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SOCIALISM AND RELIGION.

BY JOHN A. MORRIS,

SOcialism is not essentially Christian, un-Christian, anti-Christian or non-Christian. It is strictly and purely economic and scientific. As such it has naught to do with religious or theological discussion, and as dealing with the material interests of humanity it has a straight, square-cut method of propaganda. With this neither Christianity nor churchianity has aught to do nor should they be allowed to have.

Socialism, therefore, while not antagonistic per se to what is called Christianity is essentially different; and the term Christian Socialism is as much incorrect as if one were to say Christian mathematics, Christian astronomy, Christian electricity, etc., for Socialism as a doctrine of economics is based upon the materialistic conception of history; and from this line of thought Socialists cannot swerve without successfully ruining their movement.

Again, in both the republican and democratic parties are Atheists, Agnostics, Christians, Theosophists, Roman Catholics and others of different beliefs but one does not hear of Christian republicans, Christian democrats or Theosophical republicans, Theosophical democrats, etc. Why then should we have a Christian Socialist party any more than a Christian republican party or a Christian democratic party? People somehow or another believe that a thing may be made better by adjectival limitation or determination. Sometimes it can; but other times it cannot. To me, for instance, the terms free love and free thought are absolutely incorrect and inaccurate, for love is only love when it is free—enslaved love is prostitution. The same is true of thought which when enslaved becomes superstition.

But when an official of some organized body of the church of Christ, whether he be a Roman Catholic Archbishop such as Archbishop Corrigan, a Presbyterian preacher or any other pulpit people, slander Socialism and its doctrine of economics the Socialists have a right to reply to such slander.

Robert G. Ingersoll was an Agnostic and said some very bitter things against the doctrine of Socialism; Herbert Spencer as a philosophical thinker (and so far as I interpret him he is an Atheist) tried to show the fallacy of Socialism in his essay on "The Coming Slavery." Both these, agnostic and atheist, I would answer as strongly as

I would either Archbishop Corrigan, Roman Catholic, or Dr. Thompson of the Independent Church of Christ, Los Angeles. With us it is not a question of religious truth or falsity, but of economic doctrine. In this the Socialist is the teacher of the world; and where we do attempt to correct the church it is on the ground of her false economic position—and this, as a teacher of economics, we have a right to do.

Again, if a man because he believes in Christianity and gets a little sentimental smattering of Socialism tries to inject his Christian ethics into the movement naming it Christian Socialism why may others not do the same? Thus, the Hindu as a Buddhist, the Chinaman as a Confucian and the Arabian as a Mahommedan, could produce a philosophy that might be called Buddhist Socialism, Confucian Socialism and Mahommedan Socialism.

Again, when the economics of Socialism have been subverted to the religion of Christianity what will be the result? We know that Christianity, or men's interpretation of Christ's thought and mission is to-day broken up into thousands of warring sects; and if the theory of religion enters into the economic mission of Scientific Socialism why should we not have a whole lot of different brands of religious Socialism? At one place we may see the meeting-house of the Presbyterian Socialists; at another we can worship in the church of the Baptist Socialists; at still another place we find the synagogue of the Jewish Socialists; and those who desire will of course attend the services in the Cathedral of the Roman Catholic Socialists. Thus the world would be no better off than before; and this breaking up of Socialism into a vast number of warring sects would be the result of taking Socialism away from its scientific and economic plane and putting it upon a religious and emotional basis. And the doctrine of Socialism would be as much perverted by all these various institutions as I have no doubt the doctrines of Christ are perverted to-day by his churchly followers.

Yet I would go further than Herron, for I would not saddle a Christ on the movement any more than I would a Buddha or a Mahommed or a Confucius. Socialism, to me, is an international movement, and embraces people of every race, nationality, color, clime, creed or sex though

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POETRY AND THE PROLETAIRE.

Among the many good things that are prophesied by the "nice" people to be banished from the earth when the working class comes into its own, is art. There will be no art, say these "nice" people, because there will be no one to produce artistic things. They arrogate to themselves in these few words all the ability to produce, denying to others the faculty of production. The contrary of this is true. The life of true art depends upon the life of the working class. That class contains within itself all the ideals of this sordid age. The men who are ready to sacrifice themselves for a principle are not found in the class of the money lords. Nor is there a trust magnate able to produce a poem like the following:

What antique pageantry of shades forlorn
Treads stately through the regions of my brain?
What revelries make prodigal through pain
Of brooding thought? Sounds of some mighty horn,
As if through valleys green and forests borne;
Thunder of battle on a sodden plain,
Mingle with visions of a motley train
Arrayed in vestures as of crimson morn.
Then silence sweet succeeds, and, to the sight,
The balm of blindness: to the weary mind
The peace of placid days on some green height
Beneath whose slope rich pastures roll away.
Gone are those marvelous visions; and behind
The mist-clad-hills I see the break of day!

That was written by a waiter, a man the trust magnate might order about as though he had not attained to the dignity of a human being.

The magnate would affect to despise this waiter and would no doubt refuse to accept his coffee unless it was accompanied by the curved spine and the cringe waiters must reserve for the commercially successful. Yet what has the man commercially successful that he should feel superior. Only an accumulation of breakfasts and dinners in favor of his having taken them from some working people without paying for them. He could not think one thought up to the level of the poem quoted to save his soul. This poem lacks but very little of being genuine poetry. And your commercially successful are capable of thinking only in terms of dollars and cents.

And a woman with a good strong chin who scrubbed all day and wrote all night has given the world a book with the possibilities of a play in it.

Her name is Sarah E. Phipps and her home is in Rochester. She scrubbed and was snubbed by the wives of the magnates who made Lorenzo Losso, the poet waiter, dance attendance on them and all the time she was carrying her characters around in her head, making them say the right thing at the right time and do the right thing; till, when she came to the candle hour, she had merely to jot down and it was dialogue, it was excellent repartee and an excellent play judged from certain standards. The book or the play is too crowded with incident to be really artistic, but the scrub woman was merely writing down to her audience, the magnates and their wives. They can pay. With their gold the scrub woman can buy bread and books. And she gives them such mental food as they can assimilate. Lorenzo Sosso will not trail his art in the gutter for them; he pays for the publication of his poetry.

So much for the cry that the working class will kill all artistic impulse when it comes into its possessions. The workers will bring with them a truer art than is in the world to-day. Our own men in California are proof of this: Herman Whitaker and Jack London have gulped down the bread of discontent in bitterness. Their sufferings they endured first hand. Their conception of life is not from the story books. They worked with their hands for men whom in their hearts they despised. They rented themselves out and were exploited by men who could not speak their speech or think their thought.

Another is a young poet known to the editor of "Advance" who will take his place in the front rank of American poets when he thinks it worth while to give his book to the world. At present he is a slave to the wheel of labor. In the sweat of his pen he earns his bread, and the desk to which he is chained has listened to his curses on the sordid system that makes the money-lord master of men they may not know or understand. The artistic impulse is deadened by the monotonous grind of making money for another's use, but that it is not wholly dead the following sonnet will attest:

"WITH THE STRENGTH OF DREAMS,"

I saw the Lesbian Sappho bowed in light
Before the hushed altar of the sea—
Song-swept, a lyre on which in threnody
Th' ascendant tremors of her spirit's might
Thrilled chord on chord to music. In my flight
From dream to dream, I paused; I wept; while she
Sang till I saw the western glory flee,
A molten pearl, one with the wine of night.
I know not if the blossom of their day,
In Paradise, be blessed with fairer fruit,
If deeper ecstasies of music may,
Dying or latent, fill their fancied lute,
Or happier teardrops find the olden way,
Ere yet the twilight seraphim be mute.

We think this sufficient answer to the "nice" people who edit "The Argonaut" and attest in well rounded periods that art will receive its polite congé when the working class is supreme in affairs of state. Art that is genuine and devoid of all concession to the masters of the bread, will be preserved to the world by the socialist workers and by none other.

The Comrade,

The pictures in the current "Comrade" are just a trifle behind the two previous issues. In fact there is a cartoon labeled "The fruits of Capitalism" and is quite unworthy from an artistic standpoint. The story it tells is too obvious and the execution is crude. The other illustrations are up to the "Comrade" standard, which is saying a good deal.

In the literary department the first distinctive note is struck. Hitherto there has been more an affectation of style than an attempt to produce what one might term literature. The distinctive note is struck by Gorki, the Russian in a story entitled "Twenty six and One." It is worth reading. Two other notable things in the Magazine are a biographical sketch of Heinrich Heine, by John Spargo with four of the "Apostates" poems, and the continuation of William Morris' "News from Nowhere".

Altogether it is a good number.

The "Comrade" is published at 28 Lafayette Place, New York.

AT HEADQUARTERS.

"Well, the campaign is over," said the veteran filling his pipe and preparing to occupy the corner chair. "At last we are free to begin another." No response was forthcoming and after several meditative puffs he began again, addressing the new convert who seemed the most attentive. "You see we've got to keep at it. Political campaigns are only incidental with us now. We take part because we must, but our efforts are really less effective than when popular excitement is at low ebb. We must appeal to the reason for a long time yet and get the brains of the working-class with us. Sentimental appeals are of little use at present."

"I don't know about that" broke in the Utopian, "it was an appeal to my love of justice that brought me to Socialism."

"Huh," grunted the Revolutionist from the opposite side, "that only proves what he said. I never knew a sentimental Socialist yet that wouldn't applaud every smooth-tongued mountebank whom the rest could see was a radical for revenue only."

A nervous smile fitted over the face of the New Convert, and the Old Veteran resumed.

"I wouldn't be that severe on our utopian friend, nor is that the point I wished to make. Our work is to organize the working class. To get them to think calmly and logically and so get power to emancipate themselves. This demands such pains-taking care with detail and the results seem so inadequate that the sentimental enthusiast gets tired waiting for the revolution and becomes an opportunist."

"Well, you can hardly blame them" interrupted the Agitator, "a fellow gets out night after night; he appeals with convincing logic; he implores the motley group that stops to listen, to strike for equality, for Socialism. And the crowd passes on, some with a sneer, others with anger in their hearts against him, because he has attacked the time-honored institutions of property and poverty and sought to make them discontented with the hovel and crust whither they go. It makes me sick at heart."

"And just think what the world might be," interjected the Utopian. "What wondrous beauty would result from the leisured intelligence the co-operative commonwealth would bring. No more ten-story tenements, their small, dirty rooms sardined with starvelings, but homes, each the artistic dream of some trained architect. And men and women, full formed and rosy-cheeked, walking erect beneath the blue sky. Every city a garden; these smoky, stony, roaring canons you call streets would be banished to Hades."

The New Convert's eyes glistened, but the Revolutionist ruthlessly broke in: "More pipe dreams. You utopians are always reciting the history of the future. If you would get off your Pegasus and trudge a few steps in the gutter you would come to know, as Harriman puts it: 'A proletarian can get a far better focus on the co-operative commonwealth with a beefsteak than with a utopian romance.' Your Pegasus may buck at the rhetoric but the idea's all right."

"I've been thinking along those lines myself," said the Organizer pocketing his pencil and putting his notebook away. "We think we have an organization, but what

does it do? It runs a few meetings which one or two individuals could possibly carry on by themselves, develops innumerable wrangles in the party meeting, takes up our time and money and what do we get out of it? I tell you, boys, if our organization is to be real it will have to get down and touch our lives materially. We believe in the materialist conception of history and yet neglect to apply our theory. Is there any great organization that does not give its members some substantial pecuniary benefits. From the Roman Catholic Church to Tammany Hall you'll find that the cash-nexus is the surest bond and when that fails the organization goes to smash. Take a man two days this side of hunger and Socialism twenty years away, is his logic so bad if he votes for "something now"? The paternal assistance of the parish priest and the kindly ministrations of the Sisters of Mercy give the Catholic church a hold on people. The sick and death benefits win members to the fraternal lodge and the judicious charity of the Tammany leader, who watches over the voters as a guardian over his wards builds up the machine which grinds on with the precision of clock-work, come victory or defeat. We've got to get some similar scheme."

"What would you have us do?" queried the Veteran. "Now, mind you, we don't want any Bernsteinism."

"Well, this is the proposition. It is hard work for a Socialist to get influence in the old established unions and next to impossible to swing them into line with the party. That field of aiding the worker is hardly open to us. But there is the co-operative field. After the trades union has secured certain wages what is the matter with the Socialism movement stepping in and thro co-operative stores cut out the expense of maintaining a host of petty bourgeoisie storekeepers. This money would be saved to the workers and some of it diverted to actual Socialist propaganda. They have made it a success in Belgium. Why not here?"

"That's right. That's a find idea," exclaimed the Utopian

"Yes, but it can't be done," croaked the Revolutionist,

The Agitator rubbed his head as if puzzled and then spoke "I'm not sure that it is straight scientific Socialism."

"It will do to think over though," suggested the Veteran. And then the gavel of the secretary calling the party meeting to order concluded the discussion in time to head off an objection by the man from Los Angeles.

C. H. KING, JR.

Election Returns.

In Greater New York the Socialist Party about held its own. The vote for mayor in 1900 was 9740. This year it is 9801. The S. L. P. had 7747 in 1909 this year it falls to 6236.

New Jersey gave Vail, candidate for governor 3489 votes last year the National ticket received 4609 votes. The S. L. P. lost 256 votes.

In Pennsylvania the vote last year was 4881, this year it is 2674. The S. L. P. went back about 262 votes. The Pennsylvania comrades refused to vote for "The Public Ownership Party" which is the name the Socialist Party had to adopt because of legal difficulties. And they are not to be blamed. Any other name would be more satisfactory to Socialists.

In Baltimore the vote was 746 for the highest man; last year the vote for Debs was 619.

SOCIALISM and RELIGION.

(Continued from Page 1)

there is one line of demarcation—the class struggle.

And in the thought of the class struggle we rub up against the emotional expression of brotherhood as found in the church; and also come into antagonism with some of the beliefs taught by the Christian theology which materialized on the physical plane of existence have proven bad in practice for the world. Why? Because of the false economic doctrine; and in this respect the Socialist has a right to criticise. What is economics? According to the Standard Dictionary this definition is applicable: "The science that treats of the development of material resources, or of the production, preservation, and distribution of wealth, and of the means and methods of living well, for the state, the family and the individual."

What is bad economic doctrine?

I answer, any doctrine of thought which if put into practice would prevent "the development of material resources or of the production, preservation and distribution of wealth" so that the state, the family and the individual would not live well is bad and vicious economic doctrine—and when I say "live well" I mean in a physical and material sense.

There are four grounds on which the Socialist as a teacher of economics has a right to correct the teachings of the Christian church to-day:

1. The Doctrine of Contentment.
2. The Doctrine of the Stewardship of the Rich.
3. The Doctrine of Individual Salvation.
4. The Vicarious Atonement as an Economic Factor.

Let us see how much truth there is in this. The church teaches us that the poor should be contented in the position of life in which God has seen fit to place them. The Socialist preaches the philosophy of discontentment, for "Discontentment is the mother of progress." If the wage-slave will become discontented with the fact that he is a slave and has a capitalistic master (and the more of him reaches a discontentment that desires freedom from such conditions) the sooner will he accomplish liberty. Then if the wage-slaves' discontentment unite in class-conscious efforts at the ballot-box for emancipation, his freedom will soon be won.

The church as an economic teacher preaches the usefulness of the rich, that the rich are the stewards of the Lord's bounty and will help society through their numerous charities and plenteous almsgiving to the poor. The Socialist teaches that in a condition of economic equality there would be no rich and no poor; that the rich are here because they have made their wealth from the necessities of the poor; that by means of profit one class of society has robbed another class and become rich while the victims of such capitalistic exploitation have become poor; that in the charity and almsgiving of the wealthy the parasitical plunderers of society are but returning a portion of the "swag" to the society which they had originally robbed.

Again, the church revivalist continually states that the heart of the individual must be made right within and his conditions will be all-right without. So the church has bent its energies toward saving the individual life forgetting in its strenuous desire for individual salvation

that the conditions of society were of such a character that where one person might be saved the majority would be crushed down into a maelstrom of vice. Hence, our W. C. T. U. work, our National Purity Leagues, our Magdalen Homes only deal with the effects of a system and not with the system itself, the cause of such pernicious effects. The Socialist says, "society itself must be rightly developed that there may be a better and higher type of individuals brought into existence." He also says, "change the environment and you change the character of the individual. Right economics produce right ethics."

What has been the method pursued in the appeal to the individual for his salvation from vicious propensities? In its missionaryizing and revival work the church has universally appealed to the emotions. The Socialist propaganda is dependent upon the material necessity of a class and while the Socialist uses the emotional element in his work he does not base his propaganda entirely upon emotionalism and sentimentalism. His propaganda is based upon the cold-blooded logic of material interests and the expression of sentiment is a secondary consideration.

So when a preacher from the Christian church comes into our movement even though he may have a knowledge of Karl Marx, Bellamy and Gronlund he tries, for some reason or other, to combine the two. He tries to make the economic fallacies of his Christian faith square with the economic truths of scientific Socialism; and the result is a badly mixed Socialist. Sometimes he calls himself a Christian Socialist but he finds himself an irritating substance in both camps. The Christians will not have him because he is too much of a Socialist; and the Socialists will not have him because he is not clear on the Socialistic proposition and wants to Christianize the doctrines of Socialism.

Again, in his propaganda of Socialism he would use the same methods as he used in his religious revival work, viz., appealing in every way in his power to the emotions of his auditors. Though this may convert more people to sentimental considerations of Socialism it does not make clear-headed scientific Socialists. Hence, he is called a sentimental Socialist; and in time unless he becomes clear-headed his sentimentality will swallow up his Socialism.

The vicarious atonement is a factor in the world of economic thought because it teaches the dependence of one individual upon another for the payment of a debt. Socialism says, "He who would be free himself must strike the blow." "God helps those who help themselves." Hence, Labor must not depend on any other class but its own to help it out of its condition. It must become free through the power of its class-consciousness and its solidarity thereby. As Count Tolstoi says: "The rich will do everything in the world for the poor but get off their backs." The wage-working class cannot depend upon the capitalist class for its emancipation nor upon the middle-class but must rise up and emancipate itself if it ever wants to be emancipated. It cannot depend upon the capitalist class because that class is interested in keeping it in slavery; it cannot depend on the middle class because that class is interested in robbing the wage-earner of a part of his wages.

Therefore, emancipate yourself, O wage-worker, by voting for yourself; and vote for yourself by voting for the Socialist party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GERMANY.

The Social Democrats or Socialists, are the largest and strongest of all the political organizations in Germany, and are growing in a most extraordinary manner. In 1871 the Socialist party was represented by only two members in the Reichstag, Herren Bebel and Liebknecht, and cast only 124,000 votes in the whole empire. The members of this party were outcasts, Ishmaelites in politics, and were regarded very much as the Anarchists are in the United States—as dangerous to the peace and order of the community—but they continued to grow until at the end of that decade they had twelve representatives. At the election of 1884 their number was increased to twenty-four, and in 1890 they cast 1,437,000 votes and sent thirty-seven representatives to the Reichstag. In 1896 their vote was increased to 1,786,000, and they returned forty-seven deputies, while at the last election they cast more than 2,000,000 votes, and now occupy more than sixty seats on the floor. Neither the Conservatives nor the Centers cast within half a million votes of the Social Democrats, although they have a very much larger representation in the Reichstag, which, as I have intimated, is due to a gerrymander. The city of Berlin, for example, sends a solid Social Democratic delegation to the Imperial Legislature, and all of the great manufacturing centers are similarly represented.

In sympathy with the Social Democrats are the Poles, who, fourteen in number, come from the mining regions and the old Jewish settlements on the borders of Poland, where they still maintain a spirit of independence and dream of the day when the several states now belonging to Russia, Germany and Austria shall be reunited under their own King and exercise a power in the world. No faction in Germany is so clannish and none is more dangerous to the peace of the empire. They have their own societies, schools and churches, and while they are generally Catholics, they elect their own priests and refuse submission to the ecclesiastical authorities in many important matters, as they do in the United States. Although small in numbers, the Polish representatives exercise considerable power in Parliament, where they usually act together and for their own individual interests. If they have nothing at stake and can gain nothing for themselves they usually stand with the Socialists, but the government leaders can obtain their votes whenever needed by inducements of various sorts, mercenary and otherwise.

There is still an anti-Semitic party numbering nine or ten, although it is growing smaller; and its members also vote with the Socialists upon general propositions, and there are ten unreconstructed representatives from Alsace-Lorraine who call themselves a party of protest against the forcible annexation of their provinces to Germany after the Franco-Prussian war. The protest party, however, is gradually disappearing. Formerly it cast twenty-four votes, but the people are becoming reconciled to the inevitable. The ten discontented members, however, can always be depended upon to vote with the Social Democrats or any other organization that is opposed to the government. Besides these are several scattering factions, representing various phases of political issues in Germany. They do not have sufficient numerical strength

to be of influence, but often carry on a guerrilla warfare that is exasperating to the government leaders.

The opposition of the government to the Social Democratic party has made it a magnet to attract all the discontented elements of the community, and whenever a German desires to rebuke his sovereign or the ministry, he votes the Socialist ticket. The government organs have consolidated and encouraged the Social Democrats by denouncing them as "gangs of traitors," as "enemies of society," as "the rabble" and by other choice terms, which do no good and only serve to inflame the passions and stimulate the determination of the people at whom they are directed. In the face of this opposition the Social Democrats are growing in strength with extraordinary rapidity.—Wm. E. Curtis in Chicago Herald (capitalist paper.)

INTELLECTUAL SERFDOM.

An editor in New York, chafing under the conditions which bind him, thus pens an honest confession: "There is no such thing in America as an independent press, unless it is out in the country towns. I am paid for keeping honest opinions out of the papers I am connected with. Others of you are paid similar salaries for doing things. If I should allow honest opinions to be printed in one issue of my paper, like Othello, before twenty-four hours my occupation would be gone. The man who would be so foolish as to write honest opinions would be out on the street hunting for another job. The business of a New York journalist is to distort the truth, lie outright, to pervert, to villify, to fawn at the feet of mammon, and to sell his country and his race for his daily bread, or for what is about the same thing his salary. We are the tools or vassals of the rich men behind the scenes. We are jumping-jacks. They pull the strings and we dance. Our time, our talents, our lives, our possibilities are all the property of other men. We are intellectual prostitutes."—Peoples Paper, Santa Barbara.

THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE AT LAST.

The democratic party has discovered a paramount issue at last. It was uncovered at the recent caucus of the members of the house of representatives. Here it is:

"Resolved, That we shall promote to the utmost of our power the removal of the oppressive, restrictive and often prohibitory features of the existing tariff. It has been truly declared to be the mother of trusts. The tendency to create combinations of wealth, establishing practical monopolies in the manufacturing and commercial industries of the United States, threatens the future existence of individual manufacturers and merchants and tradesmen of moderate or small means."

Do not let the fact that you are familiar with it stand in the way of your appreciation. Remember that the poor old Democratic party is doing the best it knows how. Perhaps something new will turn up between now and election to add to the interest of the campaign.

On another page will be found a communication from George McA. Miller, president of Ruskin College. In the communication Mr. Miller gives evidence of an attack on his institution because it dared to teach the truth. This is as it should be. Any college making an effort to dissiminate knowledge hurtful to vested interests can expect vilification and abuse.

ADVANCE

KARL MARX' ECONOMIC TEACHINGS.

BY KARL KAUSKY.

Translated for "Advance" by Kasper Bauer.

(Continued from last week.)

Proudhon in his *Philosophy of Misery* calls machinery a protest of the guardian angel of industry against the divided and assassinous work; "the restoration of the worker." As a matter of fact, machinery does do away with the old system of the division of labor with its technical prerequisites, yet we find that that system is continued within the factory, and what is worse in a still more degrading form. It is true that the worker no longer uses only a detail-tool all his life, but in place of that, in the interest of increased exploitation the machine is misused to convert him from childhood up, into a detail of a detail-machine, and thus his complete, helpless dependency upon the factory or in other words, upon the capitalist is secured. His work is stripped of all need of mental capacity, it is now only a mechanical, nerve-shattering "shoving along." His special skill dwindles into insignificance when compared with the science, the immense natural process and the social labor mass personified in the modern system of machinery, and just as he must accommodate to the automatic movements of the machine, so he must accommodate himself to the orders of his master, the capitalist.

Whatever may be the form of social organization, this working together on a large scale and the employment of common instruments of labor, especially of machinery, will call for certain regulations of the labor-process which thereby becomes independent of the caprice of the individual worker. Unless we care to forego the advantages of machine production it becomes absolutely necessary to establish certain values, to inaugurate a discipline to which all the workers are subject. But there is discipline and discipline. Discipline within a free community effecting all alike oppresses no one; but forcibly imposed upon individuals to the advantage of others, discipline becomes a heavy burden tolerated only because it cannot be helped—it becomes slavery. It cost many a hard fought battle before the resistance of the worker against this slavery imposed upon them by machinery was broken. Ure, in the book already mentioned, relates, that Wyatt invented the artificial spinning fingers long before Arkwright, and that the main difficulty of the invention was not so much the discovery of an automatic mechanism as the discovery and inauguration of rules of discipline which would properly correspond to the automatic system. Therefore, a monument is due to the "noble" barber Arkwright who so ably accomplished a task "worthy of a Hercules."

These factory rules, or rather laws, constructed by our modern capitalist, know nothing of the constitutional system of democracy in government, nor of the system still dearer to the bourgeois—the system of representation. These rules governing the factory, or capitalist establishment in general are the expression of absolute one-man rule, the rule of the promoter over his workers. "Instead of the whip of the slave driver" says Moore, "steps the record book of the overseer, with its fines for all sorts of petty offenses against these rules. All penalties become, as a matter of course, money penalties and deduc-

tions of wages, and the law-making foresight of the capitalist often makes the violation of the laws just as beneficial as its obedience." This is the way the independence and the self-consciousness of the worker is broken. With that, owing to his one-sided muscular activity, he is crippled physically and run down in general, thanks to the stinking factory atmosphere and the stunning noises during work, that, in short, is the "enobling" influence of the "tutor" of the machine. We have just spoken of the resistance of the worker against the introduction of machinery. With them the consciousness, that machinery disposes of the freedom of the worker is more instinctive than anything else; first this resistance is against the machine as a means of making human labor superfluous. From this point of view, the band mill invented in Danzig in the 16th century was suppressed by the city council of that place; later it met with the same fate in Eau de Cologne, Bavaria and finally was prohibited by imperial edict over the whole of Germany. The revolts of the English workers against the introduction of machinery lasted until away into the last century and the same phenomena was repeated in other countries. In France they occurred as late as 1830, in Germany, always a little behind, in 1848. It is very cheap to lament over the brutal way in which the workers fought against the greatest progress of modern times, but the fact remains, that everywhere and right from the start machinery appears as the enemy of the worker, determined to displace him. During the manufacturing period it was the positive aspect of the division of labor and of co-operation within the workshops—that it made the labor of the employed workers more productive; that it made itself felt. The machine, however, from the very beginning, appears as the competitor of the worker. It is poor consolation for the workers who are displaced by machinery that their misery, according to some economists is only temporary or transient, and that the machine takes possession of new fields of production gradually and that, therefore, the extent and the intensity of its annihilating effect is diminished. "One consolation," says Marx, "disposes of the other." When machine-production seizes an industry by degrees the misery it produces among those who compete with it becomes chronic, on the other hand where the transition is rapid the effect is acute and is felt by great masses. History does not present a tragely more horrible than the gradual extinction of the English hand loom weavers, a process finally ended in 1838, many of them died of starvation, many others "lived" with their families on 5 cents a day. On the other hand, the English cotton machinery produce an acute effect in East India from where the governor-general report in 1834-35: "The misery obtaining hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching on the plains of India." "Truly," says Marx, and his sarcasm is bitter and striking, "insofar as machinery turns the workers out of this temporal world into a home in heaven, machinery causes them no more than temporary inconvenience." The instrument of labor strikes down the laborer. This is shown the plainest where newly invented machinery competes with the remanents of handicraft or manufactures down from former periods.

THE PLENTIFULNESS OF HUMAN LIVES.

The record of avoidable accidents in California for one day must be enough to satisfy the most hardened capitalist. Take last Saturday as an example. Down in San Bernardino seven men were hurled to the earth from a scaffold and the two that escaped with their lives will be permanent cripples. The scaffold was a flimsy structure, built to save money. The capitalist thought it was much better to lose a few lives than to lose a few dollars.

Of course the lives to be lost would not include his own, so why show concern? Before the debris would be cleared away Monday morning the plentifulness of human life would be evidenced by the applications to fill the places of the dead. So many wage-slaves to draw from breeds indifference to the strength or weakness of a scaffold. The chief consideration is economy. The destruction of the steamer *San Rafael* is another contribution to the crimes of capitalists. This old tub went out into the tule fog and never came back. Four lives are known to have been snuffed out. Probably twice as many would be nearer the truth. Like the unfortunate *Rio* the *San Rafael* was cheaply built, cheaply manned and the economy extended even to the life preservers. In their blind rush for security the passengers tore open the lockers that were supposed to contain the life saving appliances and found none. The few that had been discovered beneath the seats were not sufficient to supply one third the passengers with even these slight means of saving their lives.

And this economy all along the line is for the benefit of James B. Stetson and a few stockholders who live in Scotland. Here is the plentifulness of human lives used to add to the dividends of a few Scotch shareholders. There is no mercy or humanity in the stockholder no matter where his home or what his faith. Decent people, lovers of their fellow men in every other relation of life become vultures when elevated to the dignity of stockholders. What subtle thing is there in capitalism that robs a man of all love for his kind once he becomes a clipper of coupons. It is passing strange. Can it be the stockholder imagines the plentifulness of human life was granted the world for his especial benefit?

Under Socialism a good use would be had for all the possible plentifulness of human life. Boats and scaffolds would be built strong and well and the extra time used in making such things for human use would be repaid by the preservation to the world of useful human beings.

Party Meeting.

At the regular party meeting of Dec. 4th, Comrade Barrieau in the chair, the minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. Comrade Larsen will be Chairman of the next propaganda meeting. Communications received from National Secretary, Leon Greenbaum of St. Louis; State Executive Secretary, J. Geo. Smith; David Starr Jordan and Rev. Peter C. Yorke. The proposed State Constitution was adopted up to Section 7, the balance of the same will come up at the next meeting.

It was ordered that a Notice be published in *ADVANCE*: that important matters will be discussed, and a notice by postal card be sent to all member. Receipts of week \$78.40.

Fraternally,
BEN P. OBER, Secretary.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

The California State Committee has submitted a referendum calling for a state convention. It only remains to vote for Los Angeles as the seat of the Convention and Jan. 1st, 1902, as the date.

Utah Socialists have called state convention for December 28th.

Connecticut will hold state convention at Derby, on December 15th.

The Socialist convention at Parsons, Kansas, on Nov. 26th was attended by 57 delegates representing 13 locals. A public meeting was held in Library Hall, besides several street meetings, the result of which was an addition of 25 new members to the Parsons local. The state headquarters will be at Abilene; J. D. Haskell at Abilene, was elected state secretary treasurer, Wilbur C. Benton, State Organizer, and Thomas Mills was nominated for member of the National Committee.

Chas. H. Vail will make a lecture tour during December in the States of Maine, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, under the joint auspices of the National Committee, and the respective state organizations.

The National Committee has decided to cooperate with comrades in New Hampshire, Vermont and Rhode Island, in placing H. W. Smith of East Pepperell, Mass., in the field as organizer.

The National Committee has issued state Charter to Connecticut, Local charters have been issued to Independence, Colo., New Orleans, La., Burnham Township, Okla., Newburn, Va., Mt. Pleasant, Utah, Murray, Utah, and Sioux Falls, S. D.

Chicago Socialists are discussing plans to build a central headquarters.

A Socialist party has been started in New Zealand, some of the people evidently being dissatisfied with the "socialism" doled out by the government.

St. Louis boot and shoeworkers passed resolutions calling upon workingmen to vote for the overthrow of the capitalist system. Good.

In elections in Charlottenburg and Forst, Germany, the Socialists scored magnificent victories despite the fact that all other parties united against them.

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO REBUKED.

Editor *ADVANCE*:

I am instructed by local Oakland of the Socialist party, to report to the *ADVANCE* that, at the regular monthly business meeting of the local, held the evening of December 2nd, the resolution relating to the State Executive Committee: proposition to send J. Stitt Wilson and Colleagues on a lecture tour throughout the state; and commending the action of the State Executive Committee, which were adopted by local Alameda and published in the last issue of the *ADVANCE*, were unanimously adopted by local Oakland.

M. W. WILKINS,

Organizer Oakland Local.

This resolution by San Francisco and all the attendant counter resolutions arise from an error. The state committee did NOT contemplate arranging a tour for Stitt Wilson's COLLEAGUES. That was a mistake made by the secretary and corrected at the following meeting of the state executive committee, as the minutes of that committee will show. Meanwhile local San Francisco, not knowing of the error, protested, and wisely, against the State Committee recommending speakers of which it knew nothing to the country locals.—Editor.

DONATION TO *ADVANCE*.

M. and S.

\$2.50

ADVANCE



Organ of the Socialist Party of California.

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at 618 Merchant Street, San Francisco, Calif.

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In bundles of not less than five copies, per week, 1 cent
per copy.

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If you find your address on paper marked with a blue
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PROFESSOR ELY OF WISCONSIN.

This kindly little man who was selected by the Economic League to visit San Francisco to help reconcile the small producer to the fact that economic changes have taken place in the world did well, considering his mission.

He started out with the usual story about the world waiting for an idea before anything was done. "And the great round world breathed, then paused and forth there stood a man" and the pause was between the birth of great men with great ideas. Professor Ely proved this conclusively by chart. He showed that in the hunting and fishing period of the world the killing of enemies was the favorite pastime of our cultured ancestors and further on the chart he showed that with agriculture came a more ethical conception (emanating originally from a great man) and the killing of enemies gave way to making them slaves. Of course this proves Professor Ely's case. It would be quite improper to suggest that because a use had been found for the enemies, whereby they contributed to the wealth of their conquerors—in other words, an economic reason—and the ethical (?) conception of slavery developed and took precedence of the more barbarous idea of slaughter. To jump a few generations on Professor Ely's chart, ample proof can be found that the world waits for the great man with the great idea. On one side of the all wise chart we have "Free labor", on the other side "Modern industry." Free labor means where a master was free to employ or discharge his "help" at pleasure and pay such wages as he pleased. The next stage ushered in the trust with a corresponding change in the method of hiring help on the other side of the chart. "Free labor," individual bargaining, gave way to "collective bargaining." And the only excuse Professor Ely had for coming out to the West was to tell the little factory owners and the draymen and others who have no time to think such things out for themselves that an economic change had taken place and that they had better make their peace with it. Now, the question naturally comes here, which came first: Collective bargaining (method of treating with men in unions) or Professor Ely? If a satisfactory answer could be had to this question we could learn if the world waits on the great man or plods along without him till he catches up and merely tells what has happened.

This no doubt could have been learned from the Wisconsin professor but there was a fear he would feel em-

barrassed. The writer saw him embarrassed once before. It was at a trial. Professor Ely was the culprit. He was accused of being a Socialist. The faculty of the university and good old President Adams (who by the way is dying) really knew that Professor Ely was no Socialist and rendered a verdict accordingly. He is too much of a professor to be a Socialist. True, he quotes Karl Marx and correctly, but so does Bernstein; so does "Instead of a Book" Benjamin R. Tucker. It is extracting a private conclusion, however, from Marx's premise that freed Professor Ely from the stigma of Socialist and makes Bernstein a petit bourgeois radical and Tucker an anarchist. The point of divergence between Marx and Ely is not at the progressive steps society will take till it is confronted with Socialism or destruction, but rather on the role the working class must play in the transformation. Marx is satisfied that the working class will accept Socialism to save itself from destruction. Ely suggests that a Socialist state, dispensing justice to all "with the impartiality of the postoffice" is good enough for the working class. Having the prevision of the scientist, he knows that one form of Socialism or another MUST soon come because of the economic development and not from the wish of any individual, and having also a sincere love for the small producer he urges him to make up his mind to take the post office brand.

If only our good brother Wayland had been present to dissuade the professor from the conviction that IMPARTIALITY is a peculiar quality of the postoffice the lecture would have been a monumental success.

POSTOFFICE SOCIALISM.

The attempted suppression of Socialist papers by the postoffice authorities if a first class object lesson. The very papers that have been attacked were the most vociferous in their praise of Socialism à la the postoffice. The ADVANCE has pointed out repeatedly that a Socialist system in the control of the capitalist class would be no better than a capitalist system in the control of the same class. Possibly a few of the papers that are contemplating publication in Canada will agree with us now.

It is all very well to shout public ownership, but it is well to be careful and select your public. If "public" is merely another way to spell capitalist class there is not much for the working class to be enthusiastic over. Laws will be made as now to protect the capitalist class, to curtail the freedom of the working class.

There is always a reactionary tendency in society as well as a progressive tendency. When the progressive tendency, because forced to the front by economic changes, becomes formidable the reactionary tendency adjusts itself to the change, and flowing with the progressive tendency, becomes identified with it and when the opportunity comes pushes to the front and dominates. This is illustrated very well in the progress of Socialism. The working class, because of economic need MUST have Socialism. It is merely a question of time when this great change in the method of production and distribution will take place. The economic changes driving the working class into adopting Socialism as an ideal has accelerated the tendency of all society toward the same goal. And hidden that "all society" is the reactionary ten-

dency. For, pulling the working class from the ideal of working class socialism, reaction, by pretending to identify itself with the progressive tendency, makes for actual retrogression. Governmental Socialism is not Socialism; it is merely a thinly disguised concession to the superiority of the capitalist class. It is not a step forward, as many people think, but rather a step in the direction of leaving us all at the mercy of a few officials, who have at their back the army and navy to enforce their rulings. The attempted suppression of Socialist newspapers is a case in point, and we hope it will be enough of a lesson for them to stand clearly and without equivocation for the working class, for in the supremacy of that class rests our freedom.



A TAXPAYERS PLATFORM AND THE SOCIALIST PRESS.

The "Seattle Socialist" is having a set-to with local Whatcom, because that local deemed it wise to forget Socialism (temporarily: the members claim) to run a ticket on a "tax payers" platform. For the benefit of the plaintiff in the case we will say that the man who superintended the erection of the "tax payers" platform received a rebuke from section Los Angeles because he distributed "free silver" literature while a member of the Socialist Labor Party in that place. He, evidently, like the good compromiser and opportunist he is, thinks that progress toward Socialism is made by starting the Socialists off after every side issue that comes up.

There are men who call themselves Socialists who are not yet evolved out of the swaddling clothes of the "colony scheme" and populism. They prate of dogma and De Leonism if a paper hints that middle class influence may dominate or is trying to dominate the Socialist movement. And true to his colors the superintendent of the "tax payers" platform yells at the "Seattle Socialist"—"De Leon!" This is as it should be. We have listened to the same cry as soon as the men who understand the mission of the working class and refuse to allow every middle class clown to weave his brotherly love theories about their heads, stand together and vote for themselves in their own organization. It will always be so. If not De Leon, then something else. Any old stick will do with which to break a dog's back. The editor of "The Seattle Socialist" answers this cry of De Leonism with the following:

"Our party is now in a formative stage and only the most candid and lucid discussion of our principles and tactics will conduct us along lines of harmony and achievement.

This is largely and luminously right. The next two or three years will determine if we shall remain a Socialist party, content to wait and struggle and suffer, but always holding to the narrow way that will lead us to ultimate success: or if we shall be turned into another populist movement, jumping into office here with a grand hurrah and out there and finally waking up after our period of compromise and opportunism to find that we have accomplished no more than the populists. And which ever it is to be, let us discuss it with freedom and courage.

Of course it is not a popular way for the newspaper. An editor could bring to his paper more subscribers,

if he agreed with them that it is a love feast we are engaged in. If he talked largely of "economic evolutionary" on one page and filled another with semi-socialistic trash and a third with a tract on forestry or something of equal value to the working class.

The conscientious Socialist editor, however, cannot do this. He has his finger on the pulse of the movement. He knows where the "tax payers" platform people and the colony schemer and the warmed over populist are a harm to the movement. He is forced to laugh at the pretentious little fellow who thinks he is running a Socialist paper when he is doing absolutely nothing to educate the working class in Socialism, who is doing absolutely nothing to prepare the workers against the day when the wave of capitalistic Socialism will sweep the country. This wave is not far off. In a very few years it will be here. And it is the duty of every Socialist paper to build so well that this wave of capitalistic Socialism will recede and leave the structure of a solid proletarian Socialist movement standing strong and secure. "The Seattle Socialist" has our sincere respect for taking the masqueraders to task. There may be a loss of subscribers, but there is a retention of manhood.

And the contemplated official action by the State Committee will dissuade other locals from turning their backs on Socialism at the behest of a free silverite or other caper for the capitalists. Here is the call:

"Whereas, Local Whatcom has placed a municipal ticket in the field, and adopted a platform distinctly capitalistic, and pledged to conduct an administration, if elected, in the interest of taxpayers, rather than the working class;

Resolved, That a special meeting of the State committee be called on the 22nd day of December, at 220 Union street, Seattle, at 2 p. m. for the purpose of taking such action as may be deemed proper, and that any member of the Socialist Party in the State is invited to attend and take part in the discussion."

The Socialist with the capitalist mind will have a chance here to go extensively into the explaining business.



AN OVERWORKED EDITOR.

The editor of ADVANCE craves the indulgence of his readers. For the past three months he has been running the entire paper alone. Every unsigned article was written by him and the selected articles had to be searched for among possibly fifty journals a week, all the proofs were read by him (this is where the indulgence is craved most) and to crown it all he has been attending to the business department of the paper. This latter is one man's work alone and when we secure a suitable man for the position ADVANCE will be improved in every way.

JOSEPH J. NOEL.



Our captious critic of the South, more anxious to receive free advertising than to have harmony in the movement, tenders an ungraceful apology. Perhaps he looked over the back files of ADVANCE and found that our local news had crowded all other news out of the paper during the campaign. We hope he discovered this means of dissipating his misinformation. It will help him in more ways than one.

AN IOWA FARMER'S EXPERIENCE WITH A RAILROAD.

Here is a story from the Philadelphia North American that should give every man with an inclination towards fighting the railroads single handed pause. The career of the Coal and Iron police—minions of the railroads—in Pennsylvania is even more a matter of criminal record than the following:

With a harrowing story corroborating evidence of persecution as unrelenting and deep laid as that of Dreyfus. James R. Faust, once a prosperous farmer of Clarence, Iowa, has just come to that city to undertake the work of purging his character from the stigma of crime, and of establishing his sanity.

The man's appearance here, where he is well known, was sudden and unexpected as if he had stepped from the tomb. Months of solitary confinement in prisons, added to months of incarceration in asylums for the insane, with no companions but madmen, have so changed his looks that few of his friends recognize him.

To be brief, Faust was arrested in September, 1897, on a charge of setting fire to his own barn for the insurance, in the face of evidence that the policy did not nearly cover the loss. At the trial two detectives testified that Faust had made a full confession, under "sweating" pressure. The prisoner attempted to prove an alibi by showing that he was in Des Moines the night of the fire, but his witnesses could not be found, and he was sentenced to four years in the State Prison at Fort Madison.

During his imprisonment his wife, who was Hattie Bromell, the daughter of a wealthy farmer, remained a steadfast believer in his innocence. She had married Faust under romantic circumstances, refusing the hand of a rich suitor. This man committed suicide after her marriage, a fact which disposes of any theory that the persecution had its origin in jealousy.

Faust was discharged from Fort Madison on June 1. Then, he says, before he could get out of town, two men approached and arrested him with a warrant charging forgery committed in Illinois. Bound and gagged, Faust was placed in a buggy and taken across the Mississippi to Illinois. Thence he was taken to Chicago. When he attempted to call fellow-passengers to his aid, or when he tried to communicate to them his plight, his captors, he says, would shake their heads and signify that he was insane.

In Chicago, according to Faust's story; he was kept in a private madhouse for several weeks. One day he eluded his guard and managed to write a letter to his wife. The letter was ultimately found, and lest he would ultimately succeed in getting word to his family his captors hurried him to Ohio.

When they reached Toledo a man supposed to be an officer arrested him on a warrant charging arson in Saline County, Ohio. The charge did not appear sufficiently founded, he says, but the story which he told in his defense was so weird and dramatic that he was promptly set down as a lunatic and marched to the asylum at Toledo. He made an attempt to escape one night, but was caught. On the night of Aug. 26, however, Faust removed a grating from an air shaft, let himself through to the basement and escaped. Then he beat his way on freight trains to Illinois and eventually landed at his old home.

His first step after the reunion with his wife was to have himself examined by specialists, who pronounced him sane. His friends rallied to his cause, and but for the affidavits they have submitted the man's sanity might still be questioned, despite physicians' certificates, so strange is his story.

Rev. J. F. Earl of Waterloo declares that he was approached one night more than a year ago by a stranger, who said his name was C. F. Rawlins, and that the man confessed that he was the one who fired the barn.

Postmaster Munger of Clarence who received by mail what purports to be the written confession of Rawlins, in which the writer declares that he was employed to set fire to Faust's barn by detectives for the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad. The object of the detectives, the confession sets forth, was to create sentiment against Faust, who at the time had been awarded a judgment against the road for some household goods, which had been burned while stored in a freight car.

Think of that you lovers of law and order and upholders of private ownership.

Book Review.

There is no question more prominently before the American public at the present time than the negro question. The article by W. H. Noyes on "Some Proposed Solutions of the Negro Problem" in the December number of the International Socialist Review, is one of the few discussions of this subject by a man who combines as nearly as possible both the Northern and Southern point of view. He recognizes the fact of race prejudice and inferiority, but realizes the common interest between the laborers of the two races which must end in the true freedom of both.

Bolton Hall has an article on "The Common Aims of the Socialist and the Single Taxer" in the same number, in which he endeavors to show that the single tax would make wealth so abundant that instead of men giving a price or premium for the use of it, they would be willing to give a part of it for its mere safe keeping. A correspondent from Manila tells of some of the outrages against laborers and the justice which capitalism is perpetrating in the Philippines. Robert Rives La Monte sends a most readable letter from New Zealand, a country that just now is the centre of so much social speculation. Louis Bertrand, of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies, gives some of the remarkable results of the "Co-operative movement in Belgium." Every person who is interested in socialist philosophy will find in the discussions of "Opportunism" by "Parvus," some of the most valuable contributions that have been made in recent years. The departments on "Socialism Abroad" and the "World of Labor" cover their respective fields in a most interesting manner. 10 Cents a Copy; \$1.00 a year. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Publishers, 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Delegates Expense Report.

Expenses of H. Ryan, delegate, in going to and from Unity Convention. Railway fares \$81.25; cost of sleeper, \$3; hotel expenses for 18 days, \$30.50. Total \$114.75.

RECEIPTS

Remittance from State Executive Committee, by Comrade Vail, \$20.75; from State Committee, Sept. 30th, \$17; 100 due stamps (money for same entered in fund) \$10. Donations: Frank Hepp, \$5; Los Gatos, \$2; Santa Cruz, collected by G. Groner, \$2.50; Local San Jose by Entertainment Committee \$3.75; Jas. Roche, \$1; F. Thole, \$1; R. K. Swope, .50; H. Ryan, \$5. Total \$68.50.

SUMMARY

Total expenditures, \$114.75. Receipts \$68.50. Total deficiency \$46.25. Disbursement of deficiency: H. Ryan, bal. due him, \$15.75; Daniel Geary, on loan \$30.50. Correct total \$46.25. Submitted by Jos. O'Brien, San Jose, Cal.

Campaign Fund.

Previously acknowledged \$347.10. George Stein \$1; Chas. Pierson 25c; A. Frukenbroot 50c; John Messer \$2. Total \$350.84.

Comrades who still have lists are once more requested to hand them in as soon as possible.

OSCAR JOHNSON, Financial Secretary.

Constitution of the Socialist Party

"The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in State where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

"There shall be a national committee, composed of one member from each organized State or Territory, and a quorum of five to be elected from the membership of the locality of the seat of the committee.

"The members of this committee shall be elected by and from the membership of the States or Territories which they respectively represent by referendum vote. Their term of office shall not be more than two years, and they shall take their seats in the month of January.

DUTIES AND POWERS.

"The duties of this committee shall be to supervise and direct the work of the National Secretary, to represent the party in all national and international affairs to organize unorganized States and Territories, to call national nominating conventions and special conventions called by referendum of the party and to submit questions to referendum, to receive semi-annual reports from the State committees and to make reports to national conventions. Any member of the National committee not a member of the local quorum may require the Secretary to submit to a vote of the whole National committee questions as to the removal of the local committee or the secretary; also for its consideration of any part of the work of the secretary or of the local committee, or any business belonging to the National committee.

"The National committee shall elect a committee of five from the party membership of the locality selected for the party headquarters, to supervise and assist the secretary as the National committee shall require and direct. Said committee of five shall form part of and be a quorum of the National committee, but shall be subject to removal at any time by the National committee. On the question of removal the said local quorum shall have no vote. This committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ.

"The National Secretary shall be elected by the National committee, his term of office to be for the period of one year, beginning February 1, 1902, and be subject to removal at its discretion.

"In States and Territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party and representing at least ten local organizations in different parts of such State or Territory, respectively, the State or Territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the number residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such State or Territory, and the National Executive Committee and sub-committee or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective State or Territorial organizations.

"Expenses of the National committeemen in attending meetings shall be paid from the National treasury.

"The National Secretary shall be in communication with the members of the National committee, the officers of the organized States and Territories, and with members in unorganized States and Territories. The secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of \$1,000 annually.

HEADQUARTERS.

The headquarters shall be located at St. Louis. But said headquarters may be changed by the National committee, subject to a referendum of the party.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

"Each State or Territory may organize in such a way or manner, and under such rules and regulations, as it may determine, but not in conflict with the provisions with this constitution.

"A State or Territory shall be deemed organized and shall have a right to affiliate upon the organization of not less than four branches, and each branch to consist of not less than five members. Each State and Territory so organized shall receive a charter.

"The platform of the Socialist Party adopted in convention, or by referendum vote, shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all State and municipal organizations shall, in the adoption of their platforms, conform thereto.

DUES.

"The State committees shall pay to the National committee every month a sum equal to five cents for every member in good standing within their respective territories.

REPORTS.

"The Secretary shall prepare a monthly statement of the financial and other business of his office, and when approved by the local quorum of five shall issue the same way as the National committee shall direct.

"The National committee shall prepare a semi-annual report of all the financial and other business of the party and issue the same to all State and Territorial organizations.

"The State committees shall make semi-annual reports to the National committee concerning their membership, financial condition and general standing of the party.

"The National committee shall also arrange a system of financial secretaries' and treasurers' books for locals, the same to be furnished at cost to locals upon application.

AMENDMENTS.

"This constitution may be amended by a National convention, subject to a majority referendum vote of the party or by a referendum without the action of such a convention, and it shall be the duty of the National committee to submit such amendment to a referendum vote within thirty days after being requested to do so by five locals in three different States.

REFERENDUM.

"All acts of the National committee shall be subject to referendum vote after the same manner as provided in the preceding section.

"All propositions or other matter submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without comment.

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

"The basis of representation in any National convention shall be by States, each State being entitled to one delegate at large and one additional delegate for every hundred members in good standing."

ASTHMA CURE FREE!

Asthmalene Brings Instant Relief and Permanent Cure in All Cases.

SENT ABSOLUTELY FREE ON RECEIPT OF POSTAL.

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There is nothing like Asthmalene. It brings instant relief, even in the worst cases. It cures when all else fails.

The REV. C. F. WELLS of Villa Ridge, Ill., says: "Your trial bottle of Asthmalene received in good condition. I cannot tell you how thankful I feel for the good derived from it. I was a slave, chained with putrid sore throat and Asthma for ten years. I despaired of ever being cured. I saw your advertisement for the cure of this dreadful and tormenting disease, Asthma, and thought you had overspoken yourselves, but resolved to give it a trial. To my astonishment, the trial acted like a charm. Send me a full-size bottle."

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER,

Rabbi of the Cong. Bnai Israel.

NEW YORK, Jan. 3, 1901.

DRS. TAFT BROS.' MEDICINE CO.,

Gentlemen: Your Asthmalene is an excellent remedy for Asthma and Hay Fever, and its composition alleviates all troubles which combine with Asthma. Its success is astonishing and wonderful.

After having it carefully analyzed, we can state that Asthmalene contains no opium, morphine, chloroform or ether.

Very truly yours,

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER.

AVON SPRINGS, N. Y., Feb. 1, 1901.

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NOTICE.

TO THE STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

COMRADES: At the International Congress held at Paris, in 1900, a resolution was adopted establishing the International Socialist Bureau, with headquarters at Brussels, Belgium. The purpose of this bureau, is that of being the medium of communication and instruction whereby the Socialist parties of all countries, may be brought into international union.

In order to accomplish this end, the Bureau is charged with the duty of taking necessary measures to facilitate the international organization of the proletariat of all countries; to arrange for International Congresses; to receive and publish reports; and attend to other matters within its scope and with which it may be charged from time to time. By the terms of the resolution the Socialist party or parties of each country, which adhere to the resolutions of the International Congress may be represented at the International Bureau by two delegates or secretaries.

In accordance with this resolution, the state and local organizations are hereby called upon to make nominations of candidates for two secretaries, it being understood that the candidate receiving the highest number of votes shall be elected; and the candidate receiving the second highest number of votes to stand elected in the event that the Socialist Labor Party omits to elect a delegate in compliance with the conditions of representation.

Any member of the party in good standing may be nominated. In nominating candidates the comrades will bear in mind that the secretaries may be called upon to pass not only upon matters concerning the socialist movement of our country, but upon questions concerning the movement of other countries.

The officers of the locals in organized states are requested to forward the names and addresses of the candidates nominated, to their respective state secretaries; locals in unorganized states to forward their nominations to the National Secretary; said action to be taken in such season, that the nominations in both organized and unorganized states will reach the undersigned not later than January 1st, 1902.

LEON GREENBAUM, Nat'l Sec'y.

CONVENTION REFERENDUM.

To the Locals of the Socialist Party in California:

The State Executive Committee is requested to submit to the Locals of the State a Referendum calling for a State Convention for December 6th, 1901, or any date selected by highest vote, and that the representation will be the membership in good standing of either parts of the Social Democratic Party, with seat of National Committee at Springfield or Chicago, each delegate voting the members signing his credentials, and that the place to hold the Convention will be determined by the highest number of votes.

B. P. OBER, Secretary.

This initiative has been properly seconded by Locals Redlands and Los Angeles.

The State Executive submits this, and all votes are to be in possession of the State Executive Committee, on or before Saturday, Dec. 21, 1901.

Yours Fraternally,
STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Per J. GEORGE SMITH, Sec'y,
309 Examiner Building.

GIVE NUMBER OF VOTES

For Against Date

Place

Los Angeles was recommended by Local San Francisco as the seat of the convention. Local Los Angeles recommended January 1, 1902 as the date. Both these recommendations are good and should be voted for by the comrades all over the state. There is also a referendum from Local Redlands on bringing the best orators in the Socialist movement to California. And another on the election of a national committeeman. Ed.]

Comrades Roche, Spring, Richardson, Holmes and Wheat are in nomination for National Committeemen.

RUSKIN COLLEGE UNDER FIRE.

Editor Advance: Oppression can continue only by suppression. The truth makes men free. Let them know the truth. They will do the rest. Capitalism knows this. Hence the program of suppression. Speakers are arrested. Literature is excluded from the mails. Election returns are withheld. Suppression is the tribute which oppression pays to the power of truth. The campaign of suppression is on. This is the present crisis. The conspiracy of silence has failed. The command for silence is now on trial. If it succeeds the pending battle of Socialism for a hearing is lost. It is at this point that our phalanx must be formed.

Ruskin College wants to be in this phalanx. It has both general and particular reasons for this desire. Its general reason is that accepting the issue of suppression is strategic as a policy for the army of the new day. The fight for a hearing is at this point, the best means of proclaiming the truth. It was so when the abolitionists had to meet the issue of suppression. Paul's fight for a hearing gave him the ear of the Roman Empire. It has always been so.

Its particular reason is that it is under the fire of these same guns of suppression. Its literature has been denied second class rate of postage. The capitalist press, metropolitan and rural, attack its industrial policy, because it furnishes education to the poor without mortgaging them to the rich. The politicians call it a hot-bed of anarchy because it opposes all anarchism. The first year's opposition was mild. The second year's opposition showed its teeth as soon as it became known that the radical press was with the institution. The assassination of President McKinley was the signal for open attack. This in the face of the fact that the college resolutions uttered the first local denunciation of the crime. Word passed all along the line that the college must shut up or shut down. A mob "marched boldly up" the college hill to demand the dismissal of a member of the faculty. But like the army of the nursery king it "then marched down again" without making anything happen. That member of the faculty stays.

The college did not shut up. Dr. Thos. E. Will of the social science department hurled through all accessible avenues of the press a defense of Socialism and a compendium of endorsements of it from the world's great ones. This broadside deserves a high place in the new day literature. Reprints of it were scattered like leaves in Vallombrosa. Walter Vrooman came down from Chicago, saw—conquered. Since his masterly defense of Socialism in the opera house, local attempts at suppression have ceased, and all the sensible people have come to themselves again. The gossip that Mr. Vrooman helped to pay Czolgosz's lawyer is a sample of the harmlessness of such local spleen as remains.

This experience of the college was typical. The suppressionists summoned religion to their aid. The brotherhood ethics for which the college stands was heralded as religious heresy. That battle has also been won by the college so far as local interests are concerned.

Ruskin College, be it therefore known, having refused to shut up, has no intention of shutting down. It will meet the general attack of the suppressionists with the same weapons by which it has repulsed the local attack. It proposes to do business at the old stand, Trenton, Mo., as long as the kind of business it is in needs to be done. The 400 students enrolled last year are proof that it has won a place. The larger enrollment of this year is promise that it will hold it. All doubt of this can be dispelled by the complete co-operation of those who stand for what it stands for.

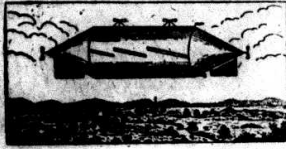
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Trenton, Mo.

Special Notice.

Every Comrade in the Local should attend the Party Meeting next Wednesday to vote on the referendum for a State Convention.

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- BAKERS and Confectioners International Journeymen**, No. 24. Meets 1st and 3d Saturdays, at 117 Turk street. Marcel Wille, Secretary.
- BAKERS and Confectioners International, Journeymen**, No. 106. (Drivers). Meets every Wednesday, 6:30 p. m., at 117 Turk street. Herman Vogt, Secretary, with Liberty Bakery, cor. Jones and O'Farrell streets.
- BAKERS and Confectioners International, Journeymen**, No. 117. (Italian), 117 Turk street. Marcel Wille, Secretary, 117 Turk street.
- BAKERS (Cracker) and Confectioners International, Journeymen**, No. 125. Meets 1st and 3d Monday at Garibaldi Hall, 423 Broadway. C. E. Pursley, Secretary, 2109½ Mason St.
- BARBERS International Union, Journeymen**, No. 142. Meets every Monday, 8:45 p. m., at 32 O'Farrell street. I. Less, Secretary, 927 Market street, room 207.
- BOOT and Shoe Repairers Union, Custom**. Meets 1st Tuesday in each month at 102 O'Farrell street.
- BOOT and Shoe Workers Union International**, No. 216. Meets every Monday at 909 Market St. F. Maysenhelder, Secretary, 522 Eighth St.
- BOOKBINDERS Protective and Beneficial Association**. Meets 1st Friday at 102 O'Farrell street. L. G. Wolfe, Secretary, 765 Fifth St., Oakland.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of**, No. 25. Meets 2d and 4th Thursdays, at 102 O'Farrell street. H. McNeasy, Secretary, 320 Harriet street.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of**, No. 205. Meets 1st and 3d Friday at Potrero Opera House, Tennessee St. John Honeyman, Secretary, 831 Texas St.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders' Helpers**, No. 9052. Meets Wednesdays at 121 Eddy St. Walter J. Cullen, Secretary, 1320 Harrison St.
- BLACKSMITH Helpers (Machine)**, No. 8922. Meets Tuesdays at 102 O'Farrell St. John Quigley, Secretary, 142 Silver St.
- BLACKSMITHS**, No. 168. Ship and Machine, International Brotherhood of. Meets Fridays at 102 O'Farrell St. G. Clarke, Secretary, 62 Raoush St.
- BREWERY Workers International Union of United**, No. 7. Branch 1 meets 2d and 4th Thursday; Branch 2 meets 2d and 4th Thursday; at 1159 Mission St. Ludwig Berg, Secretary, 1159 Mission St.
- BREWERY Workers, International Union of United**, No. 102. Bottlers. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday, 8:30 p. m., at 1159 Mission St. A. R. Andre, Secretary.
- BREWERY Workers, International Union of United**, No. 227. Drivers. Meets 2d and 4th Monday, 8:30 p. m., at 1159 Mission St. A.olph Speck, Secretary.
- BROOMMAKERS International**, No. 58. Meets 1st and 3d Thursday, at 1159 Mission St. Geo. F. Daley, Secretary, 3514 Twenty-sixth St.
- BLACKSMITHS International Brotherhood of**, No. 99. Carriage and Wagon. Meets every Wednesday at 117 Turk St. W. W. Clarke, Secretary, 320 Lexington Ave.
- BLACKSMITH Helpers and Finishers**, No. 9166. Meets Wednesday nights at 1159 Mission St. John B. McLennon, Secretary, 525 Connecticut St.
- CARRIAGE and Wagon Workers International**, No. 66. Painters. Meets every Thursday at 1133 Mission St. T. J. Finn, Secretary, 1622 Mission St.
- CARRIAGE and Wagon Workers International**, No. 69. Wood Workers. Meets every Tuesday at 117 Turk St. Fred Hoese, Secretary.
- CARPENTERS and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood**, No. 483. Meets every Monday at 915½ Market St. A. E. Carlisle, Secretary.
- CIGARMAKERS International Union of America**, No. 228. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday at 368 Jessie St. J. A. Ramon, Secretary, 368 Jessie St.
- CLERKS International Protective Association, Retail**, No. 432. Meets every Tuesday at Pioneer Hall, 32 Fourth St. Leo. Kaufmann, Secretary, 1084 Golden Gate Ave.
- CLERKS International Protective Association, Retail**, No. 410. Shoe Clerks. Meets every Wednesday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. E. Kelly, Secretary, 28 Kearny St.
- CLERKS Protective Association, Drug**, No. 472. Meets Fridays at 909 Market St. H. Schwartz, Secretary, 1718 Geary St.
- CLERKS, Ship**, No. 8947. Meets Thursdays at 5 Market St. Room 17. W. O. Ferrall, Secretary, 315½ Capp St.
- COOPERS' International Union of N. A.**, No. 65. Meets 2d and 4th Thursday at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St. Secretary, W. T. Colbert, 280 Lexington Ave.
- CORE Makers' International Union**, No. 68. Meets at 1159 Mission St., Thursday. Secretary, Walter Green.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team**, No. 85. Brotherhood of Teamsters. Meets every Thursday at Teutonia Hall, 1332 Howard St. John McLaughlin, Secretary, 210 Langton St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team**, No. 228. Sand Teamsters. Meets every Wednesday, at 1159 Mission St. M. J. Dillon, Secretary, 5 Homer St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team**, No. 224. Hackmen. Meets every Thursday at 102 O'Farrell St. John Dowling, Secretary, 27 Fifth St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team**, No. 226. Milk Drivers. Meets every Wednesday at Mangel's Hall, 24th and Folsom St. A. Djean, Secretary, 935 Market St., Room 17.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team**, No. 256. Meets at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St., Tuesdays. Secretary, James Jordan, 530 Castro St.
- ELECTRICAL Workers of America, National Brotherhood**, No. 151. Linemen. Meets every Monday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. F. Leonard, Secretary, 1227 Filbert St.
- ENGINEERS, International Union of Steam**, No. 64. Electrical and Steam Engineers. Meets Fridays at Odd Fellows' Hall. W. T. Ronney, Secretary.
- GARMENT Workers of America, United**, No. 131. Meets every Thursday at 117 Turk St. Ed. Corpe, Secretary, 4382 20th St.
- GARMENT Workers Union, International, Ladies**, No. 8. Cloakmakers. Meets every Tuesday at 915½ Market St. I. Jacoby, Secretary.
- GLASS Bottle Blowers Association of the U. S. and Can.**, No. 3. Meets 2d and 4th Tuesday at Eintracht Hall, Twelfth, nr. Folsom St. Phil. J. Dietz, Secretary, 1347 Eleventh St., Sunset District.
- GLASS Workers, American Flint Association of the U. S. and Can.**, No. 138. Meets 1st Tuesday at 121 Eddy St. H. Johnson, Secretary, 1017 Howard St.
- HATTERS of North America, United**, S. F. District. Meets 2d Friday, January, April, July, Oct. C. H. Davis, secretary, 1458 Market St.
- HORSESHOERS of the U. S. and Canada, International Union**, No. 25. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday at 909 Market St. John McCloskey, Secretary, 202 Oak St.
- HOTEL and Restaurant Employees**, No. 1. (Cooks and Waiters Alliance). Meets every Wednesday, at 8:30 p. m., at 316 O'Farrell St. W. L. Candle, Secretary, 12 Carlos Place.
- LAUNDRY Workers International Union (Shirts and Waists)**, No. 23. French. Meets every Wednesday at Universal Hall, 812 Pacific St. J. Dussere, Secretary, 12 Montgomery St., Room 12.
- LAUNDRY Workers International Union, Steam**, No. 26. Branch No. 1 meets 1st and 3d Monday at 1159 Mission St. Branch No. 2 meets 2d and 4th Monday at 1749 Mission St. Secretary, 927 Market St., Room 302.
- LEATHERWORKERS on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood**. Meets every Friday at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St. A. H. Kohler, Secretary, 1519 Polk St.
- LITHOGRAPHERS International Protective and Beneficial Association**, No. 17. Meets 2d and 4th Wednesday, Alcazar Building. R. L. Olsen, Secretary 1007½ Lombard St.
- LABORERS' Protective Association**, No. 8044. Meets Sundays at 200 p. m., 1159 Mission St. John P. Kelly, Secretary, 117 Gilbert St.
- LEAD Workers, Manufacturing**, No. 9051. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday, at 117 Turk St., Tuesdays. Geo. A. Frank, Secretary, 220 Ash Ave.
- MACHINISTS, International Association**, No. 68. Meets every Wednesday at 32 O'Farrell St. R. I. Wisler, Secretary, 927 Market St.
- MEAT Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated**. Meets Tuesday at 117 Turk St. Hérmann May, Secretary, Walnut Ave.
- METAL Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass Workers Union of North America**, No. 128. Meets 1st and 3d Monday at 1133 Mission St. J. J. O'Brien, Secretary, 749 Howard St.
- METAL Polishers, Buffers, Platers and General Brass Workers of North America**, No. 128. Brass Finishers. Meets Thursday nights at 1133 Mission St. W. J. Ballard, Secretary.
- METAL Workers International Union**, No. 111. Coppersmiths. Meets 2d Saturdays at 117 Turk St. W. H. Pohlman, Secretary, 1128 Sacramento St., Vallejo, Cal.
- MILKERS Union**, No. 8861. Meets 2d Sunday and 4th Tuesdays in March and June at 528 Montgomery St. A. Iten, Secretary, 526 Montgomery St.
- MOULDERS Union of North America, Iron**, No. 164. Meets every Tuesday at 1133 Mission St. Martin G. Fallon, Secretary, 2429 Folsom St.
- MAILERS, Newspaper**, No. 18. Meets 1st Thursday at 102 O'Farrell St. Alfred O'Neil, Secretary.
- METAL Workers United**, No. 27 (Machinists Hands). Meets 2d and 4th Tuesdays at 1133 Mission St. D. J. Murray, Secretary, 1874 Ringold St.
- METAL Workers International Association, Amalgamated Sheet No. 26**. Meets Fridays at 122 Eddy St. L. F. Harris, Secretary.
- MUSICIANS' Mutual Protective Union (American Federation of Musicians)**, No. 6. Meets 1st Thursday, at 1:30 p. m. Board of Directors every Tuesday, 1 p. m. at 421 Post St. S. Davis, Secretary, 421 Post St.
- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers, of America, Brotherhood of**, No. 134. Varnishers and Polishers. Mondays at 117 Turk St. J. C. Patterson, 405 Thirtieth St.
- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, Brotherhood of**, No. 136. Meets 1st and 3d Monday, at 117 Turk St., Mondays. Carl Trost, Secretary, 806 Taylor St.
- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, Brotherhood of**, No. 131. Paper Hangers. Meets every Friday at 915½ Market St. T. J. Crowley, Secretary.
- POULTRY and Game Dressers**, No. 9050. A. F. of L. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesdays at California Hall, 620 Bush St. Thos. W. Collas, Secretary, 31 Essex St.
- PAVERS' Union**, No. 8895. Meets 1st Monday at 120 Ninth St. M. Murphy, Secretary, 150 Harrison St.
- PATTERN Makers meet** at 55 Third St. E. A. Donahue, Secretary, 55 Third St.
- PRINTING Pressmen's Union**, No. 4. Web Pressmen. 1st Monday at Becker's Hall, 14 Third St. A. J. Brainwell, Secretary, 1814 B Mission Street.
- PRINTING Pressmen's Union, International**, No. 24. 1st and 3d Monday at 32 O'Farrell St. W. Griswold, Secretary, 2927 Pierce St.
- PORTERS and Packers**, No. 8885. Wednesday at 117 Turk St. Will T. Davenport, Secretary, 1811 O'Farrell St.
- PILE Drivers and Bridge Builders**, No. 9078. Saturday at 26 Sacramento St. J. V. Beck, Secretary, 922 Natoma St.
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ery Monday at 102 O'Farrell St. Chas. P.
White, Secretary, 405 Natoma St.

SHIP and Steamboat Joiners Union, No. 8186, A.
F. of L. 3d Wednesday at 20 Eddy St. Thos.
Westoby, Secretary, 328 1/2 Fremont St.

SHIP Drillers' Union, No. 9037, A. F. of L., Thurs-
day at 1159 Mission St. B. P. Byers, Sec-
retary, 21 Valencia St.

SHIPWRIGHTS and Caulkers, No. 9162, A. F. of
L. Meets at 1320 Howard St., Monday. Sec-
retary, G. W. Bishop, 50 Converse St.

SWEEPERS' Union, No. 9029, A. F. of L. Meets
every Wednesday evening and 1st Sunday at
2 p. m., at 376 Brannan St.; entrance on Third
St. Wm. Coakley, Secretary, 1142 Mission
Street.

THEATRE Employees National Alliance, Theatrical.
(Theatrical Employees Protective Union). 1st
and 3d Thursdays, 2 p. m., at Native Sons'
Hall, 414 Mason St. Carl Taylor, Secretary,
414 Mason St.

TEAM Fitters and Helpers, No. 46. National As-
sociation of Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters'
Helpers of America. Tuesdays at Pioneer
Hall, 24 Fourth St. R. A. Koppen, Sec-
retary, 50 Elliott Park.

TANNERS' Union, No. 9018. Meets Wednesdays
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Ave. R. H. Kreuz, Secretary, 42 Valley St.

TYPOGRAPHICAL Union, International, No. 21
(Compositors). Meets last Sunday, 2 p. m.,
at 38 O'Farrell St. H. L. White, Secretary,
533 Kearney St.

TYPOGRAPHICAL Union, International, No. 8
(Photo Engravers). Meets 1st Tuesday and
3d Sunday, at 14 Third St., Becker's Hall.
Thomas Wall, Secretary, 14 Third St.

TYPOGRAPHICAL Union, International, No. 29
(Stereotypers). Meets 3d Monday at Shields
Building. H. D. Pohlmann, Secretary, care
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