of having plenty of speakers of first-class ability and with the proper energy and enthusiasm on the part of members we can poll twenty thousand votes this fall. Let this be our slogan from now on. Twenty thousand votes for Socialism in California! How shall it be accomplished? Easily! The doubling of our vote is the easiest matter if the comrades will put forth their efforts to do it. In the first place, those petitions must be signed. Let every comrade get a petition blank, and go out to his neighbors and ask them for their signature. Tell them it costs them nothing; it pledges them to nothing; they can vote what ticket they please afterwards; all that the petition is for is to let us put up a ticket to express our views. No fair-minded man will refuse. This is the first thing that each comrade should do. And it is very, very important that each comrade should do it immediately. Time is swiftly passing, and unless the petitions are in in time they are useless. Get your pencils and petitions and go forth on Sunday or in the evening, and every comrade should be able to get a couple of hundred names; but get as many as possible and send them in to the State Secretary.

The next important thing is the distribution of literature. No leaflets have been issued by the State Committee, so the party papers are the cheapest literature available. Every comrade ought to get a bundle of four or five copies of *Advance*, or other party paper, and distribute it to those who are interested. After distributing copies for a few weeks ask those to whom you have given it to buy a 25-cent subscription postal and receive the paper weekly. By this you are spreading the principles of Socialism and building up the party paper.

These are things which should be done immediately. If the comrades will attend faithfully and energetically to this work they will awaken great interest in Socialism and when our organizers and orators come around they will have large and enthusiastic crowds, which will encourage and help every one along. Comrades, fall to work!

THE MEAT TRUST.

"What shall be done with the meat combine?" That is the question on every one's lips. The steady rise in prices has compelled the people to consider the cause and directed their thoughts to the question, "How shall the food trust be controlled?"

An investigation is under way, but no one really expects anything to be divulged that is not already known. We have enough facts already to judge of the methods of control. The food trust problem is identical with the oil trust problem, the railroad trust problem, the steel trust problem, the whisky trust problem, the tobacco trust problem, and all the other trust problems. The methods used to secure their power vary, as the industries vary in detail, but the general line of procedure in all cases is the same.

"Why has the trust come into existence?" Like everything else in the world, it is here because certain causes combined to put it here. It is a business institution, and we must look into business relations to find those causes. The best way is to trace the trust back through its various forms, find out what it began as, and why it grew into its present shape. The meat trust, like all others, is composed of several companies or corporations, each of these corporations in turn was formed by combining different firms or partnerships or individual dealers in the meat supply business. In the beginning, therefore, we have individuals running their butcher shops in competition with each other. Strenuous competition means cut-rates; cut-rates means small profits and decrease of profits will eventually break up the small man in business. One of two things

must have occurred: Either one of the competitors went out of the business and the other got his trade and prospered, or they combined their businesses, put up prices and both prospered. As the individual or the firm grew, however, its expanding trade came into conflict with another prospering individual or another firm, or many of them small and large. Again, competition meant cut-rates, and cut-rates decreased profits. The small men were driven into bankruptcy, and to the victor went the spoils of trade on which he grew more powerful. But others were also strong and so nearly equal in endurance, that a continuance of cut-rate war meant heavy losses and great danger of bankruptcy to all. So the firms combine in that advantageous, legal form, the corporation. Each corporation expands its trade and shortly comes in conflict with others, and again the same process is renewed. Each corporation tries to kill off as many of its competitors as possible, for the greater the number in the field, the smaller is the amount of profits to each. Pools, agreements to maintain prices are made, but each seeking to gain all for itself, secretly breaks the agreement, and by offering better terms, hopes to allure trade to it. Ultimately the pool breaks apart. Then more powerful corporations begin to form a trust. They compel the rest to surrender all their stock in their separate concerns into the hands of trustees and receive the notes of this trust in return; thus the control over their separate corporations is lost. That control is centered in the trustees who have all the power. The trust is an incorporated federation of corporations with very little authority left to the individual corporations. By this means a solid business organization is constructed, which stops all competition within itself and is so powerful that it can crush what little competition may be left on the outside. Having control then of all the goods in its line, it is in a position to say, "This is our price, if you don't like it, leave it."

We have traced the development of the trust. Now, we are in a position to ask, "What shall be done about it?"

"Dissolve it," says the Democrat. But what would follow? You simply prohibit two corporations of fifty men each from combining to run an entire industry, and compel them to fight until one or the other is forced into bankruptcy and the remaining corporation gets all the trade. Thus, instead of 100 men, you have 50 in charge. Suppose all trusts and corporations were dissolved, that would not confiscate Rockefeller's title to more than one-half interest in the oil business. He would easily be the most powerful factor, and would speedily crush out all the others, becoming absolute king and autocrat. The same with Morgan in steel and steamships. Dissolution might prolong the period of conflict and war for trade, but when the last battle was fought, a single individual would be the victor, sole and supreme, to control the prices and plunder the people as pleased his sovereign will. Dissolution of trusts is no remedy. "Control the trusts," says another. Yes, but how? Laws regulating prices are easily evaded and requires a horde of officers for their enforcement. With the wealth at their command, the trust would be continually attempting corruption and every campaign the war for control of the legislative control between the trusts and people would be renewed. It is a principle of warfare, that when you whip your enemy, you should disarm him and level his fortresses, fixing him so that he cannot fight you again, otherwise you will always have trouble, and your energies will be wasted in a struggle you might avoid.

To control the trust, you must first fight a political battle and capture the powers of government. To speak of controlling the trust, we must assume the people to be in power politically. They can do what they wish. What shall they do? Allow the enemy to continue plundering them but only making rules that plunder shall be a little less than before. That is folly and cowardly. The enemy, the trust must be struck a blow which shall finish its power for all time, and put a complete end to the plundering of the people. It plunders the people because it owns all the industry and the people must pay its price or go without. Let the people take possession of the trust and then, they can fix the price. Their enemy is completely disarmed. He has no more means of plundering the people. He has no means of buying up politicians to fight for him and keep the people continually in a turmoil to retain fair prices. He is beaten, disarmed and helpless and will be obliged to come around and ask for a chance to do some honest work for the first time in a life spent in devising ways to possess the means whereby the people lived that he might plunder them for his own enrichment.

Let the nation own the trusts is the only solution of the trust problem. And the meat trust shows us the necessity of quickly organizing to that end before it starves us all to death on half-rations.

Miners on Strike.

Again the miners are out on strike. Again they suffer privation to win a slight advantage from their oppressors. They may win, they may not win, but win or not privations they must suffer, because their wages stop and their expenses must be cut down, and at the best they get only enough to live on. Yet the report states that they are determined. They face the situation with a knowledge of the hardships of the struggle and yet with a splendid courage, to fight it out.

It is a pathetic sight. A couple of hundreds of thousands of men are obliged, to quit work and stop making more profits for the masters in order that the masters shall allow them a little more wages when they return to their tasks. And during this period of idleness it is certain that thousands, and ten of thousands will suffer for the bare necessities of life, though they have spent years in body-breaking toil, producing wealth. Many will be evicted from the company hovels in which they have lived and be cast forth shelterless in the cold and storm. And hunger, the wolf that ever howls around the dwellings of the working poor will show his savage face in the door and take possession of many a miner's shack. All this, these miners know. It is not new to them. They know, too, that hitherto they have suffered all these things and often the only return their heroic struggle brought was—failure. Yet undismayed by defeat, driven forth by the pressure upon them, again they resume the struggle for a living wage and decent conditions of life. Like the fabled tortoise of Sisyphus it seems, who was doomed eternally to roll a stone up hill with infinite pain and labor which just as he came to the crest would break away and roll to the base again.

Must labor struggle so, forever as futilely as the tortured Sisyphus?

Who is it that thus drives these hundred of thousands of miners into suffering and defeat? A mere handful of men, the mine-owners. But a handful that has behind them the organized force of seventy millions, the Government power. The people have said to the handful of men, "the coal in the earth is yours; the armies of the United States will protect you in your right to possess the mines." Emboldened by this authority the handful of men have said to the hundreds of thousands skilled in mine work, "All other trades are filled to overflowing with workers. You must work in the coal mines. You have no other chance. The coal mines are ours. The people of the United States have given them to us. If you wish to work in our mines you must work on our terms. If you grow rebellious, you will be turned out to starve, for there are few other jobs; not a thousand and you are hundreds of thousands. Therefore, work! We will give enough to live on if you work hard. And the product of your toil, the coal you mine, is ours."

But the workers know that when they cease working all together no coal is mined for the owners to sell and live luxuriously upon. They hope therefore by a strike to lessen the income of the owners so that rather than suffer longer he will increase the allowance he gives them. But their savings are small and soon hunger forces them back to work. The capitalists have lost but very little and suffered no privation.

"We own the mines," say the handful, backed by the authority of the millions and the hundreds of thousands are forced to toil like slaves for a pittance which barely supports a miserable existence. But if the hundred of thousands of miners should say to the millions of the people of the United States, "You give the power of life and death over us into the hands of a few tyrants who starve and enslave us," and the people should answer, "The mines are the property of all and every man that mines coal shall receive the full value of that coal as reward for his labor," the miners would not need to slave and starve. Their labor would secure them plenty and leisure. And peace would replace the present war.

The Juggernaut

Have you read of the glass blowers' strike in Minotola, New Jersey? Do you know that if a man had two daughters instead of two sons that he could not get work there? Do you know that in the last few months several children have met violent deaths in the institution? Do you know that the corporation owns men, not figuratively speaking, but literally, "soul and body," for the church is run by the corporation, the preacher is paid by the corporation and the corporation owns the graveyard, where the poor, crushed, broken bodies of the dead babies are laid, when the corporation has taken what little life they might have retained in spite of bad conditions? Not only children are placed here after they are dead, but they are watched by spies while they are dead, and they are taught to distrust and hate one another. Their parents are discharged if they try to save a little money, for the company supposes they intend to leave the town. All the supplies used in the family must be purchased at the company's store and in every respect the men and their families are owned by the corporation in the most repulsive and absolute sense that was ever true of any slave in chains. At a big meeting held in protest not long ago, where President Gompers of the Federation of Labor made one of the most stirring speeches of his life, there was great excitement. Little children were shown to the immense crowd and when they told their story, the applause which went up must have made the brooding soul of St. Nicholas thrill with ecstasy, as he realized that even in New Jersey, the heart of humanity still throbs to the plea of a child. It is very difficult to write of the horrors of this recital with anything like the reserve which cold type and ink demand, and it is very hard to know that in this land of liberty, such outrages are permitted. Socialists see in it all the glimmer of the new day—but not for scores of those little people. The eruption of the volcano which enveloped St. Pierre in lava and burning mud was over in about three seconds, but it is said that for several weeks the volcano has been rumbling and sending out small flames and spurts of fire and gas to indicate the awful power of destruction which it possessed. The Socialists are working and planning for a peaceful revolution, but if the signs mean anything, the awful hour of retribution may come in another way. The corporations have the power and they seem to be pressing down harder and harder, and if the eruption comes, and the blood of the innocent babes is avenged, it will be simply the inevitable. Let the voters and the lawmakers look to it.

MARY FAIRBROTHER.

The members of the Local San Francisco are displaying the most praiseworthy emulation in bringing in new members. Veterans, who have been rusticated away with the battle, have again gotten into harness, and new recruits with the enthusiasm of recent conversion are flocking to the standard of the party militant. This is fine. The more, the merrier. But it will be of no avail, unless the energy and ability and activity are turned against our common foe—the capitalist class. Let each member take some application blanks and subscription postals and camp on the trail of some worker with a capitalist mind until he changes it for one that will do him some good—a socialist mind.

In Copenhagen, Denmark, the Socialists and Liberals formed a combination and nearly wiped out the Conservatives, the former receiving an average of 13,000 votes against 7,000 of the latter. The council of the capital city of Denmark now stands: Liberals, 21; Socialists, 20; Conservatives, 1.

In Esbjerg and Silkeborg, Denmark, Socialists won in the city elections.

Socialists of Germany have started a semi-monthly juvenile paper called the Cottage.

In Chenit, Switzerland, the Socialists triumphed in an election.

In Milan, Italy, the old parties nominated Calagno, a well known Anarchist, to oppose Turati, the Socialist, for election to Parliament. The latter won with ease.

City councilman was elected by the Socialist party in Plattsmouth, Neb.

The Miner.

(Translated from the German of Franz Langheinrich by Ernest Crosby and appearing in the November "Comrade.")

They say the day was fine, but what know I Of day, who in the bowels of the earth Am cursed by double night? I only see There in the West the sun's last evening glow Which greets me as I greet it now,—farewell!

These hands still tremble with the blow on blow Of pick and hammer which the flinty rock Duly gives back to me. Its rough caresses Still shake my stiffened limbs, as if I'en now A crushing weight of ore were on my back. My brow still moistened by the pit's damp ooze Finds strangeness in this pleasant evening breeze. Mine eye, so long accustomed to the dark, Blinks at the sinking sun,—farewell, farewell!

Come to me, kindly sleep. Into thy hands I give my body, bowed with weariness, And all its pains and aches.—Of this our world How little have I seen,—A narrow path Over the fields and at its end the road, The hard, broad highway, leading to the mine, Trodden each day ere sunrise and again At evening, to and fro, and to and fro!

Yet often do I dream of distant lands Where on my way shines bright the midday sun And where the air is soft, and through the trees Flow rippling streams above whose crystal depths Songsters of other climes spread their gay wings

Oh, bear me thither now, deep, silent night!

Our Capitalist Comrades.

The sugar trust has gone on the warpath. The sugar factories are to be absorbed. The trust has issued the mandates: "Sell out or fight!" W. C. Penoyer, one of the leading beet sugar men of Colorado, surrendered.

One hundred Southern cotton mill owners representing 700,000 spindles, met in Charlotte, N. C., a few days ago, and decided to enter the \$60,000,000 cotton yarn trust that is forming. The decision was unanimous.

Missouri Supreme Court declared the anti-trust law of that state "unreasonable, oppressive, unconstitutional and void." The Georgia Supreme Court has intimated that the anti-trust law of that state is unconstitutional. What's coming over the Bourbon trust-busters?

Rockefeller's latest move is to combine the potash concerns of Germany into a \$50,000 trust. The exploits of the Standard Oil magnates is causing wide discussion in the Fatherland. Last week Rockefeller was denounced and also lauded in Parliament.

On May 26, the Western Labor Union and the Western Federation of Miners met in Denver. Eugene V. Debs has been invited to make a Socialist speech and he has accepted.

Prosperity or the Fool's Dinner Pail.

The census figures for manufacturing have been completed for the 33 states and territories, says the *Denver News*. They show that the average wages for all laborers in the manufacturing industries were 8 per cent lower in 1900 than in 1890. In those 33 states and territories 1,004,590 wage earners received an average of \$418.48 each a year, or \$1.39 a day, in 1890. In the same states and territories in 1900, 1,463,365 wage earners received an average of \$387.63 each a year, or \$1.29 a day. In some of the greatest manufacturing states, where the trusts are most powerful the decline in wages has been greater. New Jersey's industries paid an average of \$2.24 a day in 1890 and only \$1.52 a day in 1900, the decline being 32 per cent. On the other hand, the compilation of prices in *Dun's Review* for last January, showed that the cost of living now is nearly 7 per cent higher than in 1900, and more than 11 per cent higher than in 1890. The compilation includes food of all kinds, clothing, metals, etc. The average factory worker, therefore, is receiving 8 per cent less wages than in 1890, and is spending from 4 to 11 per cent more for cost of living.

An Enjoyable Evening.

The William Morris club is steadily adding to its scope of work. Starting originally as a club organized for the specific purpose of tendering a reception to Mrs. Vail on the occasion of her visit her with her husband, it became permanent and took up the study of Socialism. Its monthly meeting now attract quite a circle of serious and capable women. But with its increasing membership it is taking on itself increasing duties, chief among which is the ministering to the social life of the local Socialists. We Socialists are a pretty catankerosus lot when we only meet in continual debate in the business meetings.

It is probable that our animosities or some of them at least would be mollified if we were to meet oftener in a friendly social way, with no question demanding settlement and dividing us against each other "in angry parle."

The William Morris club has taken up the pleasant task, therefore, of supplying this long felt want. On Tuesday evening, May 27, it will give an entertainment and dance at Scottish Hall, corner of Larkin and Grove streets. The tickets are twenty-five cents, admitting one.

Those who attended the reception to Mr. N. O. Nelson, will be only too glad of an opportunity such as this to be again the guest of such excellent hostesses.

SKIRMISH FIRE.

"Seventy times a millionaire! The world is at my feet"—"Aristocracy," a drama. Aw, go, way back and sit down, Rockefeller gets that much as profit each year.

What shall it profit the capitalist if he gain the whole world and lose his foreign markets? Where, then, will he dispose of all the goods "which" in Depew's words, the American (or Chinese or European) people produce and cannot consume?

Socialism or Sectarianism.

They were wise and weighty words which Herbert Burrows addressed to the gathering assembled on Saturday last in the East End of London to do honor to the memory of the Paris Commune. Having cited a number of the practical ameliorative measures which the Commune had inaugurated during its short life, Burrows said that the two chief characteristics of the Commune were its idealism and its practicality. And one of the most important lessons we, as Socialists, had to learn from the Commune was that we must be both idealists and practical people—never losing sight of our ideal, but bringing our ideal into the practical affairs of everyday life, and making our practical work in the present subservient to our ideal and ultimate object. At no time was it more necessary to insist upon this two-sided character of the Socialist movement; to point out that it is at once ideal and practical; is indeed practical because it is ideal, and is ideal because it is also practical. There are those, like the Fabians, who would have the Socialist Party abandon its ideals, who contend that the time for revolutions is past, that we should give up the idea of a complete social revolution and confine ourselves entirely to practical measures of petty reform. But those are utopians who say that there can never again be a revolution, but only slow and placid reform, and to suggest the surrender of our ideals is to ask that we should give up our chief interest even in the practical measures of the present. On the other hand there are those who, accepting the Fabian theory of a necessary antagonism between the practical and the ideal, would have us abandon all efforts at any immediately practical measures for the amelioration of the lot of the workers and confine ourselves entirely to the preaching of the gospel of the Social Revolution. But this idea is no less utopian than the former. Faith without works is dead, and unless we are prepared to translate our faith into practical work by active participation in the political actualities of the day, we simply become a sect, with a set of dead dogmas instead of a living faith; a sect with a fervent enthusiasm, and a sublime belief in its dogmas, it may be, but nevertheless a sect, cut off from the great world of men and life by its superior indifference to life's actualities, and left in splendid isolation to declaim its abstract theories to an ever-dwindling number of the faithful.

That is the question which is demanding our serious consideration at the present moment. Are we for Socialism, or sectarianism? Are we for Socialism, ideal and practical, a living force, impressing itself upon all the phases and all the actualities of the life of our time, and taking the lead in all that makes for righteousness and justice, for human progress and social development? or are we for a narrow sectarianism, contenting itself with academic dissertations on abstract theories and the definition of abstract formulae, and wrapped in its own self-sufficiency as in a garment? In other words, do we wish to form an active political party, or simply to found another sect? Is our object the conquest of political power for the working class, by the use of existing political machinery, as a means to their complete social and economic emancipation, or is it our object to leave political action entirely to the others and to confine ourselves to abstract propaganda pure and simple? These are the questions which are pressing for consideration at the present time and which require to be answered in a practical and definite fashion.

Never was there greater need for a strong Socialist working-class party, and never were there better opportunities for such a party than at the present time. The Liberal Party has ceased to be of any account whatever. It can scarcely be said to be dead, but it has outlived its usefulness, and now only lags superfluous on the stage because there is no other party to take its place. With the growth of imperialism, capitalistic expansion, the passing of the Manchester school theories of international exchange, the principles and functions of the old Liberalism have become obsolete. There are no longer Liberals and Tories, but only imperialists. The present Government only remains in office, and is quite indifferent to public opinion, because there is no alternative. The so-called Liberal Opposition dare not really oppose, because its interests and those of its professed political opponents are identical. That was shown to be especially the case in relation to this South African war, in regard to which the Liberal Party, had it been free and capable, might have rehabilitated itself. But it was not free. It was bound and fettered by precisely the same commercial and financial interests which dictated the policy of the Government, and could, therefore, give but a half-hearted and hypocritical opposition to the Ministerial policy. Had there been, three years ago, a strong Socialist Party in this country the whole course of events might have been different. We may not have been able to have prevented the war, although even that was not absolutely beyond the range of possibility, but we should have certainly rallied to our side all the elements in the country which were on the side of peace, and should have, while strengthening our own party and winning for the Socialist movement large numbers of those who are at present outside, created such a storm of opposition to the Government as would have made its position untenable. This latter point is of great importance, for while it is quite true that we have no more interest in seeing the Liberals in power than the Tories, Socialist progress is best helped by the instability of Governments.—London Justice (S. D. F.)

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

Even the editor of *The Progress*, not long ago deprecated that any one should agitate the "class struggle." It is here and was not made by these agitators. As well blame the heart for beating more rapidly when fever is high as to blame those who are the one hope of the industrial body; the one means by which this great congestion can be overcome and the circulation flow on as it should. Overcome the fever and the heart will resume its normal beat.

DO JUSTICE TO MANKIND

and obliterate all class lines, making all really equal, and you will hear no more outcry from those who know that class consciousness is the workers' one hope. The capitalist has been class-conscious these many years. The laborer should be, for when he understands the

case he will no longer have malice toward the man who runs the machine, nor the machine that crushes him. He will realize that the trouble has been that he has been beneath the car that should have hauled him. Will he then destroy it? Certainly not. He will merely say: "See here, brother, we will also get up and ride awhile, for properly managed this machine can pull us all with comfort to all."

Understand, I am not claiming that capitalists are demons and workers angels. Both are players in a great game; but the capitalist has no longer understood the way to capture the stakes. The workers must study up and not remain content with faro-tables where there is always a "rake off for the house." The rules must be so changed that the dealers' share is proportionate to the amount of his work, or the deal will pass around the table.

WHEN THE STRUGGLE FOR PROFITS.

has been eliminated, the game will be more healthful—and it is well that the change come soon, for there are wageworkers who are not yet like the southern negro, content in a shack if he has grits, molasses, bacon and cornbread. Americans chance to have attributes not necessary to mere human machines; and some of them, believing that the All-Father knew his business when he implanted higher longings, actually have the temerity to say that they propose to have a share of their own productions, that they have tired of making beautiful houses and living in hovels, modelling dainty garments while their children go naked, making food for others to eat and going hungry. "Know ye not that David ate bread which was unlawful for any but priests?"

We, the people, own this Republic and the part is not greater than the whole. We still possess the might of eminent domain. Franklin said: "Private property is a creature of society whenever necessity shall require it, even to the last farthing." We can get that which is our own without breaking a single law, and—law or no law—the time will come when we possess our estate.

The question, then is, Shall we educate the masses to peacefully possess themselves of their own by the ballot, or shall we shut our eyes to the future and drift along until we have bread riots, insurrections and civil war?—LIBERTY AND EQUALITY—

We prate of our liberty, founded upon that bulwark which we call the Declaration of Independence (which starts its second paragraph with a lie), bolstered by a constitution which is such a fetich that we dare not study and apply its spirit. Now "howl" ye who wish! It is false to say that we are "born equal," or that we ever acquire equality under this system.

Where is the equality between the child begotten in lust, born of a starved father and an overworked mother, reared in the slums and spending his childhood days in a factory (if he is "lucky" enough) and his manhood in toil necessary to keep life within his body—and the lot of a child who has generations of culture behind him, all that wealth can give in the way of advantages and leisure to cultivate his own talents?

We have had enough of this kind of equality. It is time that we think more of the first paragraph of that Declaration; time that men and women whose interests are identical to learn to vote solidly, to manage their own governmental affairs and to enjoy some of the fruits of their labor; time that we usher in the era prophesied by Isaiah.—Wenonah S. Abbott in *The Progress*.

It Was Ignored.

The secretary of the West Ham, England, S. D. F. Council has forwarded a letter to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, containing a copy of the following resolution, passed at a mass meeting on the 14th inst:

"That the West Ham Social Democratic Council hereby draws the attention of the Foreign Secretary to the opportunity afforded by the present situation in Belgium for the English Government, as one of the guarantors of the neutrality of Belgium, to exert diplomatic pressure upon the Belgian Government in favor of granting the just demands of the Belgian people for the franchise. Prepared to fight for votes in South Africa, the British people can hardly decline to support the grant of votes to the unfranchised Belgian people."—Clarion, London.

On Right Side Every Time.

Herbert W. Cooke, the Boston correspondent of the *Typographical Journal*, writes in the May number as follows:

"Representative Carey's bill, accompanied by his petition for trial by jury in cases of contempt of court by strikers who are charged with violating an injunction, was defeated in the lower branch of the State legislature. Even with an adverse committee report, the measure had 55 votes for to 60 against, on a roll call. Messrs. Carey and MacCartney are making a good record this year in standing up for the common people, and are receiving more encouragement and meeting with greater success than ever before. I am not a Socialist (although, as Waudby says, a study of the labor problem seems to lead in that direction); but I cannot help noticing that whenever anything for the betterment of the condition of the working classes, and particularly in the interest of organized labor, is under consideration, these two gentlemen are to be found on the right side every time."

The Man for the Job.

Max S. Hays of Cleveland, Ohio, candidate for delegate to the American Federation of Labor from the International Typographical Union, has the endorsement of nearly 200 local unions, and has been a leader in the cause of labor in this country for years. He is a socialist, and believes in "industrial" unionism as opposed to the "autonomy" kind which he says is suicidal because it makes unions war with one another in the interest of employers. Mr. Hays, for this reason and others, is a good man to send to the New Orleans convention, and we hope to see him carry Omaha at the printers' election this month by a large majority—Omaha Workers' Gazette.

San Francisco ought to follow suit.

The Class War Between Capital and Labor.

Mills' Powerful Address.

Walter Thomas Mills spoke to a great audience in the Metropolitan Temple, Sunday May 11, on "Organized Capital and Organized Labor and Their War." His address traced the development of our present industrial system from the earliest times and completely disproved the common statement that "there always have been capitalists, and of course, always must be." It is unnatural for men to only be obliged to work for a master, and the relations of mastery and servitude have only existed during the period of civilization. They were brought into the world by force and are today maintained by force. Under the first condition of enforced labor, the workers were chattel slaves and were driven to their thankless tasks by the lash by military masters. Under feudalism the peasants were compelled by the soldiery to wear out their lives in the service of the feudal baron. Today the lash that forces men, women and children into the industrial treadmill is the fear of starvation, but if they attempt to evade it without first supporting the army of useless idlers, the iron hand of the government is at once placed upon their necks.

The slaves and serfs of old knew of their degraded position and were fiercely resentful against their masters. The wage-workers have been offered an opportunity whereby the most capable could escape from their thralldom by climbing upon the backs of their fellow, and becoming members of the exploiting class. This opportunity under modern capitalism by which the more capable among the workers could each for himself achieve deliverance from the lot of the laborers has led to their betrayal of their own class in the effort to achieve individual emancipation. But as industry becomes more perfectly organized especially under the form of the great trusts,—as Mr. Carnegie has pointed out, the opportunity for such individual deliverance is rapidly passing away; and hence the men of unusual ability, who among the workers in the last generation created capitalism by the abandonment of their fellows, will in this find no way of deliverance for themselves except they become the leaders of a movement which will abolish capitalism and effect the industrial emancipation of all.

Murder for Money.

The death of the distinguished novelist, Paul L. Ford, calls attention again to the way incentive works under capitalism. Under our present system, comfort, honor, power, everything is dependent upon possession of wealth. He who holds gold in his hand commands all else, and so great is the incentive to secure gold, that men will lie, steal, desert, betray or murder for it. Scarcely a day goes by but what some one is murdered for money; scarcely an hour passes but what bears away with it a horde of lies and thefts and betrayals. It is only once in a while, however, that greed makes as its victim so illustrious a man as Novelist Ford. But the numberless injuries and deaths in factories and shops, in mills and mines, in stores and on railroads, bear no less evidence that the lust of gold is an incentive under which our Eminent Respectables will cripple, maim and murder.

William Morris Club.

The William Morris club held its regular meeting Thursday, at 1213 Laguna street. Miss Doll rendered an instrumental piece which was greatly applauded, and Miss Bloom occupied the remainder of the time in giving an historic sketch of the growth of Socialism from 1840 to the present time. A letter from Mr. N. O. Nelson was read, in which he expressed his thanks for the reception given him by the William Morris club which he defined as a blissful affair, stating that he would leave California with great encouragement and a joy at the prospects of Socialism in San Francisco. Owing to the success of the reception, the club has decided to give an entertainment and dance at Scottish Hall, Tuesday evening, May 27. A competent committee have the program in hand, which promises to be an excellent performance. The idea of the dance is not only to raise money for future receptions, but also to promote a social spirit among the Socialists.

Union Labor in Politics.

As our readers may have observed by a perusal of our "Notes and Comments" column during the past few weeks, the "labor mayor" movement and the growth of sentiment among unionists to cut loose from the old parties and to take independent political action is no longer a joking matter, but a serious question.

The causes that are responsible for this growing secession are not difficult to trace.

The rapid centralization of capital, the attempts to arbitrarily reduce wages or raise prices, the growing dependence of labor as a whole, the contemptuous treatment of the workers when they ask for legislation in their interests, the non-enforcement of present labor laws, the hurling of injunctions in every important contest between capital and labor, and many other reasons could be given why union men are giving distinct evidences of political independence.

The labor movement is naturally and necessarily founded upon and bound up in political action—politics is merely the reflection of economic conditions.

The attitude of the Socialist party, which is also gaining victories at the polls here and there and increasing its vote at a rapid rate, toward this growing independent movement will also be the subject of considerable discussion. While any act that tends to loosen the grip of the old parties and bosses on workingmen must be hailed with satisfaction, yet the Socialists can not be expected to disband their organization or support independent tickets that are not based upon clear-cut platforms that call for the abolition of the wage system.

However, these new developments in the labor field should be approached in a tolerant, fraternal spirit. There is much to be gained by broad-minded and sensible action at the opportune time.—Cleveland Citizen.

Important Election Notice.

To all members of Local San Francisco: According to the new local constitution adopted, May 7th, election of officers will be held Wednesday evening, May 21st. This will be a special order of business. Officers to be elected are Organizer, Recording Secretary, Financial Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian, Board of Directors of "Advance" and Committees. Every member should be present. If in bad standing dues can be paid at the meeting. As this will be the first meeting in our new headquarters every comrade should bring in a new member and a subscription for "Advance" for a good start.

Meeting will be held in Room 8, 1st floor Odd Fellows' building, corner Seventh and Market streets. —Bring along money to pay for your chair.

Fraternally,
JAS. A. SMITH,
Organizer, Local San Francisco.

National Committee.

National Headquarters, St. Louis, Mo., May 10, 1902. John C. Chase has addressed Trade Unionists this week at St. Louis, Missouri; Troy and Lebanon, Illinois.

The State Committee of Indiana and Illinois have adopted the monthly report book for use of Financial Secretary's of the party locals. It is now in use in all the unorganized states, and in twelve of the organized states.

A state charter has been granted to the comrades of Montana. The Socialist party in St. Paul, Minnesota, was denied a place on the official ballot. Comrades were compelled to use pasters in order to vote.

Donations to propaganda fund received as follows: Amount reported to May 3rd, \$321.98; Cleveland Citizen, Cleveland, Ohio, \$5.25; Branch No. 1, Hoboken, New Jersey, \$2; California State Committee, \$23.45. Total to May 10th, \$352.38.

California State Committee

Meeting held May 12th, 1902, present comrades: Messrs. Appel, Ober, Reynolds, Johnson, Hefferin, Lyons and Bersford.

Comrade Appel in the chair. Comrade Bersford retired on the ground that he had been suspended by Local San Francisco for one year on a charge of using unparliamentary language, he retired pending the decision on the appeal, which he submitted.

Comrade Johnson elected secretary pro tem. Communications read: from A. J. Underwood, G. S. Bowser, J. O. Blackely (2), M. W. Wilkins, W. F. Lockwood, Allen A. Crockett, J. P. Hynes, Jas. Lawrence, Geo. G. Holmes, Benj. F. Wilson (2), P. D. Noel, Leon Greenbaum, Frank Wulff, W. Pitt, M. Johnson, J. A. Collier, Chas. Purdy, J. A. Smith and Thomas Bersford.

Remittances received: Sacramento \$5, San Francisco \$1, Benj. F. Wilson for Dos Palos \$9, Benj. F. Wilson for Esceter \$2.50, Hynes, 50 cents. Total \$28.

Campaign fund: Local Alameda Co. \$5, W. Pitt \$3.10. Total \$8.10.

Bills ordered paid: Printing, F. M. Phelan \$4.50, Samuel Hilton \$2; postage; three referendums, \$2.12. Requests for report on petition sent to 500 persons and petitions to 150 names furnished by Mrs. Wenonah Abbott and others, \$8.80; supplies to locals, carfare, etc., \$1.23. Total, \$18.65.

Charters granted to new locals: Dos Palos, Merced County and Esceter in Tulare County.

Secretary instructed to procure a rubber-stamp seal for State Committee.

Ballots for vote on International Secretary ordered sent to locals. The following initiative of Local Los Angeles having been seconded by Local Redlands, was ordered submitted to a referendum vote of the Locals, vote to be canvassed on June 9th.

At the organization convention of the Socialist party that will be held in San Francisco immediately following the political convention that will be held on September 9th, 1902, the basis of representation shall be one delegate for each Local in good standing, and one additional delegate to each Local for every fifteen members in good standing, or majority fraction thereof. Each delegate shall have as many votes as there are signatures of members of the party in good standing signed to his credentials and attested as such by the secretary of the Local to which the signer may belong.

M. & S. that a meeting of the State Committee be held on Friday evening at 8 p. m. at 126 Kearney street to hear the appeal of Comrade Bersford. Carried.

Secretary instructed to notify Local San Francisco to present its side of the case at said meeting. Adjourned.

OSCAR JOHNSON
Secretary Pro Tem.

Political Points.

Why doesn't somebody get up a "Democratic" merger? Atlanta Journals. That's easy. There isn't a single Democrat that can trust another.

We are beginning to understand why the ancients once used cattle as currency.—Atlanta Journal.

There is no question, now, that the trusts are here to stay; the doubt is as to whether they will let the rest of us stay.—Detroit News.

"America is good enough for me," remarked Morgan a few days ago. Well! whenever he doesn't like it, he can give it back to us.—The Commoner.

The price of unfinished lumber is about to be advanced. Are people beginning to eat that too?—Globe-Democrat. Oh no! but the Republican and Democratic parties are looking for political timber and as the trusts own it all they thought they might as well raise the price.

In Battle Creek, Mich., the Socialists are conducting a novel contest. They offer five prizes of \$5 to the scholars in five grades of the public schools or business colleges who write the best essays on Socialism. The prizes will be distributed at a big mass meeting, May 15th. The youngsters are reading up.—Lancaster Labor Leader.

CREMATION.

Odd Fellows' Cemetery Association
Point Lobos Avenue
San Francisco California.

The ordinance prohibiting burials in San Francisco does not refer to CREMATION. Permits to cremate will be issued by the Board of Health the same as heretofore.

CHARGES:—Members of Societies and Organizations and their families over fifteen years of age, \$30. Those not members of Societies and Organizations over fifteen years of age, \$35. ALL Children between ten and fifteen years of age, \$15. ALL Children under ten years of age, \$10. This includes organ service and use of chapel.

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METHOD OF REPRESENTATION.

At last Saturday's meeting of the local Los Angeles initiative given below was passed and sent to Redlands, Long Beach and San Diego for seconding in order to have it submitted to a referendum vote of the state:

"Initiative by Local Los Angeles Socialist party for referendum vote:

At the Organization Convention of the Socialist party that will be held in San Francisco immediately following Political Convention that will be held on September 9th, 1902, the basis of representation shall be one delegate for each Local in good standing and one additional delegate to each Local for every fifteen members in good standing, or majority fraction thereof. Each delegate shall have as many votes as there are signatures of members of the party in good standing signed to his credentials and attested as such by the secretary of the Local to which the signer may belong."

Certainly this provision should pass. California's magnificent distances prevent a representative convention on any other basis.

COUNTY CONVENTION AT SAN BERNARDINO.

San Bernardino County's Socialist Convention, held Sunday, May 4th, brought together fifty delegates for the purpose of discussing two propositions, namely, the framing of a Constitution and the launching of a County paper.

Redlands and Riverside sent the largest delegations, the latter making their appearance in a body decorated with brilliant red and gold badges.

After song and addresses by Comrades Hunter and Boyd of Riverside, Murray of Los Angeles, York of Redlands, Edmiston of Riverside and Chairman H. C. Crow of Redlands, the committee on order of business reported and the convention went to dinner.

The first part of the afternoon was taken up with constitution framing,—always a most fascinating thing for Socialists who find joyful opportunities for debate at every step. Section one of Article Second reads: "Five or more persons in any city, town, village or school district where no branch already exists, may form a branch of the local provided they acknowledge the platform, constitution and resolutions of the Socialist party." This, it will be noticed, makes Local San Bernardino embrace the whole County.

Article four states that, "The monthly dues shall be 20 cents, 5 cents of which shall be applied to the publication of our County paper, a copy of the same to be issued free to every member." It was held by the upholders of this motion that such a party organ was the most effective weapon known and that it was to be absolutely owned and controlled by the County organization should be supported by every member. Comrades D. H. York and A. J. Underwood will take charge of the proposed paper which practically means the removal of the Undercurrent from Redlands to San Bernardino. The proposed paper will be an enlargement on the Undercurrent to five or possibly six columns.

With its well organized Trades Union movement—in which our comrades prominent parts—San Bernardino is the proper place for the paper, especially when the Santa Fe shop men are considered. Railroad men reflect, from the nature of their afflictions, national conditions and movements and it would be strange if the permeation of Socialism into the ranks of organized labor all over the East should not be reflected in the car shops of this city, where there are some four hundred and fifty men at work.

After deciding to establish a paper and collecting the funds for preliminary work the convention elected a County organizer William Gurr, and Secretary, A. J. Underwood.

The evening of the day was given over to a propaganda meeting, addressed by Col. J. L. Dryden, ex-state Senator, John Murray Jr., and N. A. Richardson. Col. Dryden is a picturesque old gentleman who after being a Republican State Senator, a Populist and an ardent supporter of Bryan resigned from the Democratic party two weeks before the last National election and voted the Socialist ticket.

The convention was a splendid sample of the body of wage-workers who are organizing all over the country and give us great hopes of the immediate future of California's revolutionary movement.

JOHN MURRAY, Jr.

THE MAN OVER FORTY-FIVE.

The discussion started in Chicago, as to whether the workingman above forty-five years of age ought not to be shot is causing a great deal of rambling discussion. It will not suffice to show that men have succeeded in business, or written books, or made valuable inventions after reaching forty-five; that is not at all pertinent to the question, for it deals only with the workman, with the employee. It will not suffice to even show that in times past workingmen, have prospered

after reaching forty-five; for this is a question of new developments and of the present. We are merely brought to face the FACT that many large employers of the country are discarding their help after they reach forty-five years of age. It is merely another phase in the development of capitalism, another kink in competition, and it is wholly a hard fact, merely means that another large body of people are to be submerged by our damnable social usage. The man of forty-five has in his short life-time seen the same thing happen to at least six million people in America. Capitalism could not support three million of its employees, and so turned them out to starve and they became tramps. It could not use another three millions, turned them out and they went to the slums. And still competition is forced to study how to do without labor and how to get labor cheaper. So it is that the man of forty-five has seen manhood cast out that womanhood might take his place, and womanhood, first ground to where she can't make a living, thrown aside that babyhood may take her place. And now the man of forty-five who has lived only by the sufferance of others is to be turned adrift, to live if he can and die if he must. In the name of God, what next? When will the people get their eyes open and see that chattel slavery which never produced a pauper, because it was to the master's interest to see that the slave was well cared for, was a heavenly condition compared to this? In all America there is not a horse or cow turned out without shelter or a chance to get anything to eat but in America six million men, women and children are.—Push.

THE ADVANCE GUARD.

Who will be the youngest Socialist to buy 4 cards? A boy can sell them.

Do you wish to live to see Socialism? Then start at least four men to reading about it.

Don't delay until next week the ordering of your cards. Remember your example is worth everything.

The scientific socialist should practice the science of subscription card selling for a few weeks.

Do you believe in a step at a time? Here is a step that is needed just now. Readers make socialists.

Will your conscience let you sleep nights if others are working for socialism and you are only looking on?

If you are unattached to any local send \$1.00 to this office and 4 six-month cards will be sent you. Send tonight.

Send in your dollar for four subscription cards. You can sell them. The people are hungry for this literature.

Sell at least one subscription card before you go to bed tonight. Your very next neighbor will probably buy one if you ask him.

When the vote is counted in the fall you will be glad then that you did so little, oh so little, so very little as to get four new subscribers.

Invest a dollar this week in subscription cards if you have to walk down town and do without a cigar for 10 days to get it.

Some comrades are speaking and writing and doing committee work four or five nights in the week. Can't you do yourself enough to sell four subscription cards.

Remember no one is exempt in this campaign. You are drafted into the service and are expected to sell at least 4 subscription cards before July 1. Start in today.

Set apart seven evenings in the week to get subscribers. Devote your noon hour to it and think about it after you have gone to bed. Keep this up until you feel you have done your share.

Comrades across the seas are called on to die for the cause, and you hesitate over so small a task as the getting of four new subscribers. Won't they be proud of you? Ain't you proud of yourself?

NEW ENGINE OF WAR.

Charles H. Hoffstetter of Philadelphia plans to reduce Uncle Sam's army to 2,400 men within five years. With that insignificant number of troops, aided by the engine of war invented by him, Captain Hoffstetter says the United States "can lick all creation" in the most approved style.

Captain Hoffstetter's "engine" for human destruction consists of an automobile fort, which can go over the ground at the rate of an express train discharging hot lead from twenty rapid firing guns and two breech loaders of the artillery type. Each engine, the Captain says, can do the work of a regiment as the army is now organized and only twelve men are needed, to man each machine. Two searchlights will dissipate the darkness ahead of each engine and make the enemy an easy target.

The Captain has been working on the machine for more than two years. It will be built on four wheels, to be operated either by electricity or gasoline. It will be 10 feet 6 inches long and 6 feet 6 inch-

es and 3 feet high. A wooden framework will be covered with armor and the guns will be mounted on arms which will protrude from the sides.

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