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411

ADVANCE

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

WHOLE NUMBER 411

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1902

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR.

Miners' Endorsement of Socialism

To the Western Federation of Miners, in Convention assembled:

Your committee on organization recognizes the time has come for the Western Federation of Miners to extend the scope and enlarge the field of its activities. For a century the trades union movement of America and England has followed the traditional lines laid down by its originators and founders. It has failed to recognize the volition of industry and society, and to keep pace with the wonderful revolution that has taken place in the field of production.

It has been content to organize alone on the economic field, and has left the masters of industry in control of the powers of government whereby the ruling class has fastened economic dependence and slavery on the working classes.

Laws have been made in the interest of capital and been enforced by the servants of capital. The natural resources of the people have been monopolized and the machinery necessary to the development of these resources has likewise passed into private hands. Capital stands all powerful on both the economic and political fields.

It is therefore time for the Western Federation of Miners to make a new declaration of principles, and to take the lead in calling upon organized labor to enlarge the work and scope of the trades union movement. The strike has failed to secure to the working classes their liberty, we therefore call upon the workers to strike as one man for their liberties at the sacred shrine of American freedom, the ballot box.

We put ourselves on record as committed to the program of independent political action.

Such political action must be intelligent and scientific. The wrecks of labor and reform parties are strewn all along the shores of time. This is because they have no program adequate to solve the labor problem. Independent political action is of no value if it ends at mere party success at the poles. A working man in political power in a capitalistic system is of no more value to us than to the capitalist. Labor must own its own tools of production and distribution. Co-operation must take the place of competition. Labor must employ itself, and secure for itself the full product of its toil. It is to this end, and this end alone, that we demand political power.

The tools of production and distribution are too vast for the individual worker to own. They must be socially owned and operated. This is impossible except through the collective ownership. We must therefore capture the public powers, and use them to inaugurate the Socialist Republic or the Co-operative Commonwealth.

For this purpose the workers of the world are uniting under the banner of international socialism. Ten millions of workers in Europe and America are already organized into a compact political body to abolish wage slavery. Disciplined in every political phase of the labor element from the strike to the ballot, they present to the workers of the world the most scientific, powerful and militant organization ever known to man.

We therefore declare that the time has arrived when the working class, already awakened to the importance of independent political action, should organize under the program of international socialism and give their unqualified support to the Socialist party of America.

We endorse the platform of the Socialist party and accept it as the declaration of principles of our organization. We call upon our members as individuals to commence immediately the organization of the Socialist movement in their respective towns and states, and to co-operate in every way for the furtherance of the principles of Socialism and the Socialist party. In States where the Socialist party has not perfected its organization, we advise that every assistance be given by our members to that end. This does not contemplate any dictation to individual members of the federation, but calls for voluntary action on the part of all.

We therefore call for organizers, capable and well versed in the whole program of the labor movement, to be sent into each State to preach the necessity of organization on the political as well as economic field and rally every worker to the union program.

Your committee, in view of the fact that our industrial freedom can only be brought about through the aid and cooperation of the women, further advise that the organizers of the W. F. M., or others, as may seem best to the executive board, proceed to organize the women of the various States into auxiliaries, the same to work along parallel lines toward the abolition of wage slavery.

Tulare Socialists Nominate

Delegates from the local organizations of Socialists of the county met in Hull's Hall this afternoon and made nominations for county offices. William Carpenter called the meeting to order. H. R. Wright was selected chairman and T. J. Marshall secretary. The following ticket was nominated: Sheriff, J. A. Wiles; District Attorney, left vacant; Assessor, Joseph Vossler; Auditor, H. R. Wright; Treasurer, George Wilson; Recorder, William Carpenter; Tax Collector, John H. Redstone; County Clerk, Joseph E. Watson; School Superintendent, Mrs. Nora White; Coroner, Charles L. Rosenquist; County Surveyor, Emmet Barber; Supervisor of Fifth District, George Anthony; Delegate to State Convention, William Carpenter; E. O. Weiner was recommended to the State Convention for State Senator and E. C. Miles for Assemblyman.

It was voted that the secretaries of the local organizations of the county should constitute a county central committee, and that Tulare City should be the seat of this committee. A vote of thanks was tendered Rev. B. F. Wilson of Berkeley for his services to the party in this county.

Missouri Convention

Our Missouri Comrades held their State convention at Springfield, June 7th and 8th. G. H. Turner of Kansas City was chairman and M. Ballard Dunn Secretary. Sixteen delegates were present from the different parts of the State. The National platform was reaffirmed. A resolution was adopted advocating the disbandment of the militia. The following is a significant declaration:

"Whereas, the development of capitalism has practically reduced the farmers of this country to the condition of the wage-working class, and

"Whereas, the speculation and investments by the larger capitalists directly and indirectly in farm lands and improved machinery renders their positions more and more precarious, and

"Whereas, the conditions tend to bring the farmers to the same state of economic dependence occupied by the wage-working class, therefore be it

"Resolved, That we call upon the farmers of this State to study the labor question and ally themselves with the wage-workers under the banner of the Socialist Party."

The Socialist School

A Branch Class in Social Economy to be Formed.

The branch class of the International School of Economy announced by Professor Mills at his last lecture, was granted the use of the Socialist Headquarters at the last meeting of the Local, and will be formally started next week.

Professors Backus and Smith who are to conduct the new class have had considerable experience in teaching Socialism and will doubtless make the study of the famous Mills' lessons very interesting. It is proposed to meet Monday and Friday evenings (room 8, Odd Fellows' Temple), and the course will probably last twelve or fifteen weeks. At the extremely low tuition proposed—only two dollars, for the entire course, a class of at least fifty members should be formed. All of the members of the Training or Correspondence departments of the I. S. S. E. are invited to attend free of cost. The first meeting will be held on next Monday at 8 p. m.

Register!

Every Socialist should register immediately, at once, rightaway, and without delay. In San Francisco the registration office is open from 7:30 to 10 p. m.

Comrade Benham is now on the Executive Committee of the Labor Council.

"The Industrial Federation"

We are in doubt whether to begin with "The mountain labored and brought forth a mouse" or "The old guard dies but it does not surrender." Both are applicable to Montieith's aggregation that met Tuesday morning in Odd Fellows' Hall in the morning and the Socialist headquarters in the evening. We say Montieith's aggregation advisedly, because it can hardly be called a party, and Montieith was the convoker of the assembly. The evening papers reported one hundred delegates present, but as a matter of fact when the convention voted on declaring a substitute platform out of order because it endorsed the Socialist Party, there were only twenty votes for rejecting the substitute as against four for it. It will thus be seen that the "mighty and resistless" force of the movement is in reality a ridiculous weak and impotent thing.

Among the most noticeable features was the composition of the platform committee. It was as venerable a white-bearded body as the Roman Senate—and as out of date. It was the old-guard of the populists who have gone down in defeat so often, now lining up for one more defeat before the harvester Death gathers them to their fathers—our great grandfathers.

Some Socialists went to the convention, and in the morning session instilled a little life into the transactions. But new wine in old bottles won't do. Such old, old, very old bottles couldn't stand it. They reorganized the convention when they felt the ferment of new ideas, and Socialists were barred. Thus the Industrial Federation is composed of reform forces without any Socialists. Let that be clearly understood. Instead of trying to unite with the Socialists this party is going in to fight the Socialists. Well, the dear old grandpas really must pardon our levity. Their courage is admirable, but their judgment is pitiable.

The Socialist Party is already in the field, with steadily growing power. No Comrade need fear the still-born child of populism. It has no strength or following anywhere. Doubtless most of its adherents are as antiquated as the delegates to its convention, in which case the only trust they have to fear is the coffin trust, lest they have not enough to get a decent burial. So far as their party is concerned, no undertaker is necessary—it will bury itself. Its net results so far are to get two new members for the Socialist Party, one subscriber to *Advance*, with more in prospect, to pay part of the rent of our headquarters and afford an opportunity for some good propaganda.

Montieith's aggregation is a curiously inconsistent thing. It stands for direct legislation in a supreme and resistless movement of about 28. These twenty-eight have made nominations and appointed a State Committee. The rest of the "supreme and resistless movement" will either have to endorse these nominations and appointments or else go into some other party. Direct legislation seems to be the will of these 28. When it was proposed to postpone nominations till July 4th to let somebody else get in it was voted down. Mr. Montieith spoke against it. He said that he had worked for four months to bring the "supreme and resistless" 28 together and that it was doubtful if more could be gotten in the few weeks to the 4th of July. This doubt seemed to be "supreme and resistless" to the convention of 28 for they voted to nominate after lunch. Mr. Montieith remarked that he thought the people wanted him to serve as Governor. But the "supreme and resistless movement of the people" decided by a vote of 17 to 11 that they preferred Mr. Squiers of San Jose.

It was supremely and irresistibly funny. As a matter of fact it is all right for the twenty-eight to nominate, for they have no constituency to refer matters to. But as an alliance of people for a "supreme and resistless" effort it is a "tragic comedy." Yet we are inspired with some respect for these venerable graybeards. It is the Populist Old Guard, too old to learn, too proud to surrender, forming the last squadron of a hopelessly lost cause. We cannot help but suspect, however, that their hearts are faint within them, when they remember the great conventions and the enthusiasm of the olden time. Their hearts are heavy within them but with true pride they conceal their disappointment and carry out the solemn farce of the convention's business. Farewell, ye ancient graybeards, and for the Industrial Federation, the still-born child of your impotent age, we offer up the prayer, "Requiescat in Pace."

Why We are With the Strikers

The hundred and fifty thousand miners who are out on strike in Pennsylvania are not Socialists. Probably not one per cent. of them voted the Socialist ticket. Most of them hate Socialism—or think they hate it because they do not understand it.

But every one of the hundred and fifty thousand or more Socialists in the land is with the miners, heart and soul, in their battle. We wish them all success. We are with them because we are Socialists and because they are workingmen.

Whatever the demands of the miners, we are with them. For we know that workingmen on strike never demand half of what they have a right to.

We are with them because we too are workingmen, because our party is a working-class party, because we know that in fighting for themselves they are fighting the battle of our whole class on the industrial field, just as we are fighting it on the political field.

These miners are not Socialists—not one in a hundred of them—not yet. But they will be with us some day, just as we are with them to-day. The terrible logic of events will teach them as it has taught us.

A handful of capitalists, meeting in their offices on Wall Street, own the coal deposits that lay under the earth millions of years before man appeared on its surface and control the working of the mines and machinery which hundreds of thousands of workingmen have created by years of hard and dangerous labor. They can permit these miners to work or forbid them to work. They can dictate the terms at which the men may toil and live. They can dictate the prices which other workingmen shall pay for coal to keep them warm and cook their food.

The joint labor of myriads of men creates every cent of value in the mines and breakers and coal-roads and yards. Only by joint labor of these myriads of toilers can the means of production be maintained. And the mines are a necessity for the life of the whole people. Yet we have left this handful of useless capitalists to control the whole industry for their own profit. Consider, you miners now on strike, is it not ridiculous?

You have to strike now for excessively moderate demands. The bosses would not even consider arbitration. For these very small demands you have to endure all the sufferings of a strike, all the dangers of a blacklist that may follow if you should be defeated. Yet you have a right to more than double the amount you are now getting in wages. Your labor produces every year more than twice as much as you get back. The larger half goes to Morgan and his friends. Under Socialism you would get all you produce.

And your lives are always in danger when you are at work. Only this week two hundred of your brothers were killed through the criminal negligence of the "operators" in the neighboring state of Tennessee. You have seen similar "accidents" in your own state. The mine owners did not risk their lives. They went calmly on clipping their coupons and betting on fast horses and spending on fast women the product of your dangerous toil.

Do you think these men are your friends? Do you think you can trust them in politics? Do you think that when they oppose Socialism, it is an excellent reason for you to support Socialism? Fellow workingmen, striking miners, we, the Socialists of the land, are with you because you belong to our class and are fighting the capitalist class. We will gladly give you what aid we can and only wish it was a thousand times as great. We wish for your success in this battle and we invite you to join with us in another battle for the same cause at the ballot-box on November 4.—*New York Worker*.

Helphingstone's Route

San Jose, Sunday, June 15; Watsonville, Monday, June 16; Santa Cruz, Tuesday, June 17; Paso Robles, Thursday, June 19; San Luis Obispo, Friday, June 20; Santa Maria, Sunday, June 22; Lompoc, Monday, June 23; Santa Barbara, Wednesday, June 25; Ventura, Thursday, June 26; Oxnard, Saturday, June 28; arrive in Los Angeles, June 29.

Edgar B. Helphingstone, State Organizer, So. California.

The New York Socialist convention meets July 4th.

How Shall We Get Socialism?

By Walter Thomas Mills.

Do Socialists favor confiscation? No, there is not a Socialist on earth that favors confiscation. Our very movement for the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, is in order to prevent the capitalist through the power which private ownership has given him, from any longer confiscating the lion's share of the products of those who toil.

Do you favor compensation? What is the use of contending for that which is absolutely impossible? Where is the wealth to compensate the toilers for the robbery and wrong of a single summer? Who can pay a mother for the life of her starving child? Where is the wealth to settle with the dying child itself for the wrong which robbed it of its life? Who shall be able, for pay, to give back the glow of life's full tide to the faded cheek? Who shall restore the broken spirit? Who shall be able to compensate the factory child, dragged from the fireside, barred from the school, dwarfed in both mind and body, bound to a life of ignorance and then disfranchised because he is ignorant, by the very authorities who denied him the opportunity to know. Tell me! Who shall be able to give him the full stature of a man and, if this cannot be restored to him, what man of you will fix a price in dollars for the loss of the fullness of your manhood?

No, the wrongs of yesterday cannot be settled for. We shall take the earth. It is the free gift of nature. We shall take the productive property needed to repair the present and to provide for the future. We shall forgive and we shall try to forget the past.

Then you will give the capitalist nothing? I have not said we would give him nothing. I have only said that the capitalists can never pay the debt they owe the toilers. As they cannot pay, the toilers should take the tools their toil has made, and the earth the great Creator gave us, and let the quarrel be dropped. As to giving something to bankrupt capitalists—the capitalists who can never settle our claim against them—there is much to be said in favor of such a charity. There is more to be said in behalf of any compromise by which the quarrel can be ended and the new civilization started on its way in the Golden Age which the new day promises.

I am sure that I am safe in saying that Socialists will do anything in reason but I want you to tell your bankrupt friends, the capitalists, that if they are going to throw themselves on the mercy of the court, they must get ready to come with clean hands from this last encounter. They must not take our lives and then ask our charity. There must be no more of Homestead, or of Hazelton, or of Pana, or of the Idaho bull pen. The Gatling gun must cease to be a factor in the settlement of labor controversies. They must call off their dogs of war before they talk of compromise. The productive property of the world is but the wasted remnant of the products of the toilers. It was wet with our sweat as we made it. Do not again baptize it in our blood and then ask the consideration of those whose brothers you have slain. Our appeal is to the intelligence, the conscience, the public spirit of our fellow citizens. We will win at the ballot box by peaceable agitation and by the lawful organization of our power as citizens. This is our only weapon. They must use no other.

And now, fellow toilers, here and everywhere, the long and bitter night of sleepless, of relentless and of thankless toil, is breaking. Socialism comes to tell you of the morning and to wake you that you may witness the glory of its dawn.

Let us stand together now, and win in this new day, the victory of the ages! Go scatter the seed of the printed page. Go tell the story to those who do not know. Go bring your neighbors and both you and they join the Socialist party, and join it now. Join it everybody. Organize it everywhere. "We have nothing but our chains to lose, we have a world to gain."

John Spargo, editor of *The Comrade*, spoke for four days to enthusiastic audiences of striking coal miners in Pennsylvania. Over eleven thousand in all heard the message of hope. Socialism received a great impetus.

The Massachusetts State convention meets September 22d.

ADVANCE



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Capitalist Protection of Labor

"Gatling Guns Protect the Cars at Pawtucket"—so ran the headline on a dispatch from Rhode Island. The street car men there are on strike. The car company says they shall not work unless they work on certain terms. The men have declared they will not work unless they get better terms. The company has imported a lot of men to take the other men's jobs. They have been furnished with militia and gatling guns to see that the cars run regularly. There are two grounds on which the governor furnishes armed soldiers to the company; first, to protect the property of the company; second, to protect the scabs in their jobs. Both of these reasons, when analyzed, will be discovered to be simply different ways of putting the same cause—the desire to aid capital and crush labor. If we take up the first we quickly discover that it is not merely to protect property—for the cars would not be harmed if they were kept in the barn—but the real reason for troops is to permit the capitalists to use their property and by its use derive an income from it. The same reason applies to the protection of scabs. It is not to secure them in a job and give them a right to work. It is hypocritical nonsense to say that they are protecting the men in their right to work when to do so they are depriving other men of that job; when not only are they depriving the other men of the job but when the other men are more numerous than the scabs and the pay they seek is better. The capitalistic government protects the scabs because the company must have them to operate its cars and get its dividends. It is the right of the company to the greatest possible dividends, not the right of any workingman to a job, that concerns the capitalistic government. It is urged that the company has the right to employ whom it pleases, but the argument is pointless. The company does not care about the personality of the men it employs. The strikers are the more desirable, more skillful, safe and trustworthy. The objection of the company is not to the men but to the wages. The capitalist government gives the company a monopoly on the street car traffic so that the men must work for it or not at all. But it steadfastly refuses to give the men a monopoly of the jobs on the street cars so that the company must employ them or run no cars. On the contrary, when a dispute between the company and the men arises over the question of wages, and the company says to the men, "If you wish to work you must work at our price, otherwise we will get other men," the government sides with the company and says to the men: "We will protect the company in its monopoly of the street car traffic; we will guarantee it the continuance of its service. We will protect in their jobs all who offer to work at the low terms of the company; but we will not protect in their jobs those who ask for better terms." In other words, the capitalistic government decides that the company is right, that the lower and worse terms for the men are right, and uses its power to enforce them. Its interpretation of the declaration that all men are created equal and have inalienable rights to life and liberty is that the company has the right to the highest dividends and the men only a right to the lowest wages. Socialists believe that as the men do all the work they have a right to all the proceeds and they don't want to divide up that product into dividends and wages. Vote against capitalism. Vote for Socialism.

To the Revised Populists

Gentlemen: You are forming or attempting to form a new party. You are dissatisfied with the Republican party and the Democratic party because they are both the servants of the rich. You deem it necessary that there should be a party of the poor to look after the interests of the poor, and when victorious to pass such laws as will help the poor to rise out of their poverty. We wish to suggest to you a few reasons why, instead of forming a fourth party, you should join your forces to the Socialist Party, which now stands in the third rank and is steadily pressing forward in its battle for human rights.

In the first place, the Socialist Party

is a national party. It has a strong and growing organization in every northern and most of the southern States. As most of the ills the poor suffer arise from industrial corporations whose operations are on a national scale, it is evident that only national legislation can cure them. Not only is the Socialist Party a national party, but it is the only national party besides the Republican and Democratic parties that has a national organization of any strength and any prospect of victory in any number of places. While the Socialist Party has hitherto been comparatively weak, yet during the past two years its growth has been remarkable. During the spring elections in many scattered communities, the Socialists have elected municipal officers, a thing very rare two years ago. We have, furthermore, during the past few weeks received a most notable accession of strength from the Western Federation of Miners and the American Labor Union. These two bodies will support the Socialist Party and use their funds to advance Socialist propaganda. When it is known that these unions practically control the political situation in the Rocky Mountain States the full importance of their declaration is revealed.

In California the Socialist Party has during its last two campaigns achieved a satisfactory progress, when the adverse conditions are considered. At the present time we have organizations in nearly every county. There are five speakers and organizers in the field besides the organizers of different localities. We have three weekly papers devoted solely to our cause and going to all parts of the State. We start this campaign in better shape and with greater prospects than ever before. If those of you who believe in Socialism will ally yourselves with us it will be easy to so increase the Socialist vote that at the election of 1904 the fight will be a straight out contest between the Republican trust and the Socialist people.

In the second place it must not be forgotten that the Socialist platform represents the only complete remedy for the industrial evils of society. The trouble, the cause of poverty, is competition among the workers and monopoly among the capitalists. The trusts have gotten control of the railroads, the mills and the factories, and on one hand they crush down the wages of the men who work in them, while on the other hand they raise prices and rates to the people. The workers competing with one another are helpless. The people with nowhere else to go must patronize the trust. And so they are cinched and plundered by these modern robber barons. The only remedy is in public ownership of the trusts. This is the first of the immediate demands of the Socialist Party.

But not only does the Socialist Party demand public ownership, it also demands the application of democratic principles to the government. The seventh plank in the Socialist demands calls for the application of the principles of direct legislation by the people and the right of recall of officials. Not only is this a plank in our platform but it is a principle which we, alone, of political parties carry through our own organization. Thus the Socialist Party stands for all that it is proposed the new party shall stand for—all that is feasible as a progressive program. It is a strong national party, and is strong and active in California. It has withstood the wreck alike of the people's party and the labor party, and grown through it all. The attempt to found a new party is an act of hostility to it which it must resent. Any new party can only have the effect of dividing the forces of the working people and give cause for rejoicing among the pirates of the trust. You who are now considering the advisability of launching a new party will do well to consider what the people will think of you in once again dividing the forces of toil to lead them through the old populist pathway to—fusion, confusion and despair. Don't do it. The people's party is dead. It cannot be revived. The Socialist Party lives and cannot be killed. It grows in numbers and enthusiasm each day. Its advancing hosts are jubilant with the expectancy of victory. Come! desert the worn-out, half-way measures. Join our ranks and demand the whole program. The more you demand the more you will get, and nothing short of Socialism will do. Vote for Socialism and you can get it. Vote for something else and you delay the triumph of the people's cause.

Note—The above was written before the fiasco. But it will stand as a message to those who might be lead astray.

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The paper will be sent to any person who reads the above correctly and acts accordingly.

Skirmish Fire

The Shipbuilding Trust which has just been formed and in which Morgan has command of a controlling interest, is able to build any kind of a battleship and equip it completely in its own yards. This is something no other private corporation and no government in the world can do. The trust can build and equip a navy without going outside of its different plants for anything. In this respect it is more independently powerful than any government. This reminds one of the days before the downfall of the Roman Republic when individuals took it upon themselves to fit out armies. Liberty is never safe with such power in the hands of individuals who are responsible for that power to none.

John W. Gates says that Morgan's plans are bigger than the public have yet dreamed of. He contemplates securing a "controlling interest" in every line of industry throughout the world. This is the first definite avowal by a capitalist of an intention to form an International Universal Trust. The line pursued by Morgan of getting control of the carrying trade of the world puts him in possession of the strategic position in the industrial war. All industrial plants depend upon getting their goods into markets. Morgan controls the means of getting the goods to the market and can favor his friends and injure his enemies in rates charged. This has been done in the past, and has made easy and quick the process of trustification. It cannot fail in Morgan's hand to accelerate the arrival of the universal trust. This consummation of centralized industrial despotism the Socialists have long foreseen. To meet the issue they are organizing an International Army of Workers.

The flour combine is gradually getting control of the different plants on the coast. Opposition is fast becoming useless. Scarcely any organization has the means to buck against the Big Four. When at last the flour trust own all the mills, as the railroad owns all transportation, the farmer will find that, be the season good or bad, he will only get enough from his crop to barely exist on, while the mill magnates will dine the railroad magnates with costly viands and the rarest vintages. The farmer who fails to join the Socialist party will have himself to thank for his own poverty.

E. J. Walsh, John J. Daughney, Thos. Westoby and C. W. Marlatt are the latest union labor men to openly affiliate themselves with the Republican party. Daughney was the Union Labor candidate for tax collector; Walsh was a candidate for supervisor; Westoby is a prominent man in the City Front Federation, and Marlatt is a member of the Street-car Men's Union. All four are presidents of Republican primary league district clubs. This makes it evident that the Union Labor party is rapidly disintegrating and will be dead before the campaign is over. Meanwhile their county committee has taken absolutely no steps to organize a State Labor party, although pledged to do so by the thirteenth plank in the platform adopted by the convention which elected them. The Labor party is meeting the fate which Socialists foresaw. Captured by men who thought it merely a political opportunity, it is now deserted by them and sinks into nothingness. It remains for such as believe that, the Republican and Democratic parties are hopeless, that labor must act independently, to join the Socialist Party, which stands uncompromisingly with a solid organization for labor, on the platform—"To the Producer belongs the product of his toil."

"Will not Christ and Socialism be better than Socialism without Christ?" That was a question asked the other day. We answer yes, if you are a Christian. But there are a whole lot of Socialists who are not Christians and to whom Christ is no additional attraction. There are many Jewish people, noble, enthusiastic, self-sacrificing workers for our cause to whom the cross is the symbol of eighteen hundred years of persecution, of bitterest humiliation, of insults and wrongs innumerable heaped upon them by the followers of the Prince of Peace. They want no Christ. To them Christendom has meant a renewal of the bondage from which Moses once delivered them in the long ago. Father McGrady and Rev. J. Stitt Wilson may unite in religious thought as in social thought, but they cannot span the gulf that separates them from those two great comrades of theirs in Socialism, but Jews by birth, Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle; nor can they find a common religious ground with those other comrades in Socialism but atheists in theology, Frederick Engels and Wilhelm Liebknecht. The point of it all is this: Theology is no part of Socialism. Socialism is a sociological and economic science and made a practical science by its political advocacy. Religion is a matter for private belief and faith. Jews, Atheists, Mohammedans, Buddhists, all good people can become Socialists. And all bad

people can become Socialists. But you limit your possible converts when you add to "We believe in the public ownership of the earth," "We believe in God, the Father Almighty, in Jesus Christ His only begotten Son and in the Holy Ghost."

Poppies and Wheat

BY MARY FAIRBROTHER.

"I cannot regard work as the highest necessity of man. The noble man is he who is idle, who cherishes, nourishes and develops himself; thus do the gods live, and man is the God of the creation."

"This is my heresy. I have confessed it. But in the chair of confession, there sits another being, and he is really right when he says: 'Well, my child, to do nothing merely to be here—that would be the noblest and sublimest. Very right! But as no man can be here without another working for him—come here, stand on this point—then each must also work. All must be satisfied. None are here merely for the sake of being, nor others merely for the sake of working.'"—Berthold Auerbach, in *On the Heights*.

Another child-murdering institution is to be established in Tennessee. The Nashville daily papers have been reeking with the gore of the little folk, in anticipation, for about two weeks, because there is to be a knitting factory established somewhere down there, and one point which is particularly edifying about the scheme is that almost all the work can be done by children and women. The knitting factory is a better factory to come to a town than any other factory, on that account. Out on Willow avenue, where I live, children are "permitted." The houses are fit for well, for the life of me, I can't think of any live thing which ought to be forced to exist in those houses. Just a glimpse of sunshine, no yards, no grass, a little light, and ugly, and out of repair and all that. A nice horse would object, a dog would run away, a cat would shun the sort of place. But children are "allowed," so there they are. In one block of the domicile where I stay Sundays, not less than thirty little folk live and play on the miserable pavements. They are firing off crackers for amusement these days, and they race with the delivery wagons, and they tumble around like acrobats. A wagon struck one the other day, and since then he has been laid up with a lame hip. They are aggravating beyond belief and they are amusing to the last degree. Sometimes I try to think what they would be if they could only live for a couple of years, as they should live, as they are built to live. Then I remember the other little fellows in the sweat-shop filth and pollution. I think of the weary little bodies in the factories and the mills, and then I go down town and read in the Nashville daily a glaring headline of joy because a knitting factory is to be established soon, particularly suited to women and children. Words fail me, patience deserts. Some one must surely make some effort to stop it all. But the problem is so large and stands so sphinx-like and sullen. So few people care, and even if you talk loud you are hooted, and the respectable people wonder why you don't attend to your own business.

We call nature cruel when we realize how she makes us pay coin for coin for every cent we filch from her. Men are exploited and in turn they exploit children, and it is inevitable. Those of us who made up our minds long ago to be optimistic, know that it will be better some time, but the way is weary to these little ones so full of life, who lack physical force to resist.

An elderly comrade said to me the other day, "Oh you do not know what you are talking about; you are an aristocrat, self-assertive and over-bearing; you don't know anything about real hardship." Wonder what the dear man knows of labor without recompense, that I do not know, who have toiled and bent over my work for long days, until I was so tired at 10 or 11 o'clock at night that the tears rolled down my cheeks at the time I was trying to undress, why, no one can say. I worked for eight years on one problem in which my whole soul was engaged, and all the time was organizing a failure. On the day when I candidly admitted the failure, faced the responsibilities, financial, and otherwise, and the humiliation that a failure means, on the day when I reached that height, I was nearer being an aristocrat than I'll ever be again. What more would he have me know of hardship, misery and defeat?

What more can he know of them all or of victory?

By the way, what is an aristocrat? Along with a great many other things I have a notion of this, and if I could attain it, I should be very humble and very glad. An aristocrat is one who is born with or attains a finer sense of honor, than some people seem to have, and at the same time develops her own character so that she realizes that each day her ideal must be a little higher, and her unselfish-

ness exemplified with a finer spirit of cheerfulness. If this condition is a reality and not a mere theory of life, that is to say, if the Sermon on the Mount means herself and not some other woman, the result is an aristocrat. The world has known a few who brushed the outer edges lightly, never a perfect one. That is yet to be, and it will be, but economic conditions, which leave us free to think, must come first. It is highly probable that the comrade did not mean this when he was calling names, but like him, I think perhaps, he don't know about what he is talking. And even so, Socialism is for all.

The oligarchy at Washington is making itself irksome again by dismissing from the service a young woman who has more intelligence and more character than the ordinary lackey who is hired to do service in the government offices. She is a woman and under the ban of her sex, that is, she must work for about two-thirds the salary and do twice the work any man does. In order to eke out her pittance to a respectable wage, she used her talents and wrote some letters for publication in a newspaper. She said what she thought and it happened to be against certain policy of the oligarchy. She was dismissed summarily, and she will henceforth depend entirely upon her pen for a livelihood, that is if she is not restored to her position. My friend, the Honorable Shellenbarger of Nebraska, who is a gentleman if one ever was in Congress, has taken up her cause and is attempting to make the flunkies show just cause why the young woman was dismissed. He is a fighter, and he is generally on the side of the people, and it is more than likely the girl will have something like justice done her, in the end. At least all women must hope so. She is from Michigan, and not from Mr. Shellenbarger's State. He is in Congress from a district in Nebraska, which sends men to Congress from among the people, and for many years it was my good fortune to be in reform work with him, before he was in Congress, and I know the girl has an advocate who is both able and fearless. For the sake of precedent and for the sake of womankind, I hope he will force an investigation. The girl was on special work, and not under civil service rules.

The Beauties of Profit

Meditation of a Doctor—"What a cursed season! Nobody sick! Not even a dog has a cold!"
A Druggist—"Everybody's in good health in this beastly town!"
A Grave Digger—"If we could only have a little cholera, I would give my daughter a dowry."
A Military Man—"Twenty years of peace! It's the ruin of my career!"
A Judge—"If it weren't for the criminals, what should we do?"
A Merchant—"If I succeed in driving my neighbor into bankruptcy, I'll get all his trade!"
A Farmer—"Such a calamity! The country has produced so much that the market is glutted. Blessed be the years of small crops!"
A Lawyer—"Oh, such a stupid town! Nobody wants to prosecute anybody else."
A Priest—"Ah! If the people would only remain in ignorance, we could always be sure of the simpletons!"
A Policeman—"If it weren't for the robbers, I should have to steal for a living!"—From *La Squilla* (The Clarion), the Socialist journal of Bologna, Italy.

Oregon Election

Our comrades in Oregon have done remarkably well. The vote cast is about 8,000. This should inspire us in California to redoubled efforts. If Oregon can show such an increase, the chances are equally good for California. It seems certain now that the Union Labor Party will not go in the field. The Industrial Federation is a farce gotten up by one Monteith, and need not be counted in. It is doubtful if they will get on the ballot, even. So that we will have a clear field. Oregon is talking about 15,000 this fall. Certainly California can register 20,000. To work!

Our Position

We hold that the interests of the capitalists and the wage-workers are diametrically opposed; that they are as necessarily and fundamentally opposed as those of master and slave or of highwayman and victim; that, so long as society is divided into capitalists and wage workers, the inherent opposition of their interests must give rise to an irrepressible conflict, in which it is the duty of every workingman to use all his powers on the side of his class and against the capitalist class; that this conflict can be ended only by the working class establishing public ownership of the means of production, thus putting an end to the class division; and that, therefore, it is the duty of every lover of peace and social order to lend his aid to the working class movement toward this end—that is, to the Socialist movement for the Co-operative Commonwealth.

A Song.

Dedicated to Prof. Mills' Work.
(Air—"Star Spangled Banner.")

'Tis the shame of the land that the workers should make
All the wealth of the world for the parasite classes.
Every knove has a law-given right and can take
All the blood and the bread from the heart-broken masses.
But conquer we must—Labor's cause it is just,
And this be our motto: Down, wage-slaving trust!
Then our loyal red banner in honor shall wave
Over men that are free and the homes of the brave.

'Tis the shame of the land that the worker should be
Bound down like a serf to the masters of money;
Every man has a God-given right to be free.
Why should we drink the wormwood and give them the
honey?

We never shall raise our red flag o'er a slave,
But we'll raise it in triumph o'er Tyranny's grave,
And our emblem of equity ever shall wave,
O'er the homes of the free and the land of the brave.

'Tis the aim of us here that the future shall see
The wage-slaving millions freed from the spoiler.
Every one that in honesty hopes to be free
Can help to unfasten the chains of the toiler.
We must vote for our class, then our masters will find
That we're bound to be freemen in spite of their kind;
And our banner forever an emblem shall be
Of truth to the millions who then will be free.
San Francisco. Alice Sorenson.

The Product of Industry and the "Divvy"

Grant Williams, San Francisco, Cal.

It is a fundamental principle of Socialism that to the worker belongs the product of his industry. This is a self-evident truth. In simple forms of industry this is easily perceived. It is clear that a man raising potatoes on unappropriated land is entitled to the fruits of his labor. This title to the results of ones exertions cannot be refuted. A man's energy is as much a part of himself as his voice or his blood. And whether he expends this energy single-handed and alone in production, or among thousands of associates in a factory. His share to the whole result of his own labor is indisputable. If alone his share is obviously the whole product; if associated with others his share is in proportion to the number of workers and the amount of labor contributed. In either case we have excluded the right of any other but the producer to appropriate the product.

But, as a matter of fact we know that a large part of the product is appropriated by other than producers. Have they the right to do so? If any such right exists, it must arise either in the ownership of the raw material or in the ownership of the tool. In no other way can a title to product arise in the process of production, since it is obvious that the product is the result of the combined agencies of man, matter and means. These three factors—the material, the tools and the labor—are the whole process of production.

Let us first consider the ownership of the material of production. It is a fact that to-day a very small number of the people appropriate a large percentage of the product of industry without taking any part in the labor of production. Some claim a share on the ground that they are the owners of the materials of production.

Without this material, they say, labor can accomplish nothing. Quite true. Furthermore, they contend, the owner is entitled to a share of the product. Very good. Therefore, they conclude, the owner is entitled to his claim because he furnishes the material of production. This is false. The owner does not furnish the material of production. Nature and nature, only, furnishes the raw material upon which labor operates. What the owner does do is to appropriate the material of nature, and then turn around and demand of men a tribute for the privilege of access to nature's storehouse. The share of the product which the alleged owner claims is nothing but the toll which he levies on the producer for permission to jump over the fence.

But why should not the worker be owner of the material with which he works? Why should he allow another to subtract a large part of the product because that other owns the raw material? Why should a dozen men pay tribute to a single owner of a farm, when they might just as well own that farm together, and thereby receive not only the share of labor but the share of the owner in the product? And if this be true of one farm and a dozen men, why should it not apply to all land and the entire community?

But say another class of non-producers, we are entitled to a share in the product because we supply the tools whereby the worker transforms raw material into commodities. If it were not for our capital and our machinery, the worker would be unable to employ his labor energy! If, they argue, we accumulate wealth and convert it into useful tools and machines,

are we not entitled to a return for the means of production that we supply?

In reply to this, I make the same answer as I did to the landlord. Admitting all this to be the case, why should the laborer allow you to be an everlasting drain upon his energy and his product? Can he not own his machinery himself, and consequently have the benefit of any returns claimed as due capital from the product? Why should a hundred men in a boot factory allow a large part of their products to be withheld by the owners of the machines, when they might just as easily themselves own the machines and thereby retain this portion of the product to themselves? And if this be correct of one factory, why should it not be true of all means of production in a community?

A third claimant now appears on the scene, and Labor must meekly stand by until this person has satisfied his claims. He is the profit-taker of industry, who, of all the leeches that sap the arteries of industry, is the most ravenous, the most blood-thirsty, and the most deadly. He it is who, has turned production for utility into production for speculation; who has contracted the sphere of employment; who is the cause of our constantly recurring periods of industrial paralysis; who has burdened the back of labor with a swarming mass of non-producing parasites; who has made a treadmill of society, wherein the workers whirl round the great wheel of industry—like the squirrel in his cage—without ever gain or progress.

It is most important for clear thinking to definitely distinguish the separate functions of the landlord, the capitalist, and the profit-taker;—and to avoid confusing the separate ideas of rent, interest, and profits. Rent and interest arise from the appropriation of essential factors of production—namely, the land and the means. But profit arises from the appropriation of labor. The profit system is due to the industrial customs which allow one man to gain the control and disposal of the product of labor. The landlord charges rent for the use of his land; the capitalist charges interest for the use of his instruments; but the profit-taker charges for his ownership of human labor. Profit extracts from the product a portion altogether distinct and additional to the extractions of landlord and capitalist. This will appear plain from an example. No man would invest capital in a business if he were to receive back no greater return than the prevailing rates of rent and interest. Otherwise he would prefer to rent his buildings to some one else or place his money in banks or bonds. When he invests his capital in industry it is because he expects to realize a greater percentage than he would receive from the rent of land or in the lending of money. And the landless, moneyless, profit-taking class who engage in trade on borrowed capital and rented lands do so because they know there will still be a desirable margin—ranging from ten per cent *ad infinitum*—above all costs.

In other words, they are gamblers in labor. They buy up laborers in job lots, give them access to the means of production, and then sell the product for what they can get. They buy hogs at so much per pound and human beings at so much per head, put them together, and then appropriate the result—whether it be ham or lard or sausage—and sell it at the highest price they can squeeze out of the consumer.

And they call themselves Captains of Industry!—organizers of labor! No lie ever insulted the intelligence of men more flagrantly unjust and deceptive than this. It is the cumulative industrial experience of mankind from the stone age to the electric age which has organized labor,

and it is the foreman in the shops and not the cash collector in the counting room to whom is due the merit of directing associated labor. There never was an enterprise conducted to successful completion, never a battleship launched from a ship yard, never a palace erected, that did not owe its production to the muscles and the skill and the brains of the men drawn from the rank and file of the workers. Render unto Caesar the things which men in their stupidity and folly have surrendered to Caesar, namely, the tributes of rents, and interests, and profits; but, in the name of justice and self-respect, don't render unto him a world's gratitude for the energy and skill and directive ability of the overseers who stand among the workers.

No, no, my friends, banish that delusion from your minds that the profit-taker is the organizer of industry. It is not because the master is the best director of labor that men crowd around the doors of his factory begging for admittance. They are impelled into factories not by any directive or administrative abilities which the employer may possess, but because he is in possession of the means whereby they live, to which they must have access on any terms or starve. Men are rounded up into industrial groups, not by the organizing powers of the boss, but by the spur of hunger and their immediate necessities.

But, protests the employer, am I not a worker, too? Am I not at my desk the first thing in the morning and the last thing at night? Are not my services to be regarded as labor worthy of compensation? Don't I run heavy risks of losing all I have invested? Don't I lay awake nights planning and worrying over my business?

Well, so far as worry is concerned, I do not remember that any economist regards it as a factor in production. As to risks of business, it is one of Socialism's main contentions that industry today is carried on as a lottery and a faro-bank. We quite agree that there is risk when men speculate on human flesh and human labor as a gambler speculates on the turn of a card. And it is because it is due to the profit system that such risks exist, and increase more and more under the pressure of the war of competition, that we enter our most vigorous protest, and demand its abolishment. So far as personal work is concerned, we will not deny that you use up a great deal of energy. A large part of it, however, is spent not in productive labor, but in hustling around for a market. The entire energy of the employer is expended in disposing of the product of labor in order to realize his ten or fifteen or *ad infinitum* per cent. And whatever abilities he may exhibit as a worker and a useful member of society, those services entitle him to compensation based on the same measure of justice and equity due the humblest worker in the industrial army.

Organizer Helpingstine's Speech

Metropolitan Temple, June 8th.

Mr. Chairman, Comrades and Fellow Citizens—

When we look back into the records of those meetings and assemblages that have marked great changes in the growth of the race, I wonder if we, to-day, realize that we too are making history. In our hands rest the responsibility of being living actors in a social change so great that all the past has been but its slow and painful preparation. It is times like these that call for great achievements, and it is meetings like these that show the call is not in vain. Here in this great modern city we have assembled for ten weeks before this platform to hear a masterful presentation of the world thought of the hour. This is the last of a series of meetings that will prove an epoch in the political history of San Francisco. Great events have not been without those who have stood forth fearlessly to voice that which humanity has struggled to express. On this occasion I wish to refer to our able Comrade, Walter Thomas Mills.

He has told you how the Chinese workshop and the Chinese market is forcing a world crisis that will prove beyond all doubt the need for the solidarity of the workers of the world.

He has told you how capitalism must unavoidably culminate in the international trust, with no alternative but collective ownership of that which can no longer be privately used. He has told and illustrated how the capitalist system perpetrates the blackest crimes upon the children of the unemployed. He has told how the small merchant and the farmer have lost forever all opportunity for industrial and commercial competition.

He has shown how long submission to oppression may destroy the last struggle for liberty.

He has told you of the warfare of organized labor and organized capital, while the recent street car strike practically corroborated what has been said of the present class struggle.

You have heard how the child worker

is driven from the playground and the school house, forced into the factory and denied the ballot box.

You have heard how the principles of Socialism are proposed to meet the industrial and political issues at the dawn of the 20th century.

You have just heard the comrades of the International School of Social Economy, who will leave to-morrow for their respective homes with added strength to do battle for our righteous cause. You will hear before you leave the hall this afternoon the programme which the modern labor movement has adopted for self-protection and advancement. It is the same programme which is being urged this very hour in all the progressive nations of the earth. Millions are enrolled in this great international army that is peacefully marching into the control of the public powers. Despotism, monarchy and plutocracy are trembling before the approach of liberty, fraternity and equality.

Comrades and friends, you have heard enough to convince you of your plain duty. Do not let another day of history pass without recording you as an active member of the great international. Join the local branch of the Socialist party of America. Enjoy the novelty and privilege of belonging to a political organization whose support and authority rests with the majority of its members. It is as freely open now to those who have renounced all political allegiance to the parties of capitalism as the socialized industries shall be when the final victory shall have been won. Organization works wonders, especially that organization that is backed by evolution. Your presence and interest here denotes your ability to determine the political future of this city. This State must be secured as one of the foundation stones for national and international Socialism.

I wish to say in behalf of the Socialists of Southern California, whom I have the honor to represent, that we stand ready to co-operate with you in giving the capitalist politicians a present of at least 25,000 straight Socialist votes next November. Will yours be one of them? Will you join with us and lend a hand?

Labor Politics

By A. M. Simons.

The votes of laborers elect almost every political officer in the United States.

But how many Presidents have rushed to the defense of workers when they struck for better conditions of life?

Coeur d'Alene, Homestead, Chicago, Pittsburg give the answer. It is written in the blood of laborers slain by agents of a labor elected government.

Every Congressman has been elected by labor votes.

But the endless pages of the Congressional Record tell only of laws in the interest of property and property owners. Labor legislation is smothered in committees, overturned by the courts, or passed only to be completely ignored.

State and local governments offer more examples of labor elected officers serving capitalists.

This will continue as long as laborers divide at the polls and fight one another.

Men who live in the same tenement, work at the same bench, serve the same master, receive the same wages, belong to the same union, go out on the same strike, and have everywhere the same difficulties to meet, the same problems to solve and the same interests to serve, go to the ballot box and vote directly against each other.

Is not this rather foolish? Worst of all, which ever of the two old parties is elected, the laborers lose and the capitalists win.

Every day in the year, save election day, the laborers are fighting the employers. They organize unions and strike, and scheme, and plan, and boycott, and try in every way to increase their wages and thus get more of what they produce.

The capitalist has an overwhelming advantage in all these struggles because he owns the mines, factories, machines and other things with which wealth is created and distributed.

The laborers cannot live without using these things. Hence workingmen and women, and even children, must, day by day, sell themselves for wages to the class of owners.

Both the Democratic and the Republican parties use all the powers of government to defend private property and assist its owners in their struggle against the producers of wealth.

A true labor party seeks to control the powers of government only that they may use them in the interest of the laborers instead of the capitalists.

Such a party will use the police, the army, the courts and the law-making power to enact and enforce such measures as will assist strikers asking for more wages, women and children in need of better factory legislation, or any other body of workers seeking to help themselves.

The only party formed for this purpose and pledged to this position is the Socialist Party.

Socialist police will never be used to protect scabs.

Socialist judges will not enjoin strikers. As soon as there is a Socialist majority in all the departments of any government, the mills, mines, machines and all other means for the production and distribution of wealth will be made the collective property of the laborers. The laborers are the ones who made all these things, and they alone can use them today to create new wealth.

There will be no separate class of capitalists, hence the whole product will go to the laborers who produce it.

There are about thirty million people, scattered over the whole world, forming the largest political party ever known, who have seen these facts and are working for the success of the Socialist Party.

If you think about these things a little while you too will see how true and important they are and will go to work for the same party.

Think it over.

The Miners of Coal

One of the greatest coal strikes in the world's history is now on in Pennsylvania. Hundreds of thousands of laborers are idle in consequence of it.

One of the chief demands of the strikers is for a raise of ten per cent in wages—that is, they demand that the yearly earnings of each miner shall average \$205 instead of as now \$187.

Yes, from the State reports published by Pennsylvania last year we learn that the average yearly earnings of the miners of that State (for last year) was \$248. Out of this they pay for rent \$36, powder \$14, oil \$5 and for the company doctor \$6, leaving \$187 on which to support such family as may be dependent upon it.

They ask a beggarly advance of ten per cent on this beggarly \$187 and are answered by a flat refusal on the part of the company to comply with such extortion. For verification of these figures see Literary Digest of May 24, 1902.

While we are asking how it is possible for the families of the hundreds of thousands of men to live upon such an average wage and keep body and soul together, we find in the history of this strike a reason for wonderment far surpassing any other.

Almost half of these men voted against the strike, indicating that they do not find such a condition wholly unbearable. Or is it that they fear starvation or loss of even such position as they now hold?

Is it possible that such a vast body of America's laborers are so thoroughly cowed that they fear to ask, even under such circumstances, such a moiety at the hands of their masters?

Is plutocracy so thoroughly crowned that an army of men tremble and starve on \$187 per year and vote against asking for a raise of \$18.70? Shades of our Revolutionary fathers! what are we coming to?

This army is as ignorant of its strength as is a horse that submits to being punished by a child. And they are equally ignorant of the means of using that strength—at the ballot box. In this land they do not need guns and would use them to bad and fruitless purpose if they had them. They have the ballot and instead of using it to gain their liberty they annually march to the polls and land in authority every nominee of their masters. They are ignorant or we would despise them and say they are getting better than they deserve.

They are ignorant and wilfully so to such an extent that they refuse even to listen to counsel for better things.

Necessity will finally drive them to something, but what? Who knows?

Again, it appears that Morgan is the power behind the coal as well as the steel throne. In other words, railway, steel, coal, oil and all are linked in one and Morgan is the supreme head.

Voter, if you ever feel like abusing or kicking anybody when you view such things, get out in some back lot where you have plenty of room and begin on yourself. If you can't do the job justice, call upon some Socialist who is trying to liberate these wage-slaves and he will assist in good round numbers.—Undercurrent.

San Francisco, Attention!

Every comrade who can possibly do so should attend the next meeting of the party Wednesday evening, July 2d, at Room 8, Odd Fellows Building, at 8 p. m. Business of the utmost importance to the local will be transacted. There will be election of officers for the ensuing term. Organizer, Rec. Sec'y, Financial Sec'y, Treasurer, Librarian, Literature Agent, Financial Committee, Board of Directors of Advance, and Propaganda Committee.

Besides this, important propositions in regard to campaign work and propaganda will be discussed.

No comrade should stay away from this meeting if he can possibly attend.

Jas A. Smith,
Organizer, Local S. F.

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RIPANS

I did not know what it was to eat a good breakfast in the morning. By noon I would become so sick, and have great pain and discomfort.

I got so that I would do without eating as long as I could, so as to avoid the misery. At night I could not sleep. The doctors said I had nervous indigestion.

I heard much about Ripans Tablets and at last I thought I would try them. I had taken only one box when I obtained relief.

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National Committee

St. Louis, Mo., June 7, 1902.

John C. Chase addressed Socialist and Trade Unions at De Sota, Carthage and Springfield, Mo., last week.

State charter was issued to Utah on the 5th.

The Socialist party of Missouri is holding a State nomination convention at Springfield on the 7th.

A resolution of thanks and many complimentary letters are being received at National headquarters as a result of the strike bulletins which are being issued by the Socialist Party.

Advices from San Juan, Porto Rico, state that the Socialists and trade unions are being bitterly persecuted by the authorities and mobs instigated by them.

The treasurer of the Socialist party was attacked and brutally beaten on the public streets, and many other party members have been thrown into jail and unmercifully beaten.

Comrades of Skohegan, Maine, expect to elect a Socialist candidate to the State Legislature, owing to a split in the Republican party. James F. Carey will stump the State shortly.

Donations to the Propaganda fund are as follows:

Table with 2 columns: Name, Amount. Includes: Amount reported to May 24th, \$376.18; Brooklyn, N. Y., 3.00; W. C. Wagner St. Louis, Mo., 1.00; Local of Wilkesbarre, Pa., 3.00; Total, \$333.18

California State Committee

Meeting held June 16th. Present Comrades Appel, Messer, Ober, Johnson, Reynolds, Hefferin and Bersford, Comrade Ober in the chair. Minutes approved.

Communications were read from Geo. S. Holmes, Chas. Hendrickson, Chas. C. Janney, Herold Hengst, A. Smith, Hy. Heissenbittel, G. F. Alexander, Z. C. Ferris, S. Wallace Niman, E. B. Helphingstine, Chas. McDjarmid, Leon Greenbaum and Thos. Hetchings.

Remittances received—From Locals: San Francisco \$10, Three Rivers .04, San Diego \$1.50, Fresno \$2.50. Total, \$14.04.

Campaign contribution—Hy. Heissenbittel, Orland, \$2; Organization Fund, per E. Helphingstine, \$15. Total receipts for week, \$31.04.

Bills ordered paid—S. F. College, for mimeograph, .75; Geo. S. Holmes, salary two weeks, \$6; E. B. Helphingstine, 1000-mile ticket, \$25; E. B. Helphingstine, on account salary in advance, \$5; postage, supplies, money orders, \$2.62. Total disbursements, \$39.35. Cash balance on hand, \$82.36.

Committee on leaflets reported that the lowest bid was \$74 for 100,000 leaflets, and had placed the order. Action approved.

Committee on mimeograph reported could not get a suitable one for \$10. Committee authorized to pay more.

Adjourned till June 30th.

Thos. Bersford, Secretary.

June 15, 1902.

Report to date on Organization Fund:

Table with 2 columns: Receipts, Amount. Includes: May 26, brought forward, \$3.90; May 26, received from S. E. C., 12.00; May 29, from Local, San Diego, 5.00; June 10, from L. A. Lambert, Paso Robles, 5.00; June 11, from Local, San Diego, 10.00; June 11, from S. E. C., on R. R. ticket, 10.00; June 11, from S. E. C., in advance, 5.00; Total, \$50.90

Expenditures.

Table with 2 columns: Expenditures, Amount. Includes: May 26, by salary, 4-21 to 5-21, \$12.00; May 31, postage, 1.10; June 11, paid to S. E. C., 15.00; June 12, for 1000-mile ticket, 25.00; June 14, by salary, 5-21 to 6-21, 6.00; Total, \$59.10

Respectfully submitted, E. B. Helphingstine.

Address until June 21st, Santa Maria, Cal.; after June 21st, 145 N. Main street, Los Angeles, Cal.

Vouchers will hereafter be inclosed and reports made regularly to Locals and S. E. C.

State Referendums

Owing to pressure of space we are unable to give a tabulated statement of the votes, but the results are as follows:

For National Committee—Richardson, 160; Holmes, 81; King, 18; Liss, 7. This elects N. A. Richardson of San Bernardino as National Committeeman for California.

On Los Angeles Resolution—Arranging bases of representation—173 for, 7 against.

On International Secretary—First choice: Mills, 145; Herron, 65; Untermann, 35; Simons, 32; Hilquit, 18; Morgan, 3; Hoehn, 2. Second choice: Herron, 68; Untermann, 66; Simons, 52; Mills, 39; Hilquit, 17; Hoehn, 4; Morgan, 3; Bandler, 1.

Why Socialists Should be Vegetarians

Why Socialists Should be Vegetarians.

1. Because it is inconsistent for us to cry out against exploitation while participating in the most cruel and cowardly exploitation of defenceless dumb brutes.

Nature has provided us with such an abundance of nourishing and strengthening fruits, nuts, cereals and vegetables that there is no need of obtaining our food second-hand, condemning a vast army of our fellow-men to a brutalizing occupation and turning our stomachs into cemeteries.

2. Because our fight against capitalism is mainly an intellectual one. A flesh diet clogs the brain and with its unavoidable use of condiments is greatly responsible for the prevalence of alcoholism and its stupefying and crime-begetting results.

3. Because a vegetarian diet fortifies the system against disease and will better enable us to endure the nervous strain caused by our single-handed struggle against mountains of ignorance and villainy.

S. Seiler.

The Advance Guard

Has been doing good work during the week that has just passed. New recruits are coming to the ranks every day.

They have a new song and they sing it well. It is "Advance." I say it is the Advance. We have recruiting stations in every village in the land. We will call the roll each week.

Comrade Lyons could not wait a day to see if his Advance was delayed, but contributed the price of an extra because his paper failed him last week.

Comrade Swanson is bound to resign from the board of directors of Advance. He is the largest man in the Local and is willing some one else should have the other honor.

Comrade G. R. Williams is in with a renewal this week. Comrade, send us in a club by this time next week.

Comrade Wilhite of Vallejo comes to the office again, this time for ten sub. cards. That is right, Comrade; the work will tell this fall when we gather them in.

Comrade Fred Hansen of Bouldin Island comes in for four yearlies; that is good. Let the good work go on; the harvest will be good. Now is the time to sow the seed, and sow it well.

Comrade J. Wagner of San Jose comes in for 8 sub. cards. Come again, my good friend, and land a few more of the wavering multitude.

Comrade Mrs. S. C. Farrar of Del Mar comes to the desk with an order that we are pleased to fill.

If your paper has not been coming as regularly as it should, just inform us and we will try and have the matter set right. The changing of quarters has had something to do with the errors that have occurred during the few weeks that have just passed.

Comrade Mollie Bloom has gone to the country for a few weeks. But we will hear from her. By the way, she has taken some sub. cards with her. Watch her work as it will be recorded in the Guard column.

N. H. Glotfelner of York, Pa., sends us a club of ten until after election. They will not be able to get along without Advance. Other comrades do likewise when they have read our paper.

Chas. L. Fox, the National Committeeman of our party, sends us in his name and the same is added to the list. That Fox is a sly one; he knows a good paper.

Comrade E. T. Page comes in for four sub. cards. Let the good news go to the people.

Comrade Lyons of San Francisco came in with four center shots. Well done, come again.

A Notice to Labor

The brewery workmen have issued this notice: The daily press of the country published last week a certain decision of President Gompers in the controversy, "United Brewery Workmen, Engineers and Firemen." On account of these "decrees" more fights with capital will develop, and the one to be held responsible for these onslaughts on labor by capital will be Gompers.

Shortly before going to press with this edition we notice a new "decree" of Gompers, where he, in consideration of the difficulties in the Anthracite coal regions, retracts and contradicts his former decisions, and states that he never denied the mine workers or the breweryworkers the jurisdiction over engineers and firemen working in those industries. While all progressive elements in the labor movement are at a loss to understand Gompers' attitude and motives, the National Union of United Brewery Workers has already taken an appeal against the last unwarranted decision to the next convention of the A. F. of L., on the very good grounds, as we have material on hand to prove, that one of the grossest violation of principles and rights of organized labor has been perpetrated. Labor papers friendly to us will please copy.—Brauer-Zeitung.

Who Are the Socialists

The Socialists are the working people. Not all the working people, but those who understand that the workers must vote for a party of their own and make the laws in their own interest before they can get what they earn.

In Belgium, nearly all the city laborers are Socialists, and the farm laborers are joining us at a rate that will make Belgium a Socialist country in a few years more. In Germany, the Socialists cast 2,700,000 votes—more than any other party. In France and Italy the Socialists hold the balance of power in parliament and are steadily gaining ground.

In America, Socialism is a new thing, but it is growing at a startling rate, because the time is ripe for it.

Political parties stand for the interests of those who manage them; not always for the interests of those who vote for them, for sometimes the voters are fooled.

The Republican party stands for the interests of the big capitalists. They control the government and make the laws to suit themselves. They are the owners of the most wonderfully effective machinery the world ever saw. They employ laborers who operate this machinery, paying them only enough to keep them and their families alive, and they are heaping up wealth at a rate never before known. If you are a stockholder in a trust, you naturally belong in the Republican party.

The Democratic party stands for the interests of the little capitalists. There was a time when they, too, could live comfortably out of the earnings of the laborers, but that time has gone by. The big capitalists are getting their money away and they are being forced into the ranks of the laborers. They would like to make laws to stop all this and put things back where they were thirty years ago. But they don't know how even if they could get the votes.

The Socialist Party stands for the interests of the laborers, those who do useful work with hand or with brain. If you are in that class you will be with us when you have studied the subject so as to understand your own interests.

Indeed, no other class is worth considering. There was a time when the capitalist did a useful service in organizing industry. That time is past; he has turned over to hired laborers every duty except that of drawing dividends, interests and rent. When the Socialist Party comes into power it will relieve him of that duty, and let him be a laborer like the rest of us, but he will be well off, for all the people will be well off. If everyone worked four hours a day at useful work with the help of the best machinery, we should produce enough so that all could have as good food, clothing and shelter as those with large incomes have now.

What we Socialists propose to do it to make the land, the machinery and the railroads common property, to be operated in the interest of all the people. Every laborer would then be sure of a good living in return for a few hours of work each day, the sick, the helpless and the aged would receive support, not as charity but as a right, and the idle rich, as well as the tramps, could take their choice between going to work or going hungry.

Charles H. Kerr.

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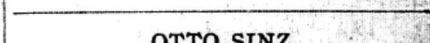
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