

# ADVANCE

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## MORRIS WINCHEVSKY: ROMANCER.

IT is not often that fate plays fair with a writer and adjusts events to harmonize with the climax to a series of articles, but in the case of "The Reform of the Revolutionists," which the editor has been writing for "Advance," fate has been generous. The whole object of the series on "The Reform of the Revolutionists" was to point out the danger of opportunism, the danger of sacrificing principle to get a man in office, for once there is the least sacrifice of principle soon a sacrifice of the whole principle will be demanded. And here comes Mr. Morris Winchevsky in a Jewish paper, published at New York, who rebukes the Socialists of San Francisco for not giving way before the new labor party, because that party won. The criterion of virtue with Mr. Winchevsky's school of thinkers is success; elect your man, go to any length to do it. This is the logic of Bernsteinism, the logic of opportunism. This is the reform that has to be made of the revolutionists.

In ADVANCE it was shown repeatedly that the Socialist Party was the first in the field, yet Mr. Winchevsky says we nominated candidates in opposition to the Labor Party candidates. Not only did they nominate a ticket in opposition to us, but we had our ticket up before there was anything more tangible of the new labor party than a rumor. It is only necessary to prove this by referring to the minutes of the Socialist Party, where a motion was made and carried to present our platform and candidates to the labor conference at Metropolitan Temple. The conference, by the way, had not yet resolved itself into a political party and so well was the plan laid by the republican party hacks, having the new party in charge, that the communication of the Socialist party was "tabled" at once. And a further evidence of the fear of the Republican party managers comes in their refusal to allow a regularly appointed delegate to a seat in the convention because he was known to be a Socialist. They made no attack on delegates who were Republicans or Democrats. In fact, the mayor elected on the Labor ticket was a candidate of the Republican Primary League at the primary election held a few weeks previous to the convention and voted the Republican Primary League ticket—the ticket of John D. Spreckles, the worst enemy of labor on the coast. Mr. Schmitz, the Labor Mayor was also vice-president of the Republican Primary League. In fact the defeat of this Republican Primary League brought the new Labor party

into being. Here are a few facts that were printed in ADVANCE and an offer was made to swear to the truth of them:

"F. Egan, a leader of the new party, was formerly associated with Buckley in politics. This Buckley by the way, had to go to Canada to escape going to the penitentiary. Since the blind man's expulsion from this field of industry ten years ago he has made a number of attempts to get back. This time his plan is to use the new Labor party to that end."

J. J. Daughney, the candidate for tax collector, is another Republican Primary League hanger-on. He was a candidate of that organization at the recent primaries for the Twenty-ninth Assembly district. His leadership in the new Labor party was quite evident at the convention. A. J. Gallagher, a photo-engraver, also represented the Twenty-ninth Assembly district Republican Primary League Club at the recent primaries. He also voted at the primaries, which vote should have barred him from participation in the new Labor party convention.

John S. Parry was also a delegate of the Republican Primary League at the primary election. He received 289 votes. He is chairman of the County Committee of the new Labor party.

These are the leaders in this new Labor party. Judge them. Are they the men we should stand by and vote for? Surely not. Delegates to the Republican Primary League cannot be also candidates to a bona fide labor party convention.

If this were a genuine labor party, if it were a party that had come into existence for the purpose of uniting the working class at the ballot box, the Socialists would be fighting for it. If it were a party with principles upon which an intelligent workingman could look with favor, if it were a party out from and superior to the capitalist parties, the Socialists would fight for it. But, knowing the conditions, knowing that the Republicans designed it to secure Republican success, knowing that old party politicians are in control, the Socialists will fight the new party as long as we are able to fight.

It is to be admitted that the first beginnings of the proletariat in politics will be crude and uncertain, but, taking the foregoing into consideration is it possible the Socialist Party can be expected by the Bernsteinites and the compromisers to have anything to do with such a crowd. And if we did what would be result. We should be so contaminated by the association that years would not wipe it away. Above all else the Socialist Party must be clean. It cannot be clean if it would fight for a labor party which had at its head such men and had a candidate for Mayor a capitalist first and a workingman after. A man nominated because of the class war, begging votes on the strength of his refusal to recognize that class war

(Continued on Page 5.)

# NATURAL SELECTION, COMPETITION, AND SOCIALISM.

BY HERMAN WHITAKER.

(Continued from last week.)

The answer to the final question—what under Socialism will be the incentive to exertion?—takes on a three-fold aspect. It may be stated as follows: (1) The problem to be solved is not a question of biology, but one of economics—that, whether or not opposed to the laws of life, the evolution of society is driving us to collectivism. It may be that, even as all other civilizations have contained within themselves the seeds of their own dissolution, so this apparent antagonism between the constitution of our society and the laws of life may likewise end in its disintegration. But, be this as it may, to collectivism we must go. (2) The examination of many industries conducted by the governments of different countries proves conclusively that the quality of work turned out by them is fully equal, if not superior, to the same class of work turned out by private firms. (3) The fear of dismissal and the hope of reward are the incentives that move to action the lower classes under existing society. The same incentives spur to industry those in government employ, and there is no reason to suppose the same incentives would not obtain under socialism.

The proper treatment of the first division of the three-fold answer would require a critical exposition of the evolutionary forces that are causing the centralization of capital and industry. It would be necessary to inquire into the social effect of machinery to find out the limits beyond which the expansion of industry cannot go: and to speculate on the disastrous effects that are likely to follow the development of the Orient. To do this properly would require the writing of a voluminous book. We shall therefore have to be content with a general statement of the probabilities of the future.

The constantly increasing productivity of our national industries requires an ever-increasing foreign market, and each year adds to the enormous bulk of our exports to other countries. The consuming power of the home market is determined by the decreasing wage of the industrial classes, and by the lessening purchasing power of the American farmer. There is thus a steady increase in the surplus commodities available for export. This being the case, we are justified in asking the question, what shall we do when our merchants and mechanics have to compete in the world with the cheap labor of China and Japan? Large amounts of capital are seeking investment abroad, the nature of the capitalistic system of production and distribution—its aim and object—being the production of surplus value. The constant lowering of the rate of interest in civilized countries, forces the surplus capital to seek investment elsewhere. The spectacle of the scramble for the shares of the Lipton Tea Company, which were subscribed for three times over, and other like cases, show conclusively that capitalists are everywhere struggling for profitable investments. China—with its vast resources, its variety of climate, its splendid system of navigable

rivers, and its hordes of cheap laborers—is standing on the threshold of a new era. There the unused millions of Europe and America will find ready investment. The great commercial nations are already taking the first steps to let loose an industrial scourge upon the earth.

And what is to become of the American farmer when the introduction of the automobile completes the work of the trolley-car and destroys the market for horses? What will become of the commercial traveler and the superfluous mechanic when the centralization of industry in the hands of the trusts does away with all unnecessary labor? There is but one answer: These economic conditions will compel society eventually to undertake the orderly arrangement of its business—to balance its production and distribution. It will be forced into socialism, biological objections to the contrary notwithstanding.

The second and third divisions of the answer may well be treated together. An appeal to known facts will certainly be conceded the best answer that can be given to any question. Let us see, therefore, what light experiments in collectivism will throw upon the problem. The English navy is certainly the finest in the world; yet almost all its vessels have been entirely constructed in the government yards. Each ship, from keelson to royal truck, has been built by men in the service of the government. Each gun, from the one hundred and ten tonner at Chatham, to the small arm carried by the marines, is manufactured in the great arsenal at Woolwich or in the government factory at Enfield. The clothing of both soldiers and sailors is made in the government shops at Pimlico, and the bread they eat is baked in government ovens. Here, then, is an experiment in collectivism conducted upon a very large scale. What light does it throw on the question at issue? An inspection of the dock-yards, foundries, factories, stores, and bakeries, owned and operated by the British government, reveals an army of artisans and laborers at work, successfully conducting the many operations necessary to the outfitting and maintenance of hundreds of thousands of men. The skill and efficiency they display and the quality of the work they turn out are fully equal, if not superior, to that produced in the yards of Armstrong at Keswick, or Carnegie at Homestead. The ammunition boots, for instance, supplied to Thomas Atkins at \$2.50 a pair cannot be duplicated in private life for twice the money; and the clothes served to him by a paternal government at \$4.75 a suit are as strong and servicable as they are cheap. Indeed, a habit of selling his necessaries to envious civilians occasionally gets Mr. Atkins into trouble with the authorities, and at the same time pays a high tribute to the quality of his belongings.

Many illustrations of the like kind can be accumulated from all civilized nations. The German telephone system gives the best and cheapest service in the world. The postal systems of all countries may be cited as proofs of the practicability of collectivism. Great Britain owns

her telegraph and express systems, and almost all countries operate their police and fire departments. The function of education has passed from the hands of the private teacher; and, if any further proof were needed, surely the successful application of the principle of the municipal ownership of public utilities would satisfy the most inveterate doubter.

Here, then, in different countries are some millions of persons in the service of their respective governments. They are ordinary, common people, subject to the same passions, virtues, and vices as the remaining members of society. They have also the habit of choosing lesser proximate happiness to greater future happiness, which distinguishes the large majority of their fellow-creatures. What, then, is the "incentive to exertion" that keeps them at work? What is it that makes Tommy Atkins accomplish forced marches in the heat of the Soudan, and causes his American brother to chase the elusive Filipino through fever swamps? Whence comes the rapid stride of the postman? Why does the fireman plunge into the flame and smoke of the burning building, and the policeman risk his life in the protection of the lives and property of others? Wherefore flies the pen of the government clerk over his paper? And why do the "builders of the ship"—the sawyers and the carpenters, the riveters and the boiler-makers, the machinist and the foundrymen and the blacksmiths—one and all, from the highest to the lowest, ply their vocations with such industry? Why? Because all are animated by the same incentive—the hope of reward, the desire of promotion, the fear of dismissal. It is, as John Stuart Mill remarked "very much a question of education; a man may be taught to dig and weave for his country even as he has been taught to fight for it." And there is absolutely no reason why these incentives, which now move to exertion the people engaged in private and public enterprises, should not continue to do so in a collectivist society. Given a strong central authority, willing and able to enforce the laws, an authority that would have behind it all the force of public opinion, it seems reasonable to suppose that idle persons could be more effectively dealt with than under existing conditions. They might choose between work and starvation; there could be no other alternative.

There remains but one other point to be touched upon. If it be granted, that, with a strong central authority established, the usual incentives that move to action coarser natures will obtain, have we any surety that higher forms of human endeavor will continue? Will the ripe fruits of intellect still adorn the gardens of anaesthetic civilization? What incentive will cause a man to undertake, for instance, the immense labors necessary to achieve literary perfection? Is it probable that a man that could satisfy his immediate wants by a little bodily labor would be likely to undertake such arduous toil?

An analysis of the ambition that causes men to undertake such tasks will disclose the fact that it is a complex feeling, made up of many components. Probably the chief of these is the love of approbation—the desire to stand well in the eye of one's fellows. Again, deep down in the heart of man is to be found the desire to leave some little mark upon the sands of time. The thought of annihilation, without even a fleeting remembrance remaining of his life and labors, is utterly repulsive. Wherefore it is that we find him undertaking all kinds of laborious tasks to per-

petuate his memory. The pyramids of Egypt, built in the dawn of history to hand down forever the fame of some now forgotten monarch, are striking evidences of the strength of this feeling. The shepherd who burnt the temple of Diana chose infamy before oblivion, and throughout the ages are scattered countless evidences of the desire of man to leave his mark; yea, in our own time, mediocrity strives to perpetuate its memory by the erection of million-dollar tombs.

The love of power is yet another component of ambition. The centurion in the Scriptures said: "Lord, thou knowest I a man in authority. I say unto this man, go and he goeth; unto that man come, and he cometh." And as it was with the centurion, so is it with all men—they love to sit in high places. The desire for knowledge must also be added to other feelings. Men have suffered torture, imprisonment, and even death at the stake in defense of the knowledge they thought right. The figure of Bruno stands forth from the black night of ignorance that settled down over medieval Europe, a striking instance of the power of knowledge to move men to noble action. Haled before the Inquisition he is informed that he has been guilty of heresy and is asked to recant. There are no witnesses, no accusers—none but the familiars of the Holy Office moving stealthily about him. The tormentors are in the vaults below. With none to sustain him, he cannot and will not deny that which he knows to be true. He is handed over to the civil authorities and burned at the stake, Galileo, imprisoned, and for the last ten years of his life treated with remorseless severity, for persisting in saying that which even his accusers knew to be true, and Milton, the blind poet, receiving in exchange for "Paradise Lost" the miserable pittance of five pounds, are also instances of the strength of this feeling. All the varied feelings here enumerated go to make up that complex emotion called ambition—the love of approbation, the desire to be remembered, the love of power, and the thirst for knowledge. It would be a bold man indeed who dared to assert that such an emotion was brought into existence by industrial competition.

On the other hand, history records many instances of useful lives and great talents crushed out or crippled by too harsh a competition. The brilliant Chatterton was compelled by ill circumstances to harness his genius and waste his splendid powers on the copying of deeds. Finally, after three days' starvation—too proud to accept alms—he died by his own hand in a lonely garret, Johnson and Goldsmith lived in penury. Shakespeare, the intellectual giant of the ages, lived harassed by debt and died a comparative nobody—a play-actor, a "fellow of the baser sort." To this list might be added the names of most of the literary celebrities of the past. With few exceptions they lived in misery, pandering to the humors of some patron, and died in poverty. Now, there is no reason to doubt that easy circumstances would have aided rather than hindered the development of their genius. No deterioration is visible in the later writings of those who, suffering in early life, at length reached affluence. The scornful name, "pot-boilers," applied by artists to the forced work turned out to keep the wolf from the door, and the appellation "pen-trotter," applied to him who writes for the same purpose, signify the opinion of those best fitted to judge. The best work in literature and art is produced when a strong mind—the correlative of a well-fed body—

has ample room to unfold its pleasant fancies. We need not in time to come fear a dearth of authors. Of the making of books there is no end, saith Solomon, and much wisdom is a weariness of the flesh.

In the Museum of Alexandria, before the birth of Christ, a bright constellation of geometers, astronomers, and physicists made discoveries and invented appliances that equal those of modern times. Two thousand years before the advent of industrial competition, Ptolemy produced his great work, "Syntaxis," which maintained its ground until displaced by Newlon's "Principa"; Euclid prepared his great work; Archimedes, for two thousand years the greatest mathematician, discussed the equilibrium of floating bodies, discovered the true theory of the lever, and invented the screw that still bears his name; Hipparchus and Apolonius, the astronomers, Ctesibius, the inventor of the fire-engine and the water-clock, and Hero, the maker of the first steam-engine, were all members of that illustrious circle. Yet they were all in the service of and supported by the governments of their day.

To this evidence in favor of the socialist contention may be added that furnished by the high schools and State universities of our own land. The scientists and teachers who direct the operations of those institutions display as much efficiency and zeal as those engaged in private enterprises of like kind. They would resent with heat the imputation that employment under the government necessitated inefficient effort on their part; nor could any facts be adduced to support such an assertion.

Society does not pursue the even tenor of its way—from low to high, from the simple to the complex—in one straight, unbroken line, but, obedient to the law of rhythm, swings forward and back, or rather follows the curve of an upward spiral. Society, like the units of which it is composed, learns only by experience. It tries first this thing, and then that, encounters unforeseen obstacles and retires, learns by bitter experience what is best, and so advances. As it has done in the past it will do in the future. The development of the commercial system will force experiments in collectivism upon it. That which is proved good will be retained, and that which is bad rejected. And so with much travail will man work out his destiny.

HERMAN WHITAKER, in "Arena."

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#### Official Report of Ohio Election.

The official vote of the Socialist Party in Ohio is announced as 7,339 for the ticket. One year ago at the state election the head of the ticket received 4,835. This gives us an increase of 2,524 votes. We did not get the official standing this time but are very well satisfied with the work that has been done, and will go to work on the next campaign at once. Out of a total of 88 counties we have votes in all 35 of them. With best wishes we are

Yours fraternally

Ohio State Committee,  
Per W. G. Cretchlou, Sec.

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Manhattan gives 5524 Votes for the Socialist Party a falling off of sixteen from last year.

The Socialists of Holland increased their vote, both in city elections and in parliamentary elections. Twenty-nine percent of the total vote cast with overwhelming restric-

tions on the working class exercising the right to vote and a coalition of liberal, radical, catholic and protestant parties on an opposition ticket. In Rotterdam the second largest city of the Country with a population over 300,000 the Socialists elected one councilman. In the parliamentary by-election two Socialists were returned, making seven Socialist members in the Dutch parliament.

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### Morris Winchevsky: Romancer.

(Continued from page 1.)

a man who would say, as published in every paper in the city the morning after the election:

"It is a well-known fact that I am a staunch Republican, so far as the creed of government is concerned, and in taking the nomination as I did, I did not forsake those principles. Whenever the tide of affairs swings into its normal channel, I shall again be found in the Republican party."

We would be no better than stool pigeons, for the capitalist class if we endorsed such a party. Our career would be as meteoric as the career of the Populist party and our disgrace would be even more emphatic, for the discouragement of the strugglers would be greater.

The men who are anxious that we get votes and only votes, without laying a solid foundation of education are desirous of raising a structure that will topple about the ears of the builders. You cannot have the red fire and brass band method of stirring enthusiasm in the workers you expect to stand by you, if you offer them nothing more substantial. Our movement is difficult from any other inasmuch as the slower it grows the more sure the success. And growth, real growth of the proletariat cannot be measured by any compromising or political trading that will elect someone to office who knows nothing of the aims and needs of the working class and cares less; and furthermore, the true spirit in the constituency back of a man who would accomplish anything must be evident. It is our mission to foster this spirit. It is the mission of the Socialist party to divorce the workers from all sympathy with the ideals of the capitalist class. And this we cannot do if we soil ourselves by combining with a capitalistic class party, no matter if it is called Union Labor party or what ever you please. Remember there is no consideration of the "ultimate aim"; the co-operative commonwealth here at all. There is merely an explanation of our position towards a decoy duck of the capitalist class, standing by the working class only to hoodwink it and lead it into the old rut of contentment with the wages system.

Mr. Winchevsky has gone to the extreme of his school of thinking. Opportunism is a disease and Mr. Winchevsky proves it. He wishes the revolutionists reformed and to urge the reformation on the New York comrades he gives evidence of possessing a collection of misinformation that would guarantee him success as an historical novelist. He also gives evidence of mediumistic power, for he assures us Karl Marx would endorse the candidacy of Eugene E. Schmitz for Mayor. It may be so, we cannot tell what changes take place beyond the grave, but if it is true that our old Comrade Marx would come out for Eugene Schmitz, Parry, Spreckels and Co. then he must be a populist Bernsteinite. In fact he must be a revolutionist that has been reformed.

THE "DEMON" OF CAPITALISM.

This creature of demonry stands at the educational gate. What is education? "Readin', Ritin', Rithmetic," answered the fathers, for want of better knowledge. "Readin', Ritin', Rithmetic," answers to-day the university that rears its walls upon foundations of robbery. The true education creates not a parrot, but a thinker. It makes a man, not a cog on the machine wheel of slavery. The education of independence is the ideal of all instruction, from the kindergarten to the most advanced university. Every educational institution built or endowed by the proceeds of monopolistic robbery hinders rather than helps true knowledge, for the spirit of freedom cannot breathe in commercial and industrial slaughterhouses. No money that means the sale of intellectual mastery can be other than a curse to the institution that dips its hands in the blood of humanity in order to get it. A Republican manufacturer's tariff blood-money crucified an Andrews at Brown. A Standard Oil monopolist's legalized theft-proceeds crucified a Bemis at Chicago and a Commons at Syracuse. A board of trustees' unholy greed for the results of trust robbery crucified a Herron at Iowa, and every year the "machine," for politic's principal's sake, beheads the incumbents of chairs in our State universities because they dare to be men, think clear, and talk straight.

The creature of demonry stands at the industrial gate. From every passer-in he exacts toil, leaving the laborer too little to satisfy but too much to starve. He forms trusts, concentrates and regulates production, shuts down factories, increases hours and decreases wages, that the percentage of earnings may "boom" the stock market in metropolitan hells: sells out at top notch, buys a yacht, a palace in London, a mansion in New York, a summer house at Newport, an estate in Scotland, and lives on the "unearned increment" of land and labor, surpassing in criminal prodigality the barbarian ancients, for "I say unto you that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these." His laborers? Oh, they are still notches on the factory cog-wheel of his successors on the throne of oppression.

Or the same end is achieved by securing control of natural monopolies in city, state and nation, and levying exorbitant rates upon the populace whose imbecility gives them the privilege. By what natural or moral right do water, gas, and electric plants, steam, cable, or electric railways, yield a profit to private enterprise? None can be established, and the inherent injustice of such ownership and operation at the expense of the public explains the natural suspicion attaching to legislators, who are conspicuously favorable to these usurpers of the people's common inheritance. Another "failure of freedom," the result of which is that ninety-nine per cent of the wealth in this country is in the hands of eight per cent of its inhabitants, leaving the remaining one per cent. as the share of the other 92 per cent. Nearly one-half of the families of the United States are without any property whatever. No such disproportionate distribution of a nation's wealth could be possible to a true democracy. We are an oligarchy of wealth founded on trusts and natural monopolies. In the wake of that condition follows either Socialism or anarchy.—Arena,

Party Meeting.

Regular meeting of Socialist Party, Nov. 26, 1901, Comrade Guthrie in the chair. Minutes of previous meeting approved, Communications were received from the State Executive and placed on file. Reports received and accepted from Organizer, Financial Secretary, Treasurer, Unity Committee and Constitutional Committee. Communication from Cameron King Sr. Comrade Liess is requested to report the result of his efforts for ADVANCE. The literature agent is requested to file with the Secretary a report of the purchases of books etc, Delegate-elects for State Convention, Comrade Bersford and Comrade Holmes. Sunday Night-meetings will be held at Academy of Science Hall, providing the same is to be had for that Night; and Thursday Night-meetings will be discontinued. Comrade Borreau and Kling Jr, resigned from the propaganda Committee. Comrade Bersford and Larsen elected to take their places. Resolved that the letter of the Chinese Consul be referred to the Propaganda Committee. Comrade Culman will be Chairman of the next propaganda meeting; Comrade Scarper will be reader.

Fraternally,

BEN P. OBER, Secretary.



NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

The National Committee has authorized Geo. D. Heron to represent the Socialist Party at the semi-annual conference of the International Bureau, which is to take place at Paris during the Christmas holidays.

Kansas Socialists will hold state convention at Parsons on November 28th,

The National Committee is about to arrange a lecture tour for Geo. E. Bigelow, through southern Indiana, southern Illinois, Missouri, eastern Kansas and Nebraska.

The Socialists of New Jersey have called state convention for January 1st, 1905.

The National Committee has decided to cooperate with the Virginia Comrades in placing Jno. J. Quantz, recent Socialist nominee for governor in the field in that state as state organizer.

Charters were issued to 16 new Locals during the month of November.

An organization of Pullman car porters has been formed with headquarters in St. Louis, and it is to have branches in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and other cities. The organizers say that the tipping system is on the decline, and is not now such an important addition to their earnings as it once was. Passengers who do tip they say, now rarely give more than ten or fifteen cents. Their wages average thirty dollars a month, and they will agitate for an increase, but no threats of a strike are made.

Concert, Dramatic Entertainment and Dance

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NEW DRAMATIC SOCIETY

as a Testimonial to

Miss Edna Herold  
Lyric Soprano

and

William G. Sass  
Stage Manager

Saratoga Hall, 314 Geary St., Thursday Eve., December 5th, 1901

A Host of Volunteers

CURTAIN AT 8

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UNION MUSIC

ADMISSION 25 CENTS

# KARL MARX' ECONOMIC TEACHINGS.

BY KARL KAUSKY.

Translated for "Advance" by Kasper Bauer.

(Continued from last week.)

If, thus far, the method of producing relative surplus value generally, consists in raising the productive power of the workman, so as to enable him to produce more in a given time with the same expenditure of labor, it now meant to procure a greater quantity of labor by means of increased expenditure of labor within the same period as before. The shortening of the workday forces the worker to a greater exertion of his labor power, to the closer filling up of the pores of the labor time, i. e. a greater compression of labor. He must work more, i. e. harder, within one hour of the 10 hour workday, than formerly, within one hour of a 12-hour workday. A greater amount of work is compressed within a given period. We have already pointed out the two ways whereby this result can be accomplished: greater economy in the process of production and hurried development of machinery. In the first instance, capital, by its method of payment takes care that the worker "cashes" more labor-power within the shorter work-day than formerly. The regularity, uniformity, order and energy of labor is increased even where the other means, i. e. the pressing of more labor out of the worker, increased rapidity of the motor or extension of the machine tended to by each worker, was not at the disposal of capital, even there startling results have been accomplished. Results which gave the lie to all previously held doubts, Whenever and wherever an attempt has been made to shorten the hours of labor capitalists have declared that the work within their establishments is so carefully superintended that the attention of the worker is so absolutely needed in performing their work that it would be nonsense even to think that anything could be gained by an increase in the time; and after they (the capitalists) have accomplished what they wanted, they had to admit time and again that the workers performed within the shorter labor-time not only just as much, but even more work than during the longer workday, the instruments of production remaining the same. The same holds good of the constant improvement of machinery. Just as often as the statement is made, that for a long time to come the height of the attainable has been reached, just as often has that height within a short period been superceeded by one still greater. The intensification of labor is so great under the shortened workday, that the factory inspectors of England, although praising the favorable results of factory legislation (laws enacted between 1844-1850) had to admit toward the end of the '60's that the shortening of the workday had already resulted in such an intensification of the workers that their health was seriously being impaired.

Those who believe that the inauguration of a normal work-day will result in harmony being established, between capital and labor are laboring under a sad mistake.

"There is not the least doubt", says Marx, "that the tendency of capital, as soon as a prolongation of the workday is made impossible by prohibitive laws, to compensate itself by a systematic intensification of labor, will

lead to a point where the abnormal decrease in the hours of labor will become an imperative necessity."

This endeavor on the part of the capitalists makes an eight-hour workday necessary shortly after the ten-hour normal workday has been introduced. That fact, however, does not speak against but for the normal work-day. Just as every truly social reform, it develops beyond itself, it is an element of progress and not of degeneration of society.

#### 4. THE MACHINE AS THE TUTOR OF THE WORKER.

So far we have spoken of those results of the introduction of machinery which were primarily economic in their nature; let us now turn our attention to the moral effects of machinery upon the worker. If we compare the whole of a modern machine employing institution of production, i. e. a factory, with one of the homefacturing or handicraft period, the one thing that strikes our eyes immediately is that while in manufacture and handicraft the worker makes the tool serve him; within the factory it is he who serves the machine; he is the "living appendage" of a dead mechanism, which exists entirely independent of him. The philosopher, or as Marx calls him, the pindar of the machine system, Dr. Andrew Wise describes the modern factory as a monstrous automaton, composed of innumerable mechanical and conscious organs which work together harmoniously and without interruption in order to produce one certain object so that all of these organs are subservient to one motor power which moves of its own accord. In some places he speaks of the subjects of the "benevolent ruler steam." Behind this "benevolent power" of course stands its user, the capitalist, who, however, is benevolent only to himself.

Within every factory there are, besides the mass of workers and their helpers who tend to the working machine, a numerical small lot of miscellaneous persons whose task is the control and repairs of all the machinery. This class of workers, part of which is scientifically trained and part of it mechanically, such as engineers, machinists, carpenters, etc., is outside of the circle of factory workers proper and for that reason does not enter into our present discussion. We will also leave out of consideration the common laborer whose services, owing to their simplicity could easily be rendered by machinery. What we are concerned with at this time is the factory worker proper, the worker tending to the working machine.

The former tool of the worker (needle, spindle etc.) is not the only thing that entered into the working machine, with it also went his special skill in the use of those tools. Only one "skill" is required of him now, that of adapting his movements to the uninterrupted, uniform movements of the machine. The best time to acquire this "skill" is the early youth of the worker. The worker must begin training early. The capitalist is no longer dependent upon a class of laborers exclusively grown up for machine work, but finds ready material in the children of the worker.

(To be continued.)

## Snap Shots.

BY ELDER S. B. DUNTON

Mathematical problems are not usually solved by simply reading an essay on botany. Religious and political orthodoxy often try to solve their problems in some such way, but utterly fail.

Any system of philosophy either moral, social or political, that does not threaten the life of the "golden calf" is good and is to be tolerated. No system must be permitted to destroy the "image that fell down from jupiter." The cry must be extorted, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." All the world, except the Socialists, now worship the Pagan image. "Idol worship" is the rule now in both church and state.

A Prohibitionist tells me that he makes a protest against the liquor traffic on election day, with his ballot; and that God will credit his vote as a valid protest. If I vote against stealing and also have the privilege of voting against murder, but as many of my friends are engaged in the profitable business of murder and to vote against it would be unpopular, hence, I am silent on murder. Would God credit my vote against theft.

A conscience palliator is not always moral. The capital-quack philosophy of most pretended reformers is, they seek to remove the effect and leave the cause untouched. The evils of our current system are the creatures of said system. The creature cannot be destroyed, while the creator lives,

I wonder if there is a God who sees the "golden wedges" and "Babylonish garments" often adroitly hid in the tents of moral and political teachers. Wonder if God notes the fact that the church leader and politician are parasites on the body of capitalism for self-perpetuity, ease, opulence and aggrandizement.

I wish somebody would tell me what the great religious societies and political parties of the world stand for. Don't all speak at once, or some one will make a mistake. The probability is that a majority would do that very thing any way. If Christianity had done what its founders intended that it should do, there never would have been a secret fraternal or beneficiary society on earth,

All thinking people are impressed with the truth that a great tidal wave of Socialism is about to sweep over the earth. If it does, won't individualism and present institutionalisms be awful lonesome. The people will be lifted up and out of these things and be placed firmly on higher ground. While thousands of old fossilized organic shells will be swept backward as so much debris and thrown amid the wreckage on the shores of a discarded age mitered-garments, sacerdotal-ropes, ecclesiastical functionaries, political gerymanders, fawners at the feet of mammon, signs, grips, signals and the whole paraphernalia of pomp, show and circumstance will be as incompatible as an ice palace in Hades.

The greatest writers and the most brilliant minds of to-day tell us that the greatest changes of all the ages is upon us. The mightiest problems of all time press hard

for solution. The prevailing sentiment of thoughtful people is, that present social, religious, political and economic conditions cannot be perpetuated, because each one of them inheres the germs of its own destruction. A law-making body that is made, bought and sold by the money power, a judiciary that is merchandize, special privilege for the rich and labor degraded. The "sky pilots", heaven, the "orthodox hell" and "devil" cannot stand in the time when the new democracy is fully set up. The world is thinking for the first time in all the ages, Socialism is seeking wisdom in council, strength in unity and harmony in organization.

The San Francisco "Examiner" has been remitting its own sins by parading the sins of other journals. The "Examiner", Rev. Peter York and Wm. J. Bryan are all alike in their diagnosis of economic and political evil. Where each one of them make a signal failure is in their therapeutics. Strange how far into the fog-bank of ambiguity religious and partisan prejudice can take men. None of these parties dare even to hint of a remedy for the evils which they denounce. They probably know that the ballot is the only effective remedy for oppressed labor. Their strong partisanism makes them silent, Bishop Potter essays to potter the industrial clay of California into vessels of dishonor to serve the interests of capitalism. There is too much adobe in the California article, it will crack in drying.

To a man up a tree out in the country, that Union Labor Party of San Francisco looks like the dark lantern of capitalism, adroitly make to gravitate toward money and to represent it and nothing else. One of these days it will occur to the industrial multitude that the ax must be laid at the root of the tree of competitive greed (system) and every tree (institution) that bringeth not forth good fruit must be hewn down and cast into the fire. Jesus Christ said: "Every plant (institution) which my Father hath not planted shall be rooted up." Bryan say: "Grant it a Federal license or some better plan, but don't cut the tree down, Make it take out a 'license' to grow 'deadly fruit,' It has not occurred to orthodox teachers nor to old party leaders that there is such a remedy as laying the ax at the root of the greed-tree of mammonism.

.....

Every Englishman may claim a right to abide in his own country so long as he pleases, and not to be driven from it except by sentence of the law. But if one landlord has a right to drive all the heople from his estate, every other landlord has the same right; and as every piece of the land in the island is held by one landlord or other, and as all would have the same right as the first driver, all the people, except the landlords, might be driven into the sea. —Blackstone.

.....

A great many people imagine that every freak party which bobs up with a paliative or two in its platform is a socialist party and should be helped because it will be a step toward the co-operative commonwealth. It should be remembered that public ownership to benefit the working class, must come when the working class is in control of the government.

## ADVANCE



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**CHINESE EXCLUSION.**

It is undoubtedly true that the democratic party is hard pressed for a paramount issue. We can see evidence of it cropping up in this state in anticipation of the election next year. They are hoping the Republican Senators will allow the Chinese to enter the country that the dear people may again be roused to enthusiasm in the effort to have them excluded. Anything that keeps the dear people stirred up is commendable in the eyes of the Democratic Party, it keeps them from considering too curiously the real cause of their troubles. The democratic party is a party of capitalists just as the republican party is a party of Capitalists. And strange as it may seem the working men are appealing to the very men whom it will benefit to have the Chinese here, to exclude them, Of course the adroit politician, making a bid for office, may have a plank inserted in the platform to restrain Chinese immigration, but it is only conceded, because the necessity of keeping the working class in ignorance and to keep this class from considering its real enemy is always the "paramount issue" above every other "paramount issue."

The admission of Chinese to the country is one means whereby a real value may be added to the false capitalization—the watered stock of the trust. The cost of the reproduction of labor power is of vital importance to this this excessive capitalization. In a measure it is its very life. And as Chinese labor power may be reproduced at less cost than that of American labor power, there is a standing invitation for the trust to introduce this Chinese labor power. And it is to the government of the trust, it is to the class that needs the cheap labor power, the Union leaders appeal for the exclusion of the cheap labor power.

This shows to what state the working class is reduced in this country, it begs for the preservation of its existence from the very class that is the cause of its misery and its possible extinction.

**CHIEF OF POLICE WITTMAN.**

The appointment of this bully of the force, Wittman, chief of police immediately after the Employers association presented him with a gold watch and charm, valued at \$1,500 shows that the Employers association wished to buy the favor of the man the members of this organization knew was going to be chief or they wished to pay for services

rendered. The latter the more likely, as the crushed heads of strikers will attest. There is something more than a suspicion that the Employers association is conscious that without the police and the militia to break strikes workingmen would win more often than they do. And the further suspicion is advanced that the watch and charm presented to Wittman is no more than a bribe for the zealous brutality he exhibited and a hope for its continuance. A man with half a brain can easily see where the logic of this act will drive the police force of San Francisco. Let a promise of a \$1,500 watch and charm be held up before these guardians of the peace as a reward for crushing in the skulls of strikers and scarcely a workingman will escape with his life. There is not a more blood thirsty lot savages any where than these guardians of the peace, and when the incentive of gain is added to their brutal qualities their strong right arms will descend on defenseless heads with greater abandon and more conviction that they are working in a good cause. The amount of the pay with them determines the virtue of their cause, and because this Wittman received a substantial reward for half murdering a few defenseless workingmen, the employers association has advanced in their esteem one hundred per cent. The Employers' Association pays for labor performed; let us fight for the men who pay.

.....

"Take the heart of the workingman," said Dr. Tolman of New York and a Sociologist of note, "and you have taken the chord that binds man to man, employer to employee." If the capitalists were content with the heart of the workingman, all might be well, but they want the soul and all that belongs to the poor devil,

.....

A person named Amon Philip Stokes, in a screed on the reconciliation of labor and Capital, says the solution rests in making secret profits of the corporations impossible. Judging from the quarterly reports of the steel trust and the standard oil trust, it will take more than a published report of the actual earnings of the corporations to stir the workers to the point of effective reconciliation,

.....

No political occurrences for months has excited such general comment as Lord Rosebery's extraordinary speech at Edinburgh when he recommended the substitution of a business man's government for that of the politicians'. Coming from a former Premier, at a time when there is a strong feeling of distrust in the present Ministry, the political results of his utterances can hardly be foreseen.

We recommend Carnegie for Prime minister, If England were run as Homestead is run; a few more members of the working class would undoubtedly be shot but all would be well with the financiers.

**Special Notice.**

.....

Every Comrade in the Local should attend the Party Meeting two weeks hence to vote on the referendum for a State Convention.

.....

Look at the number on your wrapper, if it is less than 383 you owe for your Subscription.



## TURNING THE TRUTH AGAINST ITSELF.

Some of the measures proposed for the suppression of anarchy, are as treasonable as any acts could be. The Constitutional clause forbidding Congress to pass laws abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, is the weapon that must be held with a firm grip, even unto death.

That Constitutional clause stands there as a bulwark between the people and all attempts to abridge free speech and free press. This nation must be swallowed up by some other nations, before that greatest gift of all gifts can be taken from us. The moment Congress moves to abridge free speech and a free press, the masses are as duty-bound to rise in arms against that Congress, as they would to force from our shores the invasion of a foreign foe. As long as here is even one loyal American left, he has a perfect right to resist all attempts to kill the power of the Constitutional clause forbidding Congress to abridge free speech and a free press.

A president, king, queen or what not, has no more right to protections, than the washer woman or the tramp. Indeed, were it not for the lack of protection to the one, there would be little danger of assassination of the other. Even the life of a Czolgosz is as the life of any other mortal. Though if we bend our ears to the utterances of a few preachers, priests and other spiteful minds, we must conclude the assassin even lower in the scale of organic life than the reptile, since even these have a right to life, so long as they do not stand in the way of or endanger higher forms of life. The commission of an act, however bad, does not justify men in taking the life of the actor, instead of giving him an opportunity to reform. The same nature and the same God that watches over the life of the ruler, is quite as mindful of the life of the one that strikes him down. The only punishment governments have the right to inflict on any wrong doer, is to compel him to submit to a course of training, and this for the purpose of reforming.

I take it for granted that so long as nature herself does not draw the life-blood from a human organism, no man or body of men, have such right. "Whatsoever God or nature has joined together, let no man put asunder." So long as nature leaves the human soul and body together, no man should meddle with that union.

Like begets like. Hanging or shooting a man, though it be an official and legal act, is still an unlawful act. It is a blow aimed directly at nature herself, and will generate murder and hatred in the minds of thousands who know of such act. The more humane the government, the more humane its subjects; the more brutal the government, the more brutal its subjects. The office of government should be as that of a mother gently leading and training her children, and which must always be done mostly through love and respect. "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone."

I have said some hard things against the anarchists but find upon investigation that there are many who are not anarchists, more dangerous to life and freedom, than are the majority of anarchists. The anarchists should nail the following notice to their mast-head: No cranks and assassins wanted: To kill rulers is to give more power to rulers. To resist government by force, is to strengthen it. Our weapons are love, self-control and argument. If you have none of these qualities, "keep off the grass." We must ever condemn approval of assassination of rulers; ranks of the assassin stamp must be shown that to strike at a ruler, president or king, is to strike at liberty. The assassination of the President of the United States was a mighty weapon in the hands of the enemies of the government and of freedom; they now seek to enslave the people by robbing them of the right of

protest. This right we must never surrender, for equally valuable with life itself, is that constitutional right to express your thoughts, that the mind may expand. To successfully suppress free speech and press in this country, would mean in a generation or two, a nation of uneducated poltroons and idiots. That which is not exercised, withers and dies. Free and open discussion and exchange of ideas, makes a nation wise and progressive. What cannot be met in argument must not be met by force. The simple administration of justice will cure most of our political and social ills.

Those who are not in favor of justice and argument, are not in harmony with themselves and nature. Vengeance belongs to the laws of nature. The right of free discussion and exchange of ideas, belongs to us.

Eureka, Cal.

FRANK REED.

## STITT WILSON UPHELD.

Editor ADVANCE:—

Dear Comrade:—At the regular meeting of Local Alameda, held Nov. 25th, 1901, the following resolution was unanimously adopted and a copy ordered sent to ADVANCE for publication:

Whereas, Local San Francisco, of the Socialist party, has adopted a series of whereasses and a resolution protesting against the action of the State Committee in "taking steps to send J. Stitt Wilson and his colleagues on a lecture tour throughout the state," and declaring that "the said J. Stitt Wilson and his colleagues are not party members, and do not talk straight and scientific socialism;" and,

Whereas, in contravention of said whereasses and resolution of Local San Francisco, it is a fact that J. Stitt Wilson is a member in good standing of Local Oakland and his brother, Comrade Benjamin Wilson, is a member in good standing of Local Alameda and that Mr. Wise, a colleague, was a delegate from Chicago to the Indianapolis convention and that Mr. Thompson, another colleague, before he left his church in Elgin, Ill., was Secretary of the local section; and further, that Comrades J. Stitt and Benjamin Wilson have again and again declared their belief in the class struggle, and in class conscious Socialism, and have expressed the earnest desire that everything of value accruing from their work shall be reaped by the Socialist party; and,

Whereas, we find nothing in their economic teachings in conflict with the doctrines of scientific Socialism; and that we have found them as zealous and outspoken in opposition to Capitalism and Competition and in favor of Collectivism and Co-operation as is possible for socialist speakers to be; and further, that their method of work is disarming the prejudice and attracting to Socialism people of all classes; therefore be it

Resolved, that we heartily commend the action of the State Committee in sending J. Stitt Wilson and his colleagues on a lecture tour throughout the State, and are of the decided opinion that instead of obstructing the earnest and valuable work of these comrades, it would be far better to send an able organizer in their wake to crystalize the results of their labors into party Locals.

ALLAN A. CROCKET, Cor. Sec'y.

The Socialists of Naples, Italy, have gained control in the municipal council, electing ten out of twelve candidates by crushing majorities, and thus defeating the Camorra, a secret organization which is in Naples what Tammany is in New York.

## STATE EXECUTIVE.

The State Committee met in San Francisco, November 16th, 1901.

Present, Andrew (Chairman), Benham, Gafvert, Reynolds, Scott, Van Alstine and Smith.

Minutes of previous meeting read and approved—after striking out the words "and colleagues."

Communications read from Ben P. Ober, Leon Greenbaum, A. F. Snell, Frank V. Loring, A. J. Loring, N. A. Richardson, John Davidson, Oscar Clute, W. H. Pitt, S. Wallace Niman, E. S. Nash, George Steen, G. D. Van Pelt, Charlie Shook, J. B. Hoover; and from Jos. J. O'Brien, Committee on Delegate Fund, of San Jose, showing balance due H. Ryan \$15.75 and due Daniel Geary on Loan \$30.50, making total deficiency of \$46.50.

Received Local Charters from National Secretary, who writes that the first Annual Meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Party will be held in St. Louis, Mo., at 10 A. M., Friday, January 24th, 1902.

Local Redlands seconds the initiative of Local San Francisco for State Convention.

The application of Local Sawtelle for a charter was approved, and charter ordered sent.

The following resolution was received from Local Redlands:

"Whereas:—The condition throughout the State favors an aggressive propaganda for Socialism, and there are few available speakers in this State, and

"Whereas:—A speaker from abroad will attract a larger attendance than one of local fame, therefore be it

"Resolved:—That the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of California be requested to open correspondence, as soon as convenient, with Comrades Harri-man, Debs, Herron, Carey, Hanford, Hayes and Vail for the purpose of getting them to take a trip to the Coast this winter, following one another at periods of three or four weeks, and be it further

"Resolved:—That the S. E. C. be requested to also get in touch with like Committees of Washington and Oregon, and the National Secretary, arranging with them to receive the speakers also, that it may be less costly for all, and more effective."

The State Committee approves the recommendation of Local Redlands, and the Secretary was instructed to communicate with all Locals to see what they will guarantee toward defraying expenses of proposed speakers and other able speakers; and also to write to State Committee of Washington and Oregon and the National Secretary to see what they will do in this matter. Comrade Benham was appointed as Committee to draft such communications.

The Secretary reported receipts for dues since last meeting as follows: Local Chula Vista \$1.10; Alhambra, \$1.60; Los Angeles, \$5; Long Beach, \$2.50; San Diego, (Balance due on Dues) \$3; Local Redlands, \$6; Oakland \$5; Sawtelle, \$0.35; Alameda, \$6; San Francisco, \$10; Total, \$40.55; for Membership Cards, Los Angeles, \$0.75; Total Receipts, \$41.30.

\$20.30 was ordered paid to National Secretary for dues, and \$15 to be paid to Jos. O'Brien, San Jose, to apply on Comrade Geary's loan to Delegate Fund.

A communication was ordered sent to Local San Francisco, in regard to Convention and other matters.

The following nominations were received for National Committeeman:

From Local Escondido—L. Slocum.

Redlands and San Francisco—Geo. S. Holmes.

Long Beach, Santa Ana and Chula Vista—J. S. Roche.

San Bernardino—N. A. Richardson.

Oakland—Frank J. Wheat.

Los Angeles—Fred J. Spring.

The Secretary was instructed to submit the above names of Nominees, and call for the election of a National Committeeman by referendum vote. The vote to be canvassed on December 21st, 1901.

Adjourned to meet December 7th, 1901.

J. Geo. Smith, Sec'y, Box 13, Emeryville, Cal.

LATER.—Nov. 20. Los Angeles sends a "second" to S. F. initiative for Convention, and requests that the name Los Angeles be submitted as place of meeting, and the date January 1st. The call for referendum vote will be issued at once.

J. G. S.

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AMERICAN VS. SPANISH POLICY OF CONCENTRATION.

Who would have believed it possible (asks the New York Evening Post), after reading the American denunciations of Spain's concentration policy in Cuba 1897 and 1898, that within three years American generals would be applying it the Philippines? Yet the unexpected has come to pass. In Samar, the strictest orders have been given for the entire population of the island to concentrate in towns, accompanied by the threat that any one found outside them will be shot or hung as an enemy of the American people. Any man who should have dared in 1898 to prophesy such a state of affairs would have been denounced far and wide as a slanderer of the United States, and been informed that the American flag never had covered and never would cover such infamy. Now, however, the situation has changed, and it is almost impossible to get those newspapers which were most outspoken in their denunciations of Spanish misrule to discuss the situation in the Philippines. When they are forced to comment upon it by such mishaps as the recent disasters in Samar, it is only to assure their readers, as did the New York Times recently, that the situation in Luzon is satisfactory.

\*\*\*\*\*  
The Organization of a Socialist Band.

There is scarcely any more effective method of attracting a crowd than by a band. During the campaign it stirs up enthusiasm and holds the attention of the people till the orators begin. A band, in fact, is necessary at this stage of development in the political side of socialism. For this purpose Comrade Meekin a first class band master has volunteered his services to teach young socialists to play any musical instrument selected that a socialist band may be organized.

Any socialist that wishes to become a musician should communicate with Comrade Meekin at his address 26 O'Farrell st.

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Chicago post-office clerks are wasting their energy in trying to get an 8 hour law passed. Wake up, and make laws yourselves; don't go begging—vote for Socialism.

**Constitution of the Socialist Party**

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

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE.**

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

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

**DUTIES AND POWERS.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

**HEADQUARTERS.**

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

**STATE ORGANIZATIONS.**

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

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

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

**DUES.**

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

**REPORTS.**

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

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

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

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

**AMENDMENTS.**

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

**REFERENDUM.**

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

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

**BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.**

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

**ASTHMA CURE FREE!**

**Asthmalene Brings Instant Relief and Permanent Cure in All Cases.**

SENT ABSOLUTELY FREE ON RECEIPT OF POSTAL.

Write Your Name and Address Plainly.



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

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

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER,  
Rabbi of the Cong. Bnai Israel.

NEW YORK, Jan. 3, 1901.

DRS. TAFT BROS.' MEDICINE CO.,

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

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

Very truly yours,

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER.

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

DR. TAFT BROS. MEDICINE CO.,

Gentlemen: I write this testimonial from a sense of duty, having tested the wonderful effect of your Asthmalene, for the cure of Asthma. My wife has been afflicted with spasmodic asthma for the past twelve years. Having exhausted my own skill, as well as many others, I chanced to see your sign upon your windows on 130th street, New York, I at once obtained a bottle of Asthmalene. My wife commenced taking it about the 1st of November. I very soon noticed a radical improvement. After using one bottle her Asthma has disappeared, and she is entirely free from all symptoms. I feel that I can consistently recommend the medicine to all who are afflicted with this distressing disease.

Yours respectfully,

O. D. PHELPS, M.D.

DR. TAFT BROS. MEDICINE CO.,

Feb. 5, 1901.

Gentlemen: I was troubled with Asthma or twenty-two years. I have tried numerous remedies, but they have all failed. I ran across your advertisement and started with a trial bottle. I found relief at once. I have since purchased your full-size bottle, and I am grateful. I have a family of four children, and for six years was unable to work. I am now in the best of health and am doing business every day. This testimony you can make such use of as you see fit.

Home address, 235 Rivington street.

S. RAPHAEL.  
67 East 129 St., City.

TRIAL BOTTLE SENT ABSOLUTELY FREE ON RECEIPT OF POSTAL.

Do not delay. Write at once, addressing DR. TAFT BROS.' MEDICINE CO., 79 East 130th St., New York City.

## HOW WE GOVERN OUR ISLAND POSSESSIONS.

Congressman Gaines of Tennessee, who has reached San Francisco on his way home from a tour of observation in the new possessions of the United States in the Pacific, says, among other things regarding them:

That the Sultan of Suin, wedded as he is to superstition, slavery and custom, will prove a nasty customer as soon as American ideals clash with the cherished institutions of his sultanate.

That, under decisions of the court, slavery still exists in Hawaii.

That there is a feeling of unrest among the Filipinos; that the military authorities criticise the acts of the civil commission and assert that a permanent army of from 30,000 to 50,000 men must be maintained in the islands.

He said: "I found thousands of copies of the Constitution and Declaration of Independence printed in Spanish. Much to my surprise, I heard an army officer state that the Declaration of Independence had served as an inflammatory document.

"Slavery and the harem exist in the Sultan of Sulu's dominions and when American ideas come into conflict with those institutions there is going to be trouble."

Further along he said: "Let me digress. I find that slavery still exists in Hawaii.

"The Supreme Court there holds that the thirteenth amendment does not apply there, on the ground that the Constitution does not follow the flag, and men may be convicted without trial by jury, they may also be kept in slavery and are so kept at present on the Island of Hawaii."

Remember this is from Congressman Gaines of Tennessee who is not a Socialist, who is not an enemy of our capitalistic government.

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## MAN AND THE MACHINE.

How are we to settle the unequal difference between man and machine? Will the machine finally go into partnership with the laborer? Can these forces of nature be controlled for the benefit of the children? Will extravagances keep pace with ingenuity? Will the workmen become intelligent and strong enough to become the owners of Machines? Will these giants, these Titans, shorten or lengthen the hours of labor? Will they give leisure to the industrious, or will they make the rich richer and the poor poorer? Is man involved in the "general scheme" of things? Is there no pity, no mercy? Can man become intelligent enough to be generous, to be just, or does the same law or fact control him as controls the animal or vegetable world? The great oak steals the sunlight from the smaller trees. The strong animal devours the weak, Everything is at the mercy of the beak, and claw, and hoof and tooth, of hand and club, and brain and greed—inequality, injustice everywhere. The poor horse standing in the street with his dray, overworked, overwhipped and underfed, when he sees horses groomed to mirror, glistening with gold and silver, scorning with proud feet the very earth, probably indulges in the usual social reflection; and this same horse, worn out and old, desecrated by his master, turned into the dusty road, leans his head on the topmost rail, looks at the donkeys in the field of clover, and feels like a Nihilist.—ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

## CHAMBERLAINISM—OPPORTUNISM.

Ever since Joseph Chamberlain emerged from his obscurity in the borough of Birmingham, upwards of 30 years ago, he has been more or less a prominent man, and his most hostile critic, had he watched him through his whole career, would not, if candid, deny the Brummagen King. Disraeli excepted, he is the slickest British politician of modern times. Beginning with a semi-socialistic program in Birmingham municipal affairs, he has boxed the whole political compass until he now stands at the head of tory-jingo imperialism. Since he spurned the steadying hand of Mr. Gladstone, he has become a political exploiter of the first water, with opportunism as his only creed. Finding (as it is often found, and as Dizzy found it thirty years before) the tory party at dead low water for men of ability, he, with George Goschen, joined a coalition union ministry, the lesser lights about him, and Salisbury's increasing feebleness gives him the opportunity he is not slow to seize. Joseph Chamberlain in the colonial and war departments is the British government. The one-time burgher with his head full of municipal reforms has blossomed out into the great apostle of jingoism, expansion and imperialistic dominance. Renouncing all claim to be a man of the people, Joseph now hob-nobs with the cream (sometimes clotted) of the British nobility, and spends his leisure with the Cecils, Howards and Cavendishes.

Here is the fate in store for opportunism, to become the toy, the creature of a jingo opportunist like Chamberlain. Socialists in America must fight opportunism. There is nothing but ruin and reaction attendant upon its introduction.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

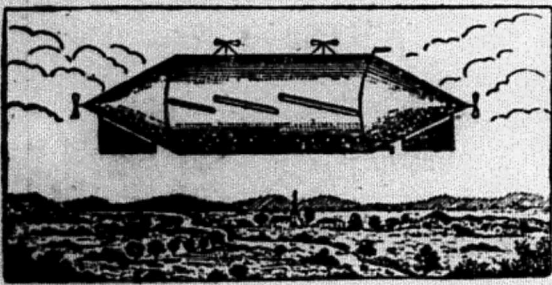
We do not agree with all that F. Dundas Todd, the editor of "The Photo-Beacon," says in his book, "What are We Here For?" but nevertheless we admit that it contains some fair reading. He makes a good argument for industrial co-operation. At the close of his book he says:

"Therefore, all we can do is to honestly strive to learn what we are here for, and then do it steadfastly. Knowledge did not work man's downfall, but has been the means of his advancement—will be the agent of his progression to a height to which there are no limits.

"At the beginning of the first chapter I said we were either here for a purpose or we were not, and up the present I have argued on the theory that we had a mission. It is time to consider the other proposition, that possibly we merely happen to be—that we live through our little day and depart. If this be true, then plain everyday common sense says let us understand the objects that surround and the forces that influence us, so that we may have the greatest pleasure in life.

"So, whichever way we look at it, the beginning and possibly the end of wisdom for mortal man is to understand his environment—to know nature's facts and nature's laws."

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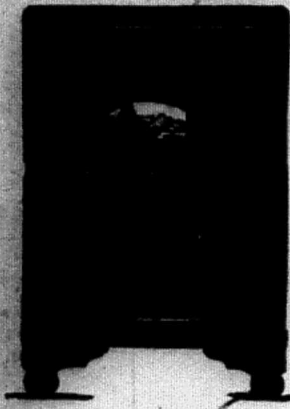
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- BAKERS and Confectioners International, Journeymen**, No. 106. (Drivers). Meets every Wednesday, 6:30 p. m., at 117 Turk street. Herman Vogt, Secretary, with Liberty Bakery, cor. Jones and O'Farrell streets.
- BAKERS and Confectioners International, Journeymen**, No. 117. (Italian), 117 Turk street. Marcel Wille, Secretary, 117 Turk street.
- BAKERS (Cracker) and Confectioners International, Journeymen**, No. 125. Meets 1st and 3d Monday at Garibaldi Hall, 423 Broadway. C. E. Pursley, Secretary, 2109½ Mason St.
- BARBERS International Union, Journeymen**, No. 148. Meets every Monday, 8:45 p. m., at 32 O'Farrell street. I. Less, Secretary, 927 Market street, room 207.
- BOOT and Shoe Repairers Union, Custom**. Meets 1st Tuesday in each month at 102 O'Farrell street.
- BOOT and Shoe Workers Union International**, No. 216. Meets every Monday at 909 Market St. F. Maysenhelder, Secretary, 522 Eighth St.
- BOOKBINDERS Protective and Beneficial Association**. Meets 1st Friday at 102 O'Farrell street. L. G. Wolfe, Secretary, 765 Fifth St., Oakland.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of**, No. 25. Meets 2d and 4th Thursdays, at 102 O'Farrell street. H. McNesby, Secretary, 320 Harriet street.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of**, No. 205. Meets 1st and 3d Friday at Potrero Opera House, Tennessee St. John Honeyman, Secretary, 831 Texas St.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders' Helpers**, No. 9052. Meets Wednesdays at 121 Eddy St. Walter J. Cullen, Secretary, 1320 Harrison St.
- BLACKSMITH Helpers (Machine)**, No. 8922. Meets Tuesdays at 102 O'Farrell St. John Quigley, Secretary, 142 Silver St.
- BLACKSMITHS**, No. 168, Ship and Machine, International Brotherhood of. Meets Fridays at 102 O'Farrell St. G. Clarke, Secretary, 62 Rausch St.
- BREWERY Workers International Union of United**, No. 7. Branch 1 meets 2d and 4th Saturday; Branch 2 meets 2d and 4th Thursday; at 1159 Mission St. Ludwig Berg, Secretary, 1159 Mission St.
- BREWERY Workers, International Union of United**, No. 102. Bottlers. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday, 8:30 p. m., at 1159 Mission St. A. R. Andre, Secretary.
- BREWERY Workers, International Union of United**, No. 227. Drivers. Meets 2d and 4th Monday, 8:30 p. m., at 1159 Mission St. A.olph Speck, Secretary.
- BROOMMAKERS International**, No. 58. Meets 1st and 3d Thursday, at 1159 Mission St. Geo. F. Daley, Secretary, 3514 Twenty-sixth St.
- BLACKSMITHS International Brotherhood of**, No. 99, Carriage and Wagon. Meets every Wednesday at 117 Turk St. W. W. Clarke, Secretary, 320 Lexington Ave.
- BLACKSMITH Helpers and Finishers**, No. 9106. Meets Wednesday nights at 1159 Mission St. John B. McLennon, Secretary, 525 Connecticut St.
- CARRIAGE and Wagon Workers International**, No. 66. Painters. Meets every Thursday at 1133 Mission St. T. J. Finn, Secretary, 1622 Mission St.
- CARRIAGE and Wagon Workers International**, No. 69. Wood Workers. Meets every Tuesday at 117 Turk St. Fred Hoese, Secretary.
- CARPENTERS and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood**, No. 483. Meets every Monday at 915½ Market St. A. E. Carlisle, Secretary.
- CIGARMAKERS International Union of America**, No. 228. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday at 368 Jessie St. J. A. Ramon, Secretary, 368 Jessie St.
- CLERKS International Protective Association, Retail**, No. 432. Meets every Tuesday at Pioneer Hall, 32 Fourth St. Leo. Kaufmann, Secretary, 1084 Golden Gate Ave.
- CLERKS International Protective Association, Retail**, No. 410. Shoe Clerks. Meets every Wednesday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. E. Kelly, Secretary, 28 Kearny St.
- CLERKS Protective Association. Drug**, No. 472. Meets Fridays at 909 Market St. H. Schwartz, Secretary, 1718 Geary St.
- CLERKS. Ship**, No. 8947. Meets Thursdays at 5 Market St. Room 17. W. O. Ferrall, Secretary, 315½ Capp St.
- COOPERS' International Union of N. A.**, No. 65. Meets 2d and 4th Thursday at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St. Secretary, W. T. Colbert, 280 Lexington Ave.
- CORE Makers' International Union**, No. 68. Meets at 1159 Mission St., Thursday. Secretary, Walter Green.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team**, No. 85. Brotherhood of Teamsters. Meets every Thursday at Teutonia Hall, 1332 Howard St. John McLaughlin, Secretary, 210 Langton St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team**, No. 228, Sand Teamsters. Meets every Wednesday, at 1159 Mission St. M. J. Dillon, Secretary, 5 Homer St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team**, No. 224, Hackmen. Meets every Thursday at 102 O'Farrell St. John Dowling, Secretary, 27 Fifth St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team**, No. 226. Milk Drivers. Meets every Wednesday at Mangel's Hall, 24th and Folsom St. A. Di-jeau, Secretary, 935 Market St., Room 17.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team**, No. 256. Meets at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St., Tuesdays. Secretary, James Jordan, 530 Castro St.
- ELECTRICAL Workers of America, National Brotherhood**, No. 151, Linemen. Meets every Monday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. F. Leonard, Secretary, 1227 Filbert St.
- ENGINEERS, International Union of Steam**, No. 64. Electrical and Steam Engineers. Meets Fridays at Odd Fellows' Hall. W. T. Ronney, Secretary.
- GARMENT Workers of America, United**, No. 131. Meets every Thursday at 117 Turk St. Ed. Corpe, Secretary, 3382 20th St.
- GARMENT Workers Union, International, Ladies**, No. 8. Cloakmakers. Meets every Tuesday at 915½ Market St. I. Jacoby, Secretary.
- GLASS Bottle Blowers Association of the U. S. and Can.**, No. 3. Meets 2d and 4th Tuesday at Eintracht Hall, Twelfth, nr. Folsom St. Phil. J. Dietz, Secretary, 1347 Eleventh St., Sunset District.
- GLASS Workers, American Flint Association of the U. S. and Can.**, No. 138. Meets 1st Tuesday at 121 Eddy St. H. Johnson, Secretary, 1017 Howard St.
- HATTERS of North America, United**, S. F. District. Meets 2d Friday, January, April, July, Oct. C. H. Davis, secretary, 1458 Market St.
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- LAUNDRY Workers International Union (Shirts and Waists)**, No. 23. French. Meets every Wednesday at Universal Hall, 812 Pacific St. J. Dussere, Secretary, 12 Montgomery St., Room 12.
- LAUNDRY Workers International Union. Steam**, No. 26. Branch No. 1 meets 1st and 3d Monday at 1159 Mission St. Branch No. 2 meets 2d and 4th Monday at 1749 Mission St. Secretary, 927 Market St., Room 302.
- LEATHERWORKERS on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood**. Meets every Friday at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St. A. H. Kohler, Secretary, 1519 Polk St.
- LITHOGRAPHERS International Protective and Beneficial Association**, No. 17. Meets 2d and 4th Wednesday, Alcazar Building. R. L. Olsen, Secretary 1007½ Lombard St.
- LABORERS' Protective Association**, No. 8944. Meets Sundays at 2:00 p. m., 1159 Mission St. John P. Kelly, Secretary, 117 Gilbert St.
- LEAD Workers, Manufacturing**, No. 9051. Meets at 117 Turk St., Tuesdays. Geo. A. Fricke, Secretary, 220 Ash Ave.
- MACHINISTS. International Association**, No. 68. Meets every Wednesday at 32 O'Farrell St. R. I. Wisler, Secretary, 927 Market St.
- MEAT Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America. Amalgamated**. Meets Tuesday at 117 Turk St. Hermann May, Secretary, 10 Walnut Ave.
- METAL Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass Workers Union of North America**, No. 128. 1st and 3d Monday at 1133 Mission St. J. J. O'Brien, Secretary, 749 Howard St.
- METAL Polishers, Buffers, Platers and General Brass Workers of North America**, No. 158. Brass Finishers. Meets Thursday nights at 1133 Mission St. W. J. Ballard, Secretary.
- METAL Workers International Union**, No. —. Coppersmiths. Meets 2d Saturdays at 117 Turk St. W. H. Pohlman, Secretary, 1128 Sacramento St., Vallejo, Cal.
- MILKERS Union**, No. 8861. Meets 2d Sunday and 4th Tuesdays in March and June at 526 Montgomery St. A. Iten, Secretary, 526 Montgomery St.
- MOULDERS Union of North America, Iron**, No. 164. Meets every Tuesday at 1133 Mission St. Martin G. Fallon, Secretary, 2429 Folsom St.
- MAILERS, Newspaper**, No. 18. Meets 1st Thursday at 102 O'Farrell St. Alfred O'Neil, Secretary.
- METAL Workers United**, No. 27 (Machine Hands). Meets 2d and 4th Tuesdays at 1159 Mission St. D. J. Murray, Secretary, 18½ Ringold St.
- METAL Workers International Association, Amalgamated Sheet** No. 26. Meets Fridays at 121 Eddy St. L. F. Harris, Secretary.
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- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, Brotherhood of**, No. 136. Meets at 117 Turk St., Mondays. Carl Trost, Secretary, 806 Taylor St.
- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, Brotherhood of**, No. 131. Paper Hangers. Meets every Friday at 915½ Market St. T. J. Crowley, Secretary.
- POULTRY and Game Dressers**, No. 9050, A. F. of L. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesdays at California Hall, 620 Bush St. Thos. W. Collas, Secretary, 31 Essex St.
- PAVERS' Union**, No. 8895. Meets 1st Monday at 120 Ninth St. M. Murphy, Secretary, 1510 Harrison St.
- PATTERN Makers meet** at 55 Third St. E. A. Donahue, Secretary, 55 Third St.
- PRINTING Pressmen's Union**, No. 4, Web Pressmen. 1st Monday at Becker's Hall, 14 Third St. A. J. Brainwell, Secretary, 1814B Mason Street.
- PRINTING Pressmen's Union, International**, No. 24. 1st and 3d Monday at 32 O'Farrell St. W. Griswold, Secretary, 2927 Pierce St.
- PORTERS and Packers**, No. 8885. Wednesday at 117 Turk St. Will T. Davenport, Secretary, 1811 O'Farrell St.
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SEAMEN'S Union, International. Sailors' Union of the Pacific. Every Monday at 7:30 p. m., East and Mission Sts. A. Furuseth, Secretary, East and Mission Sts.

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

SHIP Drillers' Union, No. 9037, A. F. of L., Thursday at 1159 Mission St. B. P. Byers, Secretary, 21 Valencia St.

SHIPWRIGHTS and Caulkers, No. 9162, A. F. of L. Meets at 1320 Howard St., Monday. Secretary, G. W. Bishop, 59 Converse St.

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

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

STEAM Fitters and Helpers, No. 46. National Association of Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of America. Tuesdays at Pioneer Hall, 24 Fourth St. R. A. Koppen, Secretary, 50 Elliott Park.

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TYPOGRAPHICAL Union, International, No. 21 (Compositors). Meets last Sunday, 2 p. m., at 32 O'Farrell St. H. L. White, Secretary, 533 Kearney St.

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

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

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UPHOLSTERERS' Union of North America, No. 28. Evey Tuesday at 7 City Hall square. F. A. Rice, Secretary, 127 Precita ave.

UNDERTAKERS' Assistants, No. 9049. Meets 1st Wednesday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. W. Malady, Secretary, 2666 Mission St.

VINEGAR and Purveyors' Union, No. 8935. Mondays at 117 Turk St. Mary Campodonico, 29 1/2 Scott Place.

WOODWORKERS International Union of North America, No. 147. Picture Frame Workers. Every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 909 Market St. L. Cassel, 2901 Mission St.

WOODWORKERS (Box Makers) Amalgamated No 152. Meets Mondays, 1159 Mission St. John Cornyn, Secretary, 836 Powell St.

WOODWORKERS International Union No. 15 (Cabinet Makers) Meets every Tuesday, 117 Turk St.

WOOL Sorters and Graders' Union, No. 9025. Meets 1st and 3d Thursday at 117 Turk St. W. H. Shepherd, 1214 Larkin St.

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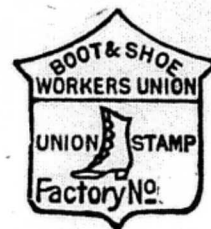
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