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ADVANCE

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

WHOLE NUMBER 417

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 2, 1902.

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The Union Man

MRS. ANDREW SORENSON'S RESPONSE TO THE TOAST.

The union man holds the destiny of the human race in his hand. The record of his struggle in the past is a record of wonderful achievement. He has brought the working class up from the plane of the "Man with the Hoe" to the possession of the splendid opportunities that are his to-day—to make of those opportunities what he will. He has brought us from our cringing dependency upon the feudal lord of the past to the position which organized labor occupies to-day, where men may stand up like men and make terms with the masters of bread as to the conditions under which they shall earn that bread. In recounting his triumphs, we must not forget how loyally the woman has marched beside him—how she has held up his tired hands when his courage seemed faltering—how she has cheered him when his heart was breaking; for, let me tell you it takes a mighty lot of heroism, a mighty lot of courage, for a woman to tell her husband to go on strike when she looks around on a houseful of little children, knowing that they will be crying for bread before the strike is over. Is not this a wonderful advance from the time of the man with the hoe—it is a splendid record, but it is not enough. The union man must not rest here content with these crumbs of justice; he must never cease his struggle so long as there remains a vestige of these unjust economic conditions which demand that the workers shall make all the wealth of the world, and then turn it over to the idle class. For what, may I ask, is the union man fighting? Is it to obtain better conditions for himself under a brutal competitive system, which up to the present time he has voted to perpetuate—or is it to abolish his wage slavery altogether. If it is to abolish his slavery, and we think it is, then he must never be satisfied with anything less than the full product of his labor. He has made a great fight; he has won much, and he has suffered much. His march toward industrial freedom has been through a sea of tears and blood and over the broken hearts and dead bodies of many a loyal comrade. Hazelton, Homestead, Couer d'Alene, these are but bloody milestones in his painful progress toward freedom. But all that, brothers, we hope is in the past; has he not suffered enough? Would you continue to have him go out with broken sword to do battle against the mighty power of corporate wealth combined to crush him, leaving in the wake of every strike and lockout more dead comrades, more suffering women and little children, when there is a but in the light of the new century the union man has awakened to the knowledge that his ballot and his union card are twin brothers and must go together to be effectual. He has awakened to the knowledge that the ballot which he holds in his hand is a weapon so powerful, so peaceable, so progressive, that if he but use it to the best interest of himself and fellow-workers, as he has used the strike and boycott, he can win for himself and brother workers, for all time to come the full fruition of his highest hope.

A Sociological Pedigree

By A. H. Floaten.

I want you to listen to me while I relate this tale. Those who have read the story of Mephistopheles and Marguerite will discover that Goethe took his story from something that transpired many centuries before. Those who have read the history of Rome will ascertain that Rome was built after the model of the city I will tell you about. The Capitoline hill and the Palatine hill of Rome were named after the hills of this ancient city. Even the capturing, by the Romans, of the Sabine women while at the circus, was carried out in imitation of what I will relate.

Many centuries ago there existed in Asia a large tribe of people, the descendants of a strong chief called Labor. Three beautiful maidens, who were members of this tribe, named Necessity, Opportunity and Circumstance, were out walking one day in the woods. Three devils were also out for the purpose of mingling with the daughters of men. One of them spied the maidens and said: "See how beautiful to behold are these girls; let us possess ourselves of them." The other two agreed and one of them dressed himself in the

uniform of a soldier, the other two in business suits, and approached the girls. The soldier introduced himself to Miss Necessity, saying, "I am Mr. Force and my children shall inherit the earth. He then introduced one of the other devils to Miss Opportunity, saying, "This is Mr. Cunning and his children shall control what people wear." He also introduced the third devil to Miss Circumstance as Mr. Greed, whose family would control the houses in which people live. The girls did not know what happened, as they were hypnotized and carried to a strange part of the country. They did not become conscious for several months. Shortly after they had regained their senses three sons were born.

Remembering what the men had told them the boys were named Rent, Interest and Profit respectively. The mothers did not mistrust the real character of their children, but as they had been under a hypnotic spell almost up to the time of the birth of the boys, the latter inherited their characters altogether from their fathers. The first peculiarity they showed was that they would not be weaned, but nursed until they were very large, and their mothers died from exhaustion. The boys grew to be strong men and built a city on three hills. Force occupied Capital Hill, Cunning occupied Palace Hill and Greed built on Snob Hill. They surrounded the city by a wall and put soldiers to guard it, while under the leadership of Force they recruited an army; they went forth to conquer and make slaves of the whole tribe to whom their mothers belonged. They levied heavy tribute on all that the descendants of Labor produced. They constructed covered passage-ways upon arches of masonry from the different parts of the country leading to the city which they had built and named Capitalism, which, interpreted, means head of all power. In these passage-ways were endless aprons which continually brought to the city the tribute from the country which had been subjected. This was where the Romans got the idea of building aqueducts. After they had established their authority over all, Rent married a strange woman whose name was Idleness; Profit married Miss Luxury and Interest married Miss Lust. To one of these unions two sons were born called Crimes and Business. To the others a daughter each, who were named Miss Demeanor and Miss Trust. The parents, who now considered themselves nobles and aristocrats, arranged to have the boys marry their cousins, so Crimes married Miss Demeanor and Business married Miss Trust. The descendants of these two couples have so many traits in common that it is impossible to tell one line from the other, and the descendants themselves cannot tell, though some of them claim not to be related to the others. The genealogy, however, shows that they were all descended from devils, who outraged the innocent descendants of Labor, and produced War, Slavery, Wages, Master, Landlord, Aristocracy, Snobbery, Vulgarly, Mortgages, Bonds, Foreclosures, Expansion, Cruelty, Robbery, Murder, Suicide, Tramps, Drunkards, Hungar, Poverty, Prostitution and Insanity, with many kindreds.

This infamous line of beings built the following, of which some are in the city and some in the territory which they conquered: Forts, Prisons, Chambers of Commerce, Banks, Palaces, Huts, Mansions, Hovels, Castles, Poorhouses, Tenement Houses, Brothels and Soup Kitchens.

The builders of the City of Capitalism and ancestors of all these provided that their descendants should all live on the tributes from the descendants of Labor forever, as they had provided for in their wills, which are known as vested rights. Vested rights has lately been interpreted to mean: "You must keep still while I rob you, because my dead father said I could, and it is sacrilege to dispute the dead."

We are aware that Capitalism is a strongly fortified place, but so was Jerico, and haven't you read how the Israelites went around and around the walls blowing their horns, until the walls fell? We must blow our horns from the notes prepared by one of their descendants, and load our guns with the powder of logic, tamp it down with Socialist literature and put a ballot in front of it, so whenever we get a fellow to fire it off it will be like a twenty-pounder hurled against the walls of Capitalism. In a few rounds the walls will crumble, because they were constructed out of the old material of special privileges, before the guns of equal oppor-

tunity and the ballot balls were thought of. Upon the ruins of Capitalism we will build the Co-operative Commonwealth, by using all the material that is good and discard the old architecture. The walls will be removed and all will have their full share for service rendered, without any of the old plan tribute system.

Mills' Dates Changed

Walter Thomas Mills has been obliged to cancel all of his Northwestern dates and return to Kansas in order to catch up with the correspondence department of his work, and get things ready for the fall term of his school.

He will speak at Denver, Colorado, on Labor Day, September 1st, and hopes to be able to remain in the campaign in the Central-Western States until after election.

He has had great meetings everywhere. The San Francisco Training School and the Metropolitan Temple meetings there, together with his campaign speeches throughout the coast, and the week's Institute at Los Angeles, have made a lasting mark on the propaganda work of the coast states.

The correspondence work has, however, entirely outgrown the present provisions for doing the work and will have his entire attention during the month of August, in preparing new lessons and revising old ones, and in putting things in shape for his fall and winter work.

All correspondence to him should be for the present addressed, General Delivery, Kansas City, Missouri.

Progress in Pennsylvania

Philadelphia, July 26.—The Pennsylvania State Committee, at its regular meeting to-night granted charters to new locals of the Socialist Party at Latimer, Harwood Mines, Pleasant Freeland, Mayfield and Hazelton, a total membership of 173.

Comrade Maily, after spending five weeks traveling from end to end of the hard-coal field, presented the principles of Socialism in many a hamlet and town, and writing the most authentic accounts of the strike for publication, has left for Massachusetts, carrying with him the good wishes of thousands of miners and invitations to return before election.

Comrade John Collins continues in the strike field, addressing immense audiences twice a day, and even thus not filling the demands made upon him. He has organized five locals within the week, and reports that not a tenth of the literature needed is at hand.

On June 1st Carbon county had two locals, now it has four. Lackawanna county then had one, now it has four. Luzerne county had one, now it has twelve. The Luzerne county committee report that the election of Socialists to the Legislature, or even to Congress, this fall is not impossible.

The record made in these three counties during June can be equalled and extended to Schuylkill and Northumberland counties this month if finances will permit the territory to be covered.

Pennsylvania, for the present, is the battleground of the nation. A dozen Coal Barons and Railroad Kings on the one side, a million of the working class are involved on the other—in an economic contest, but presenting the opportunity for laying the foundation of a political class movement that will encourage and bring hope to the comrades everywhere.

Within the week, Comrade J. W. Slayton, candidate for Governor on the Socialist ticket, will start for the strike district. It is our hope that sufficient funds will be forthcoming to keep him there till election day.

Send all contributions to J. Edelman, Treasurer, 807 W. Cambria street, Philadelphia.

J. Mahlon Barnes, Secretary.
Caroline Pemberton, Assistant Secretary

Comrades should never forget our advertisers. They do not pay us money for the good of the Socialist movement, but because they have found out that Socialists stick together better than any other class of people—don't lose your reputation for solidarity. Comrades, patronize our advertisers.

Comrade Job Harriman will return to California shortly. His health is impaired by the rigorous Eastern climate.

Los Angeles Labor for Socialism

Political Conference of Labor Unions.

The political conference of labor unions held last Saturday night to agree upon a program for the coming campaign was marked by the spirit of an awakened interest. Labor is alive to the necessity for united effort, if anything is to be done toward the purification of public office and the securing of measures for the benefit of the working people, and Saturday night's meeting was significant of what may be looked for in the fall in the direction of reform, beginning with the choice of candidates for political honors.

Some time before the opening of the conference the political situation as it affects the workingman was eagerly canvassed among the delegates, and it was generally agreed that nothing was to be hoped for from either of the two old capitalistic parties. More clearly was this brought out in the debate that followed in conference, and in the temper of the majority of the delegates who took the ground that all candidates seeking the suffrages of trades unionists must be members of trades unions, and therefore stand on the clear-cut platform of the A. F. of L.; the others believing it impossible to secure from the old political parties such candidates as would subscribe to the platform of the American Federation of Labor. No decisive action was taken, however, though it was after midnight when the conference adjourned to meet again.

As evidence of interest the seating capacity of the hall was entirely inadequate to accommodate the number of delegates present.

Francis H. Drake of the Typographical Union, who opened the conference was made permanent chairman; delegate L. E. Martin, Carpenter's Union, 426, was elected Vice-President; L. D. Biddle, Machinists', 311, Secretary; and delegate W. H. Smylie, Amalgamated Carpenters, Sergeant-at-Arms.

Committee on Platform, J. A. Gray, Carpenters' 426; John Murray, Federal Union; George Hewes, Carriage Workers'; F. M. Shepherd, Painters' Union, and Z. W. Craig, Federal Union, San Pedro.

The majority of the committee on platform presented the following report, on platform of the American Federation of Labor, endorsing compulsory education; the legal eight-hour work day; the sanitary inspection of workshop, mine and home; the liability of employers for injury to health, body or life; the abolition of the contract system in all public work; the abolition of the sweating system; the municipal ownership of street cars, water, gas and electric plants for public distribution of light, heat and power; the nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, railroads and mines; the principle of the referendum in all legislation; the abolition of convict contract labor in competition with honest industry; the abolition of the monopoly system of land holding and the substitution thereof of a title of occupancy and use only.

The majority further recommended: "We will endorse men from any or all the several parties who, upon investigation, we find to be friends to the laborer and who will enact and enforce such laws as will be to the benefit of the masses.

"To form organizations in each and every district, ward and precinct in the city of Los Angeles.

"To establish club rooms and headquarters where literature on all the issues of the day may be studied by the workingman.

"To invite speakers from all political parties that we may hear all sides of any issue that may be before the public."

John Murray presented a minority report as follows:

"Whereas the constitution of the American Federation of Labor declares that a struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit, and

Whereas, the American Federation of Labor asserts that capital is the product of past labor of all toilers of the human race, and that wages can never be regarded as the full equivalent for labor performed, and that it is the mission of the

trades unions in the present and future to protect the wage-earners against oppression, and to fully secure the toilers' disenfranchisement from every species of injustice, and

"Whereas, Organized labor of Los Angeles has been denied just recognition by the Council and other city officers who prefer to serve the interests of the employers rather than the employed, and

Whereas, we cannot expect laws favorable to organized labor to emanate from legislators who are of the class that upholds the present wage system; therefore, be it

"Resolved, By this conference that only such political parties as pledge themselves to the above principles and nominate all their candidates from the ranks of trades unionism should receive the votes of the working class; and furthermore, be it

"Resolved, That no trade unionist can conscientiously receive nomination or support from any political party which does not subscribe to the above resolutions."

Both platforms were ably supported by the delegates who presented them, but the sense of the conference was indicated on the substitution of the minority for the majority report by a vote of 60 to 20.

Some discussion followed, but no further action was taken, and at 12:15 a. m. the conference adjourned.

The Lobby and the Legislature

We have had our labor legislative committees, who are instructed to look after certain bills before Congress and to have other bills introduced from time to time that are of vital import to the majority of the citizens of the United States—the working men and women—but the results are sadly disproportioned with the efforts that are put forth each year. In many sessions the product is represented by

000000. Now why not change our efforts to electing our own people as Congressmen? That is the only sure plan to make our efforts count. The laws that are passed under our present method are usually negative ones, and when put to the test of usage are at once declared unconstitutional, or have no clause that will render the laws effective. Generally the only thing that is recognizable is the "enacting clause." It is the height of folly to reiterate "that we must not go into politics." Until this step is taken, and then it must be intelligently, there never will be any solid results. It appears to me that we have all the machinery at our command, and yet we are either too stupid to realize this fact, or too easily led by those who should know better than to adopt this illusionary and suicidal policy that has been forced upon us during the past five years. I fully comprehend that this suggestion will not be received with favor by the majority of the "labor leaders," but the rank and file see the necessity for it, and they are the people. Let us put ten trade unionists into the next Congress, and then the result will guide us whether we shall "go into politics" or not.—W. S. Waudby in *Typographical Journal*.

The Decrease in Wages

The census figures for manufacturing have been completed for thirty-three states and territories. They show that the average wages for all laborers in the manufacturing industries were 8 per cent lower in 1900 than in 1890. In these thirty-three states and territories 1,004,590 workers received an average of \$418.48 each year, or \$1.39 a day in 1890. In the same states and territories in 1900, 1,463,365 workers received an average of \$387.63 each year, or \$1.29 a day. On the other hand the compilation of prices in *Dunn's Review* for last January showed that the cost of living now is nearly 7 per cent higher than in 1900, and more than 11 per cent higher than in 1890. The compilation includes food of all kinds, clothing, metals, etc. The average factory worker, therefore, is receiving 8 per cent less wages than in 1890, and is spending from 4 to 11 per cent more in cost of living.

The Bicycle Exchange, 442 Stanyan street, A. Messerschmidt, proprietor, is strictly a union house, and all rumors to the contrary lately circulated are false.

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The Reappearance of De Leonism

It is always a disagreeable task to take part in a quarrel. It has been the policy of *Advance* to stay out of quarrels and devote itself as much as possible to the fight for Socialism. This has been the endeavor of Local San Francisco. But there are times when the fight for Socialism must be made within the party. When such times come, it is the duty of the party papers to let the comrades know the facts, that they may act correctly. While the case of the suspension of Bersford was pending, *Advance* published nothing either *pro* or *con*, for it did not believe that the endeavor of the Local to discipline a member for disorderly conduct was of any great propaganda value. But the developments of the last two weeks in Local San Francisco are of such a general tactical importance that they demand some elucidation. Briefly stated, the question has been put to the Local, whether it will or will not endorse De Leonism? Whether the Socialist party shall become a positive, progressive organization for straight Socialist propaganda or whether it shall degenerate, locally, at least, into a narrow fanatical sect, devoted to heresy trials, internal convulsions and periodic reorganization? In the minutes of the City Central Committee, published in this issue, it will be noticed that two sets of charges are brought against good active party members. The first set is against E. Backus and J. A. Smith of Mills' school, and for some time Secretary and Organizer respectively of Local San Francisco. Comrade Smith was also business manager of *Advance* and succeeded in materially benefiting the paper in that capacity. Mrs. V. D. Reynolds, President of the Wm. Morris Club and Vice-President of the Label League; J. H. Fairbrook, Organizer and Secretary of the Local, and W. E. Walker, Business Manager of the *Advance*, are also arraigned on the absolutely false charge of being members of the Industrial Federation. Also a heresy trial is to be held on the case of Comrade G. B. Benham, of the Executive Committee of the San Francisco Labor Council, delegate to the Rochester Convention in 1900, member of the Socialist Labor party unity committee of nine, and member of the State Executive Committee of the California Socialist Democratic party. With Comrade Benham are to be tried Comrades Scott Anderson, State Committeeman and Organizer under the Social Democratic party, and C. H. King, Sr., without whose timely services the Socialist party petition for a State primary in August would have been rejected.

The ordinary unsophisticated person would expect that such charges, brought against comrades of long standing, who have filled important positions of trust and responsibility, would be presented by persons of some recognized position in the movement. But what are the facts? Who are the cardinals of this new inquisition? E. Elliston, J. Theophilus Vaughn, H. Wollmer and Geo. Holmes. Who are they? Elliston, Vaughn and Wollmer are ex-members of that organization of the quintessence of DeLeonism, The Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, whose scabby, rotten reputation is a stench in the nostrils of true trades unionists and real Socialists. These men only became members of the Socialist party when, after the suspension of Thos. Bersford for disorder, a most strenuous effort was made of get in new members to reconsider the suspension and reinstate the member. Once inside the Socialist party, these people lend their small cunning to an attempt to wreck Local San Francisco and remould it on the lines of the strictest sect of the DeLeonites, making it the Kilkenny cat combination that they were accustomed to before they were kicked out of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance. With this trinity stands Holmes, who has a somewhat similar record. Holmes joined the Socialist party about December, 1900, when he saw that the Social Labor party had no chance of success, but he has never ceased attempting to turn the Socialist party back from its progressive trade-union and generally tolerant policy into the old rut of intolerance and separation, if not hostility, to the economic labor movement. His voice and vote in the Los Angeles convention this year are ample evidence of that.

We fear we have gone rather at length

into the personality of the case. But it is helpful in understanding the motives and reasons of the action taken. Let us now briefly examine the charges, and then proceed to the lesson which the incident should teach.

The charge that Backus et al. are members of a capitalistic political party known as the Industrial Federation is either an ignorant or a deliberate and malicious lie. What is true is that they attended a convention, the call of which invited "reformers, radicals and Socialists" for the purpose of taking political action. In this convention they spoke and worked and voted in favor of a resolution or platform pledging the convention to join and work for the Socialist party. Doubtless in the eyes of Elliston and Vaughn the agitation and endeavor to add strength to the Socialist party was criminal. If they had sought to expel a few people, Elliston and Vaughn and the rest of the De Leonite gang would have danced in glee. When the convention was reorganized to exclude the Socialists, our comrades definitely stated that they were invited to take part as Socialists, but so firm were their convictions that Socialism is the only scientific position that they would not give up the Socialist party, and if the convention did not join the Socialist party, there was only one thing they could do, to leave the convention—which they did. This action is equivalent to the action of Local San Francisco last year in sending a committee to the Labor Union Convention to endeavor to get that convention to endorse the Socialist party; when also it permitted its members to attend that convention as delegates from their unions, but insisted on their withdrawal when the Union Labor party was formed as a political party independent of the Socialist party. It is equivalent to the action of our Los Angeles comrades, John Murray, editor of the *Los Angeles Socialist*, Lemuel D. Biddle, Fred C. Wheeler and others who have participated in a convention of labor unions, which might have taken any action and may yet proceed to form another party rather than join the Socialist ranks. Probably they will endorse the Socialist party, as Comrades Wilson and Mills and the local workers in the unions have been doing grand work. But the possibility was there of adopting the majority report, which recommended selecting candidates nominated from even the vilest of capitalistic parties. The actions of our comrades were similar to those of Comrade Simons of the *International Review*, Wilshire, Mills and others, who injected our virile propaganda into the Detroit conference. Thus it is seen that the comrades have plenty of approval by example and instance. In their crusade to deLeonize the movement, Messrs. Elliston, Vaughn and Holmes will not be able to stop until they have excommunicated Murray, Simons, Wilshire, Mills and many others. Socialists who are not afraid of their own integrity, go into every organization and to the extent of their ability permeate it with Socialistic thought. They stay in every organization where they can do Socialist propaganda, and go out only when the organization takes active political steps against the Socialist party, and then they leave with as many as they can take with them. That is the policy of aggressive, militant Socialists. It is the policy of the DeLeonites to concoct schemes to expel members, not to get them in, to attack men in public meeting who are talking for Socialism, to keep the movement small so as to fit their mentality, to make the party fanatical that they, the high priests of bigotry and intolerance, may rule.

The charges against Benham, Anderson and King, Sr., for advocating "the indorsement of candidates who stand for public ownership of public utilities, irrespective of party, are idiotic. We have before us the manuscript from which Comrade Benham read and there is absolutely no word which might be so construed. The comrades stand pledged to the Socialist party and its platform. They do believe in public ownership of public utilities. In this they indorse the first of the immediate demands in the National platform. It is Vaughn and Holmes and the others, who wish the immediate demands stricken out entirely, who are not in harmony with the Socialist party, who rather tend to support another party, the Socialist Labor Party. The records of the comrades attacked by these recent acquisitions from the mephitic ranks are ample evidence of their loyalty to the Socialist party.

But it is not a question of Elliston, Vaughn and Holmes vs. Benham, Anderson and King. If it were we would never have penned these lines; they would be unnecessary. There is something back of these men which pushes them forward and incites them to these attacks on valued comrades. It is this which lifts the affair out of insignificance and makes it of live interest to the members of the party throughout the state and nation.

If the Socialist party has a reason for existence it is because the S. L. P. tactics prevent the progress of Socialism. Our movement, says Kautsky, has two phases, the goal and the party organization; whenever the latter sands in the way of

the former it must be smashed. This was the justification for the disruption of the S. L. P. There were three leading features of the DeLeonite tactics which rendered S. L. P. activity barren of fruit. First, it antagonized trades unions. Second, it was dogmatic and fanatical. Third it was filled with mistrust and suspicion. All these three symptoms are developing with great rapidity among a certain element in Local San Francisco. And as Local San Francisco is the largest and one of the most influential it is important that this tendency be promptly suppressed, lest the whole State suffer under the blight of DeLeonism and its evil results. The members of the Socialist party might as well understand right now the true significance of the attack in which Elliston and Vaughn are merely the pawns pushed forward by others, who are either too crafty or too cowardly to appear themselves. Those who are acquainted with the membership know of whom the DeLeonite faction is composed. And those who understand and know the party history can judge for themselves from these facts. At the Los Angeles convention in January George Holmes and Thomas Bersford spoke and voted in favor of a resolution as follows:

"Whereas, The Socialist party, being purely political, must not represent an element or faction, but the whole wage-working class; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Socialist party is distinct from and entirely independent of the trade union movement."

Luckily for the Socialist party the convention had sense to amend this so that the latter half of the resolution passed reverses the sentiment of this DeLeonite resolve.

But Mr. Bersford believes that the Socialist party is entirely independent and indifferent to trades unionism, as is evidenced by his allowing the due cards of the party to be printed without the label by sending out without the label a personal letter containing untrue attacks on party members, which he was afterward obliged to retract to get Local San Francisco to consent to his reinstatement, and by allowing the report of the State Committee, in the matter of his appeal from the act of Local San Francisco suspending him to be printed without the union label. These facts and others convict Bersford and the majority of the State Committee who have sanctioned his acts of sympathy with the first distinctive feature of DeLeonism, indifference or hostility to trades unionism.

The second feature of DeLeonism, dogmatism and fanaticism, may also be fairly proved against them by the following. A resolution was introduced in Local San Francisco by Holmes and Bersford, and supported by Appel and Messer, to the effect that none but wage-workers should hold any office in the party or be the party nominee for any public office. This was defeated in the Local, but nevertheless Holmes and Bersford both spoke for it at the January convention. Again, last year, when Comrade Stitt Wilson was recommended to the various locals by the S. D. P. State C., these same people passed resolutions practically denouncing Wilson and his able colleagues. In the January convention they secured the insertion of a clause in constitution against "schools of Socialism," which, though possibly correct enough in itself, was meant simply as an insult to Comrade Walter Thomas Mills. We see this reappear in the letter of Holmes, published in last week's *Advance*. In a vain endeavor to cover up his failure as an organizer he tries to assign his lack of success to "individual speakers draining the party," and his own unwillingness "to talk Christian Socialism," rather than his incapacity. Contrast his letter with Helpingstine's, whose territory has been much more thoroughly canvassed by individual speakers, and who indulges in no "Christian Socialism" at all. But the DeLeonite must have his fling.

If any doubt the narrowness, the bigotry and dogmatism of the majority of the State Committee, let them read the wonderful definitions of Alvin Appel, as printed and distributed by the thousands, at the cost of \$70 or \$80 to the party. Los Angeles, the San Bernardino *Undercurrent* and Local San Francisco have all adjudged these leaflets to be practically worthless for propaganda purposes. But Mr. Bersford, Mr. Appel, Mr. Messer and others doubtless regard it as a literary achievement, and when an unsuspecting candidate seeks admission to our ranks they will catechize him to see if he pronounces bourgeoisie, "boorz-haw-ze" and can recite the definition of non-class-conscious Socialist without skipping an adjective. Applying the principles of logic to the case that would be their attitude. But we have said enough and submitted enough evidence on the point that Messrs. Holmes, Bersford and Appel have adopted or retained the second fault and feature of the S. L. P. dogmatism and fanaticism.

And last but not least is the accursed poison of mistrust, suspicion and hatred which led the members of the S. L. P. to turn on and rend each other. Not even of this demoralizing, disintegrating characteristic are these men free. Attempt after attempt has been made to

cast aspersion on the character of men who do not subscribe to their petty, narrow views. They have warned and warned members against the vile machinations of this comrade or that. General charge after general charge of "dishonesty," "exploiter," etc., have been made, to result only in the stultification of those who made them. For example, when Bersford was suspended he sent out a letter filled with all kinds of misstatements attacking the honor and integrity of good members. These statements he was obliged afterwards to withdraw. Oscar Johnson at that time wrote a letter to the Los Angeles *Socialist*, in which he practically charged corruption and betrayal on the part of men whose whole time is given to the party without reward. And only recently George Holmes was busily engaged spreading a report that Comrade King, Sr., had drawn up the legal form for the primary petition incorrectly, and insinuating that it was done to prevent the party from getting on the ticket. Both the report and the insinuation were absolutely false. The primary petition form was perfectly legal and was accepted without any change being made. What nearly secured the rejection of the State petition was the slovenly, disorderly and mangled condition in which it was presented to the Secretary of State by the Secretary of the Socialist State Committee. So far from the fact being that Comrade King acted treacherously, Bersford found it necessary when the Secretary of State, Mr. Curry, rejected the petition the first time it was presented, to secure Comrade King to straighten out the petition, correct the bungling work of the State Committee's Secretary, and present the petition himself for a second time, when it was accepted without question.

We are aware of the cry of "bourgeois," "middle-class reformers," "Christian Socialism" and a lot more mere demogoguery designed to catch "proletarians." But the members of the Socialist party have become too wise, we believe, to be misled by false alarms and hoodwinked into the bog of DeLeonism. This is the essence of the whole matter. Is the terrible struggle of the past three years to be unlearned? Has the Socialist party had all the pangs and convulsions and bitter experiences of the fight against bigotry and intolerance for nothing? Are the fruits of the victory for Socialism, for comradeship, for the real working class solidarity—are these fruits to be relinquished, and is the Socialist party of California to be given over into the hands of men with all of DeLeon's spirit and none of his ability?

Local San Francisco has not sought this fight against the DeLeonite faction. It was willing for the sake of the State movement to permit Bersford's case to go without appeal. It sought peace. But these men thought peaceful inclinations meant weakness or cowardice. They force a fight. And Local San Francisco takes up the gauntlet they have thrown down. Comrades of California, where do you stand? Do you believe in antagonizing trades unions? Do you believe in dogmatism and fanatical intolerance? Do you believe in sowing the seeds of discord, suspicion and hatred within the ranks? If you believe in these things stand with Holmes, Bersford, Appel, Vaughn and the rest to mould the Socialist party into a new S. L. P., as impotent and self-destructive as the old. If, however, you believe in the policy which makes the Socialist party distinctive from the DeLeon crew, send delegates to the State Convention which meets September 9th who will not consent to the narrowing, distorting and reversing of our national policy. This, comrades, is a fight for Socialism within the party. We stand for growth, for aggressive propaganda, for comradeship with each other and with the organized working class. We are against the others only because their policy means ruin. Socialism or DeLeonism, which do you choose?

California State Committee

Meeting held July 21st. Present, Comrades Messer, Appel, Ober, Reynolds and Bersford; Comrade Ober in the chair. Minutes approved. Communications read: T. J. Walsh (?), A. A. Crockett, T. D. Marshall, L. H. Edmiston, O. H. Warner, Leon Greenbaum, A. C. Blaney, F. Wulf, J. F. Gallman, H. Binns, Philip R. Moirnard, E. B. Helpingstine, J. O. Blakely, G. F. Alexander.

Cash received by Secretary during the week: Locals, San Francisco, \$3.50; Santa Barbara, \$7.50; Fowler, \$1.10; Alameda, \$5.00; Crockett, \$3.50; Ventura, \$3.20; San Francisco (branch), \$3.50; Hynes, 50c; Oakdale, \$1.00. Total from locals, \$25.80. Mrs. J. Boyd, member at large, 50c; H. Warneke, campaign fund, \$1.75. Total receipts, \$28.05. Bills ordered paid: One hundred 2-cent envelopes, \$2.12; postage on supplies, 48c; Secretary's salary for month, \$12.00; stationery, \$2.10; dues to National Committee, \$48.60. Total disbursements, \$67.30.

Mrs. J. Boyd of Sheridan admitted as member at large. Charter granted to new local Crockett.

Local Fresno submitted a new constitution to be voted on by referendum of the locals, requiring State Committee to submit same not later than August 1st, and the vote to be canvassed by the State Committee within twenty-one days thereafter.

The initiative not being seconded by two other other locals it was laid over till properly seconded. The Secretary was instructed to inform Local Fresno of this, and also to remind them that they must furnish the State Committee with copies of the proposed constitution, sufficient to send one to each local, or else give sufficient time to get it set up and printed, and also to remind them that two weeks after the day (August 21st) they give for the vote, there will be a State Convention (September 9th) when the proposed constitution could be thoroughly discussed point by point, instead of the members being forced to accept or reject it as a whole, without time for discussion. Adjourned.

Thos. Bersford, Secretary.

Foreign Notes

Austria.

The Galatian peasants and farm laborers are again in open revolt against the landlords. They are supposed to be 100,000 men strong. Considerable stores have been burned by them near Lemberg and a few aristocratic castles destroyed. Government troops have been sent to the disturbed districts.

Serfdom has been abolished in Galicia some fifty years ago, but at the same time the peasants have been stripped of most of their land that was given as a compensation to their titled landlords. Thus we may see in the country a few aristocratic families holding tens of thousands of acres of land while thousands of peasants live on one acre and even less. In order to live and pay taxes (which amount to over fifty per cent on the income on the land, the landlords being almost exempt from taxes) they have to work for ridiculously small wages, sometimes for five or six cents a day. Life in these conditions has so little value that they revolt sometimes with no hope of success or no definite purpose. Socialism is spreading with an amazing rapidity among them. They have two Socialist representatives in the parliament of Vienna and five or six in the provincial legislature. They could elect more Socialists, but in times of election a great many Socialists are kept away from the polls by the police and the troops. Needless to say that in times of trouble their representatives stay where they belong—among the people in the streets.

France.

The attempt to enforce the law against the powerful religious congregations provoked a series of hostile demonstrations by the allied reactionary forces—the royalists, the anti-Semites, the imperialists, etc. One of these open-air meetings held in Paris was disturbed by some 15,000 Socialists that happened to assemble in the same place and time to pass a resolution in favor of the measure. A general fight resulted, followed by wholesale arrests. Socialism in France is too strong to stay inside, at least when its enemies are trying to take possession of the street.

J. Myeff.

Go to Work

No comrade who wishes to do good propaganda work for Socialism and the Socialist party should let slip the opportunity the *Advance* is now offering. For one dollar we will send *Advance* to ten people till after election. The regular weekly visit of a paper of the acknowledged propaganda value of *Advance* will bring many a voter to support our cause. Not only does *Advance* convert people to Socialism, but, what is fully as important, it urges and accomplishes the organization of Socialists under the banner of the Socialist party. The *Advance* Guard is growing rapidly. Will you, reader, be enrolled? Will you hustle up ten people at ten cents apiece to subscribe for *Advance*? This is as liberal an offer as can be made. We want 5000 new subscribers. If every comrade, who is a member of the party in the Northern California district, will get ten, we shall get our quota. Hustle now, comrades! New subscribers mean more voters, more party members, greater activity and an earlier triumph. Rush them in, ten cents in clubs of ten till after election.

Owing to changes being made in the Odd Fellows' Hall, the last of Wilson's lectures will be given at Union Square Hall, 121 Post street, Sunday, August 3d, at 2 p. m.

Idaho and Montana Socialists have nominated tickets and are beginning to make things hum.

John C. Chase lectured at Howard, Oldham, Aberdeen, Milford and Clark, South Dakota, last week.

Poppies and Wheat

BY MARY FAIRBROTHER.

Life is a comedy. Every once in a while the events of the big world, that is to say, the moves made by kings and czars and those people (of which about a score make the entire earth) are comical enough to make an Egyptian mummy get up and crack his skull trying to laugh. One of the events based in real rich humor is the call of the Czar of Russia for a conference to consider the trust problem. He considered the peace problem. We are all in favor of his notion or any man's notion that will stop butchery and let a man have time to think, but when we have noted how little attention has been paid to the resolutions adopted by the Peace Convention, it is really diverting to contemplate the new amusement the Czar has invented for himself. It must be a great bore to the Czar to have to be compelled to always be thinking about some joke of this kind for a pastime. But the most comical thing about it all is that he has left America out. He evidently considers Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Morgan experts and this is to be a conference of the others who are not expert trust formers, but wish they were.

But the object of noticing it all here, is that in the call for the conference there is some real good Socialist doctrine. The fact that the combination reduces cost of production. The other fact is that by combination the time of the worker is saved, for it takes less time where all co-operate than where all compete. The fact that these combinations should thereby reduce prices, but do not is also a good Socialist proposition. In fact they are all the pure article. Socialists believe and maintain that co-operation is a saving of time, of material, of energy. Socialists believe and maintain that such a combination ought to help the worker, because he it is who spends time, material and energy in the production. Socialists believe and maintain that there is something radically wrong, there must be, since the demonstration is here and the facts are exactly opposed to the demonstration. The Czar believes in reform. The Socialist knows reform is a fallacy and advocates a revolution.

Down in the placid old State of Illinois they are having trouble in the Republican camp because one of the commanding officers has made a record during the two terms he has occupied a seat in Congress. He tried to befool the union printers into having census reports printed by a non-union outfit, and the friends of those types are now camping on his trail and will wrest his Senatorial boomlet from his grasp and hurl it to the ground. The fight between the two old parties is very amusing to a good Socialist, but we are tolerably sure of one thing. If any Congressman who wishes he was a Senator desires to get ahead of the Typographical Union he will have to sit up all night, in order to be up in time in the morning. The Typographical Union is one of the pioneers. Its national organ, the *Typographical Journal*, is one of the neatest and best edited monthlies in the country, and the rank and file of the organization is composed of men who know union principles thoroughly and who are consistent always. The Honorable Mr. Hopkins, had better go back to his clients and let some man who has not made an anti-union record undertake to get past the Illinois Legislature into the Senate.

The Polish people have endured much. The land has been dyed in blood many times. It has suffered from wars without and wars within. It has been unfortunately situated geographically, and it has endured beyond human patience.

The slayer of McKinley was a Polish young man, his mother a Polish woman. Perhaps his heritage of unreason was on that account. There are two millions of Poles in America and they are miners, laborers and farmers. They are said to be honest, industrious citizens, and while they are not highly educated they have a fine notion of liberty and can grasp the spirit of the American idea as it was promulgated by our fathers, with a finer instinct than that displayed by many people of other nations.

The new move to wrench more of their possessions from them by the Prussian government is only the logical conclusion of the system of imperialism as practiced by that empire for many years. There is no use to waste either tears or sympathy, though it is impossible to withhold the latter. The thing to do is to plan for the overthrow of the system by which rank injustices are permitted. Socialism will remove all such temptations from mankind, and when we no longer have kings, we may comprehend what a citizen should be. Did you ever realize that it is a physical impossibility for a real king and a real citizen to exist at the same time in the same country?

Do the rich need Socialism? Do the young men in our colleges need Socialism in exactly the same degree that our brother

in the mine needs it? These questions come to us. The answer is evident. Socialism is the only idea which has in it help, consolation and inspiration for every man on earth. Remedies for economic abuses in the past have always been aimed at one class or at one set of people. Socialism is for all the earth and can only be tried by the majority of all the people being in favor of it and willing to be, as Robinson Crusoe would say.

The particular event which has brought this question to mind of late is the newspaper reports of the class in one of our leading colleges. One of the schools for the rich, and of the rich but by the poor. That is to say, the rich do the schooling and the poor do the work by which the money is found.

I am almost sure to get off the subject. But in this class were thirty-two young men. Out of that number twenty-three were found guilty of cribbing so extensively and so conspicuously that even the bank accounts of their fathers could not buy them a "capacity" to graduate.

Religious papers, school journals and the common submerged press have all published opinions as to the reasons why these young men were guilty of such error.

To a Socialist it is as plain as day. The rich young men are tired in the first place. They go to college to graduate, not to improve themselves. It is the prestige and the degree they want, not the education. They have no use for knowledge. They have power without it, and they have flattery and they have the world at their feet without any exertion; why should they care?

The big iron dollar is theirs and they tell all those who haven't any dollars to go off and die; they don't count. The criterion of character in America is the bank account. The magic brush which paints all things rosy is the money. Will any man's door be shut on these young men? Will any woman refuse to set her shameful net to ensnare them into matrimony with her young daughter, because they have sold their honor? Will anything under the blue wheel over our heads be eliminated from their lives because they have been dastards and cowards? We all know that under the capitalist notion of honor no attention whatever will be paid the miserable business.

The young men are not to blame. They see the world. They are acquainted with their fathers and mothers. They know the chief power in their homes. They know the cringing and worshipping spirit exhibited there. They know that if a man were a veritable god and without wealth he would be spurned as a cur, so far as being a prospective husband for his sister is concerned.

The best quality about youth is its logic and its honor. The young man in the modern home knows neither. All he knows or has ever been introduced to is dishonor and subserviency in greater or less degree. He goes to college and he profits by his training. He has not the remotest idea why he goes there. He is taught that it is because other young men in his station go, and go he must. The character-forming process which it was originally intended should be carried out in colleges has not been heard of, for twenty years, not since he was born. He does need a new system. He does need Socialism. He has a right to the fullest life any man could compass and he is defrauded. The slaves of the workshop, the mine and the office, the young man in the college are one in the great game of gold, both are miserable creatures, both need a change, both need a revolution. May it come quickly.

What a splendid arrangement it is that so long as we must have some fools, we have a lot of them. For instance, then, how awful it would be if the fool woman who pares canary birds' talons for a living could not find any other fool woman to employ her. How her education would be wasted, for it is said to require a good deal of skill to perform the operation, so the bird can survive.

Amoy, China, is said to be the filthiest city on the entire earth. It has been a sort of commercial center for more than a thousand years.

Ever since men have pranced and prowled around the globe, their whiskers have played an important part in their fame. There is Reverend Dowie, who would rather part with all his millions than to lose his snowy beard, which he believes proves his relationship to one Elijah of prophetic fame, though the real record fails to disclose any information as to whether Elijah wore his whiskers like a goat, or whether a pointed beard or Burnside were his favorite style. There used to be a man well known in Washington who had a slender bunch of hair on his chin which reached to the ground, and when he walked against the wind it floated out behind like the decoration of a Raphael saint in the blue sky, as she balances herself on a cloud.

Carl Browne has whiskers. He also has egotism. He also has a wife. If you go to call on him you will also find that his

egotism is so over-powering he will forget to introduce you to his wife. He would be glad to introduce you if he thought of it, but he is so occupied with Carl Browne, his whiskers and his schemes that he forgets her. If some one would catch him and hold him while a barber shaved him he would perhaps be a different man.

Just now Carl Browne is in San Francisco trying to organize the laboring men into a peace league. Some capitalists who be live in whiskers, some reformed Populists, have employed the gentle Carl to hypnotize a few workingmen at so much per-head, so the story goes, and he is satisfied that if he can succeed in getting the first hundred or two that the movement will be of national scope, and, besides shekels, Carl, the romantic, will reap fame. He married the winsome daughter of Col. Coxy and he forgot her as soon as that happened. He lives with her yet, but he does not remember the courtesy a man owes his wife. He has no time for such things, and he is so vain he would forget good manners if he had time. He will have a hard time hypnotizing the workingmen of California. They know too much and are not to be caught by the cheap sophistries of Brown and his gold brick schemes for the millenium.

There are three drawbacks to the scheme. One is that Fate is against it. Carl Browne had his opportunity. He married the goddess, but he let the revolution escape. He had not realized things as they are and he tried to outdo the logic of events by persuasion. A man hardly ever gets a second chance at a big thing, even supposing he has sized up the situation and has ability.

Drawback number two is that he lacks honesty of purpose and the laboring men are not fools. The laboring man is reading a little and thinking a little, and he knows that the capitalists are willing Carl Browne should succeed, in fact are with him, so far as they ever heard of him. The working man is diametrically opposed.

The third drawback is that Socialism is a progressive movement, men who are at the front of it are watchful, and the party press is a bulwark of strength to the unwary, so that all flattery and chicanery are like an open book to them. Carl Browne and his ilk will be as unsubstantial and impotent in the strong light of that publicity as Macbeth's witches were before the Scotch army.

We would advise him to stick to his oil paintings, his whiskers and his former greatness, and let the cause of the working man alone.

What Do Think You Know About Socialism

Let's examine this thing and see what's the matter with it:

Same thing as anarchy?
Wrong; they are exactly opposed.

(Look in your dictionary.)
Scheme to destroy wealth?
Wrong again; it means great increase to all.

Signifies strife, disorder, violence?
Wrong again; it means Peace, Equity and Brotherhood—made into facts.

Think it antagonizes true Christianity?
Wrong again; it is simply Jesus' own teachings applied to every-day affairs—of yourself, your neighbor, and his neighbor,—that is, the nation. It is nothing else.

Think that it is impracticable?
Wrong again; the system or machine that works most smoothly is the most practical; one that smashes things up, and at its best sticks and hitches along, is called impractical and is soon discarded. Under the present competitive system of industry over 95 per cent of all business men fail, people starve to death across the street from bakeries, and babies freeze to death next door to coal yards. Do you call that a practical, common-sense system? Hardly. It will soon be cast away; it has been tried pretty thoroughly, and it don't work well enough to keep. Socialism will be its successor. Casual inquiry into Socialism means your keen interest, regardless of any prejudice; searching study of it means your heart-felt support.

Its arguments sound logical—it is replete with good promises—we admit that something must be done (and soon), or the appalling horrors of ignorant suffering bent upon violent revolution, will rend this land. We say Socialism is worth trying.

Socialism is:
"A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed."—*Webster's Dictionary.*

"A theory of civil polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor through the public collective ownership of labor and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries."—*Standard Dictionary.*

The basis of man's true life is the desire for universal welfare.—*Tolstoi.*

Will a citizen worthy of the name deny this?

"No one will be likely to dispute the af-

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firmation that the social question is and is to be the question of the day."—*Prof. L. C. Seelye.*

The "social question" is your question and my question, as it embodies the industrial problem, and that is by no means a class question; it is our business to help solve it by peaceful political methods, in the light of Christ's incomparable teachings. It can be done.

"If there be a man who does not work, then there is another who is crying of hunger."—*Chinese proverb.*

True here as Everywhere.

"I met a hundred men on the road to Delhi and they were all my brothers."—*Indian proverb.*

The source is "heathen"—is the sentiment?

"No thinking man will contradict that associated industry is the most powerful agent of production, and that the principle of association is susceptible of further and beneficial development."—*John Stuart Mill.*

"The principal of association is brotherliness at work.

Here you have the foregoing concretely given.

"Socialism is the ideal and hope of a new society founded on industrial peace and forethought, aiming at a new and higher life for all men."—*William Morris.*

Here is a frank statement of one not a proponent of Socialism.

"We must admit that the vigorous assertion of socialistic principles has led men to a more liberal and generous view of humanity as a whole. Moreover, it has forcibly called public attention to numerous evils that have sprung up along with the modern development of industry, for which no remedy has been provided; to the vital inter-dependence of all classes; and to the inadequacy of the individual or 'selfish' system to redress the wrongs or cure the evils that inevitably spring from its own unchecked operation."—*Chamber's Encyclopedia.*

Here we see its impersonal, universal, inevitable nature.

"Socialism is not the system of any reformer whatever;.....(it) is of the character of an historical discovery."—*Lafargue.*

Here is a great truth applied to the present day:

"Socialism being the product of social evolution the only danger lies in obstructing it."—*Rev. F. M. Sprague.*

Here is another—think it over:

"The answer of Socialism to the capitalist is that society can do without him just as society now does without the slave owner and the feudal lord, both of which were formerly regarded as necessary to the well being and even the very existence of society."—*Prof. W. Clarke.*

Here is a lucid analysis of one of clear judgment on most topics—why not on this:

"Socialism is simply applied Christianity; the Golden Rule applied to everyday life. . . . The present need is growth in that direction."—*Prof. R. T. Ely.*

Here is the later conviction of a noble woman:

"I believe the things that Christian Socialism stands for. . . . It is God's way out of the wilderness into the promised land. It is the very marrow and fatness of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied. Oh! that I were young again, and it should have my life!"—*Frances E. Willard.*

And here is her hopeful plan more fully stated:

"I would take, not by force, but by the slow process of lawful acquisition through better legislation as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plan we call civilization. . . . and make it the entire common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give the finest physical development, but not enough to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practicable—indeed that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism. I believe that competition is doomed. . . . What the Socialist desires is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher law; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our everyday living the ethics of God's gospel. Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring

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the glad day of brotherhood."—*Frances E. Willard.*

In our hearts we know that "The deepest depth of vulgarity is that of setting up money as the ark of the covenant."—*Thomas Carlyle.*

And that "The basis of man's true life is the desire for universal welfare."

SOCIALISM WILL RENDER THAT DESIRE FEASIBLE.

Holmes and Costley having both withdrawn, Comrade Richardson of San Bernardino will be Northern Organizer. Now we will see some good work.

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Socialist Coherence

Editor Advance:

A remark dropped from the editorial pen in the issue of *Advance* for August 18th, roused a rather pertinent train of cogitations in my bump of Socialist Causality.

The remark in question was the one concerning the conduct of a certain San Francisco comrade.

It led the writer to infer that the comrade in question had not regenerated his individualistic thought attitude by a long train of persistent, coherent Socialist thought.

We American Socialists have much to learn from our older European organization, in order to grasp the collectivist idea of solidarity and coherence.

An episode was quoted in some of our literature, not long since, of a comrade in Germany who lost his position for being a Socialist, and the party immediately drew upon the party fund and set him up in a restaurant business.

Other statistics from Germany and Belgium show that the comrades, in those countries have for years contributed from their meagre wages to the party fund.

Further, the history of the Socialist co-operatives in Belgium, as given in the series of articles by Vandervelde in the *International Socialist Review*, show what astonishing results have been accomplished by the living practice of the principles of coherence.

It is evident that the Socialist party organization has got to be something more than a mere political club, with a season of lively activity near campaign time.

Each local will have to tie together more compactly than ever and be able to strengthen the hands of its members economically, so that the members can strengthen the party economically.

These things ought ye to have done and not left the others undone. We will have to work while it is yet day, for soon the night cometh, when no man can work.

When just by the power of well trained coherence, we simply stand shoulder to shoulder in the night time of the most subtle opposition, as the party in Germany and Belgium stand, waiting for the dawn to come which will show us still there, leaning on our arms, ready to begin the last great battle.

How will we pass through that night if our solidarity and coherence surpasses not those of our capitalist enemy with his hordes of individualist minions?

The party in Germany and Belgium are accomplishing nothing politically.

But they are accomplishing wonders in the exercise and maintenance of coherence, and it is through that alone that they are still standing, still growing in numbers, still defying the diplomatic opposition of the government, still resisting the forces of disintegration from within, still holding the factions of Opportunist, Impossibleist and Violentist in the leash.

In Germany they have built up a party from which the editors, the Reichstag deputies and the professional agitators are paid; others are assisted in various ways, as the episode quoted above shows. In Belgium they have built up their powerful co-operatives, both of production and consumption.

In this country the Socialist party will have to have both.

How many Socialists are investing part of their monthly earnings in some capitalistic scheme?

Oil stocks, building and loan, mutual life insurance, some one of the many benefit organizations? Two, three, four, five dollars a month?

Will these schemes pay you if you overturn them with the Socialist revolution?

Then would it not pay you the greatest dividend to draw out from these others, and invest all you can spare in the corporation stocks of the Socialist revolution trust fund?

Think of the fact collectively if you can. One hundred thousand Socialists contributing \$300,000 per month, \$3,600,000 per annum, to this fund of solidarity and coherence; Socialist co-operatives of both production and consumption starting up all over the country.

Socialist strengthened economically, and thereby politically.

Vandervelde tells of localities which were hostile to Socialist propaganda, where nevertheless converts were gained and the party growth assured, from the simple opening up of some sort of Socialist co-operative, sending a few comrades to the place as a nucleus, with the co-operative as headquarters, and so carrying invasion into the enemy's country. Wake up, boys, money talks.

Chas. A. F. Purdy, Agnew.

Call for Campaign Leaflets

In accordance with a resolution passed at the last meeting of the National Committee in January, call is hereby made upon the comrades in general—and those of a literary turn of mind in particular—to furnish one or more articles, not ex-

ceeding 1000 words, to be published in leaflet form, to be used as propaganda in the fall and winter campaigns of 1902.

It is suggested that articles dealing with current events and "live issues" of the day, rather than with the abstract principles of Socialism, will be most useful. The great strikes and the other concrete expressions of the class struggle furnish logical material for this purpose. All articles should be sent to Leon Greenbaum, National Secretary, 427 Emilie Building, St. Louis, Mo., not later than September 1st.

Leon Greenbaum, National Secretary.
By order of the National Committee of the Socialist party.

Report of Auditing Committee

The following report is published to counteract the effects of a statement sent out over a month ago by Thomas Bersford that Comrade Benham owed Local San Francisco over \$200. This report was adopted by an overwhelming majority at a regular party meeting held June 18, 1902.

We, the committee appointed by Local San Francisco of the Socialist party, to investigate the relations of G. B. Benham and the said Local, find that the newspaper known as the *Advance* was first known in San Francisco as the *New Charter*, it having been brought to this city in 1898 by M. W. Wilkins, then the editor and owner. After many vicissitudes—during which it was materially assisted by many private individuals—Comrade Wilkins finally sold the paper on October 7, 1899, then known as the *Class Struggle*, to a company composed of G. B. Benham, Chris Salomonson, Oscar Siefert, Frederick Schulz and Jas. Andrew, who appointed Comrade Benham as editor and sole business manager on a salary of \$7 per week. This arrangement continued until June 23, 1900, when the paper was sold to the Social Democratic party, who selected by referendum vote a board of directors to manage its affairs, and elected Emil Liess as editor. Soon after the name of the paper was changed to the *Advance*.

Prior to June 23, 1900, the entire business and editorial responsibility rested upon Comrade Benham; and the ownership rested with himself and associates, and not in any way with the Socialist Labor party, the Social Democratic party, or Socialists. As representatives of the Socialist party, we cannot inquire into any business matters connected with the paper prior to June 23, 1900, when the Socialist organization first acquired ownership of the paper. On that date a bill of sale was executed and transfer of the paper made by G. B. Benham and his associates to the trustees of the party, cash to the amount of \$80 being paid for the transfer, and a chattel mortgage for about \$380 being given to G. B. Benham for the remainder of the purchase price.

The party thereby became the owner of the *Advance*, and was indebted to Comrade Benham and his associates to the above amount, which has since been settled to the satisfaction of all parties concerned.

All former committees seem to have overlooked the fact that before June 23, 1900, Comrade Benham and his associates—not the party—were owners of the paper. Therefore the party can have no interest in financial transactions of Comrade Benham, his associates, or the *Advance* prior to that time.

Comrade Benham's business and personal relations with his own associates seem to have been perfectly harmonious.

We find Comrade Benham's relations with the party to have been straightforward and honorable, the unsettled balances to date standing as follows:

G. B. Benham, debtor to the *Advance* for advertising, \$2.25.
The *Advance* debtor to G. B. Benham for commissions on subscriptions, \$5.45.
To printing advertising contracts, \$1.25.
Commission on an ad., 25c. Total, \$6.25.
Balance due Comrade Benham, \$4.70.
(Signed.)

E. BACKUS,
C. H. KING,
H. L. MATTHEWS.

Machinists Will Study Up

The District Council of District 15, International Association of Machinists, has decided that the platform of the Socialist party (or Social Democratic party, as it is called in New York), shall be read and discussed in all lodges and a referendum vote taken on the question whether or not the union shall formerly indorse and support the party.

District embraces all of Greater New York, Westchester county, up to Tarrytown, and the neighboring part of New Jersey as far as Paterson, and includes about six thousand members.

The action of the District Council marks a great advance. Three years ago, although there were already many Socialists among the machinists, there were only a few lodges in which the party could get a hearing. But the machinists, like other trade unionists, are coming to realize that

independent political action by the working class on Socialistic lines is absolutely necessary to the accomplishment of the object for which the unions are organized.

Whether the proposition to indorse the party is carried or defeated is a matter of minor importance. The important thing is that the principles and purposes of the party are to be presented in the unions and discussed, so that the members will be able to consider them and decide how to vote.

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