

ADVANCE

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

WHOLE NUMBER 413.

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1902.

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR.

San Francisco Propaganda Forging Ahead at Vallejo

Comrade Reynolds presided over one of the largest propaganda meetings held recently in the Academy of Science and Mrs. Phelps, of the Mills school, delighted the audience by reading a few of her own thoughts in refutation of the fallacy that Socialism will destroy individuality. Cameron King, Jr., who is a prime favorite with the San Francisco Socialist audience, had a good subject and one of interest right now—"Strikes and Socialism." The text for his talk was a recent article in *Literary Digest*, giving a history of strikes in America for the last twenty years. The boss has in his hands all the means of life, the worker is the creator of wealth and the only one. But he must ask the capitalist for permission before he can go to work, because the boss has control of all machinery. One half of all the wealth of the country is in the hands of 150,000 people. Eight per cent of the people own the property, ninety-two per cent own nothing. How then does the workingman win fifty-one per cent of the strikes? It is because the boss will lose more in one way than he will in another, and if the boss figures that he will, in the long run, lose less by coming to terms he comes over and the worker wins. The whole thing is a strife for power.

Please bear in mind that no working man will ever win the full product of his toil by going on a strike. They have never yet received over one-half of the products of their toil, and generally about one-quarter. This is according to Carroll D. Wright. The struggle for power is as old as the wage system. The strike is an expensive method of carrying it on. An arbitration is simply a demonstration of the relative strength of opponents; it can never be decisive.

The unions must call on the state when they fail themselves, that is, they must go into politics. They failed in child labor in the mines, for the right to work and for the exclusion of improper workers. Even after the law is passed, the men must go on strike to enforce it. The unions are, therefore, obliged to resort to other means than economic ones. Even Samuel Gompers has discovered that the union must go into politics, because they are otherwise always betrayed. Mr. Gompers should know his lesson, for he has often enough been on his knees begging for favors which have not been granted.

But there is another method. The legislator who has a voice and a vote is the man the laborers want. Nothing can be won by begging, but if you can demand recognition it will come. We have proved this by local experience in the late strike. It is common gossip that powers of government are used against the strikers as a rule. This means that the workers must yield.

When labor controls the government the executive labor will win justice. Is the warfare for power to go on for ever? What then shall we do? We must defeat them, so that all their power will be taken from them and they will lay down their arms? How? Only one way. If this money and the energy expended on strikes had been given to the Socialist party, a sane system of society had been established. Instead of living in huts in poverty, and working for a pittance, you would have a free life of leisure and the man might progress in all directions. We want not a compromise, but a victory. Then we will have permanent peace and happiness.

Great interest was manifested in the questions and much practical information desired. Mr. Christie told his opinion of Mr. Gompers, and of the alleged labor representations in Congress. Mr. Zant was the second of the five minute speakers, and his notion was that other things than money enter into strikes.

Mr. Vaughn was the first Socialist five minute speaker. The strike is a protest on the part of the worker against the present conditions. The unions have been in politics for quite a time. The trouble has been that the men who have been elected are capitalists.

Scott Anderson closed by saying that the only thing ever accomplished by unions is the shortening of the hours of labor.

After Comrade King's closing remarks, Comrade Coward made a good critic's report, in which he commended Mrs. Phelps, and referred to the speaker of the evening as being too hard on the trade union, for the union is Socialism in swaddling clothes. Bye and bye all trades unions will unite and vote the Socialist ticket.

The comrades at Vallejo report considerable progress in the propaganda there. On June 11 Mrs. Phelps and W. T. Mills spoke to a large audience in the Farragut theater, and as a result several new members were added to the local. The following week Miss M. Lena Morrow spoke on the Bank corner one night and the night after before the Labor Council. Comrade Morrow's address was very well received and her eloquent pleading for Socialism made many converts. June 25 C. H. King, Jr., spoke at an open air meeting. A crowd of one hundred and fifty listened attentively for an hour and a half to the argument for Social political action. After the address two active trades unionists joined the party then and there and three others signified their intention of doing so on the following evening at the regular business meeting of the local. A significant thing occurred when a request came from the Central Union Labor Club to the Machinists' Union asking for the election of delegates to a nominating convention of the Union Labor Party. Member after member declared that he would not support such a move, that Socialism was the workingman's hope, and the Socialist Party was the workingman's party. The proposition to send delegates was defeated by a big majority. The same result is expected when the matter comes up before the other unions and before the Labor Council. Meanwhile the Socialist local has an active membership of thirty, which the members confidently expect to treble in the next few months. The outlook was never so bright as now, and the hearts of all beat high with the hope they cherish.

Philosophy of Socialism

People often speak of Socialism as if it were a system that could be "enacted" or "put into effect," or an elaborated Utopia offered for criticism. It is discussed as if it were a "reform" that could be compared with other reforms, and Socialists are asked to unite with "other reform forces." Such talk implies an utter misapprehension of the essential characteristics of Socialism.

It should be distinctly understood from the beginning that Socialism is not the sense of the word that was the competitive society of our fathers, or the Monopolistic society of to-day.

Socialism is the philosophy of social development that treats of the great economic laws, according to the working of which each of these stages of society must naturally be a development from its predecessor. There is no common ground between Socialism and any scheme or plan for the improvement of society. To attempt to unite it with any of these is as sensible as to ask an astronomer to "fuse" with some reformer who is seeking to improve the climate by introducing changes in the earth's orbit, because astronomy treats of the laws causing variations in the relative position of the earth and the sun.

The basis of Socialism in this sense is found in what is sometimes called the "materialistic conception of history," or Economic Determinism. The foundation of this conception was stated as follows in the preface to the famous Communist Manifesto, issued by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, in 1849:

"In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch.

"Consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of CLASS STRUGGLES, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes.

"The history of these class struggles forms a series of revolutions, in which now-a-days, a stage has been reached where the exploited and the oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without at the same time, and once for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles.

Perhaps this position can be made clearer by an illustration from the field of biology. It is a well known law in the world of plants and animals that in any organism the entire form and structure is simply the most advantageous manner of arranging the material of which the plant or animal is composed in order to meet the difficulties with which it is surrounded. Every limb, muscle, leaf, branch, or root was developed because its existence was of advantage to the organism as a whole in obtaining its support from its environment.

In the same way society as a whole is simply the form in which its members unite to conquer nature. It is a machine, an organism, a structure with which to obtain the good desired by its members.

Let this be not misunderstood. If society is but a means to the satisfaction of human desires through conquest of an external world, the lowness of a society does not depend upon this fact, but only upon the lowness of the desires that govern. If all the social energies are expended in the production of the means to satisfy the merely animal desires to the neglect of all that is good and true and beautiful, and if even then these necessities are not secured to the majority of the members of society, then that society is indeed bestial.

If, on the other hand, the social organization is such that the animal needs are secondary, secured to all by mechanical means, while opportunity and leisure are guaranteed to every one for the development of the ethical and artistic—then the plane of organization is vastly higher.

In other words, this philosophy is a "pig philosophy" only to the pigs. To those whose idea of "goods" to be produced and desired to be satisfied embraces the productions of a Wagner, a Browning, a Murillo, or a Shakespeare, there is nothing debasing in the idea that production is the only reason for a social organism.

The position being once granted that the Economic Organization determines all social forms and structures, it follows that the "goods" it sets about to produce, and the manner of their production, become the great fundamental social facts.

A. M. SIMON.

Socialists Capture Colorado.

There is great rejoicing among the Socialists in the great mining state over the fact that Colorado is the first state to have a Socialist Governor. They expected to have one next year besides several other things. They are going to capture not merely the Chief Executive of the state but the whole works this fall. But even before the election they have managed to secure the acting Governor. It happened this way. D. C. Coates, one of the publishers of the *Colorado Chronicle*, a trades union paper, was elected Lieutenant Governor of Colorado. Mr. Coates has always been a radical and staunch upholder of labor and added a great deal of strength to the Democratic ticket. Here recently, for some cause, unknown to us, the Governor of Colorado has been off duty and the Lieutenant Governor has acted in his place. The spread of Socialist propaganda had seized hold of Mr. Coates some time ago, and recently he has supported the move to swing the trades unions in line for Socialist political action. Two weeks ago he sent in his application for membership which was accepted. And now a Socialist occupies the gubernatorial chair of Colorado. He has been beset on all sides since this declaration by pot-house politicians of various degrees of prominence and influence, and speaking generally he authorized the following statement to be made, which first appeared in the *Rocky Mountain News* of last Tuesday:

In answer to general inquiry he said: "Yes, I sent in my application about a week ago, and on Sunday night was made an active member of that party. I shall be found fighting for those principles. I admit that I have been advised against it, and have heard much talk about political errors, but I mean to take the stand and to stick to it. I am more anxious than anything else to do some good in this world, and believe in a man following his convictions, first of all. I have believed in Socialism for years, as the only means of elevating the working classes to a place of independence and to that position they should rightfully occupy. Having taken this stand long ago, I shall not turn back from it now, and I do not want to. I would far rather retain my convictions than to hold any office."

Machinists Cheer Socialism.

"Not Reform, but Revolution is the political aim of the working-class." This was the stirring message which Comrade Walter T. Mills delivered in stentorian tones to the machinists in San Francisco Wednesday evening, June 25. His subject was "The Union Labor Party." Several weeks previously he had delivered a lecture on the "Class Struggle," and so well pleased were the machinists that they demanded another opportunity to hear him. Comrade Mills handled his subject with great skill. He began by outlining the task before the working class. He showed that the struggle was not merely a local fight, but that the class war was a national and international conflict. Throughout the civilized world identically the same forces are lined up in a gigantic struggle for supremacy. One the one hand are the myriad battalions of those who make things, but who are practically penniless. On the other hand is the small but crafty, unscrupulous and perfectly organized army of those who make nothing, but who take and now own practically everything. The strikes in San Francisco were but local battles in an international class war. The Union Iron Works was a part of what bids fair to become an international shipbuilding trust, possessing plants all over the country. The Machinists' Union was a local of the International Association. Not only that, but other corporations, which other unions had to fight, operated at least on a national basis, and hence to battle with them successfully at the polls the unions would have to enter national politics. When the speaker had established this proposition, he went on to show that the only possible solution of the question was Socialism. The Union Labor party must be consistent. It must stand for the complete victory of labor or perish. The same law of expansion which compels a party to leave the local field, and to enter national politics or be crushed by the superior power and more vital interests of national parties—that same law demands that a labor party move forward consistently from one victory over capital to another. Every victory means an encroachment on the right of the "boss" to run his business in his own way. Every union demand is a step toward a greater and wider exercise of that function of ownership, direction of methods of use, management. There was no place where they could stop, therefore, short of ownership and management of industries themselves. Since they were doing this politically it would be government ownership of industry and working class ownership of government that they must logically come to.

But the Union Labor Party has failed to recognize this. It has attempted to reform certain evil conditions within the existing capitalist system. It has attempted, through its mouth-piece, Mayor Schmitz, to serve capital as well as labor. If it continues this policy it is doomed. The capitalist will buy and betray it. The workers will desert and damn it. The war between the capitalists cannot be harmonized on the political field. The Union Labor Party must take one side or the other. If it goes for capital it will be swallowed by the national Republican party. If it stands for labor it cannot do otherwise than adopt the Socialist platform. Since the Socialist Party is a national and international party, the Union Laborites might as well join the Socialist local here and now. The Socialists demanded that complete revolution in society which would dethrone the tyrannical oligarchy of capital and raise to control of the public powers the working class, the producers of wealth, that a free and fraternal commonwealth might displace the hell of competition.

Comrade Mills' address lasted nearly two hours and he was frequently interrupted by bursts of applause. At the close three hearty cheers were given for Mills. Then three rousing cheers for the Socialist Party. Then a Labor Party man called for three for the Union Labor Party, but the response was very thin. The machinists want Socialism and will vote for it.

Humboldt Aroused.

Comrade M. Lena Morrow, after doing a great deal of valuable work in Oakland, Stockton, Sacramento and Vallejo, has gone for a while up to Humboldt county. She is an indefatigable worker and strikes telling blows for the cause. Writing under date of June 27th she sends in

sixteen subs for *Advance*, and gives a brief note of the work she has on hand. She has held two big hall meetings, besides others in the open air at logging camps nearby. Friday and Saturday Scotia and its logging camps were visited and "very interested times" are reported. A great bunch of literature was disposed of and subs for *Advance* were procured. Humboldt county has needed the services of a speaker, and Comrade Morrow has filled a long felt want. Her agitation has given the community a shaken up, and Socialism is being talked of on all hands. Watch the vote next November.

An Appeal on Behalf of the United Mine Workers of America

To the Members of the Socialist Party

Comrades:—Since the issue of our previous circulars with reference to a Strike Propaganda Fund, communications we have received and circumstances which have come to light, indicate that the present struggle will extend over a wide territory, and that the conflict will reach a magnitude unprecedented in the history of the labor movement of this country.

At this critical time it becomes proper for our comrades to pause and consider well the policy which we should adopt towards the strikers.

One hundred and fifty thousand men have thrown down their tools, in mute rebellion against their capitalist masters.

The immediate cause of this strike is a mere wage dispute, and as such is naturally and eagerly seized upon by Socialists to show the folly and wrong of the wage system. The sudden discontinuance of wages, which barely affords the means of subsistence, is attended by prospect of starvation to hundreds of thousands of men, women and children.

This being the central living fact in the strike, does not the condition demand that we contribute bread first—and food for thought afterwards? And will not better results accrue thereby both to the striking miners and to the Socialist Party?

While our comrades should use their own judgment about agitation and propaganda under the conditions referred to, we urge, in order to make the Socialist Party a vital factor in this present economic phase of the class struggle, that all members of and sympathizers with our party should concentrate their efforts to render all financial aid possible to the miners. In pursuance of this policy we shall send henceforth to the general officers of the miners' organization all donations received for Strike Propaganda.

We furthermore make a special appeal to our comrades to circulate subscription lists, and if necessary to call special meetings of their respective locals, in order to raise funds and provide bread for the miners, the men, women and children.

All such donations should be sent to W. B. Wilson, National Secretary-Treasurer United Mine Workers of America, 1103 Stevenson Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Yours fraternally,
Leon Greenbaum, National Secretary.
By direction of the Local Quorum.

The Advance Guard.

Comrade Lindwall surprised us with thirty new subs. Keep on with your good work.

Comrade Miss Morrow from Eureka and Fortuna, Cal., is doing excellent work. She sent to us six yearly and eight half yearly subs. Things are coming our way.

Mathew forwards us one. Keep on. Comrade Beresford added four to our list. Boys and girls keep on with the good work.

Comrade W. E. Walker does likewise, and adds six more subs to the good cause.

One more from Vallejo, Cal. Send them in boys.

Comrade Lawrence of Santa Clara, Cal., sends in one. Keep up, comrades. By doing this we all will share the good things of this work before long.

Comrade Morrow adds eight more names to the list. This is the work that tells. Fire away, Comrades.

Press dispatches now announce definitely that the Senate will do nothing until December toward passing the national eight-hour bill. Any shock that the country may now experience on this account cannot reasonably be attributed to the suddenness of the news.—*Coast Seamen's Journal*.

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Organ of the Socialist Party of California: Published Weekly by the Local San Francisco, Socialist Party.

W. E. Walker, Business Manager, Room 8, Odd Fellows Bldg., San Francisco, California.

Subscription price, 50c. per year; six months, 25c.

Forward, Forever California!

"Twenty-five thousand Socialists in California," said Organizer Helpingstine when he started out on his trip. And he seems to have gone earnestly to work getting them. Do you doubt that his prediction will be verified? Look at the State Committee report. Nine new locals chartered at its last meeting. Ben F. Wilson sent in six and Helpingstine sent in three, and Northern Organizer Holmes is yet to be heard from. This is the work that is going to tell. Never forget it, Socialism is coming, giant like, shod with the fabled twenty-league boots. Over sixteen thousand names were on our petition, and ten thousand more will vote the ticket next fall, if—there is always an "if." The "if" this time depends on the Socialists of California, the declared and organized Socialists. Comrades, work for the cause! It demands our every effort, our greatest sacrifices. Here is the work. You must convert other people, and when they are converted get them to join the party that their funds and activity may spread our propaganda and organization still further. The best method of converting people is to get them to subscribe for the party press. Supplement this by taking a bundle for distribution yourself. Do this and watch the result. Be downhearted no more, comrades. Let your hearts exult in the joy of justified hope. In every quarter the ground is shaking beneath the steady tramp of our marshalling battalions. The multitude is marching on. Forward forever, California.

St. Louis for Socialism.

Another great forward step was taken last week by the Central Trades and Labor Council of St. Louis. For some time it has been distinctly favorable to Socialism, but it has never taken any action as a body to advance the cause of the Socialist Party. Recent developments in trades union matters, however, have forced the lesson of political activity upon it. A few weeks ago, during the Garment Workers' strike, the brutal police bullied, clubbed and insulted the girls on strike in a manner so outrageous that a storm of indignation swept over the trade union movement. No redress seemed forthcoming from the political authorities, and the necessity of a working class political party was made obvious if the workers were to receive the smallest consideration from the government. To this end a committee of five was appointed and their report was presented last week to the Central Trades and Labor Council. It reviewed the class struggle, pointed out the necessity of political action on class lines and argued for the support of the Socialist Party as the only party which presented a program on historical science and favorable to the interest of the working class. This report was received and approved by an overwhelming majority of the Council. Then to show that it meant business, it ordered 15,000 copies printed for judicious distribution, and appointed a committee of five of its own membership to act with and aid the Socialist Party in its municipal campaign. St. Louis Socialists are jubilant at this achievement. They begin their campaign this week and confidently expect a vote of 7,500 to 10,000. Their organization was never before in such good order and the support of a great body of the working class seems assured. The way everything is shaping itself, it is extremely probable that Hanna spoke more wisely than he knew when he prophesied great danger from Socialism in 1904. His Civic Federation has failed to smooth over the class war, and there are such signs of insurrection against his twin, Samuel Gompers, that that worthy may be hunting a cyclone cellar about the time of the New Orleans Convention. Meanwhile, Hurrah for St. Louis!

What We Stand For.

There is only one Socialism—Socialists differ as to what will be after success is won, because the working out of details cannot be determined beforehand, but fundamental principles are definite and agreed to by all, viz.:
 First—Collective ownership and control of the means of production.
 Second—Collective control of distribution so that there shall be no profits, but all go to producers.
 Third—Direct power vested in the people through the referendum.

The Basis of Morals

It is not enough to formulate theories of destructive criticism; this is the age of the "affirmative intellect," and men are seeking for a positive ethical standard. We say that Unity must replace Strife before we can be even approximately civilized, and that can only be brought about by changing the very fundamental basis of our social relationships. We believe that the vitalizing force of an ethical impulse was never so much needed as now, and we have no sympathy with those who declare that ethical standards are good for old ladies and children alone. The very word Socialism indicates that we found our theories upon a profound belief in, and recognition of, social interests and obligations centered in those interests. Whatever advances the interests of society is right; feckly fair question, which we by no means whatever militates against those interests is wrong. We bring ethics back from the clouds of mythology to the world of men. Morals being purely secular in origin and purpose should be kept free from all contact with religion. A thing is right or wrong not by reason of the declaration of one God or many Gods, or the prophets of Gods, but by reason of its social effects. As Socialists, therefore, we do not ask ourselves what Moses or Christ, or Buddha or Confucius, Madame Blavatsky or Mrs. Eddy, John Wesley or the Pope would say, but simply this: "How will it affect the working class to which we belong?" Just as the injustice that is done to labor is the measure of the wrong of our present conditions, justice to labor must be the standard by which alone it can be righted. In the light of the right of labor to the whole of its product, the world must be re-created. But it may be argued, "class interests" and "social interests" are not identical; how, then, can the interest of society as a whole be gauged by the interest of the working class? That is a per-wish to evade. Taking the position—the only logical position, it seems to me—that the interests of labor are fundamentally opposed to those of the exploiting class, and that between them, in the very nature of things, the can be reconciliation, we do not attempt the impossible. Instead of that we say that all interests that conflict with ours must, somehow or other, be eliminated. No matter how painful an operation that may be, it must be performed as a measure of self-preservation and protection. If a man suffers from cancer and calls in a surgeon, the surgeon does not talk about the identity of interest of the cancer with that of the man's body. He doesn't try to find something that will help both at once. He well knows that such a thing would be ridiculous, and that if the cancer is not overcome, it will overcome the body. Therefore, he tries to eliminate the cancer. Capitalism is the cancerous growth in the social organism that must be eliminated in the interests of the organism as a whole. Thus the interest of the producing class becomes the standard of ethical judgment. Nor is this a principle foreign to the science of ethics. In all ages it has been theoretically admitted at any rate. And, after all, it is not everywhere clearly apparent that the interest of its useful and necessary members is the true interest of any body? In the hive it is always the bees' interests that are considered and not those of the drones. With the sum total of its experience or its bible, and its own well-understood interests for its moral standard, the awakened proletariat will build a new earth in which vice and misery shall find no place, and in which the moral Sahara of to-day shall be a moral Eden where the sweet spirit of Comradship shall blossom forth like the fabled rose of unfading beauty.—John Spargo, in *Where We Stand*.

Labor Lecture Bureau

Financial statement of receipts and expenses from March 24th to June 7th:

Expenses.	
For railroad fare, J. C. Chase, March 24th to June 7th, inclusive.....	\$ 95.99
For hotel, J. C. Chase, March 24 to June 7th, inclusive.....	83.80
For salary, J. C. Chase, March 24 to June 7th, inclusive.....	198.00
For printing advertising matter, special letter heads, envelopes, mailing cards, etc.....	50.75
For postage on advertising and correspondence.....	49.63
For payment to addressing company.....	3.55
Total.....	\$481.72
Receipts.	
From eight locals, Socialist party, \$ 36.00	
From forty-eight trade unions.....	333.25
From profits on literature.....	7.33
Total.....	\$376.58
Amount expended above receipts from March 24th to June 7th.	105.14
Note.—Statement does not include time of National Secretary and office force, nor proportion of other operating expenses.	
Leon Greenbaum, National Secretary.	

Poppies and Wheat

BY MARY FAIRBROTHER.

In the front of the great World-Shapers appointed to lead and to mould, Lining the solid course of the new to plumb with the tried of the old. On the broad foundation buttressed with mortar of blood and tears, There towers the temple foretold in the dreams of prophets and seers: Wide-domed as the vault of heaven, including, as heaven includes, The strong and puny in status alike, full-handed or bare of goods; Holding no caste in justice, no fief of air or of light,— Not flung as a bone to beggars, but ceded, a primal right.

No more shall the grail of the ages for the few be sold and won, But alike and equal sharing, when the strife is striven and done; Each man by the flag above him, bound to his bravest and best, To full free chance for his making, to room for his highest quest; Bound, by the flag above him, to reckon his brother's need; Bound, by the flag above him, to hearken, and help, and heed The voices crying in darkness, as the crying of kith and kin,— The call of the scourged and the outcast, as the call of the housed within.

Not all to the captains and leaders,—to them be the good that is theirs,— But they battle for Liberty's largess, and the sons of slaves have shares; No more to her borders only the power of the nation bends, But the keepers of earth are kindred, and the weakest of earth are friends: Friends by the bondage of urgent need, equal, insistent, and strong, Kindred by kindred purpose to better the ancient wrong; Tempered and tried in the furnace, proven of sight and of soul, She measures the message of Fate etched large on the future's golden scroll.

The Fourth of July is a day in which we should renew our vows to make the flag we have been taught to regard as the symbol of liberty, to more fully mean the thing it ought to mean and the thing it will mean when men really deserve freedom. There is a tendency on the part of some Socialists to cry down the flag because it does not really mean what is claimed for it. Those men are patriots or traitors in the degree that they do all they can for the flag and for the government to raise their standard of patriotism above the little thing it has come to mean in America. If a man is convinced that the traditions of our fathers have departed and that this country is in the hands of the money shark and the seeker after place, then he is a traitor if he does not take a firm stand against such practices, vote as he talks, and by one man's sacrifice and stern integrity do what he can to keep alive the spirit of liberty. We act as if we believed liberty was an inheritance. Some men talk as if the forefathers brought liberty over the seas, stored away in the Mayflower, and now they are to blame because it is so small and dead a substance and will not respond to the demands of this hour. Liberty was never given to any man. He must take what of it he enjoys, for if he should by chance have a bit of economic freedom or political freedom, he will then be able if he desires to grasp new heights of moral and spiritual freedom of which he could not have even a dream until he grows awhile. So it is ever progressive, and the bright, stary banner which led our fathers in their one fight, may still lead us in a larger and finer, if we are worthy. There is no fault with the flag or with the abstract ideal that the word patriotism means. The former means what the average citizenship compels it to mean; the latter represents whatever men are willing to work for, to live for, to die for if need be. The argument that the flag has only stood for conquest, and that it means war, and that we should oppose war, is the argument of a man whose love of country is simply a forced plant which the warm sun of real patriotism would wither into nothingness. The flag has stood for war, men have rallied around it and fought bloody battles, "reaped their brothers for their pains and called the harvest honor," and it was honor. Each hour has its ideals, and if now we know that those honors were based in disgrace we should compel the world to honor our flag of our day which means a nobler and a higher glory in which murder and carnage are not admired but a new justice and new love are realities. If the world is our country, so much the better, but America can lead or follow; we can make our flag the representation of the corner of earth which institutes all good things, or we can make it otherwise, but it will be a far cry before the map of the earth is so changed that the lines marked out by men are erased,

and just now it would not be desirable. This should be the inspiration of the Fourth of July.

A new review of George Eliot's work has been written by a man who has some fame, perhaps, but who depends upon his knowledge of this woman's work, the appreciation of her genius to enhance his own. He is supercilious, and he is unjust, as all men are who criticize this woman, who was so tender, so womanly and so strong. Leslie Stevens has written a biography of George Eliot, and the other man who tries to come in on the same wagon is Herbert Paul, who writes of the book about the books and life of the finest woman writer the world has so far produced. Mr. Paul decides that "Middlemarch" is George Eliot. Her other books are below this one, in aim, in style and in freshness and vigor of imagination. The world, which has decided otherwise, is wrong. The *literati* who have an opinion different from both is wrong. Only Mr. Paul is right, and he says it is "Middlemarch."

Therein lies the power of this woman. Her people in her books are real people. They appeal to the reader just as people outside of books appeal. Men and women love and appreciate other men and women because they do, and that is all there is about it. Perhaps philosophy may know why, but the why is not part of this story. Characters appeal to other characters who appreciate that particular sort, and when cultured scholars differ so widely in regard to the relative merits of George Eliot's book people they pay her the tribute she deserves, for her work appeals to all. There is no controversy in regard to other great authors' best books. Each one has a certain book which all the world agrees is the best. But no one has yet proven his case when he has "decided" in favor of any single book of this woman, who knew things and has told us, with the keen perception of the deep emotions that common women have not been able to express if they have experienced them. However, it is always better to read George Eliot than anyone's opinion of her, but both Gwendolen and Maggie Galiver are good enough book people for me, and they are not to be met in either "Middlemarch" or "Adam Bede."

Women need Socialism, to get back to the subject, because the children, the home, the father and all are under her sway, and she must keep pace with the foremost.

Talking of the home need and Socialism reminds me of what a brother in the north country said of this column a few weeks ago. He said he enjoyed it because there were no recipes for cookies in it or something to that effect. He little understands the woman nature, or he would not say a thing like that, for there is hardly a woman but would immediately go after him with a good recipe for cookies, not like his mother used to make when he was a dirty-faced boy, but according to the new way. Here is the substance:

There is no finer work than cooking. Men are the best cooks, so they claim, and probably they are, at least they are the best feeders. Nothing is more important than good food, properly selected and properly cooked. My friend Mrs. Sarah T. Rorer of Philadelphia, who is the best woman cook on this continent, believes that good cooking is more important than anything, more important than all other things combined, for upon that depends ability to do all the other things, even life itself. So these men in the north and otherwheres must not get the notion that good cooking is not a science and the most important of sciences. My friend, Mrs. Rorer, believes that when women have proper workrooms and knowledge sufficient to discriminate so that cooking will take the place it deserves that it will be the most respected callings of the things people shall do for each other. That will be when we have learned to think and to choose what is important and let other things wait.

The Canadian Socialist of current date has a fine article by Miss Merrill, which does a Socialist woman good to read. It is so calm, so thoughtful and so true. The writer is not afraid to think; she is not bound down by the old plan for women's heads, and she seems to be perfectly poised and to desire to help others become clear-sighted and tender hearted. The trouble with women in the past, and if a trifle of the folly still clings to them, we take courage because we are all human, the trouble with women has been that they have shed barrels of tears, wasted all the glory and power of the woman nature on things which did not amount to anything. They have dropped briny tears on a piece of bread for a hungry baby and never taken a day off to think how it happened that the child was thus defrauded and obliged to beg for food. They have, if they are good women, felt an immeasurable pity for the girl who goes wrong and for her betrayer, who needs butchering, no doubt, but who is just as miserable, in a way, as the poor girl-victim. If they are not good women, they have wrapped the respectability of some man's money or position around them and walked down the other

side of the street so the miserable fallen creature could not even look upon them or their chastity, then gone home and entertained the girl's betrayer at dinner, because the same respectable man needed his vote or his influence or both.

But the new world is a brighter place. We may suffer more, but when deliverance comes the joy will be so fine, life will mean so much, that it is really better. No man who really thinks, is as happy as one who does not. That has been said and proven so many times that it is trite and wearisome, but yet we all prefer to think. Women, too, are finding out the joy and the pain of real life. The harem of Asia and of America are easy, in a way, but not the best. All the sentimental gush about the influence of woman will soon be gone and the world will find in its place that women may have influence if they desire to undertake the responsibility, if not they will let some one else do the influencing, who carries the pocketbook, as it has been done.

Women have more need for Socialism than any creature under the sky, which is so fine and so blue to-day over in Nebraska. Out here, in the land of fog there is a sky and women are under it, but it is not so high and so clear and it does not inspire one with quite the same yearning after the unknowable as the sapphire arch which bends over the waving prairies of that summer land, these July days.

The women of Kansas armed themselves with "deadly weapons" and forced a gang of fifty hobos to go into the wheat fields and help harvest the crop which was ripe and going to waste. The women marched beside them and forced them to bind and carry bundles, and not until all the grain was safely housed would they permit a man to shirk or run away. It might not work on a large scale, but it was a very stirring experiment and settled the tramp question for that day and in that country. The women of the middle west are used to breathing such fine air, they are so used to meeting emergencies of all sorts and they are so accustomed to admitting that in other spots of the earth are people who do now a few things, that they are capable of a good deal of original heroism in one way and another. Did you ever think what a splendid thing it is to be forced all your life to realize and admit that outside of your state, outside of your city, outside of your front gate are people who are wise and good, and who know much and to whom it may be the part of wisdom to listen quite frequently? This action of the Kansas women was not notable except for its uniqueness and its humor. The women of all countries are humorous at times, but not in the peculiar manner which appeals to the Kansas woman.

California State Committee

Meeting held June 29th. Present, Comrades Appel, Ober, Reynolds and Beresford; Comrade Ober in the chair.

Minutes approved. Communications read from A. Austerhaus, Leon Greenbaum, S. H. Hanson, M. S. Prime, Benj. F. Wilson, F. D. Merrill, Frank V. Loring, J. Davidson, Winonah S. Abbott 2, G. Onken 2, A. F. Snell, T. H. Bowman, Theo. Padthe, H. B. Weaver, E. B. Helpingstine, Anna F. Smith, F. J. Wildanger, H. R. Wright, Geo. S. Holmes, Frank Wolf.

Cash received from Locals: Los Angeles \$10, Santa Cruz \$2.25, Arcata 80c., Sanger \$2.32, Selma \$1.28, Fowler \$1.55, San Luis Obispo \$2.25, Paso Robles \$1.15, Chula Vista \$2.00, Oakland \$5.00, Arroyo Grande \$1.75, Santa Maria 2.25, Ventura \$1.75. Total from Locals \$36.35.

Received for Organizer Fund: H. R. Wright, Porterville, 50c.; J. A. Sieveyzinski, 50c.; G. W. Dillard, 25c.; E. O. Weaver, 25c.; Henry Anthony, 25c. Total \$1.25.

Received for Campaign Fund: S. Cunningham, Susanville, \$1.00; S. M. Cunningham, \$1.00; W. S. Brashear, 50c.; Chas. Johnson, Franklin, 25c.; Eugene Foy, 25c.; S. Schaech, 50c.; Johnson, 50c.; F. J. Wildanger, \$1.00; H. Carstenson, San Francisco, 50c.; T. D. Merrill, Florence, \$2.00. Total, \$7.50.

Total receipts for week, \$43.85.

Bills ordered paid: Telegrams (8), \$3.45; supplies to Locals and Assembly district petitions, \$2.15; 100 2-cent envelopes, \$2.12; incidentals, \$3.15; notaries' fees, \$4.00; King Sr., Lent and Bersford, fare and expenses Sacramento, \$15.00; Eastman & Mitchell, printing leaflets, etc., \$50.00; secretary's salary June, \$12.00; National Secretary dues June \$45.95. Total paid out, \$137.82; deficit, \$9.61.

Charters granted to new locals: Selma, Fowler, Ventura, Santa Maria, Paso Robles, Sanger, Arroyo Grande, San Luis Obispo and Santa Cruz. Meeting adjourned.

Thomas Beresford, Secretary.

Subscribe for the ADVANCE, and get your neighbor to take it. That is the way to advance Socialism in California.

New Laws for New Times

A change in the laws is the only hope for the wage-slave, as it was for the black slave. The only improvement which has ever come to the working class came through legislation. The first check on the awful downward grade of labor came in the English factory legislation of 1802, which became effective a dozen years later, but not until labor was allowed to combine in 1824, was there any real improvement and this came chiefly to the skilled worker.

John Stuart Mill said: "It is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being." He should have had added "fed by his own exertions," for machinery has benefited those who live on others' work.

In 1880, though productivity had increased twelve-fold in the time which had elapsed after the passing of hand work, the hours of labor had lengthened and the average wage of the laborer had fallen to one dollar—one-third of what it was when he produced one-twelfth as much, so really one-thirty-sixth of that share of production granted labor four centuries earlier. Do you, in the face of these figures and the immense fortunes being piled up by non-workers, deny that labor is being robbed? The failure of present conditions with the vast increase in power of production, to effect a proportionate improvement in the condition of workers is a sufficient proof that the system needs readjustment. Workers are being reduced to beggary, not because of exhaustion of nature's resources, but because they produce too much. Think of people starving because there is too much food waiting to be eaten; going naked, because too much clothing has been manufactured; freezing, because too much fuel has been mined! Yet this is the absurd thing that we call over-production, which shuts down work and expects the worker to hibernate like one of the lower animals, or live on charity.

It is because of these conditions that the Socialist demands equal opportunity for all—and this is not the equal division with which the uninformed charge us and which no scientific Socialist ever advocates.

No firm divides its capital. It keeps that intact and shares the profits. That is what we, the people, will do when we go into business on a common-sense basis.

I grant that this is an era of prosperity—for the capitalist not yet "gobbled" by a larger one; but the census figures for the whole United States show a decrease of 8 per cent in the wages of laborers in manufacturing and mechanical industries, between the years 1890 and 1900, notwithstanding the partial figures quoted by Dr. McIntosh. In 1890 over 1,000,000 wage earners in these lines received \$1.39 per diem. In 1900, 1,463,365 received \$1.29, yet *Dunn's Review* shows that the cost of living increased 11 per cent in these ten years (and has gone up another 7 per cent in the last two without figuring the beef combine conditions.) Factory hands received 8 per cent less wages in 1900 than in 1890, but of course paid the additional 11 per cent increase on the cost of subsistence.

New Jersey, one of the States which the doctor carefully omitted when compiling his statistics, and the most thoroughly "trussed" of our States, made the most rapid decline (which may be a warning as to what we may expect as this "wave" comes westward.) In 1890 the industries of that state paid an average of \$2.24 per diem as against \$1.92 in 1900, a decrease of 32 per cent.

South Carolina, according to Census Bulletin of February 20, 1902, shows an increase of 480.7 per cent more in wage-earners than in population—how many small capitalists pushed to the wall does this represent? Women workers in that State have increased 79.3 per cent faster than men, and children under sixteen 191.7 per cent faster. Is this prosperity? Is it prosperity to put our babies to work at an age when they are sure to break down? Is it a sign of prosperity to raise a nation of invalids by overwork in childhood?

English statistics as to the effect of work on children who are "half-timers" six-hour a day workers, between the age of eleven and thirteen, show that these half-timers weigh 22 pounds less and are nearly seven inches shorter than children who are not obliged to work. Yet these children are working under no more unfavorable conditions than do the children in our factories.

We decry ignorance, yet we approve of a system that keeps children at work when they should be at school. Every one of us who upholds this system, by which our brothers (whose keepers we are) are enslaved, is guilty. Shame upon us all! "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these ye did it not to me."

Jesus did not object to one decrying "isolated cases of hardship approaching starvation," but there is no need of our discussing these isolated cases, for the Father knows that they can be found by the thousands, and that their number is

constantly increasing. Need we wonder when a Methodist minister, Rev. George Campbell, says: "I do not believe, if Christ were now on earth, he would be a member of any particular sect. But he would in all probability be a Socialist." If ministers wish to eradicate the "four great evils" let them no longer carefully ignore the sixth chapter of 1 Timothy (and kindred chapters) in selecting their texts.

The statistics of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor show that there has been a large increase in unemployed labor since 1890. In regular order beginning with that year, the percentage of unemployed has been: 22.09, 22.48, 22.34, 34.83, 32.89, 26.47, 32.68, 27.87, 29.79, 25.81. This per cent does not take into account farmers and those who cannot expect to be employed the year round, yet it may safely be asserted that it fairly represents the proportion to the unemployed throughout the land, for laborers keep informed as to conditions, and were there very much better ones elsewhere, they would not have staid in Massachusetts.

The New York Labor Bulletin shows that from October 1, 1898, to June 30, 1900, the average of unemployed was twelve per cent. And when conditions permit employers to readily obtain help, or when the supply of labor exceeds the demand, it affects the market exactly as similar conditions affect other commodities: wages go down, rarely up.

Massachusetts reports show that one-quarter of the adult males in eighty-eight classified industries (not including agriculture) receive less than \$8 each for a week's work—and periods of unemployment would bring this down. Yet such a man must support his family, and we can safely count that he pays at least two dollars a week for two rooms in which they can stay. Is it any wonder that "women wrest positions from men and children from women" as some writers so glibly state? What can the mother do but try to eke out her husband's insufficient wage? And when both fail to keep the wolf from the door, must not the child compete for his share of the money allowed labor?

If Massachusetts is too far away suppose that Dr. McIntosh investigate conditions in San Francisco, before going abroad to clear up other door-yards. The seventh biannual report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for California says—among other things too numerous to mention—that it found:

"Corner Third and Minna streets—One girl operating big machine by foot, gets \$2 per week. . . . Two girls working on buttons said they earned 25 to 30 cents per day. . . . Two women said they got 20 cents for finishing. . . . Man gets \$6 per week, boy \$3 per week.

"641 Stevenson street—Employs 21 females, three males. All work in small room 10 by 24. . . . Two girls at \$1.50 per week, one at \$2.50, one at \$4.50, three at \$5.

"Market street—Found 54 girls and 24 men in factory. . . . Two girls get \$1.50 per week."

And so on. Omitted portions explain unsanitary conditions, pale, underfed appearance of workers, etc. Looking at this problem from the side of the man or woman who believes that the competitive system is the only possible one—that is, for the sake of argument, imagining that the capitalist has a right to the money which he invests—what would be just for employers to claim as their share of the profits?

Money loaned at interest is regulated in most States, and any excessive rate is usury. Let us say that 8 per cent is a reasonable return, and 10 per cent prime, then allow for extra risks in times when every employer is apt to be swallowed by a larger one, and say that 16 per cent is sufficient for extreme risks. If United States census-bureau statistics for 1890 were approximately correct, let us see what the employer took—by virtue of his strength and his employees' need. (As capital is being amassed even more rapidly than at that date, there is nothing unfair in going back to these statistics, which it happens that I have at hand.)

Manufacturing statistics shown by the San Francisco Bulletin 246, state that 2,965 firms had a nominal capital of \$65,612,049, employed 46,850 workers, to whom they paid \$29,860,057 for manufacturing from material that cost \$77,188,061 products valued at \$131,263,713. Additional expenses were \$7,901,164 and estimated profits \$16,314,431, or 25 per cent of the nominal capital.

In Chicago 9,959 firms, with a capitalization of \$292,477,938, employed 203,108 people, to whom they paid \$119,146,357 for turning \$386,814,848 of material into profits valued at \$632,184,140. Incidental expenses were \$41,550,761, profits estimated at \$84,672,174, being 29 per cent of nominal capital. (Bulletin 222.)

New York in same year had 25,390 firms, with a capitalization of \$420,238,602, employing 351,757 people, to manufacture material costing \$357,086,305 into goods valued at \$763,833,923. Wages paid, \$228,537,295, incidental expenses, \$60,223,425, profits on nominal capital, \$117,986,896, 28 per cent.

In these three centers, representing the three sections of the country, the employers reaped a profit of twenty-seven and a third per cent on watered stock—and of course no one will deny that if the water were squeezed out the profit on the capital actually invested would be more than doubled. If you think this amount of water excessive, look it up! Take the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul R. R. for that year. Its capital stock was \$71,795,161, its assessed valuation \$2,848,607. Of course we will admit that a "pull" may have assessed the stock at one-fifth valuation; but though we suppose this, their actual capitalization cannot be one quarter of their nominal capitalization, that is three-quarters water.

The wages shown in statistics of these three cities for 1890 must not mislead us as to the average wage, for the \$637.35, \$586.61, \$648.11, all represent the average if clerks, confidential advisers, etc., were figured in with the poorest paid workers. The rank and file did not receive any such living wage.

Of how much more than a legal rate of interest, then, does the average employer deprive workers? This is not Socialism, of course, or the reply would be all that he takes. Is it not time that our legislatures protect the weak wage-earners from the capitalistic highwaymen?

Poverty, the result of our system, and its attendant evils are the chief cause of intemperance, so I do not judge Hon. G. W. Ross because he no longer advocates prohibition. He may have discovered, as many of us who have in times past worked along that line, that "prohibition does not prohibit." The evil lies too deep. Frances Willard, who may be said to have known as much as any of us of its workings, wrote a few weeks before she died: "Had I my life to live over again, I should devote it entirely to the cause of Socialism." She had located the cancer, which gives us that symptom which we call intemperance. We cannot exterminate the drink-habit while men are goaded to desperation by misery and wretchedness, or while they live in a back alley, where there is nothing restful and the scolding wives drives them to the street. When policemen drive men from loitering on the sidewalk, where they have gone for a breath of air, what are they to do but drift into the one place open to them: the saloon? And the etiquette of the saloon would compel a man to drink, even though he had no appetite for liquor and hunger were not giving him a gnawing faintness which he believes intoxicants will calm.

Prof. R. T. Ely, who is not a Socialist, says: "We should never forget the temptation to intemperance which lies in the character of the toil of many laborers. Long hours are regarded by competent authorities as a cause which predisposes to the use of intoxicants. The strain of work by the side of rapidly moving machines, on the nervous system, is another predisposing cause of intemperance, which has attracted serious attention."

Robert Howard said before the Blair Committee of the United States Senate: "Drinking is the most prevalent among working people where the hours of labor are long."

Well, I will close by again quoting that text which we need to frequently recall: "The love of money is the root of all evil." *Wenonah Stevens Abbott*. . . Oak, Shasta County, Cal.

Labor and Politics

Hearst's *Chicago American*, discussing the subject of labor and political action, says:

"The organizers and leaders of the labor movement have generally been men of integrity and character, but they, like all other people, have often been subject to the blandishments of a fat salary and a good job. The real workingmen—those who use the shovel and the pick and those who work in the factory and the mill—are not in any way benefited by the fact that one of their representatives has received a lucrative job. The real workingmen and women can be benefited only by improving the laws and making better and fairer conditions under which they live. The interest of the great body of workers can be affected only by the laws that are made and unmade in the legislatures and in the courts."

That is just what the *Workers' Gazette* has been wanting to say for some time. The old way that labor has handled the subject of political action has proven a dismal failure, so far as the masses of laborers are concerned. Voting with both the old parties, destroying one another's influence, and now and then getting an office for a man who would rather work with his lungs than with his hands, has resulted in worse than nothing; for many good labor advocates have lost their sincerity and force in the environment of spoils. It is time to try uniting at the ballot box on the broad principle of special privileges to none. There is but one party that proposes a scientific, just and peaceful means to this end, and that is the one that stands for public ownership of what belongs to the public, and that dog-

gedly refuses to be led off the track by any compromise for office which does not carry with it the power and pledge to give every laboring man in the country the FULL product of his toil.—*Workers' Gazette*, Omaha.

Socialist Propaganda

Editor Advance:

There is no other action in militant Socialism which so proves its merits by the results obtained as the propaganda.

The question thus naturally obtains "Is there such a thing as a scientific method for conducting propaganda?"

Many of our people are holding the opinion that the propaganda is a sort of chance affair. That it is just how one chances to touch and operate the mood of the person or persons with whom one is conversing.

Such comrades also think that if the propaganda were only carried by the right person, having the proper manner of address, that Socialism would convert many of those who are now, by virtue of their economic positions, anti-socialistic.

Before me on the wall is a full page illustration from a past date *Sunday Call*, portraying a cowboy in full regalia on his horse in the act of "snubbing" the steer which he has just lassoed.

The June *McClure's* magazine also has a little story of a cowboy tournament in it, and the point gathered from it, as well as the picture is, that the horses all understood the act of snubbing. The horse who does this act has learned that all steers are alike, that all will run; that the steer does not know that he will get snubbed, and the horse does know it, and that his little act of snubbing will roll the largest steer onto the sod.

Every man, whether working class or bourgeois, is like a steer; he will run from Socialist propaganda; he must be pursued, lassoed and snubbed, lastly tied down.

The simpler the economic argument in favor of Socialism, the more tremendous their power.

The most effective propaganda is the face to face propaganda, because the propagandist must seek his subject and attack.

No mode of open meeting, whether in a hall or in the open air can do so much toward furthering our cause as the neighbor to neighbor propaganda. For the meeting fails to get the crowd wanted, and when an audience is obtained the speaker must be a good speaker or the meeting will fail to arouse.

Not that the open meeting should be superseded by the other mode, but that the private propaganda should be carried on unremittingly and relentlessly.

To do this it is first necessary to extend the private propaganda among the Socialists themselves. These should be sought out by the active nucleus of the local, and have the fact impressed on their consciousness that it is now they must act, if they would hope to see Socialism in their time. *The Socialists themselves must be snubbed into the local.*

Then follows the establishment in every local of a propaganda school.

This is not so difficult as it looks. The experienced workers know that every steer acts just like every other steer, and the sole reason for the local propaganda school is to teach the pintos how to snub.

The most effective form of argument is the one called the "Socratic." It consists mainly in asking the other fellow embarrassing questions, which involve him in a dangerous series of admissions, hence "out of his own mouth is he condemned."

The nucleus should also see to it that there is a series of graded literature to be placed in the hands of the workers in the propaganda school. This method of procedure, will, if successful, enlarge the numerical strength of the local, increase its funds, and relieve the nucleus of experienced workers and able speakers of performing many tiresome chores.

It will also contribute much to the success of open meeting by reason of the workers snubbing in the listeners.

To be sure, this method of work, like all others, will not work all at once, but will bring good results in time.

The Socialist must first be brought into line, and this will no doubt take much time and patience.

No Socialist local has a membership as large as the number of Socialist votes cast in the locality. This is because the majority of Socialist voters think that the small number of able men are sufficient to carry on the business of the local and attend to the propaganda work; they have only to drop in line on election day and vote.

Is it not highly probable that they would nearly all belong to the local, attend meetings, and especially do their share of the propaganda work, if only that work were organized for them to do, and do effectively?

It is up to the Socialists to answer this question.

The discussion can only be productive of good.

Comrade Editor, please lead off the polonaise by commenting on this article.

Chas. A. F. Purdy, Agnews, California.

Wanted--Cash.

Circular Letter sent to All State Secretaries.

Dear Comrade:

Circumstances oblige us to urge you to send us national dues at the earliest possible date, and we also suggest that you issue a special request to your locals to pay up for June as promptly as possible. Extraordinary circumstances existing at this time call for a general rallying of the movement, which cannot be accomplished without the co-operation of the respective State Committees. There are seventeen State Committees at this moment who have not remitted national dues for May.

A crisis exists in the labor movement, owing to the great miners' strike, which is putting our national organization to a very severe test. The Pennsylvania State Committee has not sufficient means at its disposal to meet the requirements of the strike situation in that State, and its appeal for funds through the party press has elicited an inadequate response. They have appealed to us to assist them by sending additional speakers into that State, which we are most willing to do, but regret that just at this time so many State Committees are dilatory in sending in national dues. We are contributing \$10 per week toward Comrade Maily's expenses in Pennsylvania, and we have gone to considerable expense to arrange a lecture tour for Comrade Geiger in the same State, which he began on June 25th. At the same time we have been to a quite heavy expense in arranging Chase's tour through the trade unions and party locals. We have also gone to considerable expense in maintaining Comrade H. C. Darrah as a propagandist through the States of Arizona, New Mexico and Utah.

We respectfully submit that we are doing all that can be expected of us with the very limited resources at our disposal. We have sent out special appeals to every local in the country for contributions to special strike propaganda fund. We are already beginning to receive results from this. Our cash receipts during the past few months have not averaged much over \$500 per month. Were it not for the fact that the trade unions are contributing so heavily to the expenses of our propaganda, we could not possibly carry it forward on the scale that has been and is being maintained. I beg to remind the comrades that the average receipts of this office per month would not much more than pay the expenses and salary, for one month, of one first class organizer A. F. of L. In conclusion, I again urge that you co-operate with us, and meet the national crisis in the general labor movement. My bank account for the past two weeks has wavered between \$6 and \$8, and I have had to borrow money to-day to pay the salaries of our office help.

Yours fraternally,
National Secretary.

Chase's Report

Perry, Iowa, June 19, 1902.

Leon Greenbaum, Secretary Labor Lectures Bureau:

Dear Comrade: During the past two weeks I have addressed meeting in Sedalia, Higginsville, St. Joseph and Stansbury, Mo., Omaha, Neb., Council Bluffs, Fort Dodge, Perry and Boone, Iowa. The meetings in Higginsville, St. Joseph, Omaha, Council Bluffs and Fort Dodge were all well attended. The others were not what they should have been. Two of the latter were under the auspices of railroad men. One the Locomotive Engineers, the other the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

Both of those meeting were miserably handled, there being no one, seemingly, to take interest to do any work for the success of the meetings.

The Omaha meeting was very good. I spoke in the park until the rain interfered, then we took the crowd to the Socialist headquarters, where we continued the speaking to about four hundred people.

The Fort Dodge meeting was under the auspices of the Carpenters Union. They secured the opera house, hired a band, and paraded the streets and turned out a good audience.

I find that public meetings of this kind are something new to most of these places in Iowa. They hardly know how to manage them. They are well pleased, however, with the idea of holding meetings, and future speakers among them will find it easier.

There is more conservatism here among union men, and more speakers among them is very essential to wake them up. Next week I have dates in Des Moines, Winterset, Albia, Ottumwa, Keokuk and Van Horn.

Fraternally yours,
John C. Chase.

All lovers of republicanism will hope that among the orators on the Fourth there may be found at least a few with courage enough to point the momentous lesson that, as things now stand in our country, Independence Day represents a memory rather than a fact.

J. GEORGE SMITH, 309 Hearst Building, Market and Third Sts. LICENSED LAND SURVEYOR, U. S. PATENT ATTORNEY (Registered), and U. S. DEPUTY MINERAL SURVEYOR.

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Child Labor in the South

Twenty thousand little children are "toiling out their lives in the textile mills of the South," says a recent magazine writer; and she blames, not the Southern people, but the New England capitalists who own mills. She is Mrs. Irene Ashby-Macfoyden, who has been heard from before in this subject, and her present article (in The American Federationist, Washington) is the fruit of a recent trip through the South. Many of these little toilers work for ten cents a day, and she knows "of babies working for five and six cents a day." The "day" is often from 6 a. m. to 6 p. m., or, worse, from 6 p. m. to 6 a. m., when she found "little children working from dark until long past dawn, kept awake by cold water being dashed into their faces." She says, on the subject of night-work:

"Without regulation of hours there is no reason to prevent the mills working at night, and when they can do so profitably they avail themselves of this permission. I have talked with a little boy of seven years who worked for 40 nights in Alabama and another child not nine years old, who at six years old had been on the night shift 11 months.

"A clerk in a cotton-mill told me that little boys turned out at two in the morning for some trivial fault, afraid to go home, would beg him to allow them to go to sleep on the office floor.

"In Georgia it is a common sight to see the children of cotton operatives stretched on the bed dressed as they came from the mills in the morning, too weary to do anything but fling themselves down for rest.

"In South Carolina Miss Jane Addams, of Chicago, found a child of five working at night in the fine, large, new mills. Only a few weeks ago I stood at 10:30 at night in a mill in Columbia, S. C., controlled and owned by Northern capital, where children who did not know their own ages were working from 6 p. m. to 6 a. m. without a moment for rest or food or a single cessation of the maddening rattle of the machinery, in an atmosphere unsanitary and clouded with humidity and lint."

The health of the children is not improved by this treatment. She says, in fact:

"The physical, mental, and moral effect of these long hours of toil and confinement on the children is indescribably sad. Mill children are so stunted that every foreman, as you enter the mill will tell you that you cannot judge their ages. Children may look, he says, to be 10 or 11, and be in reality 14 or 15.

"A horrible form of dropsy occurs among the children. A doctor in a city mill, who has made a special study of the subject, tells me that ten per cent of the children who go to work before 12 years of age, after five years contract active consumption. The lint forms in their lungs a perfect cultivating medium for tuberculosis, while the change from the hot atmosphere of the mill to the chill night or morning air often brings on pneumonia, which frequently, if not the cause of death is a forerunner of consumption.

"How sternly the 'pound of flesh' is insisted on by the various employers is illustrated by the case of two little boys of 9 and 11, who had to walk three miles to work on the night shift for 12 hours. One night they were five minutes late and were shut out, having to tramp the whole three miles back again. The number of accidents to those poor little ones who do not know the dangers of machinery, is appalling.

"In Huntsville, Ala., in January, just before I was there, a child of eight years, who had been a few weeks in the mills, lost the index and middle finger of her right hand. A child of seven had lost her thumb a year previously.

"In one mill city in the South a doctor told a friend that he had personally amputated more than a hundred babies' fingers mangled in the mill. A cotton-merchant in Atlanta told me he had frequently seen mill-children without fingers or thumb and sometimes without the whole hand.

"So frequent are these accidents that in some mills applicants for employment have to sign a contract that in case of injury in the mill the company will not be held responsible, and parents or guardians sign for minors.

"No mill-children look healthy. Any one that does by chance, you are sure to find out has but recently begun work. They are characterized by extreme pallor and an aged, worn expression infinitely pitiful and incongruous in a child's face. The dull eyes raised by the little ones injured to toil before they ever learned to play, shut out by this damnable system of child slavery from liberty and the pursuit of happiness, often to be early robbed of life itself, are not those of a child but of an imprisoned soul, and are filled, it always seems to me, with speechless reproach. There is unfortunately no question as to the physical debasement of the mill-child."

Elbert Hubbard has also been making a thorough investigation of the condition of the children in the mills impressed him so deeply that he writes a feeling article in The Philistine about it. He says:

"I know the sweatshops of Hester

street, New York; I am familiar with the vice, depravity, and degradation of the Whitechapel district; I have visited the Ghetto of Venice; I know of Siberian atrocities; but for misery, woe and helplessness suffering, I have never seen anything to equal the cotton-mill slavery of South Carolina—this in my own America—the land of the free and the home of the brave!"

He goes on to describe one of the little fellows in the mills as follows:

"I thought to lift one of the little toilers to ascertain his weight. Straightway through his thirty-five pounds of skin and bones there ran a tremor of fear, and he struggled forward to tie a broken thread. I attracted his attention by a touch, and offered him a silver dime. He looked at me dumbly, from a face that might have belonged to a man of sixty, so furrowed, tightly drawn, and full of pain it was. He did not reach for the money—he did not know what it was. * * * There were dozens of just such children in this particular mill. A physician who was with me said that they would all be dead, probably in two years, and their places filled with others—there were plenty more. Pneumonia carries off most of them. Their systems are ripe for disease, and when it comes there is no rebound—no response. Medicine simply does not act—nature is whipped, beaten, discouraged, and the child sinks into a stupor, and dies."

Mrs. Ashby-Macfoyden says that there is hope that the legislatures of Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina may, at their next sessions, pass laws prohibiting the employment of children under twelve, although the efforts in that direction thus far have met uniform failure.

Progress of the Press

The Chicago Socialist makes the following comments on the remarkable growth of Socialism:

About three years ago the lonely wanderer toward the Socialist oasis found the American press as quiet on the subject of social evolution as the Sahara at full moon. Only the voices of what the brilliant capitalist scribblers might have called "a few Socialist jackals" were breaking the stillness of the valley of exploitation, in anticipation of the feast they would have on the body of capitalism. The Appeal to Reason was struggling along with a list of 10,000 subscribers. The New York People was splitting in two like an amoeba, and the De Leon half headed full sail toward obscurity, while the other was facing the cold world with a thrill of awed expectancy. The Workers' Call was about to be brought into this world of trouble, the San Francisco Class Struggle struggled for its existence against the dull and slow understanding of the American workingmen, and the Coming Nation was waiting for the Messiah who would lead it into the promised fields of brotherhood and eternal harmony. As for the metropolitan press, it considered Socialism as too unsavory and too disreputable a subject for "respectable" papers to handle.

To-day there is not a single publication, metropolitan or otherwise, that is not forced to touch the subject of socialism, directly or indirectly, in almost every issue. The remotest corners of the Union are washed by the ripples of the tidal wave of Socialism that is drowning all other topics in the paramount issues of social and economic evolution. A mighty wave of unionism is at the same time sweeping across the country and giving the discussion of matters social and political a significant tinge of red that causes the bourgeois heart to beat with alarm.

One of the most encouraging products of this triennium is the "radical press," an off-shoot of the populist and seceding democratic sentiment. They are in journalism what the missing link is in zoology—the bond that connects the past with the future. The more intelligent and independent American workingmen have already outgrown the world of thoughts which these papers place before their readers and are finding satisfaction in supporting the numerous able and strong Socialist papers that are now finding willing ears in all parts of the land. Some of these papers are rapidly steering toward the goal of financial and literary success, and those workingmen who understand the inestimable value of a strong Socialist press are doing their utmost to widen the sphere of influence for their chosen organs.

Press Bulletin

The following telegram was received at National headquarters June 21: Clarksburg, West Virginia:

Mother Jones arrested here this afternoon upon Judge Jackson's injunction while addressing a mass meeting of miners and citizens.

Comrade "Nick" Geiger commences his tour among the miners' unions of Pennsylvania June 25th, at Carbondale. Comrades Collins and Maily are now in the strike region.

Donations to strike Propaganda Fund received as follows:

- C. R. Mitchell, Gueda Springs, Kas., \$1.20
W. I. Phiefer, California, Mo., 1.00
Local, Springfield, Ohio, 1.00
G. S. Kelfstad, Hillsboro, N. Dak., .75
Local, Astabula, Ohio, 4.50
Local, Peakskill, N. Y., 1.00
Jos. W. Hanson, E. Los Vegas, N. M., .20
B. F. Ordway, Secretary, Peoria, Ill., 1.00
Local, Orlando, Florida, 5.00
21st Ward Club, St. Louis, Mo., 1.20

Total \$16.85

Fraternally, LEON GREENBAUM, National Secretary.

Peace Over Africa

By Edwin Markham. An Extract.

Let there be no more battles: field and flood
Are sick of bright-shed blood.
Lay the sad swords asleep:
They have their fearful memories to keep.
These swords that in the dark of battle burned—
Burned upward with insufferable light,
Lay them asleep: heroic rest is earned.
And in their rest will be a kinglier might
Than ever flowered upon the front of fight.
And fold the flags: they weary of the day,
Worn in their wild climb in the wind's wild way.
Quiet the dauntless flags:
Grown strangely old upon the smoking crags.
Look, where they startle and leap!
Look, where they hollow and heap!
Tremulous, undulant banners, flared and thinned,
Living and dying momentarily in the wind.
And war's imperious bugles, let them rest;
Bugles that cried through whirlwind their behest;
Wild bugles that held council in the sky.
They are aware of that curdling cry
That tells men how to die.
And cannons worn out with their work of hell,
The brief abrupt persuasion of the shell,
Let the shrewd spider lock them, one by one,
With filmy cables glancing in the sun;
And let the throstle in their empty throats
Build his safe nest and spill his rippling notes.
The Literary Digest...

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