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WHOLE NUMBER 341

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY FEBRUARY 16, 1901.

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR

Labor's Political Struggle

Notes Indicating the Progress of the World's Socialist Movement.

GERMANY.

The editor of the Socialist "Frankfurter Volksstimme" ("The Voice of the People of Frankfurt") drew attention to the fact that the station master of Frankfurt had a great deal of private work done for him by the workmen, and, of course, without payment. He was brought before the court for libeling a Government official, and, though the editor proved that he was speaking the truth, yet the judges decided that—as the ordinary work of the station was not hindered by this action—the editor was guilty, and gave him three months' imprisonment!

AUSTRIA.

The Socialists have gained a seat at Korneuburg, where Comrade Seitz was elected in opposition to the anti-Semite candidate. This victory is particularly important because it is not a case in which the votes were directly given to the candidate, but he was elected indirectly; it is the first time that this has occurred. This makes ten Socialist members in the Reichsrath.

BELGIUM.

The Brussels Socialists are indefatigable. They are always doing something at the Maison du Peuple, the fine building which was built with the profits realized by co-operative trading. They have just organized an exhibition there, a technical and artistic show which is a great success. Crowds are coming every day and even the doctrinaire burgomaster admitted that it was a great success.

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Some Capitalist Contentions.

The champions of capitalism continually contend that hard and cruel conditions are absolutely necessary to the development and permanence of beneficent institutions; that without the competitive struggle for existence civilized man would inevitably retrograde back to barbarism and savagery; that a large degree of want, distress, distrust and misery are required to discipline and elevate the race; that gross inequality and sharp class distinctions best fit people to become noble survivals of the fittest; that economic slavery promotes and preserves human freedom; that a perfect social state will inevitably degenerate into despotism and anarchy; that humane scientific socialism will surely destroy all adequate incentive or motive to individual exertion, excellence, or self-improvement; that virtue is the cause of vice and vice versa; that perfect morality makes mean and meanly manners; that genuine ethics create every evil; that goodness eventuates in unbearable badness; that wealth, equally distributed, inexorably ends in universal want; and that economic anarchy, despotism, misgovernment, mismanagement, misery, distress, distrust, destitution and want infallibly evolve the best forms of human relations. To state these contentions is to confute them.

But some people think this conclusion is not self-evident, and that it requires a little examination. An old saw used to say, when one hurt himself that it would feel better when it quit hurting. Of course, the comparison between the period of "hurting" and the "better" feeling which would intervene at the subsidence of the pain. As something cannot come from nothing, so neither can come an effect from a contrary cause—that is, that which produces pleasure cannot produce pain under the same limitations and conditions in each case. The most that can be said for misery, want, etc., is that they may enable their victims to better appreciate the wealth and contentment that other causes yield to them. That wealth has any other relation to want than the negative one of its absence cannot be shown. Neither can want turn out wealth. Want may and does act as a spur or driver to effort, but effective endeavor, not incentive, is the cause of the consequent wealth. The man who stands on the verge of want is a slave to some lord of the earth. The extinction of wealth causes want, but want can only act as a handicap in the struggle for the means of existence and comfort, as every one has found. It is a truism that the possession of means (wealth) is an aid in the production of property.

The same considerations may be adduced on the moral side. Immorality is the absence of just or equitable relations between persons who are held to each other by bonds not mutually agreeable or profitable. It is only under moral or equitable conditions that good ethical conduct can result. Immoral and vicious conditions may and do act as spurs or drivers, as in the case of want, etc., but they are also handicaps in the effort to obtain control for the moral sentiments. But it is not necessary to traverse all the foregoing propositions. They all stand or fall with the demon-

So, then, cultivation of this hard condition is only beneficial to the robber class.

The special pleading of these champions is evidently intended (if meant seriously) to promote and extend the conditions favorable to the designs of the exploiting classes. They are seeking to divert the working classes from the real issue, to induce the worker to blindly accept the prevalent hard and cruel conditions as beneficial to him and enmesh him with his state. But their disguise is too transparent. Those who do not earnestly court and gracefully accept hard and cruel conditions for themselves and their loved ones cannot successfully pose as the honest and consistent advocates of the beneficence, desirability, or permanence of hard and cruel conditions. Poverty cannot be a blessing. Cruel want cannot be conducive to happiness. Destitution cannot secure comfort. Misery is not the cause of content. Distress is not the necessary prelude to thrift, nor is distrust the architect of enduring confidence. These all may be necessary under present conditions, but these conditions must be replaced by benign and beatific bases to universal well-being.

R. F. EAGLE.

Why the Elder Could Not Go to the Kirk.

In one of the northern villages of Scotland one of the ablest Socialists in the country delivered a lecture on "Rent, Interest and Profit." Farmers, mechanics and laborers attended in large numbers. The discourse astounded all who heard it. Scotland is pre-eminently a country of discussion and logic, and our lecturer's logic was irresistible and unanswerable. Among other things he said: "If a man or woman surreptitiously takes cabbages, potatoes, apples, or anything else, about your premises, when you are not looking, you call him a thief. If he is stronger than you and takes your property by force, you call him a robber. Why do you call these people thieves and robbers? Is it not simply because they take what they have not produced, and to which you have a righteous claim because you have produced it? Now you have men that you call landlords, or lairds, and they come, or send, and take from you ten times as much as all these thieves and robbers. So much do they take that in many instances, they barely leave you enough to live upon; and when your contract with them is ended they claim that in any new contract they can demand as much as they please. You are completely at their mercy. These men are as much robbers and thieves as are the others to whom I have referred, with this simple difference—one is illegal robbery, and the other is legal robbery. To the legal robber you doff your hat. You have been taught to look upon him as a superior being. He is generally a magistrate, and sits in judgment on the illegal robber and thief, whom he sends to jail, and when in jail you are taxed to support him. Then you send the legal robber to Parliament to make more laws, for himself, and his class and to rivet your chains still closer." Continuing, he said: "I understand that the laird

Labor's Economic Struggle

Notes Showing the Strife Between Organized Labor and Capitalism

GREAT BRITAIN.

Twenty thousand women spend their lives in driving and steering the canal boats in southern and midland England.

FRANCE.

The strike of employees on the underground railway in Paris ended, after a few days, in a complete surrender of the company. The men will now be attached to the permanent staff after twelve months' service. The company guarantees that 10 per cent increase for the Exposition will be paid, and undertakes that no one will be dismissed for his share in the strike.

SPAIN.

A Spanish dispatch says the strike on the railroad to the Portuguese frontier is causing great dislocation of traffic. Few trains are running and they are worked by military engineers. The engines and cars are lying deserted on the tracks. The general strike of all the trades at Gijon, a fortified seaport eleven miles from Oviedo, has assumed alarming proportions. Over 15,000 men are out. Several influential newspapers support the strikers, who declare they are justified in the action taken by the miserable conditions of labor. The minister of the interior, Senor Ugarte, is trying to secure a settlement on the basis of an increase of wages.

CANADA.

A press dispatch reports that a series of meetings is being held by the salmon canners of the Fraser and Northern British Columbia rivers, to perfect a combination for the coming season and also to provide protection for the canners from the labor agitators, who succeeded in keeping the fishermen from working while the big run of fish was on last year. Every canner of Fraser will probably go into the pool. The fishermen are also active in this direction, and have formed five unions on the different rivers, including in their membership Indians as well as white fishermen. An effort is being made to keep the Japanese who broke up last year's strike off the river.

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Comrade Varley of Toledo, O., writes that the Social Democrats of that city have nominated a full ticket for the city election in April, and have a chance of electing a councilman in the First Ward.

The Lynn, Mass., Social Democrats have adopted resolutions in favor of organic unity, endorsing the proposed convention, and pledging themselves to abide by its action.

The Socialists of Newburyport, Mass., have organized their legal committee and elected the following officers: Chairman, Charles W. Johnson; secretary, Charles S. Kenyon; treasurer, Alfred L. Binley.

The Haverhill "Social Democrat" is out in a new dress, and is greatly improved in appearance. The paper is now printed in Haverhill, a local firm having adopted the union label in order that the change might be effected.

State convention of Socialists held in Fargo, North Dakota, on Jan. 15th, decided unanimously that the party be known in that state as the "Socialist Party," which will continue as a state organization until national unity is accomplished.

"Mother" Jones addressed a large meeting in Indianapolis during the miners convention, and after describing the conditions in the Pennsylvania coal mines, pointed out that the only relief from the evil conditions that exist is through Socialism.

Emile Zola's latest novel, "Labor," is running as a serial in "Harper's Weekly." As its name implies, the book deals with the relations of labor and capital in France, and its first installments give promise of a strong and interesting work.

Local Saginaw, Mich., has nominated Job Harriman and Max Hayes for members of the International Socialist bureau. The propositions of the Springfield committee for a unity convention were endorsed, and \$5 contributed to the national executive committee.

The new Labor Lyceum, established by the Socialists of Cleveland, O., is pronounced a great success, the first of its winter series of debates having been held, and the attendance and interest shown far surpassed the expectations of the most optimistic of its projectors.

The Workers' Progressive Society is another institution started by young Socialists in Cleveland, which meets every Friday evening in Liberty Hall, Perry and Orange streets, and is open to the public. The "Citizen" reports that several similar institutions are to be established in different parts of the city,

cause—that is, that which produces pleasure cannot produce pain under the same limitations and conditions in each case. The most that can be said for misery, want, etc., is that they may enable their victims to better appreciate the wealth and contentment that other causes yield to them. That wealth has any other relation to want than the negative one of its absence cannot be shown. Neither can want turn out wealth. Want may and does act as a spur or driver to effort, but effective endeavor, not incentive, is the cause of the consequent wealth. The man who stands on the verge of want is a slave to some lord of the earth. The extinction of wealth causes want, but want can only act as a handicap in the struggle for the means of existence and comfort, as every one has found. It is a truism that the possession of means (wealth) is an aid in the production of property.

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As these Capitalist contentions are being constantly and unremittently dinned into the public ear by the zealous champions of competition, it might be well to hold them logically responsible for the consistency (or inconsistency, as the case may be) of their position. If want, destitution, distress, misery, etc., are really, positively procuring factors in the procurement of wealth, why do they unanimously object to being the recipient subjects of these necessary (?) and beneficent (?) agents of wealth? Why do they use every precaution possible to prevent themselves from being exploited, robbed, fooled, or forced into any condition, circumstance or consequence of want, etc.? It must be because they think that want, etc., are not good for them, either immediately or remotely. If, ordinarily intelligent, they must be acting in both cases with a coherently rational motive; and conceding that the motive is all this, how do they square the direct contradiction between the major and minor premises and the just and logical conclusion? They can be consistent, logical and rational on one consideration only, to wit, these champions must necessarily mean that want, distress, misery, etc. (while inimical to their own individual and collective interests), are absolutely necessary to the transference of the wealth made by labor from the laborer over to the absorbers, the suckers up, the sponges, that appropriate the product which they have had no adequate agency in producing. To the exploiter of labor, general want, destitution, distress, etc., are necessary spurs, whips, and drivers, to force a sufficient number of unemployed into his service on his own terms, so that he may be enabled to compete with other exploiters in his chosen line of operations. So, too, the universally recognized robber, who goes out upon the highway and demands the transference of his victim's valuables to his own possession and use, is actuated by the same impulse or motive that moves the labor exploiter in his operations. They both use the power that the wants of other persons place in this hands. The laborer is forced to give service without an adequate equivalent through his want to live; the same desire to remain in life compels the victim of the robber to hand out his purse. But in neither case are the exploited put in possession of an added ability to produce anything. It may change or determine the current of their respective fortunes while still curtailing their capacity for creating wealth. Thus it is clear that want, etc., are only factors in the hands of those who are comparatively above want, etc., to compel the transference of wealth to themselves without returning a full recompense.

Among other things he said: "If a man of woman surreptitiously takes cabbages, potatoes, apples, or anything else, about your premises, when you are not looking, you call him a thief. If he is stronger than you and takes your property by force, you call him a robber. Why do you call these people thieves and robbers? Is it not simply because they take what they have not produced, and to which you have a righteous claim because you have produced it? Now you have men that you call landlords, or lairds, and they come, or send, and take from you ten times as much as all these thieves and robbers. So much do they take that in many instances, they barely leave you enough to live upon; and when your contract with them is ended they claim that in any new contract they can demand as much as they please. You are completely at their mercy. These men are as much robbers and thieves as are the others to whom I have referred, with this simple difference—one is illegal robbery, and the other is legal robbery. To the legal robber you doff your hat. You have been taught to look upon him as a superior being. He is generally a magistrate, and sits in judgment on the illegal robber and thief, whom he sends to jail, and when in jail you are taxed to support him. Then you send the legal robber to Parliament to make more laws, for himself, and his class and to rivet your chains still closer."

Continuing, he said: "I understand that the laird of this village is the Hon. Ronald McDougall, M.P. His rent from this village alone is £10,000, or \$50,000 a year. What does he do for all this wealth? Absolutely nothing! You toil and sweat and live in semistarvation all the year round. He sends every three months and takes from you, by law, more than half of all you produce. That is wholesale robbery. Your common thieves and robbers could never get one-hundredth part of what he takes.

"You have got a fine kirk in this village. I met the minister last night and had a conversation with him. What do you think he said to me? Why, this: 'You must not say anything against our laird! God bless him! He built you grand kirk all out of his own pocket, and every year he pays the minister's stipend. He is a credit to the country!' I said: 'I hear that his rent roll is £10,000 (\$50,000) a year—how much does he pay the minister?' He replied, 'Two hundred and fifty pounds (\$1,250).' 'Oh! I said, that is two and one-half per cent of what he takes from the tenants. My purpose in coming here is to try and stop stealing—legal stealing. McDougall steals £10,000 a year and pays you two and one-half per cent of it to preach humility and contentment to the plundered villages and to sing the robber's praises and cant about God praising him. If there is a God, who thundered from Sinai, 'Thou shalt not steal,' it is strange that he does not strike you dead when you ask him to bless a thief and to prosper thievery."

"He looked at me in amazement for a moment, then throwing his hands above his head, he exclaimed, 'The man is mad! Mad!! Mad!!!' 'Oh, no,' I said, 'I have only just come to my senses. When Festus told Paul that he was mad, he said, 'I am not mad, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness.' I have come to preach the words of truth and soberness and to declare unto the world a new evangel."

As a result of this lecture a Branch of the Socialist Party was formed with over twenty members. One of them was an elder in the kirk. From the time that he joined the branch he went to the kirk meetings no more. At the end of four or five weeks the minister called upon him and said: 'Sandy! Sandy! what has got over you! You have not been to the kirk for five Sabbaths!' 'No,' said Sandy, 'I have not and cannot come any more!' 'Why, Sandy, what is the matter?' 'Well, just this: In the kirk there is the laird's pew, grandly fitted up and cushioned, where he and his family sit; and there is the pulpit, where you stand up; Socialism has opened my blind eyes and I see a robber in the pew and a receiver of stolen goods in the pulpit. I am still a Christian, but I cannot come to the kirk any more.'" SCOTT ANDERSON.

A press dispatch reports that a series of meetings is being held by the salmon canners of the Fraser and Northern British Columbia rivers, to perfect a combination for the coming season and also to provide protection for the canners from the labor agitators, who succeeded in keeping the fishermen from working while the big run of fish was on last year. Every canner of Fraser will probably go into the pool. The fishermen are also active in this direction, and have formed five unions on the different rivers, including in their membership Indians as well as white fishermen. An effort is being made to keep the Japanese who broke up last year's strike off the river.

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A recent compilation of statistics shows that out of 98 chief national industries in a given year only 29 gave employment to men for 200 days in the year.

Factory inspectors of various states are now issuing their annual reports. In no state is there noted any decrease in female or child labor in factories.

St. Louis Plasterers' Union, which was suspended by the international convention, for failing to comply with orders of the national executive board, has been re-instated.

The use of the label of the United Brewery Workers' Union is only granted to such firms where all employees are organized and child labor is abolished.

Unions in Buffalo are warning craftsmen to remain away from that city, as too many laborers are flocking in in anticipation of securing jobs during the exposition.

Indianapolis printers have called on the International Typographical Union to annul the agreement with the pressmen and bookbinders and take steps to combine every branch of the trade.

A strike involving 3,000 workers has taken place at Scranton, Pa., in the silk mills of that city. Women and girls employed therein have risen in revolt against starvation wages. It appears that they start work without pay, and when experience has been gained they receive from \$2 to \$2.50 per week. A modest demand for an increase of from 10 to 25 per cent has been refused, and the mills are now closed down.

In Boston the union printers have had trouble for years in trying to secure the same wages for female compositors as are paid male help. The contention of the union on this question has stood between it and the unionizing of some of the large book and job offices and weekly and monthly publications. It is understood that President Lynch has finally succeeded in settling this vexed question and that hereafter the female compositors in that city will receive the same as the male.

An appeal has been issued by the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum Association for assistance to rebuild their home which was destroyed by fire last December. This was the common home of organized labor and the Socialists of that city. Comrades and brothers should gladly contribute to its rebuilding. Send a dollar if you can't send more, to Joseph Kalsch, financial secretary, 949 Willoughby ave., Brooklyn. Inquiries should be addressed to Board of Directors, same number.

ADVANCE

The Official Organ of the Socialists of the Pacific Coast.

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"A labor fakir: An active trade unionist who will not subscribe to socialism."—"Organized Labor."
Well, yes! Fakir—or fool.

We believe in the materialist conception of history. We believe in the theory of value and of surplus value as expounded by Karl Marx. We believe in the class struggle and in the historic mission of the working class to overthrow capitalist society and establish the communist or socialist state.

Wow!!
"Modern Socialism is born out of discontent urged in a spirit of selfish class hate, envy, malignity and rascality. There is no touch of justice, philanthropy or equity in the letter or spirit of their schemes. There is no sanity, saving common sense in them, and there is not the faintest reflection of the Golden Rule. Modern socialism is a theory without brains, sanity, practicality or Christian equity."

Wow!
To those reverend gentlemen who, affiliated with church organizations, have recently presumed to speak with divine authority on such temporal matters as politics, the labor question and "the menace of Socialism," we would give a charitable warning to keep their hands off. We have not had a union of church and state in this country for some time and we shall rap the knuckles of whoever attempts clerical influence in politics.

Mind gives way from worry. Mrs. Spooner R. Howell, a society woman of Chicago, insane because of recent financial reverses and business cares, found by the police at night wandering about the streets. She is now confined in the city's detention hospital.

We take pleasure in quoting this one further bit of irrefutable evidence to support the unanswerable argument that Socialism would destroy the incentive to labor. Who can say in the face of this witness that we are not living under the best of all possible systems?

The spirit of class-consciousness is not a something indefinite and intangible—a mere catch phrase and cant expression. It is a definite, tangible thing which manifests itself in concrete, material ways. It prevents scabbing; it causes the sympathetic strike. It fills the depleted treasuries of labor unions engaged in a long struggle for the modicum of justice represented by the eight-hour day. It leads the agitator to the prison. It causes the propagandist to devote all his time and talents to the benefit of his fellows. It teaches the workers that democratic discipline without which no revolutionary proletarian movement can ever succeed. Long live the spirit of solidarity!

MILLIONS IN DIVIDENDS

The Standard Oil Company begins the twentieth century with a stupendous example of the money-making possibilities that spring from the concentration of capital on a colossal scale. To the little handful of individuals who own practically all the shares of the mother of all trusts, there will be disbursed on March 16th the enormous sum of \$20,000,000, representing their profits merely for the first three months of the century. If these profits are maintained for the rest of the year \$80,000,000 will be poured into the already bursting coffers of the shareholders, each of whom will receive \$80 for every \$100 original-

THE HOME.

One of the chief concerns of the Rt. Rev. Bishop Geo. Montgomery in a recent lecture to a Los Angeles audience was the sanctity and integrity of marriage and of the home. Under Socialism, he believed, the unit of society—the home and the family—would be disintegrated. Apropos, we clip this item:

"Tacoma, February 10th.—Mrs. Charles Miller, wife of a longshoreman, today gave birth to three girl babies at the Fannie Paddock Hospital, the first set of triplets born in Tacoma. They have been placed in an incubator, and will be put on exhibition for the benefit of the mother, who is penniless. The father has not been near his wife since her illness, and will learn of the addition to his family through the newspapers tomorrow."

Does the Rt. Rev. believe that a system of society which leaves a woman helpless and an object of charity after bearing children, embles the mother, develops her individuality or preserves the integrity of the family? We Socialists are determined to establish a system wherein woman, being economically independent, never relying on her husband's wages for support, will not be left in such a pitiable condition as Mrs. Miller and be forced to exhibit the babes, for whom she has risked her life, as a means of providing her livelihood. Do we advocate free love? Do you advocate slave love?

Says the Bishop, "Where shall the control of that (Socialist) community end? I see no provision made for it. The home and family are the unit of all society. They are prior to either state or community and God has intended that neither state nor community shall usurp the paternalism of the parents in this society. I know I shall be told that this system will enable the father and mother to discharge their duty all the better. But the community being absolute, will itself lay down what it thinks to be the rights and duties of parents. And here is the danger to individual freedom. Here is the danger to the home."

This statement is easily refuted. We shall show its inaccuracy by two quotations. The first is an excerpt from this same speech and brings the Bishop up against himself. It reads: "Thus the principle of authority, as coming from God and requiring obedience for conscience's sake, is subverted. It dissolves the marriage union, not only in the Christian sense, but also in the juridical sense—and teaches free love." We leave it to the Right Reverend gentleman now to explain whether he is afraid that Socialism will bring free love, as he states in the last quotation, or whether it will lead to a tyrannical and unwarrantable interference with the home and individual freedom, as he states in the former.

The second refutatory quotation is from a lecture of a professor of sociology who ranks high in his department of science and who may be relied upon to know more about sociological facts than a theologian who has spent his days counting the angels dancing on the point of a needle.

It will be readily seen that the home and the family, in the Bishop's sense, are distinctly modern. Or will he claim that the absolute promiscuity of savage peoples forms homes, and not families? Here is our answer:

Oakland, February 10th.—In the First Unitarian church this evening, Professor Burt Estes Howard of Stanford University delivered his second lecture in the course on "The Evolution of the State." His subject was "Patriarchal Society." In the course of his remarks the speaker said:

"Patriarchal society is the second stage in the development of society. It follows that of savage society. The main features of the patriarchal state are three: Kinship through males, permanent marriage and parental authority. In the savage state there was a form of marriage, but it had no regularity. Every man had his marriage totem and was the husband of every woman in that totem. Every woman had her marriage totem, and was the wife of every man in that totem.

wonderful and weighty chapter of finance this or any other country has ever known.

Like a great network of harpstrings across the sounding board of the continent, the railroads of the country are now "harmonized." On these giant harpstrings six men will play the tunes to which seventy million people in the country will dance. These are: J. Pierpont Morgan, James J. Hill, John D. Rockefeller, E. H. Harriman, W. K. Vanderbilt and George J. Gould.

Thus, when the consolidations now in process of completion are finished and the huge parts of the machine are joined and in running order, these interesting things will be made probable.

Rockefeller and his friends can determine the prosperity or adversity of any merchant, any firm or corporation, or State, or of the entire United States. They can make you a millionaire by favoritism in business or take you by the heels and shake the last nickel from your pockets.

Washington, Feb. 2nd.—The gigantic railway deal which has consolidated nearly all of the great railway interests of the country has profoundly stirred and alarmed many of the leading members of the Senate and House of Representatives. The most significant note struck in the comment by these legislators is that there is no law which will apply to this specific case of consolidation.

With very few exceptions all Senators and Representatives seen today agree that neither Supreme Court decisions, anti-pooling, nor anti-trust laws, nor the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission can avail against the monopoly of the millionaires who have succeeded in controlling traffic of all kinds from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Coupled with amazement at the boldness and magnitude of the deal is a confession that the law to meet the emergency is yet to be made.

"These millionaires are aiming at a power to which that of the President of the United States is a minor consideration," said one Senator.

"Once upon a time the great powers of the railroads were exercised by syndicates; now, the very syndicates are to be controlled by an individual," said another.

"There is no remedy for it at all unless the United States Government shall slip in and control these powerful corporate interests," said another.

"Such deals as this, and this one especially," offer the arguments that the socialists are always seeking," said another. And so on.—"San Francisco Examiner."

Exactly so, Messrs. Press and Politicians. We socialists foresaw and foretold these things while you, with cunning knavery or driveling idiocy, befooled the people concerning all sorts of ridiculous "paramount issues." Now you admit that the capitalist system in its logical development has produced a combination of a few individuals, absolute masters of an immense industrial organization, who have more power than the Chief Executive of the nation. You admit, knaves and fools, that the laws you have drawn salaries for making are utterly inadequate to cope with the situation. Helpless and hopeless you stand, mumbling and gibbering in the presence of these giants of industry. Clear the way for the Socialists, who advance, powerful, with the fiery vigor of revolutionary youth, to master these masters and to free the slaves. Let the nation own the trusts and the workers own the nation.

The State Printing Office

Some of the people who are just now demanding the abolition of the State printing office ought to read up their history a little along these lines. They would find that the State office was established for the express purpose of doing away with a state of corruption that was without parallel. They would find that the State was made to pay four or five prices for its work under the contract system and that it was robbed right and left. There are always a lot of cheap jerry printers who are willing to offer to do work for less than a rival does it, and these are the men who fill up the

IN THE

Industrial Arena

BY A. R. ANDRE.

Wage-workers, who belong to any trade that is not yet organized should send their names and addresses to the "Labor Editor." These names will be classified into their respective trades and as soon as enough are obtained of any occupation, a meeting will be called and a union organized through the medium of "Advance" will be affiliated with the Labor Council and the American Federation of Labor. Address all communications to "Labor Editor ADVANCE" 134 Murphy Building.

If the idea of industrial combination on the part of the workers did not originate in England, at least that country deserves the credit of developing the idea and making of it something more than a mere possibility. England was the home of the first "pure and simple" trades union. There the worn-out battle-cries, "Fight capital with capital!" and "Capital and labor are brothers!" gathered together an army of the disinherited that has won many a hard-fought battle and lost as many more. To concentrate their efforts on building up a vast organization of workingmen for the purpose of bettering their immediate condition, showed foresight on the part of the organizers in England. Soon or late a class bias would grow up in the organization, and with a well developed class bias everything is possible. True, the economic changes that are continually going on in society may make the ideals of a given labor organization antiquated, but this must be borne in mind: the right to organize was fought for by the "pure and simple" and is the precious heritage of those who have a wider knowledge of economic law. The discovery of this knowledge is not the effort of one man. Nor is the application in season till society has developed to the point of reception. For instance, Napoleon would have bolstered up the feudal system instead of being to a certain extent the cause of its destruction, had he come two centuries earlier. In the same way Marx would have been another Sir Thomas More had he lived during the reign of Elizabeth or of the bluff King Hal. At best he would have written another "Utopia." Such works as "Das Kapital" or the "Communist Manifesto" would have been impossible.

Everything of a socialist character written before the advent of the capitalist system had a utopian, an idealistic tinge. This could not be avoided because the data for a scientific work on the subject were not yet apparent. The early organizers of the trades unions were handicapped by this when they started their great labors. They would have been thought unworthy of support, and none would be more bitter in their denunciations than the modern socialist, had they endorsed any of the various schools of socialism then extant. Saint Simon, Fourier and the ancestors of the New Calidonians represented the highest socialistic thought of the time. Today they are the horrible examples of the revolutionary movement.

The "pure and simple" knew that men exist on soup and not on fine phrases. There was a bare possibility the soup might be forthcoming if the workingmen were brought to realize the benefits of combination. The early trade unionist worked with the end in view of making them realize this. He let nothing else interfere with his progress. His ideal was always near at hand and graspable by the meanest intelligence. It meant no more than a shorter work-day and higher wages. It meant a struggle for the betterment of the conditions surrounding the workers; it meant a struggle for the life of the working class. This "vicious" first impulse has not been entirely overcome. Great masses move slowly. At a recent convention in England an overwhelming majority of the leaders in the trades union movement carried through a motion for independent political action by the working class, yet the rank and file paid scarcely any attention in the elections that have since occurred. Perhaps the wave of jingoism, resulting from the Boer war may explain away the lack of support for the measure. There may also be other causes not apparent to us on this side of the

sent expression. It is a definite, tangible thing which manifests itself in concrete, material ways. It prevents scabbing; it causes the sympathetic strike. It fills the depleted treasuries of labor unions engaged in a long struggle for the modicum of justice represented by the eight-hour day. It leads the agitator to the prison. It causes the propagandist to devote all his time and talents to the benefit of his fellows. It teaches the workers that democratic discipline without which no revolutionary proletarian movement can ever succeed. Long live the spirit of solidarity!

MILLIONS IN DIVIDENDS.

The Standard Oil Company begins the twentieth century with a stupendous example of the money-making possibilities that spring from the concentration of capital on a colossal scale. To the little handful of individuals who own practically all the shares of the mother of all trusts, there will be disbursed on March 16th the enormous sum of \$20,000,000, representing their profits merely for the first three months of the century. If these profits are maintained for the rest of the year \$80,000,000 will be poured into the already bursting coffers of the shareholders, each of whom will receive \$80 for every \$100 originally invested in the trust.

In the history of the world there is no parallel for the reaping of such magnificent profits on such an enormous scale. It was not expected that the dividend would be more than ten per cent, but when double that amount was declared today it created little more than a passing ripple of comment in Wall street, for the reason that so completely is the stock in the grip of a few financial kings that it is only rarely that a few shares are offered for sale.

Remember, Mr. Workingman, with your scant income, your bare house, poor clothes and needy family, that you and your fellows in labor and poverty produce these vast fortunes. Why should labor be robbed of these \$80,000,000 which it alone creates?

THE CAPITALISTS COMMITTEE.

War-tax reduction bill worked in favor of the Tobacco Trust:

Washington, February 5th.—The war-tax reduction bill has been completed by the Senate Committee on Finance and is ready for consideration. Mr. Platt reported the last committee amendments to the Senate today which makes a sweeping reduction on little cigars and cigarettes, reducing the revenue on these two articles alone approximately four million dollars. This amendment will be of immense advantage to the tobacco trust, which raised prices in proportion to the war tax and will probably not now cut prices to agree with the reduction in revenue.

Government places warships at disposal of trust magnates:

Washington, January 16th.—The Asphalt Trust has practically plunged the United States into war with Venezuela. The Navy Department today, after conferences with the State Department, ordered the "Scorpion" from La Guayra to Guanoco, a point near the trust's concessions.

The seriousness of the situation may be inferred from the fact that the "Scorpion" is to operate against the authorities of Venezuela, which, it is learned, have determined to oust the Asphalt Trust from a part of its claimed concessions in Bermudez province. The orders cabled to the "Scorpion" in hot haste this afternoon late, are in compliance with representations made the New York and Bermudez Company, or the Asphalt Trust.

of a professor of sociology who ranks high in his department of science and who may be relied upon to know more about sociological facts than a theologian who has spent his days counting the angels dancing on the point of a needle.

It will be readily seen that the home and the family, in the Bishop's sense, are distinctly modern. Or will he claim that the absolute promiscuity of savage peoples forms homes, and not families? Here is our answer:

Oakland, February 10th.—In the First Unitarian church this evening, Professor Burt Estes Howard of Stanford University delivered his second lecture in the course on "The Evolution of the State." His subject was "Patriarchal Society." In the course of his remarks the speaker said:

"Patriarchal society is the second stage in the development of society. It follows that of savage society. The main features of the patriarchal state are three: Kinship through males, permanent marriage and parental authority. In the savage state there was a form of marriage, but it had no regularity. Every man had his marriage totem and was the husband of every woman in that totem. Every woman had her marriage totem, and was the wife of every man in that totem.

"Then there came out of this state the idea of kinship and relationship, not artificial as it was in the savage state. As regards relationship, patriarchal society has two groups, the clan and the tribe. We may suppose that they both originated in some such way as this: A father has six sons, who settle down to live immediately around him. There is here a very strong relationship. But the sons have children, and so on, until the relationship becomes so distant that a tribe is formed. Upon these two forms of relationship patriarchal society depended for its development. It was long afterward that the individual became a unit of society.

"The domestication of animals was the main factor in accomplishing the change from the savage to the patriarchal state. The savage learned that the animal was useful for other purposes than to eat. Then the new uses of the animal brought the demand for labor, and from this were developed the modern forms of marriage and slavery.

"Marriage arose from the desire of man to secure the labor of woman, whom he married, and her offspring. It was only a form of slavery. There were two forms—that by capture and that by purchase; and I am sorry to say that in modern society these two forms are most prevalent, though they may be hidden under other names."

Our ideal of marriage and of home is where two people, economically independent, take up their abode together to enjoy the privileges and companionship of conjugal life. Both parties should remain self-supporting and the alliance should be dissoluble at will. Society under Socialism will probably continue exercising some registral and regulative control over matrimony, for its own security. But one thing is sure, that it will not regard the continued union of ill-suited parties as moral, nor encourage the prostitution of beauty to titles and wealth.

Further comment on the Rt. Reverend Bishop's speech we reserve for next issue.

THE INDUSTRIAL OLIGARCHY.

New York, February 2nd.—Months will elapse before the stupendous events in the Union Pacific-Southern Pacific railway deal are fully realized by the public. The immense interests involved, the almost inconceivable wealth required to carry the scheme through, the free and constant outpouring of millions into the Wall street market through the months during which the deal was incubating, form the most

logical development has produced a combination of a few individuals, absolute masters of an immense industrial organization, who have more power than the Chief Executive of the nation. You admit, knaves and fools, that the laws you have drawn salaries for making are utterly inadequate to cope with the situation. Helpless and hopeless you stand, mumbling and gibbering in the presence of these giants of industry. Clear the way for the Socialists, who advance, powerful, with the fiery vigor of revolutionary youth, to master these masters and to free the slaves. Let the nation own the trusts and the workers own the nation.

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The "Full Dinner Pail."

Here, you Republican friends, is how Mark Hanna remembers the workmen for voting his party into office:

Nashua, N. H., Jan. 25th.—Superintendent William H. Lovell, who has charge of the local branch of the Eastern Forge Company, formerly the Nashua Iron and Steel Company, gave notice today that the wages of the employees would be reduced to per cent, on and after February 1st. He refused to discuss the reason for this order, stating that he was simply obeying the instructions of his employers in Boston. About 150 men, a majority of whom are skilled mechanics, will be affected by this order.

"It has been given out that the company is doing a rushing business here. It has recently put in an electric light plant and a 3½ ton hammer. The plant is one of the largest forges in New England."

We purposely emphasize the above sentences in order to convince you of the old arguments of the Socialists, namely, that the more wealth the rich acquire the less wages the workingmen are allowed to earn. It has for a long time been the contention of Republicans that the prosperity of the manufacturers means higher wages and better times for the laborers. How preposterous! Here you have a living fact to the contrary. A 10 per cent reduction in wages is announced at a time when the company is doing a rushing business and is making money enough to enable it to put in one of the largest forges in the state. And what does this mean? No more and no less than that the 10 per cent reduction will before long cover the entire cost of the new plant. Now say that the worker don't produce the capital of this country! If you are wise you will know how to vote at the next election.—Haverhill "Social Democrat."

Comrade Rockefeller is said to have gobbled up the international pump trust and the agricultural chemical combine. Rockey is seldom asleep.

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It is from Germany, however, that this idea of working class politics came, and the contribution to the world's thought marks the turning point in the career of the proletariat. Its realization, the taking of it home to the heart by every member of the working class, is as sure as the rising of the sun in the East.

Because of Germany's peculiar position industrially, the Socialist movement and the trades' union movement have practically gone hand in hand from the beginning. The German writers, under the inspiration of the French critics of capitalism, than which there are no better or keener, began criticising the capitalistic system while their country was still under a feudal system. With the result that when industry developed the men who were forced into the ranks of the workers were socialistic in their inclinations. These men built up the trades' union movement. The great Lassalle and the greater Marx made their position in revolutionary ranks unassailable, and time has but confirmed the judgment of these giants of thought. The organization in Germany causes the blood of every Socialist to course quickly through the veins. Its strength and greatness, its unity and cohesion, its sureness of aim and steadiness of purpose astonish the world. It is a continual menace to the privileged classes. It fights doggedly, persistently. Every day it takes a step nearer the goal of emancipation for the downtrodden. Individual members are thrown into gloomy prisons; some die. The other day the glorious Liebnicht, who was offered a king's ransom and a high place in the esteem of the mighty if he would betray his class, passed away. Tomorrow another, and still another in the tomorrows of the future: yet the onward march of the workers of the world to ultimate victory is not stayed. A tear for the friend and comrade and a warm place in the heart is the usual monument and the only true one. Individuals count for nothing. It is the class—it is humanity that will reap the reward of every human pain suffered in so great a cause. The great movement we are engaged

in demands every sacrifice. It demands a lofty courage in defeat and a sincere humility in victory. The crushing apathy we encounter, the deadening influence of petty souls must be brushed aside and forgotten. Our German comrades call to us across the waters to seek our freedom by uniting our scattered forces. Without organized effort in every sphere of action there can be no results worthy the name. While we are bickering over trifles of no importance the golden moments fly and the common enemy laughs us to scorn.

Despite the apathy we encounter, despite our lack of organization, despite the childish quarrels we indulge in, despite the fact that many who were destined by nature to a march in the ranks, have forced themselves to the front and misled us, we, in America, have added to the weapons of the proletariat a club that, if universally used, would beat our masters into a wholesome respect for our strength. This is the union label. It is the only addition worth speaking about to the weapons with which workmen stand off complete subjection, complete slavery, made in the last fifty years. The strike and the boycott are tried and trusted friends, but it remained for the union label to complete a trilogy that would be almost irresistible if every workman took upon himself his proper responsibilities. The men who control consumption control production, and the union label gives a power into the hands of the workers that would eliminate non-union goods from the market. The working people are the great consumers of the world. There is such a small percentage of wealthy people that their demand, suppose they should unite to boom a non-union product, which supposition is absurd, would have no effect on the market. With the markets closed to unfair manufacturers, they would be forced out of business or compelled to treat their workmen like human beings.

Of course there is a certain school of philosophers (?) that advocates misery and crushing despair as methods of propaganda. Most members of this school are denied the power to reason and think others like themselves must be taught Socialism by feeling the pangs of hunger. This theory has been exploded so long that it is almost useless to consider it further. A man in continual fear for his breakfast is a poor subject to listen to a new gospel. Visions of steak and coffee, with possibly hot-cakes on the side, keep intruding themselves and obscuring the truths that are being propounded. On the other hand a comfortable feeling of security makes the book or lecture more luminous and the convert more sincere. The union movement exists for the purpose of giving this security. It gives workmen leisure; with leisure comes Socialism. A Socialist state founded on the ignorance of the working class would be chaos. There must be intelligence; there must be organization; there must be cohesion before anything can be accomplished.

Of course it would be absurd for any sane man to attribute to the union label, the strike and the boycott the power to lift the working class into its proper position in the world. But just as absurd would it be to say the ballot alone would be equal to the task of introducing the Socialist commonwealth. The label, the strike and boycott; shorter hours, better pay, are the tangible, graspable ideals that gather men into organizations. The organizations teach them the necessity for repression of the objectionable ego, the power of united effort, the feeling of solidarity. And when the time comes for the introduction of the Socialist state the means of production and exchange will be handed over, not to an ignorant, incompetent rabble, but to a body of well-organized workmen, capable of administering the affairs of the world.

The present century will introduce the first great bloodless revolution. It will wake humanity up to the truth that the man who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before is greater than the

it. One hundred and forty-eight new members were admitted at the last meeting and the following officers elected: President, C. A. Lewis; Vice-President, J. W. McAdam; General Secretary, Frank Strawn Hamilton; Recording Secretary, John Schleumer; Treasurer, Oswald Seifert; Sergeant-at-Arms, A. J. Sewell. The delegates elected to represent the union in the Labor Council were Frank Strawn Hamilton, John Daly, A. J. Oliver and F. Grimm.

Correspondence

Our Imprisoned Comrade Writes on Unity.

City Prison, San Jose, Feb. 10, 1901.

To the Editor of Advance—

Dear Comrade: While the comrades are correctly discussing the still unsettled question of organic unity, permit me to add a word on the situation of the movement in this State. The prospects of Socialism in the immediate future are, for many reasons, bright, the prejudice of the working class is gradually melting before the fire of our guns, and the general misunderstanding concerning the principles and objects of the Social Democratic Party is giving way to a more liberal inquiry and, in many cases, to an actual recognition of the truths of socialism and an endorsement of its political position. The constant shifting of the Democratic Party, the consistent and persistent efforts displayed by the Republican Party to assist the more powerful capitalist interests and the growth of liberal thought and materialist science, are preparing the workman to receive and acknowledge the purposes and principles of Socialism.

While we can thus regard the popular features of the movement, there are other features, and not less important ones, which, as members and as militant Socialists, we should carefully and duly consider.

The movement, or rather the organization, in this State is in its early stages of growth. The party has not as yet developed into a well-knit, compact, working organization; there is visible in many respects a certain looseness which is far from beneficial; instead of a general State activity we have more of a local activity. We need, I believe, a more intimate unity of our forces. I realize, in considering these points, the many drawbacks which have attended the work in this State; I am aware that many members are hampered by obstacles in their social and economic life which restrict them from greater activity in the work of the organization, but yet, despite all these things, it is obvious that the present limited work of the party, and what is being at present accomplished, will not suffice to achieve the most necessary thing, namely, a strong and aggressive working organization.

By our activity we are known; through our organization we are respected; the measure of the former and the strength of the latter determine the size of our vote and the interest of the working class. Let the trumpet be sounded for a greater advance, a welding of units, a more intimate unity of forces. A more active organization, a stronger organization, is the most evident and vital need of the movement.

The greater the force behind our arguments, the more easily will they be understood. Let us, comrades, now, with the opening of spring, take steps to enlarge our organization; organize new locals, add to those already in existence, and in general build up the Party. What defects we have in the State organization discover, and then remove them. If we respond nobly to the needs of the hour and commence now, November, 1902, will see the movement in this State so far ahead of its present position that the present workers will feel well repaid for any temporary strain.

Many of us hastily examine the battle-ground after a battle has been fought and form pessimistic opinions

JACK LONDON'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

1130 East Fifteen St., Oakland, Cal., Jan. 29, 1901.

Mr. J. H. Eustice, Secretary City Executive Committee, the Social Democratic Party—

Dear Sir: In accepting the nomination for Mayor, at the hands of the Social Democratic Party, I feel constrained to add a few words concerning the forthcoming election.

A striking feature of recent municipal elections has been the remarkable similarity in the platforms of the various parties. All the platforms, not omitting the Social Democratic, have contained strong demands for the municipalization of public utilities. So expressed, it would seem, therefore, that the common wish of the community was for municipal ownership. And it would seem, furthermore, since all parties have demanded it, that long ere this a fair share of the public utilities had passed into the hands of the people of Oakland.

So it seems, but as a matter of fact, not so. There has been some hemming and hawing, no doubt; and that was all that was to be expected. It could not have been otherwise, considering the parties into whose keeping were entrusted the affairs of the city. They could have done nothing more than they have done; nor is it in the nature of things that they should.

Between the national creed and the municipal creeds of either of the old parties there is little or nothing in common. The little in common is, in the last analysis, that they are capitalistic. The interests of capitalism are their interests, and that is all. On the other hand, there is much in conflict. When a party nationally champions gold, expansion, the trusts, and the big capitalist, it is certainly very inconsistent for the same party to municipally champion public ownership, to the detriment of the large capitalist and the benefit of the proletariat. The same holds for the other party, when it goes into municipal politics; for, though it opposes gold, expansion, the trusts, and the large capitalist, it cries out unavailingly for the salvation, not of the proletariat, but of the small capitalist who is being crushed out by the inexorable industrial evolution. So, election after election, we see the same inconsistency flourish, the same paradox, which, strive as they will, cannot be fused into the honest truth.

But the municipal platform of the Social Democratic Party does not stand, unrelated, as something quite different from the national platform; for, after all, it is merely a part of a great world philosophy—an economic, political and social philosophy, reared on sound ethical and humanly ethical foundations. Its one great demand is justice, or, in other words, an equal chance for all men. Just as we today have civil equality before the law, and political equality at the polls, so it is a matter of simple justice that we should also have equality of opportunity in industrial life. For, without the last, the first and second often come to naught. The law is many-sided. That which it measures to the poor man is not always what it measures, under precisely similar circumstances, to the rich corporation. Of this there is no discussion. It has been substantiated, under oath, before too many a Congressional and State Investigation Committee. As regards political equality, it is much the same. One vote counts as much as another, true; but the machine counts for something more, and when the wealth of the country is back of the machine, the equality of the unorganized, incoherent, moneyless working class vanishes in thin air.

So, when we Social Democrats draft our municipal platform, we demand that which our national platform demands, that which we demand the world over, namely, equality of opportunity. True, our immediate municipal demands partake of the nature of palliatives; but on the other hand, they are consistent with our great fundamental demand. This cannot be said of the old parties.

What is the matter with the American people that they permit this condition of things!

Only last week the announcement was made that there are two hundred children in our neighboring town of San Jose who do not attend school for the reason that their parents are so poor they cannot furnish the little ones with clothing. It is said that a great many of these children are nearly naked. Tens of thousands of children in every State in the Union are kept from school for similar reasons. It is a burning disgrace to the American people that such a condition of things exist. In the degenerate days of Babylon and Greece and Rome, the condition of the children of the poor were not much if any worse than that of the children of the poor today in this Republic.

We hear much about "Prosperity and the full dinner pail." I do not dispute the statement that some of our people are prosperous. But those "some" are mainly the rich. They are amassing colossal fortunes with unparalleled swiftness, but millions of industrious working people are sinking lower and still lower into poverty. Even the small business men and the middle classes are not prosperous.

According to Dun's report recently published the failures for the past two years are as follows: In 1899, total failures, 9,337; liabilities, \$90,879,889. In 1900, total failures, 10,774; liabilities, \$138,495,673.

This indicates how the small business men are going to the wall. Taxes are increasing and debts, public and private, are swelling bigger and bigger. Who then is enjoying great prosperity?

It is the trust promoters, the railroad magnates, the stock gamblers, the great money lords. Twenty-three of them last year netted \$207,000,000. Rockefeller, the arch monopolist, heads the list. They got those vast fortunes not by honest industry but by legal robbery which they call "shrewd business methods."

The working men, women and children, created every dollar of that mountain of wealth but were exploited out of it. These men are singing the song of prosperity and they tell the American people that their "incentive" must not be interfered with. They believe in the "survival of the fittest," and they are the fittest. Their motto is, "Every fellow for himself and may the devil take the hindmost."

Can these great wrongs be righted by the competitive system of business? No, never. That system is founded on pure selfishness. It allows no curb put upon the "incentive" of the selfish, greedy few to trample under foot honest working men, timid women and helpless children. These are spurned with contempt by the Shylocks of cunning and rapacity.

The appeals of the honest victims for fair play are unheeded. The competitive system is devoid of all sympathy. It is brutal and sublimely selfish. It succeeds only by undoing its business rivals. It is the theory and practice of tyrants and beasts. It contains no elements of morality or religion. It has been well spoken of by surface thinkers, but the fact is that mankind has never taken one advance step above savagery by competitive methods.

Only as the race has to some extent abandoned competition and practiced co-operation has man advanced. Competition appeals to one's baser nature, co-operation to our highest sentiments. Competition would drag us backwards and downwards; co-operation would send us forward industrially, intellectually, morally. Humanity is more sacred than property. Lincoln cautioned the American people against exalting capital above labor. We are not heeding his admonition. Capital, amassed by the tricky few, is on top; labor is at the bottom and goes lower and still lower every year. As a nation we are traveling swiftly toward the rock upon which so many ancient nations were wrecked. Our present competitive business methods, if long pursued, will inevitably drive us to our destruction. This is true because the whole universe has been so planned that selfishness and greed, and a disregard of the rights of others, and the violation of all the higher laws governing men and things, carry in them and with them the elements and forces which will work their own overthrow.

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Of course it would be absurd for any sane man to attribute to the union label, the strike and the boycott the power to lift the working class into its proper position in the world. But just as absurd would it be to say the ballot alone would be equal to the task of introducing the Socialist commonwealth. The label, the strike and boycott; shorter hours, better pay, are the tangible, graspable ideals that gather men into organizations. The organizations teach them the necessity for repression of the objectionable ego, the power of united effort, the feeling of solidarity. And when the time comes for the introduction of the Socialist state the means of production and exchange will be handed over, not to an ignorant, incompetent rabble, but to a body of well-organized workmen, capable of administering the affairs of the world.

The present century will introduce the first great bloodless revolution. It will wake humanity up to the truth that the man who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before is greater than the man who taketh a city. The sons of revolutionaries who were content to die for their principles, will fight their battles with irresistible logic and reason only. Their virtue will exist in the fact that they brought the greatest struggle for freedom the world may ever know to a successful termination without shedding one drop of human blood.

Three hundred and fifty restaurant and hotel employees organized into a union on the 9th inst., to fight compulsory arbitration and all other forms of anti-labor legislation, and, incidentally, to demand a shorter workday, better wages and such conditions as men must have in this great century. If you should drop into one of the largest hotels in the city, situated not a thousand miles from the corner of Powell and Market streets, such scenes would greet you as could not be believed if reduced to cold type. A burly, thick-necked ruffian, with a voice like the bull of Bashan, roars at you to take a seat. Seated, you wait to take breath. Fatal error. Before you know where you are the ruffian has a swarm of sweaty-faced slaves piling the food on every available inch of space in your neighborhood, all the time roaring at them for no other purpose than to frighten them into spilling the soup in your lap. Once served you imagine you can eat in peace. Not so. There is the tramp of heavy feet, the roar of the bull, the scurry to and fro of the waiters, the clatter of dishes being hurriedly moved to keep you on the brink of murder for the sake of quiet. Before you have even time to think of eating the plate is whisked from in front of you, and some one is forced into your chair. The burly ruffian, the bull, the steward, or whatever else you are pleased to call him, seems to have eyes in every part of his anatomy. He sees every move of every waiter, and if there is the least sign of weariness or disgust, or failure to throw the food at a man when he enters, or to speed him unsatisfied and hungry when he departs, there is instant discharge. The condition in the kitchen is worse. There is no order; there is no organization. Everything is noise and fury. Waiters are browbeaten, cooks discharged. By a process of selection extending over years, a working force is engaged not a member of which dares to call his soul his own. The conditions will be changed, however, not only here, but in places that are in some respects much worse. The Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union will demand respectful treatment for their members, and judging from the way applications for permission to join are coming in they will be strong enough to get

activity. We need, I believe, a more united front of our forces. I realize, in considering these points, the many drawbacks which have attended the work in this State; I am aware that many members are hampered by obstacles in their social and economic life which restrict them from greater activity in the work of the organization, but yet, despite all these things, it is obvious that the present limited work of the party, and what is being at present accomplished, will not suffice to achieve the most necessary thing, namely, a strong and aggressive working organization.

By our activity we are known; through our organization we are respected; the measure of the former and the strength of the latter determine the size of our vote and the interest of the working class. Let the trumpet be sounded for a greater advance, a welding of units, a more intimate unity of forces. A more active organization, a stronger organization, is the most evident and vital need of the movement.

The greater the force behind our arguments, the more easily will they be understood. Let us, comrades, now, with the opening of spring, take steps to enlarge our organization; organize new locals, add to those already in existence, and in general build up the Party. What defects we have in the State organization discover, and then remove them. If we respond nobly to the needs of the hour and commence now, November, 1902, will see the movement in this State so far ahead of its present position that the present workers will feel well repaid for any temporary strain.

Many of us hastily examine the battle-ground after a battle has been fought and form pessimistic opinions of the future; others are too apt to rest on their oars on pure and unassisted agitation, forgetting that organization, or reaping, is just as necessary a process in this movement as in agriculture.

Socialism, which was a year or so back looked upon by many with a spirit of decided hostility, is now being recognized as a powerful factor in the present and future progress of the race. The more honest of the intellectuals of the present world are coming forward to voice the claims made by the Socialists since 1848. Socialism, one exclaims, is scientifically and practically irrefutable. All around us there is visible evidence that "things are coming our way." From the northern limits of Washington to the tail of California, this is manifest: from unknown towns we can hear the echoes of the International Socialist's appeal reverberate; in the centers of population the trade organizations of labor are responding in no small number to the situation. With the ADVANCE in San Francisco and the Challenge in Los Angeles, ably representing the cause and making clear its objects; with the constant influx of new workers into the party, there can be no reason why our spirits should not be high and jubilant.

Onward, comrades, onward! never stopping, never retreating, never resting, till we have achieved our industrial emancipation by the establishment of the universal Socialist Republic. The future is ours: the present—the miserable present our enemies can have; we wish them joy of it. Fraternally.

JOS. O'BRIEN.

At Green Point, L. I., two young men made a successful test of wireless telephoning last week. The distance covered was two miles. Speaking about wireless communication, Edison says the outlook is rather gloomy because financiers are in control, and that more money can be made now with more simple devices. The New York Times also practically admits that the contention of the Socialists is correct—that is, that the telephone monopolies have destroyed valuable patents in order to clean up larger profits with their present cumbersome and high-priced methods.

Final negotiations for complete absorption of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha line by the Chicago and Northwestern Company, it is reported, are being carried on in New York, the home of the ruling powers behind the Northwestern system.

But the municipal platform of the Social Democratic Party does not stand, unrelated, as something quite different from the national platform; for, after all, it is merely a part of a great world philosophy—an economic, political and social philosophy, reared on sound ethical and humanely ethical, foundations. Its one great demand is justice, or, in other words, an equal chance for all men. Just as we today have civil equality before the law, and political equality at the polls, so it is a matter of simple justice that we should also have equality of opportunity in industrial life. For, without the last, the first and second often come to naught. The law is many-sided. That which it measures to the poor man is not always what it measures, under precisely similar circumstances, to the rich corporation. Of this there is no discussion. It has been substantiated, under oath, before too many a Congressional and State Investigation Committee. As regards political equality, it is much the same. One vote counts as much as another, true; but the machine counts for something more, and when the wealth of the country is back of the machine, the equality of the unorganized, incoherent, moneyless working class vanishes in thin air.

So, when we Social Democrats draft our municipal platform, we demand that which our national platform demands, that which we demand the world over, namely, equality of opportunity. True, our immediate municipal demands partake of the nature of palliatives; but on the other hand, they are consistent with our great fundamental demand. This cannot be said of the old parties.

Incidentally, in closing, it is met that we congratulate ourselves for the work we have already done. For it is we, the Socialists, working as a leaven throughout society, who are responsible for the great and growing belief in municipal ownership. It is we, the Socialists, by our propaganda, who have forced the old parties to throw as sops to the popular unrest, like demands, and unwittingly to aid us in the education of the people. Fraternally Yours,

JACK LONDON.

The Slavery of the Children.

Will you kindly allow me a little space in your valuable paper to comment on the defeat of a good bill? The Typographical Journal says:

"The child labor bill introduced in the Georgia Legislature by C. C. Houston, of Atlanta, was defeated in the Lower House by a vote of 104 to 56. Mr. Houston's speech in support of the measure was a masterpiece of eloquence and logic, of which his many friends feel justly proud. For several weeks the mill-owners, whose profits would have been affected had the bill passed, maintained a strong lobby at the Georgia capital. The success of the lobby means that 3,500 children under twelve years of age will continue to labor in the factories of Georgia for a mere pittance; that they will be deprived of an education and of the pleasures of childhood, in order that a few men may profit from their labor and enjoy a life of ease."

The Literary Digest recently published upon the authority of a reliable clergyman a statement that he saw hundreds of little children less than twelve years of age working in the cotton mills of the South all night long, for which exhaustive labor they received but ten cents.

There are 414 of these cotton mills in the South. What a commentary on our boasted Christian civilization. What an outrage that the capitalists can send a paid lobby to a State Legislature and defeat so good a bill as the one proposed. But this is the legitimate fruit of our present greedy, competitive business system. Not satisfied with the degradation and exploitation of adults, the soulless greed of the age takes little children from their dolls and from the primary schools and puts them to hard labor, day and night, that the great capitalists may make larger profits.

and helpless children. These are spurned with contempt by the Shylocks of cunning and rapacity.

The appeals of the honest victims for fair play are unheeded. The competitive system is devoid of all sympathy. It is brutal and sublimely selfish. It succeeds only by undoing its business rivals. It is the theory and practice of tyrants and beasts. It contains no elements of morality or religion. It has been well spoken of by surface thinkers, but the fact is that mankind has never taken one advance step above savagery by competitive methods.

Only as the race has to some extent abandoned competition and practiced co-operation has man advanced. Competition appeals to one's baser nature, co-operation to our highest sentiments. Competition would drag us backwards and downwards; co-operation would send us forward industrially, intellectually, morally. Humanity is more sacred than property. Lincoln cautioned the American people against, exalting capital above labor. We are not heeding his admonition. Capital, amassed by the tricky few, is on top; labor is at the bottom and goes lower and still lower every year. As a nation we are traveling swiftly toward the rock upon which so many ancient nations were wrecked. Our present competitive business methods, if long pursued, will inevitably drive us to our destruction. This is true because the whole universe has been so planned that selfishness and greed, and a disregard of the rights of others, and the violation of all the higher laws governing men and things, carry in them and with them the elements and forces which will work their own overthrow.

Man must learn by experience. If the race has not yet learned from past experiences that Wrong cannot forever ride on the back of Right, then the human family will again be scourged in the future as in the past. Sometime we must learn that:

"Ever the truth comes uppermost,
And ever is justice done."

The impending violence and calamity can be averted only by adopting an industrial system which will reward every man, woman and child according to his deeds—a system, the motto of which shall be, "an injury to the humblest and weakest citizen is the concern of all." We must abandon the false idea that the incentive of the crafty and selfish robber, though he robs according to law, must not be restrained for the general good.

We must, as rapidly as possible, abandon the competitive and adopt the co-operative system of business. Now this is the creed of Socialism so wickedly misrepresented by the monopolists whose aim is always to get something for nothing. Socialism is a grand, a glorious movement rapidly coming forward in all the civilized countries on earth as the friend and defender of the robbed, discouraged working man and woman, and the protector of the little children now toiling out their young lives in the factories and growing up in ignorance, deprived of all the joys of childhood.

Let the plutocrats howl; let the politicians sneer; let the subsidized press ridicule and misrepresent; let the clergy cater to the rich and dodge; let hell oppose; for a movement now numbering seven millions of adherents in Europe and America has started. Its progress is rapid because its cause is just. It demands that the Golden Rule shall be applied in business, in politics, in all the dealing of man with man and nation with nation. It is a movement that will triumph, as certainly as that right shall gain a victory over wrong—as surely as that kindness and honesty and love shall outlive selfishness and dishonesty and greed.

Alameda.

R. A. DAGUE.

The salt trust is now all-powerful. The product of the great Carmen Island works in Mexico has been absorbed and prices advanced in consequence. The monopoly has now a clean sweep across the continent, controlling ninety-five per cent of the country's output.

OFFICIAL

State Executive Committee.

Meeting February 1st.

Present: Anderson, Andrew, Van Alstine, and Reynolds.

Communications read from L. E. Beals, M. A. Clemen, Geo. Strong, P. D. Noel, Frank Simpson, Labor Lyceum Association, H. F. Snell, C. R. Armstrong, J. S. Roche, Mrs. T. Rathbin, G. D. Van Pelt, J. C. Stamer, J. R. Cole, R. J. Lamar, Wm. Gnauck, D. H. York, Thos. Bersford, Wm. Butcher, S. W. Naman, E. S. Nash and C. A. S. Higley.

Secretary's bill for postage, \$2.20 and tubes for charters 20 cts. Total, \$2.40. Ordered paid. Also, bill of ADVANCE, dated January 7th, \$2.40.

Receipts reported by Secretary since last meeting: For Leaflet Fund: J. George Smith, \$2.50; John M. Reynolds, \$2.50.

For Campaign Deficit: C. R. Armstrong, Sec., \$1.50; J. A. Anderson, \$1; W. R. Dowler, \$1.55; J. Dooley, \$1.

For dues and stamps: Alameda Local, \$5; Santa Clara County Local, \$5; Los Angeles Local, \$5; Lompoc Local, 50 cts.; Oakland, \$5; Stockton, \$1.10; International Delegates' Fund, \$2.10, from Santa Clara County Local. Total receipts, \$33.70.

Resignation of Thos. Bersford accepted. Local San Francisco requested to fill vacancy. The communication as to engagement of National Organizer Vail for lectures in California laid on the table; also communication from City Central Committee, San Francisco, as to use of money received for propaganda. Secretary instructed to send names of Secretaries of Locals to Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, as requested; application of Stockton Local for charter approved. Treasurer ordered to pay \$7.50 to Comrade C. H. King, Sr., towards the legal expenses in the matter of arrests at San Jose of Comrades for speaking on the streets.

Meeting, February 8th.

Present: Anderson, Andrew, Benham, King, Scott, Van Alstine and Reynolds.

Minutes read and approved.

Communications read from H. T. Snell, H. Ryan, S. W. Niman, L. H. Edmiston, R. J. Lamar and A. R. Gurr.

Receipts reported by Secretary from Thos. Pyle, Secretary, for dues and stamps, \$1; P. D. Noel, Secretary, for Membership Cards, 20 cts.; F. I. Bamford, for deficit, \$2; T. C. Harthorn, \$1.65 and Wm. Smith, \$1.20 for International Delegates' Fund.

Secretary was directed to ascertain details as to National Organizer's tour. King, Benham and Scott elected to draw up circular letters to Locals and Comrades and to the clergy, industrial organizations and newspapers of the State on the subject of "Free Speech."

Adjourned to meet February 12th.

PROPAGANDA MEETING.

What Communities Lose by the Competitive System.

On Thursday, the 7th inst., at the weekly meeting held by the City Central Committee, Jack London, Socialist nominee for Mayor of Oakland, delivered a lecture, his subject being, "What Communities Lose by the Competitive System." There was a large attendance. Comrade London's lecture had been prepared with care; it was very exhaustive of the subject which it touched at every point. There was so much in it that a synopsis of it is almost impossible; we can only give a few of his illustrations.

He said: One farm of 10,000 acres could produce more than one hundred farms of one hundred acres with less than half the labor. In the State of Indiana alone the miles of fencing around the small holdings would reach fourteen times around the globe and cost two hundred million dollars. One large department store could do more business than a very large num-

his animal nature; the brain in man was mightier than the hog.

Comrade Appell, in closing the debate, made a forcible appeal for Socialism, denouncing in scathing terms present conditions; he wandered far away from the subject under debate. Then followed question time and the questions were numerous and pointed. When question time was over, a score of speakers wanted the floor and about nine were accommodated. In some instances the speaking was far above the average. The interest in these meetings and the desire to take part in them is growing fast.

Next Sunday the subject to be debated is, "Would Anarchism remedy the evils of Capitalism?" S. A.

IN THE SUPREME COURT.

The Legal Fight For the Right of Free Speech and Free Assemblage.

Comrade Cameron H. King, Sr., has filed in the Supreme Court the petition of Comrade Jos. O'Brien for a writ of habeas corpus. The proceeding is designed to test the validity of the San Jose ordinance under which Socialist street meetings have been broken up and two comrades sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment, while four other cases are pending in which, unless the Supreme Court interferes, the defendants will undoubtedly be awarded the same punishment.

The San Jose ordinance reads as follows: "It shall be unlawful to stand in a crowd of two or more persons so as to obstruct the free passage of any part of a street or sidewalk after being requested to move on by a police officer."

Comrade King has filed a brief in the Supreme Court in which he attacks the ordinance as unconstitutional, and also void because it is unreasonable, oppressive, discriminating and an improper restraint upon the liberty and natural rights of the citizen.

The brief points out that the ordinance makes it an offense to obstruct any part, no matter how small a part, of a sidewalk; that, since no two bodies can occupy the same space at the same time, the mere presence of two people on a street must to that extent be an obstruction, technically, of a part of a street, although there may be ample room for others to pass and although travel is neither impeded nor even inconvenienced.

More than this, the entire matter is left to the caprice, whim or favor of every common policeman and the refusal to obey his order to move on completes the offense.

As the brief points out: "If two ladies stop to look in at the shop window a policeman may order them to move on, and disobedience is a crime. More than this, the policeman by his order to 'move on' may prevent them from looking at goods displayed in the window of one store, while he permits them to stand in front of another store he desires to favor."

Provisions from the United States and State constitutions are quoted. Among these are the following: State Const., Art. I, Sec. 9: "Every citizen may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right and no laws shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech."

Art. I, Sec. 10: "The people shall have the right to freely assemble together to consult for the common good."

It is also pointed out that the Penal Code provides as follows: "Sec. 59.—Every person who willfully disturbs or breaks up any public meeting of electors or others lawfully being held for the purpose of considering public questions, is guilty of a misdemeanor."

It is claimed that an ordinance which permits a policeman to disturb a public meeting is in violation of the above section and an attempt to give a policeman power to commit crime.

Many other questions are discussed in the brief and a decision of the Supreme Court is expected within a few days.

Contributions to San Jose "Free Speech Fund"

The Debate

ON THE SOCIALIST TRADE & LABOR ALLIANCE BETWEEN

JOB HARRIMAN, S. D. P.

AND DANIEL DE LEON, S. L. P.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

LOCAL OAKLAND, of the Social Democratic Party, has begun on Wednesday evening lectures at Fraternity Hall, 1124 Washington street bet. 13th and 14th sts. Lectures begin at 8 o'clock. Admission free. O. H. PHILLBRICK, 1841 Myrtle st., Organizer.

LOCAL ALAMEDA, of the Social Democratic Party, holds regular free public lectures every Thursday evening at Foresta Theatre, corner Park street and Santa Clara ave. Educational lectures for members every Friday evening at 3424 Octal ave. room 8. Address communications, J. G. STAMER, 3061 Encinal ave.

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO, Social Democratic Party holds regular weekly lectures every Thursday evening on social and economic subjects at Fraternity Hall, 1124 Washington street. Meetings begin at 8 o'clock. Open discussion follows each lecture. Questions answered; free platform; public invited. Admission free.

THE SOCIALIST DEBATING CLUB holds regular Sunday evening meetings at Elyria Castle, 600 Market street, beginning at 7:30 o'clock. To educate and develop class consciousness Socialist speakers to amplify the cause of the working class. Vocal and instrumental music, etc. Questions answered. Public invited. Admission free.

ACTIVE SOCIALISTS will find Comrade Bersford's "Derringer book of Statistics" and "Scientific Socialism" of great value. We mail the two books for 25

S. D. P. SENATORIAL DISTRICTS.

Time and Place of Meetings.

- 17th—227 5th, 1st and 3rd Friday each month 8 p. m.
- 18th—408 5th, 2nd & 4th Monday each month, 8 p. m.
- 19th—3111 24th nr. Folsom 1st Monday each month.
- 20th—624 Guerrero, 1st and Wednesday, 8 p. m.
- 21st—901 G. G. ave every 3rd Wednesday, 8 p. m.
- 22nd—1912 Webster, 2nd & 4th Friday.
- 23rd—33rd—2 Grove 2nd Sunday 24th—No 1 Margaret Place off 12 Turk.
- 25th—410 Kearny, room 28, 1st & 3rd Monday, 8 p. m.

Bottlers' Union Bulletin

(Revised Weekly.) THESE SHOPS EMPLOY ONLY UNION BOTTLERS. SAN FRANCISCO. California Bottling Co., Wieland Beer Enterprise Bottling Co., Enterprise Beer John Bapp & Son, Rainier beer, Frederickburg Bottling Co., Frederickburg beer Loebmann & Co., Buffalo Beer Gambrians Bottling Co., Gambrians beer Fausler & Co., United States beer Schwartz Weiss Bier, Schwartz Weiss beer George Braun, Chicago beer Chas. Roehmman, Chicago beer National Bottling Co., National beer Wander Bottling Co., Wander beer North Star Bottling Co., Dahlberg & Carlson Pacific Bottling Co., United States beer Carl Tornberg, Chicago beer

OAKLAND. American Brewing Co., American beer National Bottling Depot, National beer SACRAMENTO. Buffalo Brewing Co., Buffalo beer SAN JOSE. Frederickburg Brewing Co., Frederickburg beer San Jose Bottling Co., C. Maurer VALLEJO. Philadelphia Brewery

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After the lecture several questions were asked which Comrade London answered very cleverly. Then Messrs. Jones, Doherty, Gray, King, Jr., and Hamilton gave five-minute speeches, all of which were well received. Comrade London replied and the meeting adjourned.

SOCIALIST DEBATING CLUB

The usual Sunday evening debate was held in the large hall of Pythian Castle on Sunday night. The room was crowded and some forty or fifty had to stand up. Comrade Wells occupied the chair and opened the meeting. The first order was a reading by Mr. Cummings; the second another reading by the Chairman. Then came the debate: "Resolved, That the materialistic conception of history is the only rational and true one." Comrade Appell opened for the affirmative and without any attempt at argument gave very clearly the position held by Marx and Engels on the question at issue. Mr. Champion opened on the negative, and while admitting that material and economic conditions were powerful factors in human life, ridiculed the idea that they accounted for all the vast changes of the past. He pointed out the multitude of religious ideas that existed in one country, the different forms of government to be found in one zone, and showed that these were neither materialistic nor economic. The second affirmative, Mr. Eagle, contended that Mr. Champion had really proved their case. In imagination he took his hearers to one of the Andes Mountains, and showed how the vegetation differed from the valley right up to 12,000 feet above the level of the sea—all absolutely dependent upon material conditions.

Dr. Scott was the second negative. He combatted the position taken by Mr. Eagle and contended that the nobler portion of man had done more for him than

move on, and disobedience is a crime. More than this, the policeman by his order to 'move on' may prevent them from looking at goods displayed in the window of one store, while he permits them to stand in front of another store he desires to favor."

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Contributions to San Jose 'Free Speech Fund.'

John Kerr, Coalinga, Cal., \$1; Don H. York, per Local Redlands, Cal., \$5; Dan Geary, San Jose, Cal., \$3; Brewery Workmen, San Jose, \$22; Frank Thole, San Jose, \$1; A Friend, San Jose, \$1; Wissman, San Jose, \$1.25; L. Meier of Grangeville, Cal., \$1; Wm. Carpenter, Grangeville, \$1; A Friend, Grangeville, 50 cents. Total, \$36.75.

Levin Defense Fund.

H. Seanesy, \$1; F. Sandnem, \$0.50; F. Findley, \$1; J. Jewett, \$0.50; G. Fenell, \$5; J. E. Parrell, \$2; Jno. Kalla, \$0.50; A. Eiros, \$0.50; I. Onergard, \$1; F. Reed, \$1; James Henley, \$0.50; T. O. Donald, \$0.50; E. J. O'Neal, \$1; Alex. Kane, \$2.50; V. J. Bunick, \$0.50; Jacob Worth, \$1; G. J. Moore, \$1; A Friend, \$1; E. E. Byrne, \$2; C. A. Burkess, \$1; A Friend, \$1; H. Ericksen, \$0.50; Cash, \$1.10; Borgen, \$1; J. Evensen, \$0.50; Collected by Peté Rutledge, \$7; Harry Lovell, \$1; A Friend, \$0.50; Wm. Ehrlich, \$0.75; D. L. Fulmer, Corralitos, \$0.50; total, \$36.75.

Brewers Union.

Comrade George Clemens, member of Branch No. 5 of the United Brewery Workmen's Union, died suddenly of apoplexy on Tuesday, February 12th, at his home, 157 Erie street, San Francisco. The body was cremated on Thursday, Feb. 14th, at 2 p. m., at Odd Fellows' Cemetery. The deceased leaves a wife and three children to whom we all extend our heartfelt sympathy. The memory of Comrade Clemens, who was a true and loyal union member and a good Socialist comrade, will be honored and cherished by all who knew him.

Comrade Ludwig Berg, General Secretary of the United Brewery Workers' Union No. 7 of the Pacific Coast, is going to Portland to investigate and try to settle troubles that have arisen between the bosses and the union men in consequence of the demands of a new contract. Comrade C. Harth will transact the General Secretary's business while Comrade L. Berg is absent from this city.

All readers of "Advance" can obtain the famous Labor Song, "Ninety and Nine," by sending 11 cents in stamps to S. Seiler, 2257 Mission street, San Francisco. When ordering the song mention this paper; if you don't you will have to pay the regular price of 25 cents. This is your chance. It lasts as long as the first edition of the song is not exhausted.

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