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The Class Struggle



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WHOLE NUMBER 293

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1900.

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR

WE DEMAND THE COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP OF ALL THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

At 10 o'clock a. m. Tuesday March 6th, the convention was called to order and Wm. Mally, editor of the Haverhill Social Democrat was elected chairman. Strickland was made secretary and Johnson of Chicago and Val. Putnam of St. Louis assistant secretaries.

The usual committees were appointed, and an order of business was adopted. The credential committee had an amount of work that does not usually fall to such committees, for the arrangement and basis of representation is not of the character generally used in representative bodies. Any number of members may sign the credentials of a delegate and his vote in the convention is the vote of the number who sign the credentials. Any local organization can thus send as many delegates as they desire. In fact a member can send himself, sign his own credentials, and his vote is recorded as one vote on the floor of the convention. The voice of all delegates is thus in evidence, but the vote depends entirely upon the number of signers of the credentials. Thus Margaret Haile has 196 votes, and Martin of Ohio has 1 vote.

The total number of delegates present was 67, representing 17 states, showing total membership represented 2043.

Officers and committees have always been elected. The traditions and practices of socialist organizations was departed from in the appointment by the chairman of two of the committees. A special committee of three on reception, (having in view the receiving of the special committee on unity from the Rochester convention) was appointed, (by direction of the convention) by the chairman. Eugene V. Debs, Victor Berger and J. F. Carey were appointed. When the time came for the selection of the committee on tradesunions, Chairman Mally requested that he be allowed to appoint, and his request was unanimously granted.

The reports of the National Committee, and the National Secretary were read and elicited applause as they reviewed and exhibited the growth of the party from a struggling few members two years ago to the present large organization. The National Secretary's report showed a balance in the treasury, and a membership of over 5,000 in the United States, 53 new branches having been formed since Jan. 1, 1900. References to unity with the S. L. P. as represented in the Rochester convention were received with evidence of friendship.

The personnel of the convention was interesting and indicative of the growth of a new movement. The representation was largely made up of young men, active and alert upon all questions. Nearly every one seemed to be desirous of placing in evidence the fact that his constituency was represented, and a great deal of oratory on minor issues was the result of this desire.

Eugene V. Debs was frequently referred to, and his name always brought out manifestation of approval. Debs' demeanor was earnest and confident. Jas. F. Carey of Haverhill was also a prime favorite. The manifestation of approval for Debs and Carey were so marked and numerous that some evidenced their displeasure, but one enthusiastic delegate said that the more Debsism and Careyism that he saw exhibited the better it suited him.

Of the National Committeemen, Jesse Cox is a contented looking gentleman, who exhibits an exterior of the Baraboo or Ingersoll type. Victor Berger, of Milwaukee is also a large man physically. Seymour Stedman is an energetic young attorney. Theo. Debs is a man whose genial manners have endeared him to all with whom he comes in contact. Frederic Heath is a well groomed individual, who might be selected as an attorney or a preacher. Eugene Debs is the fifth member of the National Executive Committee.

Four lady delegates were present—Mrs. Corinne Brown, Mrs. M. S. Johnson, Miss Thomas and Margaret Haile, a lady well and favorably known in the socialist movement.

Delegates Strickland, Whellick and McCartney were formerly preachers. Chase, the socialist mayor of Haverhill, takes the floor frequently and gives evidence of legislative ability. Carey, of Massachusetts, is heard often. His wit makes him a favorite, and he sees the serious and humorous side of every question. Arnold, of Kentucky is a pleasing and convincing speaker. Martin, of Ohio was valuable and active as secretary of the credential committee. Phillips, of New York is short in stature but long in satire and invective. Judson and John O'Neal, twin brothers, are representatives from Terre Haute, Ind.

SECOND DAY.

Seymour Stedman elected chairman. The committees were slow in reporting and business was somewhat delayed. After much discussion over committee reports, the convention greeted the delegates from the special committee of the Rochester convention. Harriman walked in arm in arm with Debs, and Hillquit of New York with Carey, of Massachusetts. Three cheers and a tiger were given for the S. L. P. delegation. Harriman made a neat speech and Hillquit followed. Benham was

OUR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES



EUGENE V. DEBS,
For President.



JOB HARRIMAN,
For Vice-President.

UNITY ACHIEVED

introduced, Max Hayes came in latter, was greeted heartily and made a speech.

The platform committee reported, and a lively debate took place. Some arguments were made for and against giving direct legislation a particularly prominent place in the platform. There was also presented an argument in favor of mentioning the farming industry. During the debate on the platform, all rules were suspended and the committee from the S. L. P. was given the floor. Harriman as spokesman, said in brief:

"Comrades—As a committee from the S. L. P. Comrades Hayes, Hillquit and myself have been selected to impart to you the intents of the S. L. P. convention of Rochester as regards the union of the S. D. P. and S. L. P. I will read the resolution of the Rochester Convention. (Here Harriman read the resolution.) This is the resolution adopted by the Rochester convention and sent to your body. Many questions will perhaps arise. We have disposed of many of the leading objections to a union. We know that both parties have weaknesses. We have made mistakes. The trades unions have been a leading question, and we have in the past made errors. The S. D. P. has also made errors. We desire to drop all recriminations. We desired to find whether our principles and our intentions were identical. We found they were. We found that there was no reasonable excuse for a further division of forces. The workers of the country are being hard pressed. We have no time to waste. If the socialist parties are not sufficiently advanced to appreciate our position, and to forward by every means the strongest possible attack upon the capitalist class, then these parties and the men of these parties have no business in the socialist movement. This unified effort must be made now. If we continue antagonists in the political field, years and years of war between us is assured. We know the time has come to close the pages of the past, and write a new history, a history of the solidarity of labor. We know you are an earnest factor in the political field. We ask you to consider our action in our convention. Tell us whether you think it wise. We desire to base the movement on reason and forward it for the best interests of all."

Hillquit followed and in brief said: "When this committee of 3 was selected by the committee of 9, the sub-committee had some misgiving when they took into consideration the difficulties of their mission, but from the demonstration here, if the expression of sentiment can be at all used as a guide, there is no hard work before us; in fact, the amalgamation is already effected." (Great cheering and applause.) Hillquit then discussed the principles, tactics and elements of the two parties, and spoke of the "necessity of the socialists, who are continually calling upon the workingmen of all countries to unite, to get together and set a good example to the workers."

Hayes spoke briefly and in the same tenor as Harriman and Hillquit.

The proposition for a committee of 9 to confer with Rochester committee, was carried after much discussion. Fourteen candidates finally stood for election, after many had declined. After a disorderly discussion, the motion made by a delegate who desired to hamper the work of the conference committee, was hurriedly adopted, and a committee of 14 was elected by acclamation, for the purpose of conferring with the committee from the Rochester convention. This committee sub-divid-

ed itself, and four—Hoehn, Chase, McCartney and Huath were elected to confer with Harriman, Hayes, Hillquit and Benham of the S. L. P. convention. The joint committee meeting lasted from 8:30 to 12:15 at night.

THIRD DAY.

The report of the press committee was discussed for some time, and finally it was decided, among other things, that the names of all socialist papers should be published in S. D. P. papers under headings indicating their standing toward the S. D. P. as S. D. P. papers, unattached papers, and S. L. P. papers.

A tedious discussion embracing almost all the field of thought available to the delegates, took up the time of the convention for nearly two hours, upon the trades union resolution. Delegate Heath, S. D. P. candidate for mayor of Milwaukee, was satisfied to have resolutions against capturing central trades organizations go in operation after the municipal campaign in Milwaukee. In fact Heath supported the resolution in general, but desired to curtail the national sentiment to fit the Milwaukee campaign. Victor Berger expressed the same view.

The S. D. P. committee of four reported to the committee of 14 at 8 a. m. on Thursday and their session of the 14 was a stormy one, lasting until after 11 a. m. At 12 o'clock, McCartney for committee of 14, reported. The report seemed to place some obstructions in the way of a union. A minority report was submitted by E. Val. Putnam.

The majority report called upon any conference committee to "stand" for the name Social Democratic Party. The minority recommended the committee to urge the selection of the Social Democratic name as the most appropriate name for a socialist party in the United States.

Victor Berger, Meyer London, Bockin, of Indianapolis, Putney, of Mass., Margaret Haile of Mass. and others spoke strongly against the minority report, evidently in fear that a general referendum vote would do away with the name of S. D. P. Meyer London, of New York was violently opposed to the minority report, not desiring to allow it to come to a referendum. He said S. D. P. was the only name that could be supported under any circumstances. The minority report was finally adopted at 6 p. m. by a vote of 1366 to 770: 45 delegates voted for the minority report, 19 against. The minority report is as follows:

- We recommend
1. That a committee of nine be elected by this convention to confer with the committee of the Socialist Labor Party in relation to union.
 - 2.—That the convention instruct its committee of nine to urge the selection of the name "Social Democratic Party" as the most appropriate name of the united party, if union shall be effected.
 - 3.—That after the conference of the two committees aforesaid all recommendations or all reports of the committees and all questions, including especially the question of party name, shall be submitted to a majority referendum vote of each party, said vote to be taken separately by each party. Provided, however, that in case any question other than that of party name, submitted to a referendum vote, shall fail of concurrence, the committee shall have power to submit new propositions regarding such matters to a referendum vote.

When the hour for adjournment (6 p. m.) came, a motion was carried for an extension of time to

nominate national candidates amidst great applause. Debs was nominated in an eloquent speech by McCartney, of Mass. This was seconded by Carey, Arnold of Kentucky and others. Debs declined, pleading ill health. He was urged to accept by many speakers, but made no sign of acceptance. Carey then nominated Job Harriman of California, and the nomination was seconded by several S. D. P. delegates. London, of N. Y. protested against the nomination of Harriman. McCartney was nominated. Theo. Debs was also nominated. McCartney declined in favor of Harriman. Theo. Debs declined on account of youth. A heated debate occupying an hour and a half then took place. Carey withdrew Harriman's name. Various motions were made regarding nominations. Arguments were made in favor of Harriman and Hayes. In great disorder the convention adjourned at 8 p. m.

FOURTH DAY.

J. C. Chase, who served as chairman on the third day was again elected to preside.

A motion to elect two delegates to the International Congress at Paris in 1900 was carried. Eugene Dietzgen was elected as one delegate, and on motion the election of the second delegate was referred to the joint committee of 18, the delegate to be elected by the referendum.

McCartney took the floor and stated that Debs had reconsidered his declination. Great applause. Debs was declared the nominee.

G. B. Benham was called upon for a speech, and congratulated the convention upon the nomination of Debs. "A man recognized from the Atlantic to the Pacific as one of the bravest advocates of the rights of the workers that the world has ever seen. His example has inspired the best efforts of the exponents of socialism, and his candidacy cements the union of socialist forces and assures us a grand result for the coming presidential campaign."

Victor Berger nominated Job Harriman for Vice President. The nomination was received with applause as hearty as that which greeted the nomination of Debs. His nomination was declared unanimous, and all rose and gave three cheers for the candidates. Great enthusiasm. Hand-shaking was in order.

Margret Haile, secretary of committee on constitution read the report of the committee. The report with but slight alteration was adopted as read.

The S. D. P. national Executive Committee was by motion continued subject to the action of the joint committee of 18.

On motion designs of emblems were ordered submitted to the committee of 18, the best designs to be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership. The place of meeting, as well as time of meeting of the joint committee of 18 was left to the committee without recommendation.

The committee on resolutions introduced a resolution calling attention to the fact that the farmers' condition varied in the different localities, and that the local organizations use their discretion in regard to proposed legislation and demands in accordance with socialist principles.

Hoehn of St. Louis made some remark regarding a red flag which hung in the hall. Comrade Hoehn said the flag historically represented the socialist movement in the U. S. for 25 years. It was carried in the great railroad strike of 1877 in Chicago. It is still an emblem which we love. It now hangs in this hall over a convention of 67 delegates. Let us hope that at the next presidential convention it will hang over a convention of 600 delegates, representing one million socialist votes in the United States.

Votes of thanks were voted the local S. D. P. committee of arrangements, to the press of Indianapolis for courtesies and to Comrades Strickland, Putnam, of St. Louis and Johnson, of Chicago as secretaries.

Job Harriman was called upon for a speech. In brief he said:

"I feel sure a real union of the socialist forces has been consummated. The good work of the Rochester convention has been duplicated here. Let us go forward bent upon nothing but doing the best we can for the socialist movement. Upon the question of unity we are agreed. Let us now show by our efforts that we appreciate our duties and our responsibilities."

"The difficulties which face us in the educational work among the working class, let us be firm and aggressive. Who shall say that following a wise and intelligent policy in gaining power, that our representatives will not have the wisdom to make and execute laws of a character beneficial to the working class? A new temple is to be built where the rights of the people shall be the guiding power in the management of public affairs. The differences of the past have to be buried forever. Let us not judge men by their motives, but by their acts. Our duty is to see to the carrying on of that great policy of amalgamation which has

(Continued on fourth page.)

The Class Struggle

G. B. BENHAM, Editor

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Every human being to be well housed, clothed, fed and educated.

The adoption of a social and industrial system that will put an end to profit, interest, rent and all forms of usury.

Land, water, machinery, all the means of production and distribution, and all the available forces of nature, to be owned and operated for the benefit of the whole people.

The gradual elimination, and finally the abolition of all useless and unproductive toil.

Every person of suitable age, and mental and physical ability, must work or starve. "He that will not work shall not eat."

No child labor, except in the form of healthful, well-directed manual training.

Every one to receive the full value of his or her labor.

Watchman, what of the night?
Storm and thunder and rain,
Lights that waver and wane,
Leaving the watch-fires unlit,
Only the hale-fires are bright,
And the flash of the lamps now and then
From a palace where spoilers sit,
Trampling on children and men.

Mourners, what of the night?
All night through without sleep
We weep, and we weep, and we weep,
Who shall give us our sons?
Beaks of raven and kite,
Mouths of wolf and of hound,
Give us them back, whom the guns
Shot for you dead on the ground!

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

Who shall tell in its fulness the horrors of war? Detached episodes, singular occurrences, individual losses, are here and there written—but the sum total of pain, of grief, of bereavement, of poverty, misery, blighted lives, and cheerless homes, is incomprehensible. Yet will men go on fighting and killing each other. Human life, on a war footing, is not of more account than brute life. War is in truth, only a recurrence to the original brutal condition of man, when he also roamed the world as the wild beasts of the earth yet do, and his life was accounted not more precious than theirs. All the refinements of scientific implements for the more speedy slaughtering of antagonists will never render of war a thing civilized, nor convert the deliberate putting to death of one's fellow into anything but a deed distinctly and irrefutably marking our kinship to brutes. This heritage from a former era has remained irreducible, whilst intelligence has wonderfully grown, but intellect cannot remove the foundation upon which it rests, mental and corporeal war being in principle the same. Civilization has brought with it an aggravation of the evil it has been powerless to subdue—it has rendered death, to our eyes, a fearful thing. We, more sensitive than our ancient ancestors to emotions of love, more keen of life because of the artificial pleasures which are introduced into it, more worked upon by considerations of a future existence—look for the first time upon death—so placid, so mysterious—with awe and convulsive throbbings. The beginning of life—lost in the far-off vistas of prehistoric creation—and the ending—ever present—are alike unfathomable, and it is not more wonderful to imagine life's spontaneous existence than it is to understand its absolute annihilation. Birth we wonder not at for it is an offshoot of life: it is the same essence, no more mysterious than that which it sprang from, death, however, has no parentage, it has no succession: it is a thing aloof, grim, repulsive, silent, motionless—foreign and antagonistic to our whole nature, yet irresistible and therefore fearful. But so mouldable are our temperaments that we become accustomed even to this frightful adversary: familiarity with it breeds often contempt, even indifference; were it otherwise, there would be no war."—T. MARCH.

UNITY AND VICTORY.

The news from Indianapolis, that unity has been accomplished between the forces of the Social Democratic and the Socialist Labor parties, will bring joy to the heart of every true socialist in the land. The division of forces, the petty bickerings, the factional squabbles and the mutual recriminations which have heretofore wasted the energy of those who should be comrades, and greatly retarded the progress of our cause—these hindrances have been abolished and their memory will be banished from our minds, disappearing as their chief inciters sink into deserved oblivion. Henceforth socialists of the United States stand together, united and firm. Henceforth we shall teach the solidarity of labor by the powerful method of example. The slogan of Marx: "Workers of all countries, unite!" will no more be a hollow phrase, but an active, vital principle in the economic and political field.

Unity is a fact. The details of amalgamation, the selection of name and constitution, have been left to the joint committee, subject to a referendum vote. In this committee we feel confident that the wisest counsels will prevail, and we await the results without fear and expectant of the best.

The ticket nominated cannot fail to meet the enthusiastic support of the class conscious workmen throughout the country. Heading the ticket is Eugene V. Debs, a man universally respected and beloved in the labor movement, an eloquent speaker and an honest, sincere and earnest socialist. For vice-president, Job Harriman was nominated. Comrade Harriman is a socialist of many years standing, before whose keen logic and mastery array of facts politicians and professors alike have gone down in ignominy and defeat. As an orator and debater he stands in the fore front of the public speakers of to-day, the peer of any. As a socialist, his devotion and tireless energy are unquestionable. With such a ticket we cannot fail to roll up a vote of unprecedented proportions.

The growth of the Social Democratic Party in the past year has been truly marvelous, and all though hampered as we were by internal discord and kept back by the incubus of mistaken tactics, nevertheless the Socialist Labor Party has added thousands of converts to the cause. Not only has socialist agitation made its converts; but capitalist outrages have prepared the field for vast work and given us cause for even more strenuous endeavor. The new policy of imperialism with its necessary concomitants of war and militarism; the infamous tyranny of the government in Idaho; the problem of the trusts rising gigantic and ominous, threatening the lives and liberties of the people—these will be the questions of the coming campaign. And never before has the main issue, the life and death struggle between capital and labor, had better illustrative questions advanced as issues by the capitalist parties.

Our opportunities are most favorable. Shall we neglect them? Throughout the land the cry of distress and murmur of discontent arises from the breasts of women and men. Blindly the masses of the nation are groping for some way out of their wretchedness and poverty. The forces are gathering for the final struggle. On the one hand, capitalism summoning all the powers of injustice and oppression to its aid; marshals its class beneath the banner of vested property rights. Intrenched in the political authority, appealing to prejudice and ignorance, it fights with slanders and lies. Marching against them come the hosts of labor, the organized socialist proletariat. The amalgamation of our forces already raises the hopes and rouses the enthusiasm of the workers and comrades throughout the land. We have closed the book of the past and turn to write a new record—a record of unity and victory. Great is the work before us. Great is the energy and enthusiasm which unity brings to the cause. Great will be our triumph. Let every man do his duty!

The observance of "law", and the preservation of "order" under capitalism have been recently well exemplified in the political war in Kentucky.

Months ago the CLASS STRUGGLE pointed out the dangers to representative government which the exclusion of Roberts as a precedent, may bring. To repeat, if a regularly elected representative can be deprived of his seat and his constituency of representation on a charge of misdemeanor, what will the capitalist agents in congress do with a socialist representative when he presents himself?

After many weeks some of the socialist papers have awakened sufficiently to note something of the Roberts case, and a few correspondents give evidence of having read the CLASS STRUGGLE, and are reiterating its contentions. Better late than never.

Comrade Frederic Scrimshaw, assistant editor of the "People" died at his home in Arlington, N. J., on Tuesday morning, March 6th. About two weeks ago he affected a severe cold, which developed into an ugly erysipelas. It finally terminated in a fatal case of blood poisoning. Comrade Scrimshaw was born in 1844 in Nottingham, England. He attended the public school, but was compelled at quite an early age to start his proletarian career as a lace-maker. Exceptionally gifted, he continued his self education by reading and by studies. Later he emigrated with his family to this country and about ten years ago he began his journalistic career. For many years he wrote for the socialist periodicals of the country and England. His book, "The Dogs and the Fleas," a biting satire on the present system, was read and appreciated throughout this country. Last year he was appointed assistant editor of the "People", and his "Stickers" were copied by the labor press throughout the land.

The socialist movement has lost a tireless and able propagandist and the working class a true friend to their interests.

VIVE LA COMMUNE

The 20th Anniversary of the Paris Commune
March 18, 1871.

The Commune is held up as the personification of misrule and destruction. Communists are represented as that worst element of city life that delights in blood and conflagration, and Paris of 1871 is described as a scene of frightful disorder, submitting to anarchy, pillage and murder.

I was present in the city of Paris during the entire period that the Commune held sway. I was there from the day of the entry of the Germans till the army of Versailles destroyed the Commune, and the experiment of communal government was wiped out of existence by the death of forty thousand citizens, who fell in battle in the streets of the capital of France.

I saw that great city of central Europe held for five weeks by the men of Vilette, Montmartre, and the Faubourg St. Antoine, by the artisans and laborers, who for the first time in seventeen years had had the opportunity to bear arms. There was the Bank of France with its hoarded wealth of coin, the House of Rothschilds, the Bank of the Hopes of Amsterdam; there were the great magazines and storerooms filled with costly fabrics; shops with jewels of untold value; palaces with costliest gems of art; pictures and marbles of inestimable price. There was a vast population which had for months endured privation, hunger and distress. The *gendarmes* had been driven out, and there was no other government than that of the Commune.

And yet during five weeks—weeks of menace from without and suffering within—I saw and heard of no single act of pillage and murder.

For five weeks the great forts of the *cienvs* sent their destructive missiles to the heart of the city. From the Trocadero of a Sunday afternoon to the Pere la Chaise, the Commune soldiers contended against the Versailles troops. From barricade to barricade, from one open space to another, fighting inch by inch, in desperation the soldiers of the Commune, with their wives fighting by their sides, sullenly disputing every stone, block and curb-stone, retreated to the cemetery, and there, amid the graves of the dead, the last of the Communists laid down their lives in hopeless, desperate valor.

They may have been wrong and misguided, but that they were thieves, murderers and incendiaries, I most indignantly deny.

During five weeks I saw no act of vandalism; I saw no plunder. I saw organization and order.

During the week of Government victory I saw scenes of unparalleled brutality. I saw a hundred inexcusable acts. I saw a well-dressed matron stabbed to death in the back and flung like a dead beast into an open port *cochere* in the boulevard Haussman, because she lagged behind in the train of prisoners. I saw five little girls lying dead in a heap near the Palace d'Industrie, with their little petticoats thrown over their faces, shot by Versailles soldiers. I saw a man torn from his carriage and killed by a hundred deadly bayonet thrusts. I saw hundreds and hundreds of Communists fusiladed and buried in trenches near the river Seine. I saw every sub-lieutenant of the army of France armed with the power to arrest, try, and execute citizens, and this after the fight was over. I have read the death decrees and the degrees of exile that for five years followed this communal uprising.

The Commune was composed of the scholars and thinkers of France. It was a band of patriots. If it had in it the mad elements of fanaticism, it may be excused. If oppressed labor classes looked to it for relief it was but natural. If fanaticism and disorder enrolled themselves to fight under its banners, it was because it was the first and only flag where they might enlist. If poverty, distress and desperation looked to it for a change it was but rational.

The history of the Commune is written by its enemies. Like all lost causes it will be misrepresented. What there was of good in it will be suppressed. What there was of bad in it will be exaggerated.

The efforts of an eye witness, at this late time and in these columns, is but a feeble effort at stemming the tide and current of opprobrium running against the Communists of Paris. Nearly all the press of America and England, nearly every pulpit in Christendom, has denounced the Commune. The press has thundered its anathemas against it, and the throne of God has been bombarded from every Catholic and Protestant priest and preacher's desk with unstinted censure.

To the facts of which I speak I bear the testimony of a living witness. Of the Commune I was a part. I helped to build the barricade at the Place de l'Opera. It was begun by a woman in a purple frock, and a lad of perhaps fourteen years of age. The rule was that every passer-by should add a stone from the Belgian pavement with which the boulevard was made. I made occasion to pass often. From my window in the Hotel de Hollande, rue de la Paix, I saw the bloody fight of the Place de l'Opera. At this barricade I saw this woman bring water, load the guns, and bear away the empty ones, and when the soldiers of the Commune were beaten off, I saw this purple gowned amazon, with disheveled hair and bloody arms, alone defend the ramparts that she had aided to raise, till she was stabbed to death by bloody bayonets.

I rode to two midnight sorties with Dombrowski, and I breakfasted with Ockelowitz in the

Place Vendome, for the Americans had the universal pass with the officers and soldiers of the Commune. I treated a regiment of Vilette to half a cask of red wine. It was cheap, and I was paid in hearing them cheer the toast I gave them in very bad French—"The Two Republics—the Republic of France, and the Grand Republic of America." I shall live to see its realization.

I rode in an open voiture at midnight to the heights of the Butte de Montmartre to witness the artillery duel between it and Valerian. I met with polite attention; I was not robbed.

Let London, or New York, or San Francisco fall under the control of its worst citizens, and we should see scenes of pillage, rapine, violence, drunkenness, theft and murder. Yet in this great, rich city of Paris, given over to the Commune for five weeks, with all its wealth and wine, I saw order, sobriety and respect to persons and property.

Hence I feel it my duty to say that Communism does not mean a forcible and unlawful distribution of property, nor is the word Communist a synonym for every crime.—FRANK M. PICKLEY in San Francisco Argonaut.

The splendid struggle of the commune of 1871 has been characterized by the Edinburgh Review as the "greatest and most determined attempt that history has ever seen to settle the social question by force of arms, the greatest and most determined attempt on the part of the workmen and their leaders to conquer a position from which they could, in the future, regulate society in their own way." Viewed from the simple historical standpoint, this is exactly what it was. Looked at by the poet, the tale of those five weeks' struggle is a page torn from an epic of the Heroic Age. To the economist, it is the most brilliant uprising of the people in favor of a principle that the world has ever seen. To the Moralist, it is an overwhelming proof of the nobility of man. To the socialist, it is at once a dirge and a war-cry. A dirge for the dead, but not a sad one, for the dead were ours. They who laid down their lives so magnificently, were striking for us. These men and women and little children, whom Immortality has gathered to her side, were of and for us, the cursed, kicked and scourged wage-slaves of the world. They dared to strike where we dare not move a finger. They dared to die where we tremble even in living. And our masters, finding their backs not bent meekly to the whip, as are ours, shot them down in their tracks as wild beasts are shot. And not content with this, they have lied to us about these heroic martyrs who have died to set us free. Not content with their robbery while living—their murder when they dared resist—they have for twenty-nine years defamed the dead.

It is time, at least, if we ourselves are too cowardly to break our own chains, that we have the decency to defend the memory of those who tried to break them for us.

The blood of the men, the women, the little children of the Commune calls out to us from the shuddering earth, to day, for vindication. Let us heed that call NOW and then to work! And by that work, unceasing, let us hope and pray that ere long, when that blood shall call as well for vengeance, we can respond as men, and not as quailing slaves. Friends, methinks we have but this one thing to do, to spread the light, to record the crimes of the robber class, to print that record by the million and send it to every nook and corner of this land to make freedom sure. Even upon the report of Thiers himself we are content to rest our case. He reported this: "Number of insurgents arrested from May 28th 1871 to January 1, 1872, 38,578; died, 967; acquitted, 3,147; condemned to prison, 10,131; handed over to the civil courts, 212; dismissed, 1,000; shot, 23,121!!!"

But Lissagaray, who chronicles our side of the story swells this number, by 20,000 more who fell unknown and unrecorded. Mind you, these people were not killed in battle, but, after victory, singly, in couples, squads and droves, men, women and children—for the sole purpose of stamping out forever, in France, the doctrine which would emancipate, when put in practice, the working people of the world.

After the fight was over, for one whole week in Paris the slaughter of the working people went on. The 24,000 shoemakers of Paris were reduced to 13,000; the bronze trade was reduced from 2,500 to 1,500 men; and other trades in proportion. Every sub-lieutenant of the conquering army was armed with power to execute prisoners summarily. In forty places every day, firing parties were kept at work from morning until late at night at the bloody task. The proof of guilt was to smell of powder or to wear a blouse.

"The condemned were sent to the firing parties in bands of from six to twenty; they fell in heaps in all positions, a sanguinary mass. Of course, many resisted, and others threw themselves at the feet of the soldiers, protesting their innocence, embracing their knees and crying for mercy—mercy which was never accorded. Sometimes there was a wife that came in with her husband to bid him adieu; another time a father with his son; sometimes both or all, and even little children. But once in, none went forth again. In other places

(Continued on 4th page.)

A Song of Union.

LET'S WORK FOR UNCLE SAM.

An appeal to all who would work for themselves and their Country, and survive in unity and affection the tempests of our "Present Revolution." Mr. A. M. Dewey, who is working in the United States service, says: "This Country will not be all right, till all work for Uncle Sam."

Let's work for Uncle Sam my friends,
He is the "Coming Man,"
He's very great, this Man of fate,
And working in God's Plan.

Stand firm, we must, the cause is just,
And work with strength and vim,
Stand firm, we should, the cause is good,
We can do much for him.

Unite for him, and fight for him,
Such work is not in vain,
Co-operate, before too late
Great work, must bring great gain.

We must unite, to win this fight,
And work with might and main;
Our chance to do, is very great
The way is very plain,

Co-operate, in Man's estate,
With heart, and hand, and brain,
Unite and think, let no man shrink,
The right we must maintain.

Let right and might, co-operate,
To work upon a plan;
We have the power, this is the hour,
To help our fellow-man.

For Samuel is ourselves, my friends,
For us let labor be,
Three cheers for us, U. S. and Sons,
Ring out o'er Land and Sea,—

We are the People of this Land,
We shall be strong and free;
When Uncle Sam, my kindly folk,
Means simply you and me.

KATIE A. FAUST.
San Francisco, March 9th, 1900.

Correspondence.

The CLASS STRUGGLE solicits correspondence from anywhere in the world, upon all subjects of general interest. The shorter the communication, the more likely it is to be published. Write on one side of paper only. Write with a pen.

Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized. The appearance of an article in these columns does not commit the editor to its views.

Chicago, Ill.

On Sunday evening, Mar. 4th a general meeting of Section Chicago was held at 55 North Clark st., for the purpose of hearing the report of the delegates to the Rochester convention. Comrades Klenke and Smith made their reports as delegates, and the proceedings of the convention were endorsed. Comrade Benham of San Francisco was present and spoke on the general results of the convention.

On Sunday afternoon a joint mass meeting was held at 1148 W 63d st. under the auspices of the S. D. P. and S. L. P. organizations. Comrade Wauchop was chairman. Comrade Benham was the speaker. His subject was "The Economic Basis of Socialism." A large audience was present and showed the appreciation of the speaker by frequent and hearty applause. An interesting discussion followed. One man made himself ridiculous by attempting to show that small farms were increasing in the United States, and quoted the capitalistic statistics of the U. S. census reports to uphold his contention. The discussion which followed indicated a knowledge that the destruction of the middle class is actively going on, and that quotations from the enemies of the producers did not carry much weight with those who understood the conditions.

On Monday evening an interesting meeting was held at Ruehl's Hall 220 W 12th st. Comrades Benham and Wauchop were the speakers. Comrade Markens was chairman. The weather was unpleasant, but a fairly large audience was present, and showed the utmost interest and attention.

The prospect of a union of the socialist forces brings renewed confidence to the workers in the socialist ranks in Chicago. J. M.

Santa Clara County.

Comrade C. H. King Jr. addressed a well attended meeting in Champion Hall last Sunday evening. He moved by quoting from census reports, that the middle class in the U. S. as well as in all other civilized countries, was being rapidly driven into the working class; and compared the conditions of today to those prevailing in former civilizations just before their decline. He contended that the only way to prevent the present civilization from following the course of its predecessors, is for the workingmen to unite and vote for socialism. "You workingmen have but one hope, and that is the co-operative commonwealth. If you organize under the banner of the Socialist Party you will be on the high road to happiness."

Our propaganda meetings will hereafter be held Friday evening instead of Sunday evenings. Our meeting next Friday will be devoted to a program in commemoration of the Paris Commune. All meetings are held in Champion Hall, 160 So. 1st st. All socialists residing in outlying towns and districts of Santa Clara county, are requested to write to the address below and give all information possible in regard to prospects of the movement in their vicinity.

L. D. BONETT, Organizer.

Campbell, Cal.

Mr. R. Baker of Winnipeg writes that Mr. A. W. Puttee, recently elected to Parliament in Winnipeg, was not a member of Winnipeg section of the S. L. P. of Canada. He is the Independent Labor Candidate of the Labor Party of Winnipeg, endorsed by the Trades Unions.

Causes of French Revolution

There were twenty-three thousand monks in France; sixty thousand curates and vicars; thirty-seven thousand nuns; two thousand five hundred monasteries; one thousand convents, and sixty thousand churches and chapels. In all there were a hundred and thirty thousand persons who enjoyed themselves in the work of saving France from her sins. But they did not begin with themselves.

There were a hundred and forty thousand nobles in France. They put on regalia and set feathers in their hats. The noble families numbered thirty thousand. On each square league of territory, and for each one thousand of the inhabitants, there was one noble family.

France was not only saved, but she was ennobled. It required a great deal of land to support properly the dignity and office of one of her saviors. The abbey of St. Germain des Pres owned about nine hundred thousand acres. One-fifth of all the lands of France belonged to the clergy, one-fifth to the nobility, one-fifth to the communes and the king. This made three-fifths.

There was one king in France. It required something for his support. He was not a day laborer.

There were twenty-six millions of people in France. They were the third estate—numerous but unimportant. They supported the nobility and the king, and furnished the clergy with material.

France was a very happy and paternal state.

Not only were three-fifths of the real estate of the kingdom in the hands of the privileged orders, but these three-fifths were far the richest. It was the best lands of France. We can judge of it by an estimate of the portion belonging to the clergy. Its possessions capitalized, amounts to nearly four billion francs; the income from this amounts to eighty or a hundred millions; to which must be added the dime, or tithes, a hundred and twenty-three millions per annum; in all, two hundred millions,—a sum which must be doubled to show its equivalent at the present day; and to this must be added the chance contributions and the usual church collections. To realize fully the breadth of this golden stream, let us look at some of its affluents. Three hundred and ninety nine monks at Premontre estimated their revenue at more than a million livres, and their capital at forty-five millions. The Provincial of the Dominicans of Toulouse admits, for his two hundred and thirty-six monks, more than two hundred thousand livres net revenue, not including the convent and its enclosure; also, in the colonies, real estate, negroes, and other effects valued at several millions. The Benedictines at Cluny, numbering two hundred and thirty eight, enjoyed a revenue of a million eight hundred thousand livres. In fact, these people, to whom had been assigned the duty of saving France, were able to live under the load.

It is impossible to describe in adequate terms the system of government and of social despotism, established over the French nation in the eighteenth century. The unprecedented reign of Louis XIV.—its character, methods, principles, tendencies—will be readily recalled. It will be remembered that at this epoch nearly the whole activity of France was displayed in the government. The government was everything. It was meant to be so. The doctrines of paternalism were completely triumphant. The theory reduced to a formula ran thus: it is the duty—the business—of the state to teach men what things to do, and of the church to teach them what things to believe. As for man, it is his lot to be governed. That is, it was the object of his creation. He must receive with unquestioning simplicity and obedience whatever is doled out to him by the noble and by the priest, to whom his destiny in the world is entrusted. All these maxims were adopted by the House of Bourbon. And the French people, that splendid composite race which combined in its veins the best currents of the Celtic and Teutonic stocks, were asked to accept forever the condition of intellectual and bodily bondage, into which the Middle Ages had plunged them.

Though the government of Louis XIV. made a great show of activity, though it clad itself in the habiliments of grandeur and strutted in almost Oriental magnificence, it nevertheless had in it the condition of certain decay. The vice of arbitrary power gnawed like a worm in its heart. When Louis XV. took the throne he received the form and shadow of glory—no more. He must have been conscious of the elements to which he was exposed. Suppose these elements should be lashed into a storm! Suppose that Eolus should let out his wind! Suppose that the human mind, long soothed with opiates and nourished with cordials, should suddenly awake from its stupor! What then? No, no, such a thing must not be. The people must lie still. We will sooth them with more syrup, and while they sleep will take away their substance. It is necessary that we take away their substance to support the state. We, the king and Madame the Pompadour, are the state. The Duke de Choiseul, manager in chief for Louis XV., may well remind one of a showman in gorgeous trappings, attempting to manage a dangerous elephant whom the proprietors persist in starving.

On the 10th of May, 1774, this Louis XV. died. At the story of the two diseases which caused his death History blushes. For several years his chief effort had been to make the government last as long as his own life. In this he succeeded. But he transmitted to his grandson a tottering fabric, rotten in every part. He had by his vices and extravagance exhausted not only the resources of the kingdom, but the kingdom itself. His needless and inglorious wars had plunged the state into debt and greatly increased the taxation. The burdens of the state were imposed almost wholly on the citizens and peasants—that third estate which was now powerless, but soon to become the leading power in France.

The nobles and the clergy were exempt. Not only were the enormous burdens, which ought to have rested on the privileged classes, laid without mercy on the toilers, but these burdens were greatly increased by the methods of collection. The duplicates were farmed out to extortioners, through whose greedy hands only a moiety of the taxes found their way into the coffers of the state.

Under these many abuses the distress of the French people grew more bitter from year to year. A condition of affairs supervened which, as was evident to every thinking man, could not much longer continue. The heart of the nation was in anguish under the burden of accumulating wrongs. Either a reaction must ensue or aspiring France sink to the level of an eastern monarchy.

While the kingdom of the Bourbons thus ran

down from the slopes of power, as if to sink into noisome swamps and marshes, a counter current set in from the world of mind. The intellect of France exerted itself as never before. Men began to think with such freedom and audacity as to astonish the world. While the state sank into imbecility, the mind rose and stood up. It began to question the foundation upon which was laid the structure of society; and as the enquiry proceeded the essential rottenness of the whole edifice was discovered. Speaking of the boldness and energy which French thought exhibited in these times, Guizot remarks that "prior to this its greatest activity had been restrained by barriers; man had lived in the midst of facts, some of which inspired him to caution, and repressed, to a certain degree, his tendency to movement. In the eighteenth century, I should really be at a loss to say what external facts were respected by the human mind, or exercised any influence over it; it entertained nothing but hatred or contempt for the whole social system; it considered itself as a sort of creator; institutions, opinions, manners, society, even man himself—all seemed to require to be remodeled, and human reason understood the task. When ever before had the human mind displayed such daring boldness?"

Now it was that a group of philosophers arose, who, by the originality and sweep of their investigations, have contributed more than any others to the emancipation of man and the construction of new society. They undertook no less a task than the reform of existing institutions of France and of the whole world. These great thinkers are known by the name of Encyclopedists, for to them mankind are indebted for the composition of Encyclopedie Francaise, in which their own views as philosophers were given to the world with a freedom and brilliancy that astonished and delighted, while it instructed and elevated the nations. At the head of the group the great genius, Jean le Rond d'Alembert and Denis Diderot, who, beginning as student of theology, became afterwards a lawyer and then a thinker and a man of letters. These two were the editors in-chief of the great work by which the general intellect of France was to be lifted to a new level of activity and usefulness. Around them were arranged a brilliant cluster of authors and philosophers, of whom the most illustrious were Voltaire, Rousseau, Turgot, Helvetius, Ducloux, Condillac, Mably, Buffon, La Harpe, Marmontel, Raznal, Morellet, Grimm and Saint Lambert. Under their auspices in 1770, the great Encyclopedie was issued in thirty-three volumes. The style and scope of the work were set forth in the preface by D'Alembert with such lucidity and power as to mark him for one of the greatest men of his age.

The Encyclopedic exerted a powerful influence in bringing on that uncontrollable agitation which produced the French revolution. It was the purpose of the work to reveal to the human mind the nature and extent of its powers and achievements. It was intended to display the riches of that knowledge which had already been attained through the toil and travail of human thought, and to indicate the directions in which the domain of knowledge might be most successfully enlarged. Still further, it was the purpose of the Encyclopedists to emancipate thought from the thralldom of custom and fetters of superstition; to strike out into new fields of inquiry; to explore every region with freedom and impartiality; to brook no trammels of the past; to dare and defy the maxims and precedents upon which the existing order was founded; and to create a new intellectual world, of which the rights of men should be the substance, and liberty and light the crowning glory. It may be truthfully said that the great Encyclopedie Francaise, thus conceived and produced, contained in itself the essence and real presence of the anti-dogmatic philosophy and reformatory tendencies of the eighteenth century. These were poured out freely among a people already prepared by discipline of long abuse for the act of daring changes.

The work of the philosophers was received with a warmth by all the people of France, except those privileged classes who, like rooks, had taken shelter under the eaves of the middle ages. To them, indeed, the new philosophy was the handwriting on the wall of the palace. The reactionists at once set to work to prevent the results which were certain to follow from the sowing of such seed in such soil. Under the leadership of Panckoucke and Agasse, they began, after the manner of their kind in all ages, to try to counteract the work of the liberators by adopting their methods. They, too, would publish a cyclopaedia, in which, with medieval hands, they would carefully remold, modify, tone down, and adapt the new wisdom to the nature and wants of the people. They would give man a little light. They would mix in with the audacity and freedom of the new philosophy so much of the leaven of ancient fishhood as would ultimately leaven the whole lump, and bring France and the world back again to that patient and humble condition, in which, saddled and bridled it might safely be ridden by a noble without a priest behind him. So was produced the reactionary work called Encyclopedie Methodique, which, though of vast extent, and representing an infinite amount of labor, is—as if in satire on its title—the most unmethodical and unmanageable work of its kind in existence.

But nothing could now trammel up the results of the labors of D'Alembert, Diderot, and their associates. The mischief was done. A swarm of new ideas had rushed in, wild with delight, from the dark hive which had confined them, and now filled the air with triumphant buzzing. Like a contagion, the new philosophy spread no class or condition. The courtly society of France was almost as much infected as the Third Estate. The king and his court had their literary circle. Even many of the clergy, be it said to their honor, caught glimpses of the light, and preferred to turn their faces to the dawn rather than to dwell in darkness.

It will not be difficult in viewing this general condition of France at the time of the accession of Louis XVI. to the throne, for the thoughtful reader to discover the true antecedents of that great conflict known as the French Revolution. It was simply a revolt, an insurrection of the emancipated mind of France against the tyranny of her social, civil and religious institutions—a rebellion of man against his masters.

It was May, 1789, the crisis came, the like of which had never been witnessed elsewhere among mankind.

J. C. R.

"The Machinery Question." A great eye opener. Shows what machinery is doing, what it is likely to do, and what it could do for society. Price 5 cts. Send to CLASS STRUGGLE, 117 Turk St., San Francisco.

Wages and Politics.

The question of "What is labor's share in production?" says the *Carriage and Wagon Makers Journal* "is one that is of greatest importance to the working class, the analysis of which will show that the working class is forced to a recognition of the fact that labors share is becoming less each year."

A comparative study of the statistics of this country well show how great labor's share in the product has been and what it is now. Although the amount of wealth is constantly increasing, as will be seen from the following taken from statistics compiled by the government, it will also be seen how rapidly labor's share is decreasing:

"In 1850 the wealth of the nation was \$8,000,000,000. The producers' share was 62 1/2 per cent; non-producers' share, 37 1/2 per cent.

In 1860 the wealth increased to \$16,000,000,000. The producers' share fell to 43 1/2 per cent; non-producers' increased to 56 1/2 per cent.

In 1870 the wealth was \$30,000,000,000. Producers' share was 32 1/2 per cent; non-producers' share, 67 1/2 per cent.

In 1880 the wealth increased to \$48,000,000,000. The producers' share went down to 24 per cent, while the non-producers' share increased to 76 per cent.

In 1890 the wealth was further increased to \$61,000,000,000. The producers' share fell to 17 per cent; the non-producers' share increased to 83 per cent.

As the amount of wealth production increased the producers share in that wealth decreased.

In the early days of these statistics, production was chiefly carried on by hand labor; the factories and mills that are now so numerous, were then but few. With the introduction of improved machinery and the rapid progress of inventions in the productive industries the power of these has increased wonderfully. In some instances, such as the manufacture of socks, fifty boys with improved machinery now do the work that formerly required fifty thousand men, and in all branches of manufacture the productivity of labor has been increased from ten to one hundred fold and more. When one by the aid of machinery does the work of many, the others are left idle and the vast army of the unemployed is constantly increasing as the machine becomes more perfect. In the early days of the nation, few were idle, but in 1890 one million laborers were out of employment the number has increased until in 1898 it was estimated that the army of the unemployed numbered from three to four million.

A new factor is now presenting itself. The trust is making itself keenly felt. Competition is fast disappearing and only a small fraction of the entire productive industry remains untrusting.

With the gigantic strides which concentration of capital is now making, the great economy in production and displacement of laborers, we can look forward to a great decrease in the share of the product which labor shall hereafter receive.

While the trusts and the trust papers are singing the joys of prosperity, the working class is feeling its condition more keenly than ever. Their share in all this is but a job at pauper wages. It is certain that the workers will come to understand their true position; at least, the organized workers now, to some extent, realize that the struggle on the economic field must be supplemented by political action. The stronghold of capitalism in the present time is its economic power; its weakest and continuing ever weaker, because of the development crushing out the small capitalist forcing him into the ranks of the working class, is the ballot. Here they are out numbered and here it is where the workers can gain easy victory, and here a victory gained will but add strength for the economic battle.

While it is true that in certain occupations wages have been raised during the past year, yet the cost of living has increased in a greater ratio. Where wages have been increased ten per cent the prices of necessities have risen twenty per cent, and notwithstanding the great increase in productivity through the improvement in machinery and the concentration and effectiveness of capital, labor's share of the product is steadily decreasing and that of the non-producer is increasing.

It is only by organization and by concerted political action that labor can obtain its just rights. Effort in this direction along clear-cut, uncompromising, class conscious lines will increase labor's share in the product. The only solution of the problem is for labor to own the machinery of production. Under the present system the machinery competes with and displaces labor. Under socialism, with the collective ownership of these instruments of production and the collective management of production, labor would receive all that it produces, and no part of its product would be taken by an idle non-producer.

Let workingmen unite and by their votes support socialism, for in that alone lies their last and only hope.

PARIS COMMUNE ANNIVERSARY

Which will take place on Saturday Evening, March 17th, at the Temple, 117 Turk street, promises to be a success. As the Social Democratic Party has, like our own Convention, decided in favor of Unity, we look for a good attendance as our delegates are expected to be present and deliver a brief report of their doings in the interest of the movement East. Comrade Emil Liess will say a few words in regard to the Paris Commune. Our Socialist Band as well as the Socialist Maennerchor has promised to participate.

The exercises will take place and a ball will close the evening.

Comrades and friends, remember that the proceeds will go to help the "Class Struggle" along, in its fight for Socialism.

The Committee.

CELEBRATION
OF THE...

PARIS COMMUNE

Reception to Returning Delegates
From S. L. P. Convention

Turk St. Temple, 117 Turk Street
Saturday Evening, March 17th, 1900.
Dancing at 9:30. Ticket 75 Cents

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

OAKLAND SECTION

Of the Socialist Labor Party, have regular Sunday evening lectures at Grand Army Hall, 419 13th street near Broadway, one block from Narrow Gauge station. Lectures begin at 8 o'clock Admission free. Owen H. Philbrick, 1841 Myrtle st., Organizer.

Lecture Course

Section San Francisco, Socialist Labor Party.

- March 15—J. J. O'Brien "Man and the Machine"
March 22—H. J. Whitaker "Social Evolution"
March 29—C. H. Tuck "The Class Struggle"
April 5—G. B. Benham "Socialism"
April 12—Prof. Morton Aldrich "What Trade Unions Can Do."

Regular weekly lectures every Thursday evening on social and economic subjects at Academy of Sciences Hall, 819 Market street. Lectures begin at 8 o'clock sharp. Questions answered; open platform. Admission free.

SATURDAY NIGHT MEETINGS.

There will be a public meeting held by the Socialist Labor Party on Grant Avenue, near Market street, on Saturday evening, March 3rd, and every Saturday evening thereafter for the purpose of discussing questions of public importance.

All citizens are invited to be present.
Thomas Bersford,
Organizer Section S. F., S. L. P.

City Central Committee.

Regular meeting held on Tuesday, March 13. Comrade P. J. Dunn in the chair. Credentials presented by Jul. Schneider from 43. Dist. and he was seated. Adolf Newman, Charles Hacker, and A. Johnson were admitted members of the party. Correspondence of German Mayday Committee and City Registrar received; one from Mrs. Levin of Eureka referred to State Committee. Report of Comrade Benham from the S. D. P. convention read and received amid great applause. Order made to pay the three party papers ahead for two months and increase 25 copies. Receipts for week ending March 13 \$ 41.30, expense for same 26 50. Votes on party officers received from 43 Dist. and three individual members. The vote on officers to be closed by next Tuesday March 20. The Sec'y was instructed to forward a letter to the Mayday Committee of the German Trades Unions, that we comply with their invitation and elected three delegates to represent us. Leon de Ville, O. Wanske, and P. Hartmann were elected as same. Arrangements were made to rent a hall at Pythian Castle for Sunday afternoons to hold meetings to be conducted as a Socialist Debating club. A. J. Oliver elected to act as chairman at next propaganda meeting March 15 at Academy of Sciences Hall. M. Schwind, Sec'y.

For Militant Socialists.

A socialist debating club will be organized and regular Sunday afternoon exercises will be held at the Pythian Castle hall 909 Market st. All those willing to give their ability as speaker chance to develop should not fail to come. For others it will be as interesting to attend.

Per order City Central Committee.

Place and Time of S. L. P. Assembly District Club Meetings.

- 28th—2nd Monday in each month.
29th—227 Fifth st. 2nd & 4th Monday each month
30th—408 5th street every 2nd and 4th Monday.
31st—Temple, 117 Turk St. 1st & 3rd Monday
32nd—662 Fourth st. every Monday.
33rd—3111 24th near Folsom, 1st and 3rd Wednesday in each month.
34th—1535 15th, 2nd & 4th Wednesday in month.
35th—28 Precita ave, Fairmont Hall every Thursday.
36th—624 Gueroero, 1st & 3rd Monday in month.
37—532 Linden ave every 3rd Wednesday in month.
38—Every last Thursday in month, 717 Franklin.
39th—611 Turk St., 3d Monday each month.
40th—1912 Webster, first Saturday each month.
41st—1837 Union st. every 1st and 3rd Friday.
42nd 38 Turk, 1st and 3rd Tuesday.
43rd—420 Powell, every 2nd Monday in month.
44th—626 Filbert every 1st and 3rd Monday.

A FINE suit to order \$10.75 or pants \$3.75: our specialty in remnants allows us to sell cheaper than ready made. L. LEMOS, 1117 Market St., bet. 7th and 8th, prop. One-price Tailoring Co., 532 Kearny, near Sacto: Also 1644 Market St., under St. Nicholas.

Vive La Commune!

Continued from 2nd page.

the metraileuse mowed them down like grass. Against the eastern wall of Pere la Chaise, 1,148 souls were sent to eternity at once. A long trench had been dug, and the prisoners ranged along the edge of it were shot and made to fall in their own graves, and whilst struggling in the throes of death or agony were covered with earth. In one fosse Commune repose 808 and in another 300." —B. G. Haskell.

The largest butcher-pen of modern times was Satory. It was surrounded by walls in which were numerous holes through which ferocious cannon scowled ominously. This was made the receptacle of the Communist prisoners. Here 40 000 victims were slaughtered.

"It was wonderful," said an observer "to see such a number of ignoble faces, and with such a vile expression, brought together."

That there should exist "such a number of ignoble faces, and with such a vile expression," nay, that there should exist even in a single city twenty times "such a number of ignoble faces, and with such a vile expression," cannot be wonderful to any man at all acquainted either with the cruel history of Humanity, or with the present sickening condition of the human race even in the most civilized countries. Wonderful? Just God! The only wonder is that the vast majority of the race in civilized countries have not sunk into savages and brutes. Condemn a family, or a colony, to a thousand dismal years of grossest ignorance and darkest superstition; sickness without relief, and hunger without the hope of bread; winter without fire or clothing, and continued toil without hope of bettering their condition; surround them with every misery, and deny them every comfort; heap upon them every ill, and shut out from them every hope save that which gleams once in a century through the fierce but fitful fires of revolution; place them, moreover, in contact with those whom they regard as their oppressors, and in the midst of boundless but unlawful plenty and luxury, and how should they have any other than "ignoble faces, with such a vile expression?" One thing was observable on all hands: there were no repentings of what they had done, no curses, no revellings, no reproaches against their chiefs; but when they were shot they unanimously shouted: *Vive la Commune!* Every man and woman and child of them went to heaven for it.

W. DU G. TRAMMELL.

Puerto Rico.

To the Workmen of Puerto Rico:
Section San Francisco, Socialist Labor Party sends fraternal greetings.

We learn with great compassion of your sufferings under the despotic regime of capitalist industry, rendered still more intolerable by the brutality of the military hirelings of imperialistic tyranny. Having ourselves experienced the slavery of American capitalism with its corruption, cruelty and crime, we can appreciate your condition in Puerto Rico and hereby pledge you our earnest effort to alleviate your sufferings. We recognize, however, that the United States government is, at present, under the control of the capitalist class, from whom we can expect no help. Their only replies to our entreaties are injunctions, bull-pens and rifle volleys. Therefore we call on the workers in Puerto Rico and the United States to organize under the banner of militant international socialism, that we may wring from the fear of the capitalists some immediate betterment of our wretched conditions and, awakening to our common class-interest, march boldly forward in solid phalanx to the conquest of the political powers. Thus only can we permanently secure our liberties and welfare. Fellow-workers, trust not the glib phrases of capitalist politicians, who with a Judas-kiss would betray us to their masters, whose interest it is to enslave and plunder us. In ourselves is the only power to save us. By the power of our own organizations we must destroy the tyranny, degradation and poverty of capitalism and wage-slavery, and establish in its stead the liberty, equality and plenty of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

In the meantime, the stronger, the more class-conscious our organization is, the more fearful of our power the capitalists will be; the more readily will they make some concessions for the alleviation of our poverty and wretchedness. We urge you therefore to join your trades unions and labor organizations to defend yourselves in the class-war, which the capitalists wage against you; which affords organizations relief to that extent that you control the labor market. Use every energy to overthrow the system which breeds the capitalist class, whose life depends on waging this class-war upon you to exploit and enslave you.

Remember the battle-cry of international socialism: "Workingmen of all countries, unite! you have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain."

WM. COSTLEY,
T. E. ZANT,
C. H. KING JR.,
A. J. OLIVER,
Committee.

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S. D. P. Convention

Continued from 1st page.

made grand the socialist movement in foreign lands."

This speech was greeted with great demonstration of satisfaction by the delegates.

Comrade Edwards led in the singing of the "Socialist Battle Hymn." This was followed by the singing of the Marsellaise by Comrade Struckland and the delegates joined in the chorus.

Hillquit was called upon for a speech, and went forward amid great applause. In brief he said:

"I do not know whether you have fully taken into consideration the import of the results of this last session of the convention. We have destroyed the pages of history which recorded the errors of infancy in the socialist movement in the United States. We have written a new page in socialist history. We have passed through the diseases of childhood. We have arrived at manhood. We have now a united force, which has a future, bright in its portents, for the socialist movement of the world. From to-day we pass into a new era of the work of the conquest of the public power. We will raise the level of the socialist movement in the United States to the position it deserves. To the level of a fighting, aggressive proletariat, with the force and intelligence to throw down the gauntlet to their enemies, the capitalist class, with the full assurance of a final victory for the forces of the militant proletariat of the United States."

Max Hays, on being called upon to speak, in his usual happy vein, referred to the honor conferred upon him in his nomination as vice president by the Rochester convention. But next to that honor I consider it the greatest honor that I ever had, to be able to step down and out in favor of Job Harriman, and to assent in the nomination of the splendid ticket that is to lead us on the way of progress to the goal we seek.

A committee of five was selected (by action of the convention) to inform Eugene V. Debs of his nomination. Comrades Berger, McCartney, Stedman, Hillquit and Benham were elected. Hillquit was selected as spokesman. In a brief and expressive speech Comrade Hillquit conveyed the message of the committee. Comrades Debs replied that the duty was plain and he yielded to the wishes of the convention.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The committee to confer with the S. L. P. was as follows: Berger, of Milwaukee; Chase, of Haverhill; Butcher, of New York; Haile, of Massachusetts; Hoehn, of St. Louis; Carey, of Haverhill; Heath, of Milwaukee; Farmer, of Texas; Stedman, of Chicago.

After the assembling of the convention, Debs and Harriman, on their arrival, were welcomed with cheers and applause. This was prolonged for many minutes. Debs was called for to make a speech. In brief he said:

"I have felt that a duty is imposed upon me. We must all yield to the dictates of the will of the delegates of the socialist parties. I feel not only the honor, but the responsibility of the trust that has been brought to me. I thank you also for bringing as my colleague upon our national ticket so grand a man and so true a socialist as Job Harriman of California. (applause) We are building a new home and a new place for the working class. We are now the messengers and the functionaries for the establishment of the new civilization. In the new order shall be seen the triumph of labor and truth, and the downfall of the capitalist class, and the upholders of the present degrading arrangements in the industrial system of to-day. We pass on to our duties, proud that we are socialists. I believe in the conquering and emancipating power of socialism. This belief makes me desire to live. Without the hope for better conditions the world becomes a jungle, and mankind wild beasts devouring one another. With socialism in operation we can look one another in the face and call ourselves men. Again I thank you for the honor, and ask that you join me in my ardent hopes for the future of the United Socialist Party of America." (Great applause.)

Job Harriman was called upon and in brief said:

"In California the bright sunshine and the general conditions bring forth the fruits and flowers that bring gladness and comfort to man. So it would be in a true and honest society. The proper conditions would bring forth such a race of men and woman as the world has as yet never seen. I have been asked if the world is worth saving. I say we are not here only to save the present generation; but to make all the world of futurity as good and great as we can. We wish to open every opportunity to every man. The dynamic power is here to forward us to the end we seek. Let us see that the power is properly directed. The factories are prisons. If our conditions are such that long hours and poverty shut the libraries to the workers and the schools are closed to the worker's children, there we do not have the benefits of civilization and consequently the worker must sink into intellectual squalor and physical degradation. It is to stop this process that we are endeavoring to change the conditions that surround the workers. We seek an end worthy of the grandest efforts of man. Let us never falter in our task." (Great applause.)

Jas. F. Carey was called upon and in brief said: "I open the campaign for Debs and Harriman to-day. When the news of this unification reaches the factory hands of Massachusetts, they will rejoice; yes, they will doubly rejoice when they read the names of Debs and Harriman as the national candidates. I see in the future the chains dropping from the workers. I can see the key inserted in

the lock of the economic prison. I long to see the day when the members of my class will step forth with the full powers of society at their command, for the first time crowned with the full glory of manhood." (Applause.)

All matters not adjusted by the convention were left to the joint committee. With repeated cheers for Socialism and Unity, Debs and Harriman, the convention adjourned sine die.

The S. L. P. delegates present conferred with the S. D. P. committee after the convention had adjourned. Job Harriman, chairman; Margaret Haile, secretary; Sunday, March 25, at 9 a.m. was selected as the time for the meeting of the committee at New York City.

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