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AMERICA

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

WHOLE NUMBER 402

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, APRIL 19, 1902.

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR.

OUR GALLANT BRUTES IN BLUE!

TWO BIG MEETINGS AND TWO GOOD SPEECHES.

Carrying "Civilization" and "Christianity" to the Filipinos. The Cause of It.

THE court martial appointed to try Major Waller has acquitted him. This was to be expected. The whole gang that made up the army is tarred with the same stick of cruelty and bloodthirstiness and to convict Waller would be to condemn them. Hence, the acquittal.

But the testimony elicited and brought to light important facts as to the methods employed by "our" soldiers and the results obtained. The whole business is one which exposes military rule in all its enormity and savagery. Also some of the daily papers have given pretty full accounts of the investigation, some of the testimony is well worth reprinting.

Major Cornelius Gardner, Civil Governor of Tabayas, reports as follows:
"Of late, by the conduct of the troops, such as the extensive burning of the barrios in trying to lay waste the country so that the insurgents cannot occupy it; the torturing of natives by so-called water cure, and other methods, in order to obtain information; the harsh treatment of natives generally and the failure of inexperienced, lately appointed lieutenants commanding posts, to distinguish between those who are friendly and those unfriendly, and to treat every native as if he were, whether or no, an insurgent as heart, this favorable sentiment above referred to is being fast destroyed and a deep hatred toward us engendered."

"The course now being pursued in this province, and in the provinces of Batangas, Laguna and Samar is, in my opinion, sowing seeds for a perpetual revolution against us hereafter when ever a good opportunity offers. Under present conditions the political situation in this province is retrograding and the American sentiment together with our respectability is being destroyed."

The method of obtaining information, the water-cure for stubbornness, rivals in brutality anything savage tribes ever perpetrated. Here is a description:
Washington, April 18.—Testimony was given before the Philippines Committee of the Senate to day by two volunteer soldiers, of the tortures of a Filipino official by the "water-cure" under the direction of an officer of the regular army, with an officer of volunteers standing by an army surgeon present to see that the tortures were not carried to a fatal point.

Sergeant Charles S. Riley, formerly of the Twenty-sixth Volunteer Infantry, who spent eighteen months in the Philippines, was the first witness. When asked if he had ever seen the "water-cure," he replied in the affirmative and gave the following description of the torture:
"It was on Nov. 27, 1900, at the town of Ibarra. The President of the town was the victim. He was stripped to the waist and his hands were tied behind him. Captain Glenn of the Eighteenth United States regulars stood beside him, together with one or two men. There was a tank on the floor above. The President refused to answer a question as to whether he had sent runners to announce the arrival of the United States troops. He was then placed under the water tank. His mouth was held open and water was allowed to run from the faucet into his mouth, so that he had either to swallow it or strangle to death. After the victim intimated by a sign that he was ready to speak, he was allowed to spit partly up; then he answered."

The witness said the President again refused to answer questions. This time a syringe was placed, one end in the water and another in the President's mouth. This did not work well and a second syringe was sent for. One end was placed in the man's nostrils and a handful of salt was put into the water. Lyons, an American contract surgeon, superintended the operation. The victim soon gave up the information under this treatment, admitting that he had sent runners out to inform the insurgents that the Americans had arrived, and to look out for them. That night the town was burned by orders of Captain Glenn, who was then Judge Advocate of the Department of Visayas.

William Lewis Smith, a soldier of the same regiment, confirmed the above testimony and said that Dr. Lyons stood by to see that the torture was not carried too far.

How considerate our officers were in having a surgeon who should see that the hapless victim was not strangled quite to death! A dead president would be unable to testify. But one who had been almost killed would be more docile next time.

Major Waller says he believes he did right and charges the natives with cruelty. But we have yet to hear of their practicing the water-cure on American soldiers, or using any other method of torture to make them betray their countrymen. In American history we cannot recall any such actions by the British against the colonists nor by the Union men against the Con-

federates. It seems reserved for Imperialism in its modern civilizing and Christianizing form to practice such barbarities. It would seem in order to amend the constitution of the United States Independence. Let it hereafter be known that "All men have rights to life and liberty—except Filipinos." "No cruel or unusual punishment shall be inflicted—except upon Filipinos." "All government shall be by the consent of the governed—provided, that in the Philippines the water-cure shall be used to obtain consent."

But why these amendments? What is the cause of the change that has come over "the spirit of our institutions"? It is a very simple.

Until 1898 the commercial or capitalist interests had been developing within the United States. The vast resources and wide field for new enterprises and in the rapidly growing population was found plenty of opportunity for capital to invest and a great enough market for its products. But with the rapid growth of industrial organization, economical methods of work and labor-saving machinery by 1898 WEALTH PRODUCTION IN THE U. S. HAD OUTFRONT THE POPULATION.

In the words of Chauncy M. Depew, "We created \$2,000,000,000 worth more of goods than we could consume." Hence the "hammering on the gate of Pelein" and the conquest of the Philippines. In other words, the same power that works men, women and children until they go into an early grave after lives of poverty and wretchedness, the trust that ruthlessly tramples over the rights of all helps in the United States directly and indirectly creates in this abroad and for the sake of new fields of investment and foreign markets instigates the subversion of every human right and sanctions every outrage.

We are in receipt of a letter from the United States Export Association, whose motto is, "Our field: the world: population 1,440,000,000." This is an organization formed for the purpose of promoting the interests of the Trust. In the letter received it substantiates our statement that the market power is behind the foreign markets that has given us in the Philippines to conquer. It is useless, therefore, to merely protest against the brutality of Imperialism in the Philippines. Imperialism is always maintained by militarism and the soldier of aggression is of necessity a cruel brute. The water-cure is simply another crime of capitalism and another incentive to overthrow the Imperial capitalist trust and establish the Fraternal Co-operative Workers' Republic.

ELECTION RETURNS.

Sheboygan, Wis., election returns show that the republican and democratic parties together polled 1,113 votes, the former receiving 1,002 and the latter 111. The socialist polled 403 votes and elected four of their aldermanic candidates and would have elected more had not the reps and dems in many wards united as usual to defeat them.

The following returns of the election held in Rock Island, Ill., have been sent in: Total 178. The candidate for supervisor, H. J. Brandt, received 110 votes. This is the second election in Rock Island in which socialists have participated.

Municipal returns from Des Moines, Iowa, show that the socialist nominee for mayor, John M. Work, received 200 votes on March 1st. The Citizen's ticket was blank except as to the mayor and auditor. Socialist candidate for the last ticket ranging as high as 878. The vote cast for Comrade Work's candidacy thus represents an uncompromising socialist vote of Des Moines, and is an increase of about 75 per cent on the previous election. The other votes show gains of several hundred per cent.

According to the Omaha Workers' Gazette a socialist vote of 502 was cast last Tuesday in the election at Lincoln, Neb.

More than a hundred per cent increase in the vote, is the way the Ann Arbor boys roll 'em up in a very tight poll! Most of the votes were stragglers, all the candidates in the several wards running evenly. The fall campaign is now on, and Wilshire speaks in Ann Arbor next month.

The socialist candidate for mayor in Fargo, North Dakota, received 10 per cent of the total vote cast. "The movement," writes Comrade Wm. to Comrade F. I. Bamford, "is making more recent than on the coast, but it is making its way satisfactorily."

Town of Ramsey in Bergen county, N. J., cast

Prof. Walter Thomas Mills delivered a lecture on "Chinese Labor in America and Chinese Producers in the Markets of the world," before a crowded audience at the Metropolitan Temple, San Francisco, Sunday afternoon, at 2 o'clock April 18th.

The orator is one of the most forcible speakers in America and his discourse fairly set the audience wild with enthusiasm. At the climax of the address when the statement was made that "the real struggle is not between the helpless workers, black, white or yellow, but between all who are laborers on the one hand and all who are exploiters of labor on the other," the applause was fairly deafening and lasted for several minutes.

"Chinese Exclusion."

Prof. Mills joined in the demand of all of the workers for the re-enactment and enforcement of the exclusion act but pointed out that the bill did not propose to forbid the Chinese from American machinery. He said "the industries of China are being developed. Every concession to European and American capitalists requires the establishment and maintenance of trade schools in every new industry undertaken, to the end that no industry in China shall depend on foreign labor. These industries the Chinese workers are producing their ability to produce goods as they have produced silk for centuries; to work of this nature, as they have worked for centuries on the greatest system of water-ways on all the earth."

The natural resources of China are practically untouched, but land, under continuous cultivation for four thousand years, has been unharmed. The labor of coal, iron, copper and in untaken agricultural and grazing lands is unequalled anywhere. The men who are organizing the world's market are the same ones who are developing Chinese labor and Chinese resources in order to supply that market.

American labor depends on markets abroad, employment at home. In that market the workers of America and of China and of all the rest, with competition with each other, shall be able to produce the most goods for the smallest wages. If the battle between Chinese and American labor is not fought out in San Francisco, it will be fought in Shanghai and Peking. If Chinese labor is not permitted to produce in an American factory in America, or on an American farm for the world's market, it will produce in an American or European factory, in China, and in Chinese lands with American machinery and under American management, for that same world's market.

In the world's market it is not certain that the Chinaman will win. It is only certain that the cheapest worker will win, and in San Francisco white women and children are driving the coolie labor out and American factories because they are willing and able to produce more for less pay than the Chinese can. Who shall be able to tell the story of the infancy and suffering which lies back of this result, already found here in San Francisco, and to be reproduced on the earth round. Let the exclusion act stand. We to the Congress men who shall deny the temporary protection it may afford. But strike at once, and in all lands secure for all workers, Chinaman along with the rest—the total products of their toil.

When all the workers of the world shall have for themselves the total products of their labor, there shall be no labor problem will be settled forever. Then no worker will be employed for less than a smaller share of his products which he will consent to take, and no American worker, having for himself all that his own toil produces, can be harmed because any Chinaman, anywhere, with the best machinery, and completest organization, shall produce for himself and have for himself all that his toil creates. The harm comes now because the Chinaman gives away more of his products than an American wants to do, and so com-

26 votes for the socialist ticket in the recent election.

CLEVELAND ELECTION.

The municipal election resulted in almost a clean sweep for the Johnsonites, democratic. "The power of the 'socialists, too,'" in the City Hall—the Fabianites, opportunists, step-at-a-time reformers, etc.—has been materially strengthened. The regular Socialist party, however, is making immense gains all over the country, just about holds its own in Cleveland.

The result is not at all discouraging when all things are taken into consideration. When for instance, the "socialists, too," assured us as every street corner that "Tom Johnson is in favor of all your demands," when the dirty ward bellwether of the Johnsonites in a belly, and, finally over to the pestiferous, title delirious, and every-where-uttered by the politicians and big game men with such avidity that it disgusted decent citizens and disgraced socialism.

The Socialist party was really the center of a calling fire from four corners and came out unscathed. Now for the state campaign and to become an official party. The Socialist party will

pels as to follow suit or not to be employed at all. The real battle is not between the helpless workers—black, white or yellow. The real battle is between all who are laborers on the one hand, and all who are exploiters of labor on the other."

"The War on the Trusts."

Sunday, April 13th, Comrade Mills spoke to a crowded house at the Trust and the Teachers' Roosevelt's War on the Trust and the Outcome. The singing was by everybody and everybody sang. Instrumental music was furnished by the Frank Brown Ladies' Orchestra which was greatly enjoyed and repeatedly applauded.

Before launching into his lecture proper, the orator devoted a few minutes to the struggle of the Belgian Socialists for manhood suffrage, and the attack upon them by the King, who is opposed to the extent that the right of the ballot. As a climax Mr. Mills produced the following cablegram which was read, endorsed by the audience to a man and sent at once to the leader of the Socialists in the Belgian house of parliament.

EMILE VANDEVELDE, Member of Deputies, Brussels, Belgium: Fourteen hundred students and teachers International School of Social Economy comrade Belgian Socialists. Never fail until all have equal voice in the affairs of all.

WARREN THOMAS MILLS, Principal.

Mr. Mills said, "The trust has come into existence as the outgrowth of the industrial revolution. The millionaires who recently told the president that this was the case, told the truth. When the president said in reply to them that it was not such men as these who were responsible for the growth of socialism, he, too, was right. The president proposes to break the combine and to restore to the trust to make perpetual the out rate between the great lines of railways. The railways propose to be let alone, to combine in defiance of the law and of the president and to take from the people all the traffic will bear.

"If the roads wreck the roads, if the roads have their way, they will absorb the business of the world, not only in transportation but in all lines of industry and commerce.

Collective ownership of the roads is proposed, but to own the roads alone, will in no way benefit the great body of the workers. The workers would still depend on privately-owned, trust-managed shops to produce and privately owned, trust-managed store-houses to house and exchange and on privately owned, trust-managed banks to move the goods that all must buy. The power to compel the workers to accept for themselves only a part of what their labor creates, would be shifted but the process of compelling the workers to produce all and to have for themselves only a part, would grow just the same.

If the president has his way, the outcome will be a collapse in business. If the trusts have their way, everything but the trust will collapse first, and then the trust itself will collapse. If the policy of collective ownership be upheld, only when the raw materials and the shops wherein the raw materials are made into articles for man's use are also collectively owned and managed by and in the interest of the workers, only then will collective ownership avail anything for the workers of the world. This is Socialism. The trust involves perfect equipment and perfect organization for the gain of the few, so organized that the trust's victory is a day of disaster for us all. Socialism involves the same perfect equipment and organization but the day of its triumph is the day of emancipation for all mankind.

"If you don't want Socialism, disaster is the outcome of every other choice."

His speech was punctuated from the start with frequent and prolonged applause.

The subject next Sunday will be "Nora Fuller or the Children of the unemployed."

win yet, you best! The official count of the minority parties at Monday's election shows the following results: City treasurer, Harry D. Thomas, socialist, 643; Robert Zillmer, socialist labor, 432—Cleveland Citizen.

THE CHICAGO ELECTION.

Complete returns of the election show that the aldermanic vote cast for socialist candidates on April 1st was 6,413 with one ward, the third, unrepresented. The town ticket in this ward being in the neighborhood of 90, the total aldermanic vote may therefore be taken as about 6,500.

So far as we are aware, no official canvass of the vote in towns has been made. The first returned, though, like the aldermanic, incomplete, showed upward of 6,500 votes. Alloting therefore the same rate of increase to the town as the aldermanic vote, which is an entirely reasonable calculation, the maximum vote in towns would approximate 20,000.

Proportionately the vote of the Socialist Party amounts to three and a quarter per cent of the total cast. Last year it was considerably less than two per cent, so that the relative increase measured upon this basis amounts to between 60 and 70 per cent.

ADVANCE



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MEETING ON MAY-DAY.

The Socialists of San Francisco will celebrate International Labor Day at the Academy of Sciences Hall on the evening of May 1st. The exercises will begin at 8 P. M. Comrades Walter Thomas Mills, Mrs. Cogswell and C. H. King, Sr., and others will speak. There will be a good musical program both vocal and instrumental. If you want a seat, come early for the hall will be crowded. Remember the date, Thursday evening, May 1st, 8 p. m., at the Academy of Sciences Hall, just below the Emporium.

CHINESE EXCLUSION AND POLITICS.

The expensive lobby which the American Federation of Labor has maintained at Washington for the furtherance of Chinese exclusion has once more proven how useless it is. Despite its most strenuous efforts, despite the powerful backing received from a special California delegation, despite the political friendship of the democratic party in the matter, the Mitchell-Kahn bill has been defeated. An amendment carried with all its loopholes and defects on a short term. Organized labor has demanded the enactment of the Mitchell-Kahn bill, has denounced the Platt amendment and now the senate replies by enacting the Platt amendment and throwing the Mitchell-Kahn bill into the waste-basket. Will organized labor learn the lesson? "No politics in the union," has been the cry of Gompers, and his supporters at all times. "The union is able by its industrial organization to secure its demands. It has no interest in politics as an organization. There is no common political ground for all the members of the trade unions to stand upon. Trade unionists are interested in politics only as every private citizen is interested, not as a separate class or organization." This is the argument of those who would exclude politics from the union. But let us see, briefly, if this correct.

What are political issues? The money question, the tariff question, the trust question, the immigration question, labor legislation, the injunction question—all these are political issues, propositions, settled by political measures, by laws. And on either side of each of these questions are ranged those who favor and those who oppose specific propositions in regard to each question. Very often, in fact always, one or two questions will be "paramount issues," and party lines will be drawn on them so that those who believe on the same side in other minor issues will nevertheless be in opposite political camps because of difference of opinion on the "paramount issue." To justify "Politics in the Union," it must be shown that there is some greatly important question or questions, solvable by law, in regard to which the interests of trades-unionists are identical and their agreement practically unanimous. The money question is not such an issue. Without discussing the fact that it is of no great importance to organized labor, the utter lack of unanimity among working men excludes it from consideration. The tariff question does affect workmen more closely—but not directly. On the one hand it permits high-prices to be charged on protected goods, which is evil. On the other hand, it encourages certain industries, and thereby affords an artificial stimulus to the employment of labor, which is good. Nevertheless, as there is a serious question, which overbalances the other, the good or the evil, and since the employment of labor is secured only by greasing the profits of the boss, which is paid for by the workers somehow and somewhere in the last analysis, it is not possible to unite the workers on that issue. But is there any diversity of opinion on the question of Chinese Immigration, on labor legislation, on the Anti-Injunction Bill? Manifestly not. For the A. F. of L. maintains out of its own pocket a lobby to aid these measures. The working class is practically unanimous as to the advantage of the measures, which are distinctly political and which the trades-unions as organizations struggle to advance. The only question then remains as to whether they are important enough to be "paramount".

Compare the exclusion of coolie labor with the exclusion of the products of coolie labor, or pauper labor anywhere. Which is more important to workmen? The evil effects of the competition of coolies with white labor is direct and immediate in the lowering of wages and the lengthening of hours. On the other hand the effect in of competition products is to reduce the price of goods and therefore the profits of the boss in the first instance, and whatever evil effects come upon the laborer, are indirect or second hand through the partial closing

of factories, but it has a partial compensation in lower prices.

It is unquestionable, therefore, that exclusion of competing labor is more vital to the worker than the exclusion of goods which compete only with what the boss sells. If the tariff can be a paramount issue then, if the difference between the Wilson tariff bill and the Dingley tariff bill which was so slight, can mark party lines, surely exclusion, the difference between the Platt bill and the Mitchell Kahn bill is also great enough to justify a party of labor. Much more so when to back up this issue, there are the issues of factory legislation and anti-injunctions etc., on all of which labor is agreed and opposed to the capitalist interests which dominate the old parties. How much better then, would it be for labor if instead of sending at its own expense, a lobby which has no vote and even no voice in Congress, it should send Congressmen to voice and vote for their demands in the National halls of legislation? In other words, would it not be better to have the judge, who decides, on your side rather than simply the lawyer, who pleads? Is it better to propose by lobby than to dispose by the lawmakers themselves?

In all this we have not raised up the question of Socialism. Nor do we intend to this week. But we believe we have made it evident that independent political action is desirable if only from the standpoint of certain immediate popular measures of labor legislation. Next week we shall discuss the subject further.

NEWS FROM A CAPITALIST NEWSPAPER.

A week ago the daily press came out with prominent headlines announcing that William Costley had been arrested for insulting women. The papers averred that he had been in the habit of standing on a certain corner and made insulting remarks to every woman who passed. At the end of the item it was stated that the police expected several women to formally complain and testify against him. To prejudice his case it was duly mentioned that he was a negro, thus appealing to popular race hatred.

Every comrade in San Francisco was probably greatly surprised at this bit of "news", for William Costley is a respected and honored member of the local, having been our nominee for important positions and delegate to the national convention. But Comrade Costley is liked not only for his zeal and service to the cause, but for his personal characteristics of generosity, integrity and kindness. It was impossible therefore to read the newspaper report, and the trial of the case was awaited with great interest. But no notice appeared. The newspapers did not hesitate with prominent headlines to defame a man's character on no title at all, but when the case was tried, when no jot or tittle of evidence could be presented by the arresting officer, when, on the contrary, witnesses were abundant to prove his good character, the scurvy, scandal-mongering capitalist press had not one word to say. Not a line to undo the wrong done to an upright, honorable man! "Case is dismissed," said the Judge. "But it ought not to have been, told in reputation to be made to a man of whom it has been said to half a million people that he is a low, gross insulter of women? It is to make right, as far as we can, this wrong, that we have published this notice.

REPRESENTATIVE MacCARTNEY "STIRS UP THE ANIMALS."

Open Charge of Corruption Elicits No Denial.

F. O. MacCartney, Socialist member from Rockland in the Massachusetts legislature, "stirred up the animals" last Thursday in a way that compelled the attention, not of the legislators only, but of the whole public. The Boston "Post," in introducing a two-column report, said: "The members of the lower branch of the legislature were given an oratorical lashing yesterday afternoon, which they will not soon forget, and the committee on street railways in particular is expected to feel the sting for some time. It was Representative MacCartney, one of the Socialist members, who administered the tongue-lashing, and he did it in a manner that created a sensation.

"The legislature was not the only body causally arraigned. The Boston Elevated Company, and its progenitor the West End Street Railway Company, filled in as the dual object at which Mr. MacCartney struck with charges of corruption in securing legislation.

"The speech was one of the most severe of its kind ever made. Mr. MacCartney was fighting to have his new bill for public ownership of street railways adopted in place of the adverse report of the street railway committee and after his bill. When he had finished the half-hour attack, he called on the members of the committee to make answer, but the answer was confined to moving the previous question.

"The Socialist members spoke with such telling effect that a majority of the members did not dare go on record for cutting off debate and when after the discussion a vote was called for, it was found that many old party members had absented themselves, the sergeant-at-arms had to be sent after them to get a quorum.

MacCartney's bill was defeated by 98 to 61, but says the "Post," "the friends of the street railway committee were obliged to do some active scurrying to get all their votes into the House."

MacCartney's bill makes it lawful for the state or towns and cities in the state to purchase, own, and operate any or all street railways. It requires a referendum on such purchase upon petition of 10 per cent of the voters, and provides that the purchase price shall be the estimated cost of duplicating the plant, allowing nothing for franchise or good will.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

From Address of the Socialist Party of Terre Haute, Indiana.

The great contests and struggles in the industrial arena to-day stand out distinct as a struggle between two main classes that the capitalist system has divided into hostile camps. They are those who buy labor power and those who sell it, the profit takers and the wage receivers, the capitalist class and the working class. The antagonism between the classes flows from the division of the products into wages and profits.

On the industrial field the struggle takes the form of a collective struggle by the workers, or organized as a class into trades unions in order to decrease the hours and increase the wages. The capitalist class, in order to resist these demands, not only struggles on the industrial field, but have long since transferred the conflict to the political field, and as a result all the powers of government are in the hands of their political agents. The legislative, executive, judicial and military powers have become instruments in their hands to promote their interests, and workmen are thus handicapped in their struggles and invariably defeated by these means. Laws are passed in the interests of capitalism, and should a law happen to be passed in the interests of the workers, it is either declared unconstitutional or not enforced. Injunctions are hurled at striking workers and the regular army and state militia are used to shoot into submission those who have had the manhood to rebel against capitalistic tyranny. All these are the manifestations of the hostility that exists between the classes and demonstrates that government, as now organized, is controlled by the capitalist class and hence is a class government.

The Socialist Party realizes that no middle ground can be taken in this struggle and hence takes its stand with the working classes so long as the capitalist system exists which makes the necessity of participating in the struggle with the working class. We also point to the necessity of control by the workers of those powers of government now used against them by the capitalists if any permanent benefits are to be secured and maintained.

We also point to the fact that when the workers do secure this political control they can not only make the victories won in the struggle permanent and lasting but they can abolish the struggle itself by abolishing the system which gives rise to it. So long as the workers wage the class struggle on the industrial field alone and divide into hostile camps on the political field, their efforts will be on the whole, barren and futile.

The main reason for the existence of two capitalist parties instead of one for the purpose of dividing the ranks of the workers at the point where their numbers give them the greatest power—the ballot box.

Whatever minor difference may arise between these parties they both stand at the point of interests of the working class are at stake and the actions of both in the city, state and national legislatures for years past bear eloquent testimony to the truth of this statement.

Injunctions in the hands of Democratic judges have been just as effective in accomplishing their dirty work as those of Republicans. As the capitalist struggle on the political expression of the interests of the working class.

The capitalist parties are organized and maintained to divide the workers in order to conquer them; the Socialist Party is organized and maintained to unite them in order to vote their own emancipation.

FAITH IN THE FUTURE.

WRITTEN FOR ADVANCE.

Sometime,—we know not what, nor when,—Peace, good will shall bless all men. Then brotherhood and love will reign. Throughout all Earth's broad, fair domain.

Somewhere, we know not realm, nor place.—Love's righteousness shall rule our race. The wise and strong will turn from greed. And work and plan that none may need.

Someway,—we know not which, nor what.—Men will cease to plunder,—plot. More murderous wars of carnal rage. Even pagan rulers will not wage.

Somewhat,—we know not wherefore,—whence.—Light will dawn where gloom is dense. Then men will see by sight, divine. The brotherhood of God's design.

Somewhat,—we know not more, nor less.—The poor shall own, shall share,—possess; While commonwealth,—the good of all Will be the nation's rallying call.

Somewhere, we know not years, nor time.—All grasping greed will rank as crime. While men will turn from craft and selfish greed. Will class like felon's darkest deed.

LYDIA PLATT RICHARDS.

Pasadena, Cal.

Comrade August Krieske, now state organizer for Pennsylvania, writes us of the rapid growth of the Socialist Party throughout that state. He recently spent three weeks in Pittsburgh and succeeded in organizing with 72 members, of which 30 were up to the time of organization followers of De Leon. He writes that deLeonism is fast disappearing in Allegheny county, the vote in 1900 of 1180 becoming 286 in 1902. Locals of the Socialist Party were also organized in Brownsville and Ecosse, the latter being supposedly a stronghold of deLeonism. Since the splendid showing in the Erie election the comrades there are hustling for a daily paper which they expect to appear on the first day of July.

POPPIES and WHEAT

BY MARY FAIRBROTHER.

Be firm; one constant element of luck Is genuine, solid, old-fashioned pluck. Stick to your aim; the mogruls' hold will slip; But crowbars loose the bulldog's grip; Small though he looks, the jaw that never yields Drags down the bellowing moan of the fields.

—Oliver Wendell Holmes.

The William Morris Club held a very interesting meeting last Wednesday afternoon, at the residence of J. H. Reynolds, 1218 Laguna street. The attendance was larger than usual and much interest was manifested. Mrs. Reynolds gave an informal sketch of William Morris, in the nature of a biography and all of the members discussed the different points brought out. Mrs. Reynolds was asked to give another biographical sketch in about a year, when all hope to be much better informed on the life of this man who did so much for the world. At the next meeting, the first Thursday in May, Miss Bloom will read a paper on "Morris and Contemporary Reformers." Several new members were admitted at the last meeting, and the library fund considerably augmented.

Enthusiasm has been responsible for many great deeds and fine thoughts from men and women ever since the race began to believe in ideas. After Comrade Mills' lecture, or talk, on the conditions in Belgium, and after he had read the dispatch of congratulation which he said he intended to cable to the Socialists of that land, who are having such a desperate struggle right now, not only for their rights, but against an oppression by the associated press-reports—after this had all taken place and the thousands of people had arisen to their feet in commendation of the message, it was very thrilling to see the score or more of young men who entered and gave the college yell for Socialism. There is something about a young man, his energy and power, and his perfect youth, which is inspiring always, but which to that added a boundless enthusiasm for some great cause, it is the finest thing in the world to see and hear—next to being the young man.

THOUSANDS will be just as happy this week as they were last week, because they will not know that the Rev. T. Dewitt Tammage is dead. If they find it out, they will still be happy, because they do not care if he is. He is said to be the greatest preacher this country has worshipped since Mr. Beecher went on before. Both were fakes, both possessed ability and both used it to make the pose they had perfected, attractive, so they could gull the people. Any one who ever heard Brother Tammage will remember how hard he strained to make good his and how like unto a street fair his talk was. He cared nothing for what he was saying, all he desired was to get the people to repeat to each other, "what a great man he is." The yawning vacuum left in the "religious syndicate" which constantly thrust his rod on the people every Monday will yawn, the people will rejoice, and that is the end.

ANNA GOULD'S COURT is running for two or three offices over in France and as an election advertisement he is going around slapping the faces of dealers in soaps, because his courtes's portrait is not as handsome as the portraits of the actresses and other plebeians which generally adorn the soap advertisements. At least the Court says he is angry because Anna's picture was put in with the soap, and we can't imagine no other reason why he should care. It is not that he loves Anna less, but the actresses more.

The stuff that is being printed in the capitalist press about Cecil Rhodes leaving his millions in this world, would make a mule smile, if the poor thing had time. To read this gosh, one would think that it was owing to the kindly heart of this defunct millionaire, that he left his stocks and bonds and gold and silver when he took his departure for the unseen country. Perhaps the poor wage working slaves who sit in the editorial dens and write what is dictated by the millionaires who are not dead, love the sound of the very name of money and the looks of the six figures with a dollar sign before them so well, that they write all this silly nonsense about the wonderful vision into the future of the man Rhodes when he concocted the scheme of leaving his wealth as he did.

PROPAGANDA MEETING.

Comrade Meyers made a very practical talk at the propaganda meeting last Sunday evening, but rather spoiled its effect by making too many apologies. His subject was "Politics and the Home" and he proved how impossible it is for the laboring tax payer to have anything like a comfortable home, as long as he is exploited by the capitalists and forced to carry all the burdens of government. The things which the working man uses most are taxed the heaviest, and those which he uses least are taxed the lightest.

The question box was lively, and the discussion came very near getting away from the socialist ideas, and being captured by the single taxers. Several non-members made five-minute speeches. Miss Morrow made an eloquent three minute speech in which she showed the condition of the home when the woman is competitor of the man, and the child of the woman, in the wage earning world.

Comrades King and Lattimer made convincing talks in which they proved that the home is suffering because the toiler who builds the home and in whose prosperity lies the foundation of the

structure, is being robbed of the fruits of his labor.

Comrade Helphingstine was the critic and opened his report by saying that he was from the country and had seen many strange and impressive sights since he came to San Francisco, but the strangest and most unique one of them all, was the man who had addressed the meeting and claimed to be both a single taxer and an anarchist. Such a combination was out of nature. As the speakers following Comrade Meyers had answered all of the points made by that comrade, Mr. Helphingstine devoted his time to answering them and made a very good socialist speech. He has given the social economic theory careful study and is a good speaker for so young a man.

Comrade Smith the reader for the evening gave a selection devoted to complimenting the women and while the crowd was not as enthusiastic as has sometimes been the case, it was a good meeting in all its features and the room was comfortably filled. A large collection was taken and good done for the cause we cherish.

WHAT THE STUDENTS ARE SAYING.

A Few Random Extracts from Lesson Reports by Students in the Correspondence Department of the International School of Social Economy.

"Capitalism, by placing a premium on greed has built hovels for people to live in, has blackened the sky with its smoke and the earth with its soot and rubbish, has crowded the people into its hellish, unwholesome cities and keeps them there, chained to their work, where they can never know of the beauties of nature and the only rural landscapes they ever see is on a television sign for summer boarders." Beaumont S. Firthcliffe, N. Y.

"The actions of the political economists conclusively prove that when they speak of labor as a commodity they really mean that the laborers are included in the transaction. Of course it bought and sold—that was the practice surety met its galgolia in that of Lincoln. Twenty million dollars was the price McKinley paid for Spain's privileges in the Philippines, but of course that was merely a conveyance of the land—it was an accident that there were people there (who could be taxed, made to work and to buy goods.) This reminds me of the story of the Quaker who was a passenger on a ship that was attacked by pirates. He was a man of peace, but when one of the boarders reached over the gunwale, he picked up an ax with the remark, 'Friend, I am going to chop you right there—remove your hand!' The ax removed the hand. The political economist is merely chopping—with his general principle of the salability of labor, and if flesh and blood happens to be bought and sold; why, they should have lived in fire, or been born rich." Revelstoke, B. C.

"I am working among a band of Pitie Indians, a degraded remnant of a once proud and warlike, strong and morally wholesome race of native Americans, who have deliberately chosen extermination by starvation and degradation, by submitting to the servitude of the wage system. Slaves are always responsible for their own servitude; they have a choice between submission and death, the heroic nature choice." Bertha E. Wilkins, Shurz, Nev.

SCHOOL NOTES.

Jae. A. Smith, formerly a student at Girard, now a teacher in the International School of Social Economy at San Francisco, was unanimously elected local organizer of San Francisco and more recently business manager of "Advance."

Geo. W. Scott, recent candidate for Mayor of Seattle, is one of our latest students at the training school.

Ex-Chief Justice H. V. Groesbeck, of Laramie, Wyoming is being pushing such an energetic campaign at home that he has "been delayed in reaching the school, but writes that he will be "strictly in it" before the term is over.

Comrade Fred N. Johnson, state organizer of Oklahoma reports that his campaign has been very effective to the satisfaction of the people. He is about to enlist the services of a new deputy, a young lady who will accompany him to the training school for next fall's term. Johnson says, "Life is mostly romance or tragedy, I prefer romance."

The socialists didn't have very much to say about the Spring Election in Girard, Wash., but they polled about one-quarter of the votes cast just the same. The students did some good propaganda work there last fall.

A Note.

San Francisco, Apr. 8, '02. Editor Advance: A comrade writes asking if it is true that I intend not to continue my work in the Training School next fall. No, I have now 15 students in the school here and I over 70 pledged for the next fall term. There is every probability that the next fall term will open with 200 students. This impression may have arisen from the fact that Comrade Roche, Nat'l Committee member for California recently published a very kind note, commending me as a speaker and suggesting that I abandon the school and speak continuously. My plan is to teach three months in the year and be on the platform the balance of the time. The next term will open at Girard second week in November. Save your money and meet me there. Yours truly, WALTER T. MILLS.

Watch your number. Renew promptly.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

The April number of the Review is at hand. The excellence of this issue cannot fail to increase the already high regard in which the Review is held.

The first article is by our Italian Comrade, Prof. Enrico Ferri. It is a review of his address to the International Congress of Criminology and deals with "The Social Utilization of Crime." The central theme of the essay is that society should "abandon all ideas and feelings of hate, vengeance and chastisement in regard to criminals and devise means of prevention against crime as well as against insanity, alcoholism, epidemics, etc." It is very suggestive in view it takes of the question and will doubtless stimulate right thinking in regard to the victims and abnormalities of society. Mrs. Simons, the wife of the editor has contributed an interesting article on "Art and Socialism." W. I. Brown's "Open Letter to Pope Leo," is very good. Here and there is a touch of the sarcasm. Like most open letters it will probably provoke no reply but there certainly should be some response to the arguments advanced in regard to Socialism on the part of any Catholic who reads them. "A Practitioner" of Minneapolis, whom we suspect to be Comrade Dr. Hirschfelder, discovers seven contributory causes to the "Malignant" of Socialism on the part of any Catholic who reads them. "A Practitioner" of Minneapolis, whom we suspect to be Comrade Dr. Hirschfelder, discovers seven contributory causes to the "Malignant" of Socialism on the part of any Catholic who reads them. The diagnosis is good and the prescription better "therefore he (the doctor) should... be a missionary of the new social gospel that would lead to a new civilization, to a new epoch." A brief article on "Sociological Laws and Historical Fatalism" by Marxist is very valuable. It deals with the proposition that "if Socialism is inevitable, why should we agitate for it?" Durruti's distinction between the "laws of history" and the "events of history" Marxist argues that "Our so-called laws of history are generalizations from a number of similar phenomena, like every other generalization it is a scientific abstraction which disregards all concrete variance between actual phenomena—"the laws of history" are silent on the question whether the main branches of industry will come under public control in twenty-five or fifty or a hundred years; a difference of twenty-five or fifty is a mere accident. By a conscious application of the ascertained laws of history we may smooth or shorten that period. On the contrary ignorance of the laws may more or less effectively "clog the wheels of history" for a generation, with all the suffering and waste of energy involved in the process. The idea is worth the price of the magazine. Comrade N. A. Richardson of San Bernardino, Cal., contributes a valuable thesis on "Labor, Capital and China, and J. W. Summers deals at length with "Socialism and Science." Both articles are well written and instructive and valuable from a propaganda standpoint. The regular departments are up to their usual standard. Comrade Simons' editorial "Opportunities in Europe" was printed in last week's ADVANCE. The Review deserves the most hearty support of every Socialist. Certainly every party member should be a subscriber and our other generalities if no publication is more valuable for propaganda. Published by Charles El Kerr & Co., (Co-operative) 56 Fifth Ave., Chicago, Ill. \$1.00 a year; 10c a copy.

The Work in San Jose.

To the State Committee—Comrades: As yet I can only report in brief some of our meetings last week and at the business meeting of the local on Friday, I gave them a talk on the necessity of organization when 3 new members joined and some paid their dues. From that time we practically had a local of the Socialist party as the secretary send to you for a charter and application and membership cards of the Socialist party. I expect to get some new members at the next meeting. Will all members please push the work of getting signatures. Although it is hard where there is really no organization to work from. I tell you, comrades, what is required more than anything, is a militant organization. Socialist sentiment is all right. But if not crystallized it is no good. A disorganized mob can do nothing. And if some of our nice people who don't want to be harsh and merely want a crowd, would realize that the first thing required is a good centralized local in each town which would work together, half the battle would be won. Why do the gang here hold control? The great body of the voters object to them. Simply because the gang is organized and the others are not. On Saturday night we had a very successful street meeting and took the crowd from the S. L. P. who started on the other side. On Sunday we were to hold a large meeting but the rain came down in torrents and we were forced to postpone it until next Sunday. Had a good street meeting last night; will hold another tonight Wednesday and Thursday. The business meeting on Friday, a meeting in Campbell on Saturday and the hall meeting here, and we will try and do something. We must look to it and try to build up the organization. And I have confidence in raising a spirit here. The worst of it is if there is no active worker in a town, not merely a man to make a pink tea in a hall, but somebody who will try and get the local right. Also, they organize and die. Well, must close and arrange for the Campbell meeting, and you may rest assured I will do my best while here. Fraternally, GEORGE S. HOLMES.

St. Clair, Mich., April 8.—In the city election yesterday the following were the votes cast for the candidate of the socialist party: For mayor, David A. Cope. About 550 votes in the whole city were polled, and of the absentees about 20 are socialists and sailors.

LOCAL S. F. PARTY MEETING.

Local San Francisco met on April 16th with Comrade Costley in the chair. The applications of Miss M. Lena Morrow and Alfred Bridges were read. The propaganda committee reported a full program for four months and 2000 copies were ordered printed.

The organizer reported that two street meetings were held Saturday evening, April 13th. Comrades Smith, Larsen, Walker and Bersford were elected to secure a new headquarters. For Propaganda meeting Comrade Anderson was elected chairman, Comrade Smith, critic, and Comrade Reynolds reader.

The hall committee reported receipts of \$206.60 and disbursements of \$226.20, including the payment of \$85.50 on a mortgage.

Comrade Rosenblats resigned as literature seller and was given a vote of thanks for his services. Comrade Latimer being elected to fill the vacancy. Adjourned. T. E. LATIMER, Sec'y.

Local San Francisco met April 9th with Comrade Barriar in the chair. A bill and communication from "The Pacific" read and placed on file. Comrade Fairbrother resigned as secretary and Comrade Latimer was elected to fill the vacancy. The organizer reported a successful meeting Saturday evening, Comrade Hilton, Johnson and Smith were elected to fill the vacancy on the committee to circulate petitions caused by the absence of Comrades Holmes and Molter. This committee was authorized to hire persons to aid in securing signatures to petitions.

Comrade Anderson was reinstated upon payment of 25c. dues.

For the propaganda meeting Comrade Fairbrother was elected chairman, Comrade Helphingstine, critic and Comrade Smith, reader. A workers' report card was adopted and the organizer was ordered to secure the printing of the cards.

A discussion on "The National Committee" and Wilkins were nominated as the local's candidates for National Committeeman for California. A committee composed of Comrades Smith, Reynolds, Messer, Anderson, Whitney, Latimer, Bersford, Fairbrother, Barnard and Appel, were elected with instructions to draft a new constitution for Local San Francisco, and report after the next educational meeting.

At the meeting on the construction of a new constitution was decided upon for the next educational meeting. T. E. LATIMER, Sec'y.

CALIFORNIA STATE COMMITTEE.

Meeting held April 14th. Present Comrades Messer, Appel, Ober, Hefferin, Reynolds, Johnson and Bersford. Comrade Messer in the chair.

Minutes approved. Communications read from Ben F. Wilson (2), Karl Brocher (3), Frank F. Loring, Leon Greenbaum, M. W. Wilkins, Allan A. Crockett, H. Helphingstine, S. C. Farrer, Wengonah S. Abbott, Val. Reynolds, Harold Hengst, E. B. Helphingstine, George L. Barnes and W. L. Bannister.

Resolutions received: Los Angeles, \$10.50; Visalia, \$5.40; Del Mar, 90c.; Alameda, \$5.00; San Jose, \$1.00; Terris, \$1.60; Farmersville, \$2.75; Three Rivers, \$2.50. Total, \$27.05.

Campaign Fund, Critch Hack, Winters, Yolo county, \$2.00; J. Stephenson, Winters, 50c.; Hill, Winters, \$1.00.

Bills ordered paid Postage, charters, petitions and supplies, 65c.; paid 10c. 100 two-cent envelopes, \$1.12; Cameron King for legal advice on copy, \$5.00; National committee for local secretary books and platforms, \$8.20; Los Angeles Socialist party state constitution, \$12.00; Treasurer's index book, \$2c. M. W. Wilkins, postage, \$5.00; E. B. Helphingstine, postage, \$5.00. Total, \$38.22.

New charters granted to Locals Alameda county and Santa Clara county. Charters granted to new local at Farmersville and ordered printed. After a discussion as to plans, salaries, allowances, etc., for state organizers, matter was laid over for one week. Organizers, in meantime, authorized to circulate subscription lists for state organizer fund. Adjourned 10:30 p. m.

A BOER BENEFIT.

Miss Susan McDowell, after vainly trying to interest church organizations in the work, has assumed the responsibility of arranging an entertainment for the benefit of the Boer women and children in the British concentration camps. The meeting will be held at the Metropolitan Temple, April 24th, 8 P. M. The program so far includes Mayor Schmitz, Rev. Benj. Fay Mills and General Stryman. Walter Thomas Mills and Dr. Miller, the Boer consul are also invited. Instrumental and vocal selections will be rendered. Tickets \$5 cts & \$1.00 on sale at Sherman & Clay's Music Store.

OFFICIAL.

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

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

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

NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., April 5, 1902. PRESS BULLETIN.

Advices from Canada say "movement is making steady progress and in course of another year the results of our efforts will be plainly seen."

The Canadian Socialist League will furnish the National Secretary, with a list of the American subscription to their paper ("Citizen and Country"), requests that we reciprocate by sending them names of all Canadian subscribers to the American party press.

E. V. Debs is to address the Western Federation of Miners at their convention in Denver, Colo., May 30th.

Jno. C. Chase addressed Trade Unionists in Bloomington, Dixon, Sterling and Toluca, Ill., this week.

State Charter issued to Minnesota. Local Charters issued to Missouri.

Local Charters issued to Provo City, Utah; West Palm Beach, Florida; Muldroy, Indian Territory; Nampa, Idaho.

Donations to Propaganda Fund: Amount reported to March 29th: \$206.60. Local Newport, Ky. 1.00. 19th and 20th secem., Dist. N. Y. 5.00. Local Newark, O. 1.15. 20th Assemb. Dist. Brooklyn, N. Y. 1.00. 23rd Assemb. Dist. N. Y. 2.90.

Total received to April 5th: \$277.08. Village of Catskill, N. Y., cast 27 straight Socialist ballots in the recent election. Many split tickets were voted, the highest of these for the Socialists reaching 68. The straight vote has been increased by four since the last election.

Socialist vote in Sodalia, Mo., has more than doubled since the last election. Comrade Behrens, the candidate for mayor, polled 660 votes on April 5. Last year the vote was 300.

At the recent election held in the district of Elbing, Marienwerder, Germany, the Socialists scored a decisive victory, defeating the Agrarian candidate and electing the Socialist, Koening of the Reichstag. The Socialist vote in the district grew from 4,478 in 1898 to 9,340 this year.

At the recent Parliamentary election in Wakefield, England, Snowden, the candidate of the I. L. P., which may be described as the opportunist wing of the British Socialist movement received 1,979 votes, his Liberal-Unionist opponent securing the seat by a majority of 981.

The National Committee of the Socialist Party has just concluded a referendum of the whole Committee on the following:

Resolved, that a lecture bureau be established at National Headquarters, for the express purpose of directly furnishing trade union (whether socialist or non-socialist) with socialist speakers, who are well informed on the trade union and general questions; that such bureau be known as the "Labor Lecture Bureau" for the education of the working class on labor, social and economic questions; that the National Secretary be instructed to have printed letter heads and envelopes with the above heading; that the National Secretary be authorized to act as secretary of said Lecture Bureau and communicate with trade unions in said capacity. Proposition carried by a vote of 10 to 1. The state committees of Missouri, Nebraska, Maine, Minnesota and Kentucky have endorsed the form of Financial Secretary's Report Book which has just been issued by the National Committee, and instructed the National Secretary to supply same direct to the locals in white letters. The Missouri state committee has ordered a similar book for ward clubs in St. Louis and large cities with an additional sheet (making a four copy), the extra sheet to be sent by financial secretary of ward club to secretary city central committee.

John C. Chase addressed meetings of the trade unions at Colchester, Girard, Nilwood, Witte and Taylorville, Ill., this week. The state convention April 4th at Salt Lake City, pursuant to call of National Committee Boomer.

To the State and Local organizations of the Socialist Party. Comrades:

In accordance with instructions, we have submitted a referendum of the state and local organizations, the following:

Question 1. Shall the National Constitution be amended so that Art. 6, Sec. 4 will conclude as follows: "Provided that the national committee shall have power to arrange Interstate lecturers tours with such locals as may desire."

Question 2. Shall the official party emblem be a red flag (in the shape of a flag) bearing the words "Socialist Party" in white letters.

Question 3. Shall the official party emblem be a globe with hands clasped across, surrounded with a circle of red, bearing the words in black letters, "Socialist Party" Workers of the world unite.

The result of this referendum is as follows: Total vote on question No. 1 4041. Yes " " " 3293. No " " " 628. Majority in favor of " 2799. Total vote on " No 2 2940. Yes " " " 637. No " " " 2303. Majority against " 1506. Total vote on " No 3 3282. Yes " " " 2722. No " " " 560. Majority in favor of " 2182.

According to these results you are hereby notified. First—That Art. 6, Sec. 4 of the national constitution has been amended as provided in Question 1.

Second—That the red flag has been defeated as the party emblem.

Third—That the globe with hands clasped across has been adopted as the party emblem.

LEON GREENBAUM, Nat'l Sec'y.

CREMATION

Odd Fellows' Cemetery Ass'n. Point Lobos Ave. SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.

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

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

George R. Fletcher - Manager.

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A School of Socialism. San Francisco Gets the Next Term of the TRAINING SCHOOL.

Water Thomas Mills, A. K. A. PRINCIPAL. 1433 Market St., bet. 10th & 11th.

Board of Examiners: GEORGE WIELAND, CHARLES H. VALE, J. M. SIMON.

This School has more than one tenth of all the members of the Socialist Party studying Socialism by correspondence.

In not a single case has anyone studied the first half dozen lessons without becoming enthusiastic over the work and a better worker for Socialism.

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READ THE ADVANCE. 50c. per year.

KARL MARX' ECONOMIC TEACHINGS.

BY KARL KAUTSKY. Translated for 'Advance' by Kasper Bauer.

(Continued from last week.) This reserve army not only makes possible the spasmodic expansion of capital, it also rests heavily upon wages, and since even during periods of prosperity this army is not wholly drawn into production it has the effect of keeping wages at the same low level though a "wave of prosperity" may sweep over the land.

What seems to be an increase or decrease of population is in reality only the reflection of the periodic expansion and contraction of capital. When, therefore, our good friends, the multitudes tell the worker to adjust the propagation of their kind to the demand there is for workers it means nothing else than to tell them to try and adjust their numbers to the ever-changing needs of capital.

Malthusian rests upon mistaking the ever changing needs of capitalist production with the productivity of the existing means of production; while this mistake was always absurd it became more so when the permanent crises put in its appearance; over-population on account of an abundance of means of subsistence, over-population on account of a shortage of subsistence, also America, India and Australia, having enough surplus product to feed the world!

As absurd as it may sound yet it is true that the demands of the multitudes must give expression to the position which the worker occupies in the capitalist system. He is merely an adjunct of capital. During the process of production the instrument of production employed by him is not the instrument of his own production; but even outside of the process of production he belongs to capital as we have seen; when he consumes, when he nourishes himself, when he propagates his kind he always does it in a way that corresponds to the best interests of capital. It not only dominates the producer. It not merely requires all of his labor power, but also all his other human activities.

CHAPTER V. THE DAWN OF THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION. We have seen in the few previous chapters how capital continually re-creates its own prerequisites. But it is clear that capital in its classic form does not come into existence without these prerequisites having first developed to a certain degree.

This into life is a question which so far we have not answered. In our examination of the transformation of surplus money into capital we proceeded from the assumption that comparatively great sums of money were in the possession of private persons on the one hand and on the other hand labor power was offered for sale upon the market as a commodity. How these sums of money came to be piled up is something we did not deal with. We will now deal with the essentials of these questions.

The accumulation of capital means the renewal of the prerequisites of capitalism. The original development of these pre-requisites of capital, that which preceded its answer, Marx calls primitive accumulation. The answer to a question relative to the origin of capital, an answer which they always have read, they don't know or don't want to know the actual facts is a Robinson Crusoe tale. Such an answer has the double advantage that no knowledge of any kind is necessary and that it always proves whatever one wants it to. And those tales that attempt to explain the origin of capital and make a stab at harmonizing them with current conceptions of right and wrong, are the flattest tales of all, differing from the tales in the "first reader" only in shallowness. It is always the same old tale about the honest, industrious and abstinent worker who became capitalist, and of the worthless, go-as-you-please who spent his last cent in dissipation and whose punishment for his behavior is compelled to sweat over afterward in company with his wife and children and children's children for the everlasting benefit of the "honest, industrious abstinent" fellow.

If, however, we really commence to dig and examine into the history of Europe from the 14th century on, original accumulation will be viewed in a different light. It affords two sides: Only one of which has become known among the people, and that is the "free" workers, workers which were free from all conditions of serfdom or the influences of the guilds. It needed the action of production instead of the fetters of feudalism. To find it free itself of the authority of the feudal lords. Viewed from this standpoint the struggle of rising capitalism appears as a struggle against restraint and privileges, as a battle for freedom and equality.

This, of course, is the side which is dish up to the people time and again by the literary advocates of the bourgeoisie. We have our desire to depreciate the importance of this struggle, especially not at a time like this when the bourgeoisie commences to deny its own history. We must, however, not be blinded by this proud, shining side of history and forget the other side: The birth of the proletariat and of capital itself. This side has as yet not been fully illustrated. Marx did not work thoroughly in his "Capital" in the instance of at least one country—England, the birthplace of the capitalist mode of production, the only country in which original accumulation advanced to its classic form. A few illustrations of the conditions in point may also be found in the "mystery of philosophy." This development is traceable only very imperfectly in Germany. This is due to it being hampered and crippled by the changes that were made in the commercial and political conditions of the basin of the Mediterranean sea into that of the Atlantic ocean, and later by the 30-year war which forced Germany out of the world market for centuries.

The greatest hindrance to the arising of the bourgeoisie in its way was next to the guild organization in the cities the communal ownership of the soil in the country. As long as this existed masses of the proletariat were out of the question. For until the feudal nobility aided in the work that capital had before it. Every since the crusades trade and commerce had developed more and more. New need and desires for commodities arose, which were satisfied and supplied for money by the industries or the commerce of the cities. The wealth of the feudal nobility, however, did not consist of money, it was composed of the personal services or the title of the dependant

peasant. Money was a scarce article with the feudal lord, for that reason he attempted to secure by robbery what he could not secure by purchase. Centralized government developed stronger and stronger. The supporters of the petty nobility were met by the hirings of the rich cities. Highway robbery, that peasant passion of the lords, became impossible. Battered they attempted to rob the peasant out of his home and home; they drove the peasant to desperation—study the peasant's wars—without gaining anything themselves. Until money could be obtained in no other way, these noble lords decided to become producers of commodities themselves—the only way in which they could satisfy their new desires, they decided, in order to secure honey, to produce agricultural products, such as wool, corn, etc., not for sell use only as they had done until then, but to produce them like people living in the cities for sale. This, of course, necessitated the expansion of their agricultural establishments the direction of which was given superintendency or let out to the highest bidder, an expansion possible only at the expense of the peasantry. These peasants once transformed into serfs could easily be driven from their homesteads which were then united with the possessions of the "lords of the soil." The lands owned in common by community under the domination of these noble lords were converted into their private property and the peasant, in this way ruined commodity. One of the results of this, especially sought after was wool needed in the urban textile industry. The expansion of the wool industry, however, means the conversion of farm-land into grazing land for sheep, this in turn meant the driving away from their possessions of numerous small peasants, whether this was done by legal or illegal means, or through economic or physical force is immaterial.

The number of propertyless, homeless peasants grew in direct proportion to the textile industry progressed in the cities. To this was added the dissolution of the numerous followings of the nobility, which under these new conditions were not a source of strength, but a source of financial weakness. Finally the reformation which not only hurled into the ranks of the proletariat the inhabitants of the cloisters, but which also gave the church property into hands of speculators who made short work of the old, hereditary occupants.

These are the means by which the greater part of the rural population was separated from the soil, from their means of production, and thus was created the artificial, surplus population, that army of property-less proletariat which is forced day by day to sell its labor power to the highest bidder.

It was the feudal baron then, who, in the manner just stated, smoothed the way for the advent of capital who furnished the proletariat for the urban and rural capital and who at the same time cleared the field for the production of rural commodities on a large scale, i. e. for capitalist agriculture. The capitalist character of which agriculture has taken on since then, especially in large land holdings is not wiped out by the remnants of serfdom and feudalism which still cling to it, it is merely somewhat defaced.

And the more comic it is when the large landed proprietors of today parade themselves as the class which by nature's law is the one erected for the protection of the worker against capital, which is called by nature to establish harmony between the two.

The result of this expropriation of the peasantry was a condition of universal vagabondage throughout western Europe during the 15th and 16th centuries. It threatened to submerge society and society in order to protect itself, meted out the most cruel punishments imaginable for the slightest offenses. Vagabondage was punished by whipping, branding, cutting off of ears and even death.

But even though more workers were set free than capital could absorb, it often occurred that the supply of suitable workers lacked behind the needs of capital. As long as the capitalist mode of production was in the manufacturing period it was comparatively independent of the workers who had developed a certain amount of skill in their detail operation. In many instances it took years before a worker acquired the necessary skill. At that time the valuable element of capital predominated over the constant element. For this reason the demand for laborers increased very rapidly with every accumulation of capital while the influence of wage labor followed very gradually. Skilled workers on the other hand were comparatively scarce and in good demand, the traditions of the guilds were as yet very much in evidence, traditions in which the young man occupied a place close to the master and according to which he himself might some time become master. The wage workers were conscious of their importance, they were independent and contrary; they could and would not submit to the discipline and the monotony of capitalist industry. A "higher power" had to interfere to give to the capitalist a worker who would meet all requirements.

As for the protection of private property against the vagabonds, just as for the aid in the transformation of communal property into private property, so here, too, the power of the government steps in and forces the worker to become accustomed to capitalist discipline. Stringent edicts fix the maximum of wages that may be paid, prolong the work-day and prohibit coalition for the worker.

How all of this corresponds to the spirit of the bourgeoisie which just then struggled for "freedom" is shown by the bourgeoisie after they have thought the French revolution captured the political power, bitter warfare was waged against the remnants of common property in hand which had still survived in France and all remains of workers' guilds were strictly prohibited. With the proletariat developed also the local market. Formerly every peasant family produced whatever they needed; means of subsistence and product of household industry. The products of capitalist industry find all remains of workers' guilds strictly prohibited. With the proletariat developed also the local market. Formerly every peasant family produced whatever they needed; means of subsistence and product of household industry. The products of capitalist industry find all remains of workers' guilds strictly prohibited. With the proletariat developed also the local market. Formerly every peasant family produced whatever they needed; means of subsistence and product of household industry. The products of capitalist industry find all remains of workers' guilds strictly prohibited.

The means of subsistence and product of household industry are now produced as commodities. In the large estates which have been formed out of isolated holdings and communal property and they had their market in the large cities. The products of capitalist industry find a market in the wage workers of the industry and of large estates and in the small peasant himself. In many instances the holding of the peasant has become too small to support him, farming for him then becomes a mere side occupation, house industry for the purpose of satisfying his own desires steps into the background and makes room for one which produces commodities for the capitalist, one of the most miserable as well as most profitable form of capitalist exploitation. We have seen how the proletariat and a so-called artificial surplus population came into existence, which made possible the development of the capitalist mode of production which in turn and in an ever increasing degree reproduces the proletariat class and relative surplus population.

(To be continued.)

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