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THIS IS NUMBER

421

ADVANCE

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

WHOLE NUMBER 421.

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1902.

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR.

Alameda County Opens Its Campaign

The largest and most enthusiastic Socialist convention ever held in this county, convened in Grand Army Hall Wednesday evening, August 20. M. W. Wilkins was elected temporary chairman, and T. Booth as temporary secretary. Afterwards the temporary officers were made the permanent officers of the convention, with H. Hauch of Alameda, as vice-chairman.

The committee on credentials reported that 79 delegates who had been elected at the legal primaries, August 12, were entitled to seats in the convention.

A more harmonious convention was never held. The delegates got down to business in short order, and in two hours and fifteen minutes from the time of convening the convention had completed its work and adjourned.

A full county ticket was placed in nomination; also full township tickets in several townships, together with six candidates for assembly and two for the State Senate.

The ticket is a very strong one, and is certain to command hearty support. Already there is much earnest commendation of the platform adopted by the convention.

The convention raised a collection of \$15.45 for the striking miners of Pennsylvania, and \$5 had already been voted by local Oakland for the same purpose.

The convention instructed its delegates to the State convention to vote for H. G. Walker for Justice of the Supreme Court, and M. W. Wilkins for Congress for the Third District.

The ticket is as follows:
James Andrews, Superior Judge.
R. A. Dague, Superior Judge.
A. Coplin, Superior Judge.
F. O. Barstow, District Attorney.
Sheriff, M. Lesser.
County Clerk, E. W. Bender.
Recorder, J. E. Eustice.
Treasurer, A. A. Crockett.
Assessor, R. Vincent.
Auditor, J. W. Powell.
Tax Collector, J. W. Radcliffe.
Superintendent of Schools, Rev. B. F. Wilson.

Public Administrator, J. Guild.
Coroner, D. C. A. Bonesteel.
Surveyor, J. G. Smith.
Supervisor Second District, G. Christiansen.

Supervisor Third District, J. O. Stocking.

State Senator Fourteenth District, S. Miller.

Sixteenth District, J. W. O'Connor.
Assemblyman Forty-seventh District, G. W. Townsend.

Assemblyman Forty-eighth District, E. F. Richardson.

Assemblyman Forty-ninth District, O. H. Philbrick.

Assemblyman Fiftieth District, Thomas Booth.

Assemblyman Fifty-first District, T. S. Price.

Assemblyman Fifty-second District, Rev. Paul MacReynolds.

Justices of the Peace for Oakland, J. S. Fitz and H. C. Robinson.

Justice of the Peace for Oakland Township, Thomas Handley.

Justice of the Peace for Brooklyn Township, J. W. Horsman.

Justice of the Peace for Alameda, J. M. Sturm.

Justice of the Peace for Berkeley, C. Avery.

Constables for Oakland Township, William Lake and O. Mazurette.

Constables for Brooklyn Township, Sumner Black and Rufus Niles.

Constables for Alameda, S. Winkler and F. Welp.

The following platform was adopted:

Socialist Party Platform.

1. The Socialist of Alameda county, in convention assembled, declare their allegiance to the Socialist party of America, of which they are a part, and reaffirm their adherence to the principles of International Socialism. We hold that the capture of the powers of government by the working class is the supreme issue of the hour. We realize that until we secure all these powers, from the lowest to the highest, we can only partly better our conditions, as capitalist laws are in the way and capitalist judges will declare much of our local effort unconstitutional.

2. We pledge our candidates, if elected, to base all their actions in passing and executing laws, on the affirmative answer to

the question: "Will it benefit the working class?"

3. While believing unreservedly in the public ownership of so-called "public utilities," and while working to secure the immediate demands of our National platform, in the way of shorter working hours, higher wages, freer education, inauguration of public workshops and factories, insurance for old age, woman's suffrage and direct legislation, as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public-ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries, and not for the amelioration of the condition of the working class. Therefore it follows that these measures, to be of practical benefit to the working class, must be administered by those conscious of the interests of that class, and not by those committed to the perpetuation of the capitalist system of production for profit.

4. We declare it to be the unwavering purpose of the Socialist party to use the powers of government wherever secured to better the condition of the working class. Therefore we pledge our candidates, if elected, to render all possible aid to organized labor in the struggle to maintain its scale of wages and to checkmate the encroachments of the employing class.

5. We favor liberal appropriations for public improvements throughout the country. We demand that the work thereon shall be performed under the direction of experts employed by the county. By thus abolishing the contract system you thereby save the fat margins paid to contractors, insuring better returns to the public at large, and higher wages and better working conditions for the men who perform the labor.

6. We recognize in education a bulwark of civilization and progress, and declare that the fullest possible opportunity for the training and development of the mind is the natural heritage of every child. Hence we consider it a grievous fact that economic conditions have forced several thousand children in Alameda county into store, workshop and factory, depriving them of the privileges of education because of their parents' inability to maintain them at school. Poverty should be no bar to an education. Therefore we demand that ample school facilities be provided for every child, even to supplying free text books, food and clothing.

7. We most heartily endorse the following resolution adopted by the Socialist party in National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., on July 31, 1901:

"The Socialist party in convention assembled declares that the trade union movement and independent political action are the emancipating factors of the wage working class. The trade union movement is the natural result of capitalistic production and represents the economic side of the working class movement. We consider it the duty of the Socialists to join the unions of their respective trades and assist in building up and unifying the trade and labor organizations. We recognize that trade unions are by historical necessity organized on neutral grounds as far as political affiliation is concerned.

We call the attention of trade unionists to the fact that the class struggle so nobly waged by the trade unions forces to-day, while it may result in lessening the exploitation of labor can never abolish that exploitation. The exploitation will come to an end only when society takes possession of all the means of production for the benefit of all the people. It is the duty of every trade unionist to realize the necessity of independent political action on class-conscious lines, to join the Socialist party and to assist in building up a strong political movement of the wage-working class, whose ultimate aim and object must be the abolition of wage slavery and the establishment of a co-operative state of society based on the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution."

8. Resolved, That we extend our earnest sympathy, together with financial support, to the anthracite coal miners now on strike because of the present inevitable wages and working conditions forced upon them by the greedy and tyrannical coal barons. We point to the readiness of the politicians in office to bring to the service of the coal operators the courts and military power to defeat the miners in their efforts to procure living conditions, as most conclusive evidence of the folly of

working men casting their votes for capitalist political parties. The emancipation of the working class can only come through its capture of the political powers of city, county, state and nation, using those powers for the abolition of private monopoly of industry and to establish the co-operative commonwealth. We declare it to be the unflinching purpose of the Socialist party to continue its warfare until this end be achieved.

The present County Central Committee of Local Alameda county, together with three members from Local Alameda, was made the legal County Committee.

The following resolution by J. George Smith was adopted:

Farmers' Resolution.
Whereas, The development of capitalism has practically reduced the farmers of this country to the deplorable condition of wage-workers; and

Whereas, Speculation and investments by the larger capitalists render the farmers' position more and more precarious; and

Whereas, The conditions tend to bring the farmer to the same state of economic dependence occupied by the wage-workers; therefore, be it

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

Tuolumne Waking Up

Editor Advance: Some time this week we will organize a local here in Confidence with ten members to start with. We find here a great many others who are anxious to learn more of the aims of Socialism, being dissatisfied with present conditions of things. They are seeking earnestly for something that will ameliorate the conditions and lives of the down-trodden laboring class of this county. And I am sure if we could get a good clean speaker in this field, it would be a great gain in the battle of this fall for the Socialists of this county.

Such being the case it follows that the organization of the Mine Workers actually is master of the situation. I am the more convinced that this is the true state of things as no union mine workers can be found anywhere who would show the least sign of downheartedness or flinching, every one of the many I have seen being cheerful and determined to stay out in unshakable loyalty to the organization, if needs be, three or more months to come.

But how these people manage to hold body and soul together and keep their beloved ones from starving is more than I could find out. It appears inexplicable if we consider that the distribution of relief money from National headquarters of the union only began two or three weeks ago. If every one of these one hundred thousand and odd ten thousands more would have taken his equal share what could the effect have been? As often as I have asked a striker for explanation for an explanation he has laughed outright in some peculiar way, answering in about this way: "Well, you see we are still living and our people at home have not yet starved, and time will show that we can keep on striking longer than the coal magnates may keep refusing our demands. And don't you forget it, we won't eat hay, either."

(Apropos, hay-eating—As generally known, it was the coal railroad baron Truesdale, President of the Delaware & Western Corporation, who was insolent enough to declare that the miners, if they did not soon return to work, would have to eat hay.)

Now, taking these to be the main features of the situation on the battlefield we should smile, indeed, if the "wiring" boys of the capitalistic press tell us that the union miners will have been granted concessions when the operations of the mines is resumed. "Granted is good, indeed, under the circumstances, but it is now the United Mine Workers' turn to sing the well-known chant, "There is nothing to arbitrate."

(Signed.) J. L. Franz.

J. Stitt Wilson Spoke before the Cloak Makers' Union August 26th, and showed them necessity of standing together at the ballot box.

Title deeds cannot pass muster in the supreme court of morality.—*St. Augustine.*

Patronize our advertisers.

Coal Miners on Eve of Victory

St. Louis, Aug. 23, 1902.

Note.—This communication has been received from J. L. Franz, formerly national officer of the United Brewery Workers, who was sent into the strike field by the Socialist party to make a special report.

Shenandoah, Pa., Aug. 16, 1902.

All indications show that a glorious victory of the mine workers is now closely at hand, and may be accomplished within one or two weeks from to-day. Then we shall see a day of well-deserved gratification, for about one hundred and forty thousand men and their families in Pennsylvania's anthracite regions and also for two hundred thousand miners of the bituminous coal fields and their wives and children; furthermore this will be a day of general rejoicing for the class-conscious and militant working people in our land and in all other countries of the globe.

As to the probabilities of a near and highly satisfactory and of that gigantic struggle, I don't think for a moment of drawing my conclusions from the statements that have been sent out by the Associated Press and printed in all the capitalistic and other newspapers. I would not take any stock in the predictions coming from these quarters, but through private information I have here received and on the strength of results derived from my own observations I feel justified in asserting that the mine lords simply must now very soon come to terms. As a matter of fact, the suspension of the anthracite industry is at present, after fourteen weeks duration of the strike, as perfect as it was at the beginning, and President Mitchell is not using empty phraseology in his recent declaration that these men in Pennsylvania really stand like a rock. Indeed, there are not enough non-union men, the three anthracite coal districts taken together, to operate more than half a dozen

factories in the mining region of the Northwest, and I now have a few moments to spare in which to let you know how things have been running. I have had some very good meetings in North and South Dakota and Minnesota, notwithstanding the fact that it has been the busy season among the farmers. At Oldham, Aberdeen and Clark, South Dakota, the meetings were largely attended and locals were formed in Oldham and Clark. At Aberdeen we had about twenty-five hundred people present. In Minnesota meetings at Brainard, Garfield, Ada and Angus were all well attended. The farmers came in from the country for many miles to hear something about Socialism. In one place where I alighted from the train, about everything to be seen was the railroad station, but there was an audience of at least two hundred people, who came in from all directions from far over the prairie. Socialism is growing fast among the farmers of the North and West. They are in about the same condition as the mill and factory hands of the East, and they are beginning to realize it. Many farmers have told me that they considered themselves lucky if they made 50 cents per day for themselves by their long hours of labor. When we think of this remuneration and their isolated lives, we can see that their lot is not to be envied or desired even by the mill hand. There is no trouble in presenting Socialism to the farmer to-day, for he is hungering for it. I have followed the policy of presenting the object to them in such manner as will show them that their condition as an exploited worker is identical with the condition of the wage-earner of the city. The very same development that has taken place in industry in the mill, mine and factory is now going on in the farming industry.

Machinery is being introduced more and more every year. The farmer is being squeezed more and more every day the price for which the farmer shall sell his product and the price he shall pay for the things he buys to use or consume.

Tenant farmers are increasing in number in the Northwest. I have found case after case where a farmer who has toiled on his farm for years has steadily gone behind, until now he finds himself toiling away on the same farm where he has toiled so long—now merely a renter from some one who has got possession by foreclosure. I am more than pleased at the manner in which they are taking hold of Socialism. I was out on the prairie last Sunday at a farmhouse several miles from any town and there was at least one hundred and fifty people gathered there to attend a Socialist picnic and listen to a Socialist lecture. This part of the country will show a big increase in the vote for Socialism this fall. The farmers can be brought to Socialism more easily than the mill or factory hand if we can only get to them to deliver the message. They are so scattered that to reach them is the difficulty. I would like to say more upon this subject but I have no time to do this just now.

Have just reached Billings, Montana, ten hours late owing to bridge being burned out, but in time for meeting. Shall have more to say about the situation in the West in a day or two.

Fraternally yours,
John C. Chase.

Farmers Flock to Hear Chase on Socialism

August 20, 1902.

The past three or four weeks I have been in the farming region of the Northwest, and I now have a few moments to spare in which to let you know how things have been running. I have had some very good meetings in North and South Dakota and Minnesota, notwithstanding the fact that it has been the busy season among the farmers. At Oldham, Aberdeen and Clark, South Dakota, the meetings were largely attended and locals were formed in Oldham and Clark. At Aberdeen we had about twenty-five hundred people present. In Minnesota meetings at Brainard, Garfield, Ada and Angus were all well attended. The farmers came in from the country for many miles to hear something about Socialism. In one place where I alighted from the train, about everything to be seen was the railroad station, but there was an audience of at least two hundred people, who came in from all directions from far over the prairie. Socialism is growing fast among the farmers of the North and West. They are in about the same condition as the mill and factory hands of the East, and they are beginning to realize it. Many farmers have told me that they considered themselves lucky if they made 50 cents per day for themselves by their long hours of labor. When we think of this remuneration and their isolated lives, we can see that their lot is not to be envied or desired even by the mill hand. There is no trouble in presenting Socialism to the farmer to-day, for he is hungering for it. I have followed the policy of presenting the object to them in such manner as will show them that their condition as an exploited worker is identical with the condition of the wage-earner of the city. The very same development that has taken place in industry in the mill, mine and factory is now going on in the farming industry.

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John C. Chase.

Advance Fund

Our postal subscription card offer is meeting a favorable response. This is in no sense a contribution or donation.

For every dollar's worth of cards you purchase, you get an extra 25-cent card. By selling these cards you make your car fare as well as getting back your money. All contributions and donations are credited to the Campaign Fund.

Mrs. E. G. Cogswell takes the first \$5 worth; Baby Hewald, 25c; Mr. R. and Mrs. F. Hewald, \$2; L. Vanalstine, \$2; Mr. and Mrs. J. Mertz, \$1; J. Barduhn, \$1; A. W. N. Lyons, \$1; Mr. and Mrs. E. Kirk, \$5; M. W. Boekin, \$1; Mrs. V. F. H. Phelps, \$1; H. C. Wilson, \$1; Andrew Sorenson, \$1; Alice Sorenson, \$1; Mr. and Mrs. G. Arthur, \$1; Miss Lena Clark, \$1; Mrs. W. F. Dunning, \$1; Mrs. J. M. Reynolds, \$1; Wm. Schlotan, \$1. Total, \$27.

ADVANCE



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Organizer Richardson in the Field

Comrades: I am now in the field as Organizer for the Northern District of California. As you are well aware this is a vast territory, and I certainly need the co-operation of all in my work.

I earnestly solicit correspondence from locals regarding available territory for new organizations and from comrades or Socialists anywhere where it would be possible to get even a half a dozen together and form a local.

In writing give full address and state distance and direction from your county seat or other prominent town.

I may not be able to reach you all, but I earnestly hope for some good work everywhere I can go, and shall answer as many calls as possible.

Yours fraternally,
N. A. Richardson.

Room 8, Odd Fellows' Building, San Francisco, Cal.

Cannot Straddle so Gage Goes Down

The power behind the throne, the capitalistic interests, have succeeded in defeating Gage for the Republican nomination. A careful survey of the political field showed them that the "labor vote" was not needed to elect a Republican Governor, and since there was no need to pander to it, they were glad to overthrow a man who at a critical moment in the great strike of last year refused to send militia to bully the strikers. Spreckels' Employers Association, besides their hostility to the railroad, whose "man" Gage undoubtedly was, added this action, which was deemed friendly to organized labor, as a cause of war. While the editorial and capitalistic anti-Gage forces were not strong enough to elect their own man, they have forced Gage out and compelled the railroad push to get behind another man, a man who has shown no "vicious" sympathy with labor. It is important that every workingman should understand the meaning of the defeat of Gage. It is another lesson on the necessity of independent political action. Many working men delude themselves with the notion that it is possible for a true labor man to win and hold important positions of trust in the Republican party. They believe that by participating in the primaries in behalf of such a man they can force the capitalist party to accept him. This defeat should teach them their error. It is the "barrel" which directly or indirectly controls the primary election and influences the delegates. No candidate can win without it. And tho' it is true that there are "barrels" behind several candidates, every barrel is furnished by some capitalistic interest, and is never opened for a bona fide labor man except there is no immediate danger from organized labor and labor's vote is needed to win the election and secure the law desired. This year, however, labor is too threatening and militant in the economic field, while its strength is not absolutely needed in the political arena. The breach between organized labor and organized capital is too great for the Republican party to court the labor vote by nominating even so poor a stick as Gage. By repudiating him the managers have indeed lost the "labor vote," but have saved the capitalistic support, which latter is to them far dearer and very much more important. Labor may go around to the doors of the Democratic convention and seek to barter away its honor there for a few bad chances at the spoils of office. Already the Democrats are figuring how much of the labor vote they can get by nominating F. K. Lane. These Democrats are the same people who supported Phelan and Tobin, the bitter enemies of labor, who had the teamsters clubbed into submission in 1901. It is doubtful, however, if any decoy can lead very many workingmen back to them. All indications point to a big independent labor vote and great support for the Socialist candidates.

Just as the state has fallen private fortunes have risen.—*Demosthenes*.

An Open Letter to a Clerical Capitalist

Toledo, O., July 14, 1902.

The Rt. Rev. Jas. E. Quigley, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Dear Sir:—As secretary of Branch 1 of the Socialist party of this city I take the liberty to notify you that at a recent meeting of our organization the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That the Socialist organization of Local Toledo places itself upon record condemning Rt. Rev. James E. Quigley of Buffalo for attempting to arraign the church against Socialism and connecting the church with politics."

I wish to call your attention to the significant fact that although nearly half of the members of our organization are Catholics, the resolution was adopted unanimously. This would indicate that Catholics as well as other workingmen and women are beginning to do their own thinking, and are about through with submitting to bossism, whether from ward politician or from pulpit. If the Socialist party was being recruited from the more ignorant element of the working class your tactics might be effective. But the very fact that one is a member of the Socialist party is proof that he is a thinking, intelligent person, who has the moral courage to stand for what he knows to be right before it becomes popular, although in so doing he may be subjected to the ridicule and contempt of his former friends. He may be discharged by his employer; excommunicated by his pastor; but persecution only strengthens his faith in the principles for which he suffers. If the doctrines contained in the Socialist platform are wrong, specify wherein they are wrong. Denunciation is not sufficient. Abuse is not argument, and misrepresentation will react. I enclose a copy of the Socialist platform. Show us where you find in it justification for classing Socialism with anarchy. Or where it "bitterly opposes the Catholic church." I also enclose a copy of an editorial from the *Toledo News*, a Republican paper commenting upon your latest attack on Socialism. It contains some wholesome advice, by acting upon which you can do more for the elevation of the church than by denouncing the movement which is destined to do that which Christ intended the church to do, but which it has not even attempted to do in all these 1900 years. Namely the establishment of the Brotherhood of Man, or Peace on Earth. I write this as one whose only education was received in one of the Catholic parochial schools of this city, and I have been up to the present a practical Catholic. But, after having studied economics to the extent my scanty leisure would allow, I know there is no hope for humanity but in the adoption of the Socialist program. More than that there is a crisis fast approaching which will engulf the world in bloodshed unless forestalled by the educational work being done by the much despised Socialist agitator. I went to mass at 5 o'clock last Christmas morning (before going to work) and I heard the choir sing that beautiful hymn, "Adeste Fidelis," in praise of the humble infant born in a manger. I saw the splendidly decorated church and altars. I saw the hundreds of dollars dropped into the collection basket for the maintenance of that costly edifice. Then I thought of the poor in the city, hundreds of whom were fed on that day by the Salvation Army, and hundreds of whom were not fed at all. I thought of the so-called "fallen women" in every city in Christendom; most of whom did not fall down, but were forced by the fierce competition for bread; who had to sell their souls with their bodies to avoid starvation or suicide. I thought of the haggard hungry faces and crippled hands of the children who toil for ten cents per day in the factories of the "glorious republic." I thought of the thousands of widows and orphans who wept on that day of rejoicing for the husbands and fathers whose lives had been sacrificed during the year on the altar of capitalistic greed in the mines and factories, that a few whom God is said to have selected might build libraries and churches and endow colleges. Then I wondered if Christ were to come to earth again where he would spend Christmas—I wondered if he would have kept pace with the developments of civilization and the church or would he be the friend still of the poor and oppressed. Would he tell the inhabitants of New York tenement houses they should build houses and live in them, or be contented in hovels while they built palaces. Then I wondered if it was not blasphemy to go to church and thank God for having died for us when we had so utterly failed to apply his teaching to the conduct of our lives.

Your opposition to Socialism is virtually a plea for this infamous system under which one man's success means another man's failure. Under which children are taken from the cradle and forced into the factories where their parents do

not receive sufficient wages to feed and clothe their babies. Under which men and women must beg for the privilege of slavish toil for which they receive starvation wages and be thankful for even that. Under which

"The living envy the fortunate dead
As they toil for a pittance of butterless bread."

That these conditions exist cannot be denied. That they should not and need not exist is a self-evident truth. The church blames God for these conditions. The Socialist knows that man is to blame and that man can and will remedy these evils. The Socialist recognizes in every man, woman and child a brother or sister regardless of race, nationality or religion. Do you? If so, what are you doing to establish conditions under which we may treat each other as brothers and sisters? If you do not where does your Christianity originate? Are you doing your duty to them, to your God or to yourself when you antagonize the only movement which seeks to remove their fetters from their bodies and from their souls? I am one of the many thousands of railroad employees who are compelled to violate every Sunday the command, "Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath day." I have heard no protest against this from the pulpit. The church is deaf to the cry of the helpless children in the mills and mines and the consumption breeding tenements. Read the enclosed pamphlet entitled, "Child Slaves in Free America," and see if the conditions described therein may not suggest an object more deserving of your wrath than the Socialist party. The Socialist movement is not a religious nor an anti-religious one, but an economic movement. It is the result of scientific research of history and a practical understanding of the causes of existing conditions. It is the result of scientific research against oppression. It will not attack the church if the church does not put it on the defensive. Wherever it has had trouble with the church it was always first attacked by some member of the clergy either through ignorance concerning Socialism or over-anxiety to prolong the reign of capitalistic exploitation and parasitism. The law of evolution, the great eternal plan, has decreed that capitalism must give way to co-operation and collectivism. And any class, creed or organization which attaches itself to capitalism is destined to fall with it, even though it be the Catholic church. If the prophecy of the historian Macaulay is to be fulfilled the Catholic church must not oppose Socialism. For in the day when "surrounded by a vast solitude, the traveler from New Zealand shall take his stand upon a broken arch of the London bridge and trace the ruins of St. Paul's" the work of Karl Marx shall have borne fruit: the dream of Bellamy realized; poverty shall have disappeared; crime will be reduced to a minimum and treated as a disease; war (military and commercial) will be unknown save in the annals of history. In short, the co-operative commonwealth shall have been established.

The Politics of Marxism

Tactics cannot be always and everywhere the same; they change with the changing conditions and varying developments. Tacticians of an army must needs consider the formations, the resources and the arms of the enemy as well as the shifting scenes of action, and to make corresponding arrangements. Yet, the tactics, too, have certain underlying principles which must be adhered to, proceeding, as they do, from the theory accepted by us all. For I should like to make it as clear and definite as possible that I am fully convinced of the truths of Marxism, and that there is, in my judgment, no philosophy of history nor any theory of economics equal in scientific worth, in depth and brilliancy, to that laid down by Karl Marx. There is no living economist who could seriously refute the theory of value or of the class struggle, and as to the Marxist conception of history, it is becoming the common possession of all modern historians and publicists.

Well, what are the underlying principles of the politics of Marxism?

We all talk glibly enough of the development of Socialism from Utopia to Science. We go so far as the luminous mind of Frederick Engels has led us. We do not follow up his thought to its practical bearings which ought to shape our policy. Socialism left the utopian stage and has become scientific—this means that Socialism is no more the speculation of St. Simon or Fourier or Owen, but the logical expression, the mental grasp of the tendencies which are working and throbbing in the organism of modern capitalism. The scientific Socialist has to study real life, solid facts, and to find out by the best methods of research what they signify. He has constantly to keep in touch with the passing events and social manifestations, in order to verify and correct his views. There is no room for wild speculations and haphazards and a *deus*

ex machina in scientific Socialism.

Marx's chief problem was not what constitutes value, but where does the constant increase in capital in modern society come from? The labor theory of value, i. e., that the necessary social labor is the measure of value on the world's market, gave him the key to the solution of his problem. It was unpaid labor, the appropriation of surplus value by the owning class. Marx's historical theory of the class struggle complemented the labor theory of value. The working men as a class must, under the conditions created by capitalism, struggle, unconsciously or consciously, for that which is taken from them under a legal system created by the appropriating class. The end of this struggle must be common ownership of the means of production. Capitalism once set in motion leads with a deadly certainty to the elimination of competition and to the concentration of the means of production. The condition must either create a new feudalism—a toiling human herd, overlorded by financial giants; or it must be overthrown, the last legal vestige of private property wiped out, and the released means of production taken over by a free and enlightened humanity for the benefit of all. That this alternative will be chosen was the scientific conviction of Karl Marx, and is the basic thought of International Social-Democracy. For it is inconceivable that the working classes, organized and disciplined by the capitalistic mechanism itself and equipped with the weapons of democracy, should or could acquiesce in the economic, political and moral evils flowing from unpaid labor as the fountain head. Even the Anglo-Saxon capitalists, the most dexterous and formidable ruling class the world has ever seen, are not able to drug labor into permanent unconsciousness. They may fool some people for some time, but they cannot fool all the people all the time. Thanks to the glorious pioneering work of the S. D. F., the educated Englishman has now a dim perception of the approach of a new society, with a new law, new morality, and new politics. Here we have the elements of Marxism—the economic basis of society shaping its politics, law and morality; the labor theory of value; the class struggle; Socialism as the goal.

Translated into contemporary politics, we have this term: Socialists have chiefly the end in view, while the proletariat strives constantly for improvement by means of its economic and political struggle against capitalism. Trade unionism is the unconscious reflex of the economic tendencies. Social-Democracy is their interpreter.

The working class and the Socialist party stand to each other in the same relation as the means stand to the end.

There can be, therefore, no opposition between these two factors. Each factor by itself can do very little.

This once admitted the tactics of the Socialist Party follow quite logically. And this is exactly what the "Communist Manifesto" (London, third edition, p. 16) says:

"The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to the other working class parties.

"They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

"They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

"The Communists are distinguished from other working class parties by this only: (1) In national struggles of the proletariat of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. (2) In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

"The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement." And on page 30, the "Manifesto" says: "The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class."

These conclusions do not admit of any misconception. We must stand by the working men under all circumstances. Their interests are also our interests, though our ideas are not yet their ideas. All other aspirations for progress, all their efforts for the protection of their existence must have our hearty support and co-operation. This is our duty, as Marx taught us. This duty is all the more imperative now, when we see organized labor awaking to the importance of political action. In a letter written by Marx in 1875 to the leaders of the German party, we find this weighty sentence: "One step forward in a real movement (of the working class)

is more valuable than a dozen programs."

And to the Lassallean leader, J. B. von Schweitzer, who took up the same position toward trade unionism as the pseudo-Marxist of the S. D. F. and the S. L. P. take up to-day, Marx wrote in 1868: "A sect looks for its *raison d'être* in its *point d'honneur*; it does not look for those points which it has in common with the working class movement, but it looks for that particular doctrine which separates it from that movement." This last remark from the founder of scientific Socialism ought to stand indelibly and prominently before the mind of every true Marxist. Especially that remark about the *point d'honneur*—a phrase which is very much in vogue among our pseudo-Marxists. To clinch the argument:

The whole practical work of Marx in those weary years of the International proves the inner connection, the indissoluble nexus, between Socialists and organized labor.

And those are also the tactics of German Marxism, approved by Marx, Engels, and all those who carry on their tradition, among whom Kautsky is the most prominent. There is nobody in the ranks of international Socialism equal to him in knowledge of social science, and there is no bourgeois statesman equal to him in his grasp of the political bearings of international capitalism.

The German party is Marxist in theory as well as in practice. Hence its success.

The Marxist organizations in the above mentioned countries (France, England and America) are Marxist in theory, but more or less utopian or sectarian in tactics. They are utopian because they ignore the immediate aims, the momentary interests of the working class; they take no part in the class struggle; they are not in touch with the proletarian movement. They are sectarian because they lose sight of all points except that which separates them as yet from the working class whose struggle is the means to that goal. The house is divided against itself. Aim and means are in opposition to each other. Hence their failure.

What the Socialist party needs now is quite clear; it needs more consistency in truth, logical adaptation of tactics to theory. We must, by all means, cease to antagonize trade unionism and its political action. It is moving and must come in our direction. Neither steel nor gold, neither imperialism nor trusts can prevent it doing this. All Socialists ought to belong to their trade unions, writing for their trade journals, in a cautious and unassuming way, rather suggesting than asserting. Where labor candidates are running on independent lines, as Snowden, Shackleton, etc., they must have our ungrudging and hearty co-operation, although they do not call themselves Social-Democrats. Where Socialist candidates are running they ought to secure the co-operation of trade unionists, even if they should have to run on a program embodying only the resolutions of trade union congresses, as an eight hour day, factory legislation, housing, education, municipal control of local monopolies, etc. I emphasize this point, knowing it will give rise to much indignation among many of our comrades. But we must remember this: *The class line is as important as the Socialist goal.* If we cannot have both at once, let us by all means have the class first. The confidence of a labor constituency once gained, we can proceed with our proletarian education and transform the voters into comrades, showing them the real significance and mission of organized labor.

M. Beer,

Correspondent of the Vorwärts in London Justice.
London, July 31, 1902.

A column dispatch headed with great display type announces that the President will honor labor by attending a certain unions' convention. It seems to the capitalistic press a remarkable thing that the President should condescend to bestow his magnificent, high and mighty presence on a bunch of scrub workmen. To us it seems that the workmen dishonored themselves in inviting the chief representative of an enemy who never loses an opportunity to wrong and insult them.

The labor vote is being eagerly courted by the politicians these days. The effort to play the workingmen for suckers would be amusing if it were not that so many were caught by the bait of nominating this labor man for office and making that soon-to-be-forgotten promise to enact some petty law. With the railroad machine or worse if possible the Spreckels machine behind one set of candidates and the Phelan-McNab machine behind the other; the proper thing for the workingman to do is to look neither to the right or left, but go straight along the path of independent politics to the conquest of the public powers.

Anyone not getting the paper will please report to whom and when and the amount paid. Send receipt or copy of same when you can.

Seven Sides of Socialism

(Continued from last week.)

A Lecture by S. Edgar Alderman of Sacramento, delivered at Academy of Sciences Hall, San Francisco, August 17, 1902.

The third class to which I would call attention is that of those to whom the civil aspect of human affairs—what may be called the political problem—appears as of first importance. Questions of state, matters of government in its primary sense, occupy their minds.

One of the first things to impress upon those of this way of thinking is the fact that governments as they are, are almost wholly occupied in struggle with purely artificial and unnecessary difficulties.

How much of their powers are directed to the protection of "vested interests"—not vested rights, by the way! How much to the punishment, or futile attempts at prevention of crimes resulting directly from the unjust conditions which they not only do not correct, but actually foster? How much to the settling of private disputes over private property?

If you had occasion, as I have in my daily work (I am a searcher of records), to wade through the interminable trash which marks the path of our legal tribunals—which, if anything on earth, ought to be dignified and occupied with noble concerns—as the result of the private ownership of land, you would know what I mean far better than words can tell you.

The simplification which will take place in government when all productive property shall be once and forever inalienably vested in the whole people; when all the product is equitably distributed to the producers; when probate proceedings and civil actions shall be a thing of the past; when violence and fraud from any motive connected with property shall be out of the question; when all the army of clerks, recorders, assessors, collectors, judges and police shall have sought more useful occupations, the simplification then resulting is something to stagger the imagination.

But that is only a detail, after all. The application of the Socialist principle to political or social science comes in another way. (I should perhaps explain that I am using the term "society" and "state" with their related words in an almost interchangeable sense, the distinction, if any, being that the state is the material embodiment of society, which, though it is the truer reality, is intangible.)

The evolution of society has proceeded always along the line of building up gradually, out of originally unrelated and independent individuals, a social organism, a state, a government, if you will, having the capacity to perform an increasing variety of functions, which are transferred to it from the component individuals one by one as the organization proceeds.

As I shall show in another division of this paper, the very beginning of the evolution of living forms upon this planet was in little separate cells, each, though inconceivably limited in its powers, complete in itself, and performing all the functions which that limited life required; so did mankind start upon its long path of progress from an ideally individualistic plane. Each man was sufficient unto himself, and what he could not do as an individual was left undone.

If the great plan had been an individualistic one it need have gone no farther in either case—nor would it. Neither plant would have come forth from the protophytes nor animal from the protozoa, nor society from the original individualists. We had some discussion recently in Sacramento as to when Socialism originated. It was not forty years ago, nor sixty years ago. It was when the first two protoplasmic cells found each other in the primeval slime and decided to pool their issues.

Or at least it was when the first two men discovered that their united strength was greater than their separate strength. The history of society is the history of Socialism. No other method has ever been followed—no other method could have produced anything—but that of an increasing complexity of life-functions, requiring more than individual powers to perform them. One by one, as they became social in their nature, through such increase of perplexity, the individual surrenders them to the social organism. This, however, is never to the individual's loss but to his gain, for they are surrendered only for the sake of better performance.

We can rather guess than know about some of the prehistoric steps in that progress, but it is probable that the first function, socially performed was military—paradoxical as the statement sounds. The stress of war impelled men to find the power of co-operation and organization, and the first government probably existed only while the necessity for offense or defense existed, in its members returning to individualism upon the return of peace.

When flocks began to jostle each other in the available pasturage, and men, too ignorant to turn the great stream at its

source, began to make private appropriations of the surface of the earth and its waters, private property began to bear its evil fruit of strife, and necessity started the machinery of civil and criminal law.

But if I stop even to outline the most important steps, I shall never get any farther. You know what functions governments perform to-day. And it is not my purpose to picture details more than enough to illustrate the principle, which is this:—

That as population increases and developing intelligence awakens new wants; as activities reach a scale beyond individual capacities and interdependence of individuals becomes general, necessity makes a social function of department after department of life, which, in a more primitive state, might be properly be left to individuals.

And the whole present contention of Socialism is contained in this fact—that at the present time, since organization and division of labor has made every man dependent for a very large part of his necessities upon the industry of others, the production and distribution of goods has become in fact a social function, and must be so assumed.

Which way do you think political evolution is tending, if not toward Socialism?

Another class which is large in modern thought is that of those upon whose minds the hold of the methods of modern science, and particularly the evolutionary views and conclusions of that science, is so strong that consciously or unconsciously they test every idea by endeavoring to fit it into the evolutionary scheme, as they understand it.

And here lies another of the strong points of Socialism—its inevitability. For surely as it can be shown that in the vegetable and animal worlds higher forms grow out of the experiences of lower forms, far more clear and certain is the fact that society is a product of evolution, traceable step by step—and there are no missing links—from the present back to a point, if not near its beginning, at least sufficiently remote to give us ample ground upon which to base conclusions as to the direction of its course. And nothing is clearer to the thinking mind than that all the progress yet made has been away from individualism and towards Socialism.

Whether the basic unity of the race be recognized or not, there can no longer be any doubt that the so-called social organism, having a life of its own, transcending the life of the individuals which compose it, as the life of a man transcends the life of the corpuscles in his blood.

Science will tell you that each cell which makes up the body of a plant or an animal has a separate individual life; inasmuch that such a body is never more thoroughly alive than when it is what we call dead—that is when the life of the organism has departed, leaving the separate lives to have full sway.

I am sorry to interrupt my own train of thought, but there is another application of the same analogy which is so perfect that it tempts me to do so for a moment. If the activity of the social organism, which, carried to its logical conclusion, means Socialism, be represented by the functions of a normal, healthy man, what more appropriate representation for the activities of an individualistic, competitive system than the activities that are turned loose in a putrifying corpse!

Such tiny lives are perhaps as much absorbed in their own individual ends, and as unconscious of the existence, character, consciousness, mode of evolution and destiny of the forms into which they enter, as average men are of the existence, character, consciousness, mode of evolution and destiny of the social organism.

But that does not alter the fact that the whole tendency of evolution is towards making less and less of the separate activities of single cells, and developing an increasing perplexity of form, requiring an ever greater number and greater variety of cells to perform its functions, and seeming to point to a culmination (if indeed it be not already reached, but beyond our ken) in which all cells shall function in one vast organism, they being essential to its life and it essential to theirs.

So, too, with the human cells, which make up the social organism. The tendency is always to break up the small and crude forms which the first efforts of the unifying forces of evolution produce, recombining them into larger and more complicated forms, requiring more and more widely differentiated individuals to perform their functions. An eventual unity seems a foregone conclusion, and the stage of attainment in social evolution may be determined by the necessity which individuals find for entering into complex organizations.

It is only the lower forms of life which may be hacked to pieces and still carry on in the fragments all the functions of the whole, and it is only because society has not very far to go that it will stand the separate tendencies of competition at all.

In some newspaper discussion which I had some time ago with a gentleman who entertained you here once or twice—

Brother Charles Van Norden—he likened a state to the pool of protophytes, such a highly organized object as a tree, an individualistic, competitive society to which, upon its fuller evolution, might form such a tree. His simile is excellent—correct to a nicety. But unfortunately for him he had its terms reversed. It is individualism which is represented by the pool of protophytes and the tree stands for Socialism.

What it may be the destiny of the form to grow into after organization is once complete, is not for a finite mind to conceive, much less for human speech to express. But if a man is an evolutionist let him determine whether he will push forward with evolution or backward against it. If forward, his place is with Socialism.

Fifth in the list, as I have arranged it, are those who are born with the philanthropic cast of mind. They do not see the chief end of life in the satisfaction of their own personal desires; neither does the administration of the general business of the world appeal much to them; nor yet do political or scientific problems arouse their deep interest. But they hear the great cry of the world's anguish, and their hearts throb in sympathy for the anguish of men. Their mission is to be angels of mercy upon the battlefield. To minister to the stricken, to bind up the broken, to bury the dead—these are the activities to which they direct their energies. Blessed is their work, while the battle rages!

But can they not be shown that the prevention of a battle is a greater work for humanity than the best of surgery for all its victims? Will they not see that placing all humanity forever above the reach of want is truer charity than plucking a few individuals momentarily out of it—and that, too, probably, at the expense of pushing others in?

In our last political campaign a certain candidate asked for the votes of his fellow-citizens, and received a large majority of them, upon the ground that he had befriended homeless children. From the credit due to his kindness of heart I would not detract one iota. But he stood for a system which contemplates nothing else but an endless procession of homeless children, as long as the world shall last. And there was in the same campaign another candidate for the same office, who stood for a system which will make it forever impossible that there shall ever be another homeless child, another needy orphan.

Which represented the truer philanthropy, do you think?

Is it wise always to save at the spigot and waste at the bung-hole? What sort of a god would it be who would make a whole world full of sinners and then save a few per cent of them? What sort of a system would it be which would make a whole army of paupers, and then give even a good many of them a soup ticket?

Charity tries to sweep back the sea with a broom; Socialism is a dyke which no tide can ever sweep over. He who really loves humanity will drop his mop and get a spade.

Yet again there are those who see all the problems of life in a sort of electrical light. The problems themselves may be industrial, or political, or social, or scientific, but the way in which they appeal to this class is through their bearing upon the relations of men with men. They do not ask whether a thing is expedient, but whether it is just. To them let it be made clear that only in Socialism, with its annihilation of the motives of wrong relationships, can the hope of an ethical society find realization. Competition sets every man's hand against every other man, whether he will or no, and no monopolistic development of private capitalism can ever overcome this feature of competition, though all that once formed the boast, and later the excuse, of the competitive system is fast disappearing before the trust. No individual unselfishness can free a man from the bondage of this necessity while the competitive system lasts.

Did it ever occur to you how thoroughly bound up in the social and economic conditions for which Socialism is a proposed remedy—how wholly material, in short—the motives of wrong doing are? No one ever lies, or cheats, or steals for an intellectual or spiritual advantage, for the simple reason that such things are not to be had in that way. I am not drawing a distinction without a difference, and I wish to make my meaning clear. Suppose I have a material treasure, say a sum of money. If I give any of it to another I have so much the less; and the greater the number to whom I give, and the larger their portions the less I have for myself. But if I have an intellectual treasure, a fund of knowledge or wisdom, and I give to another, I have not less but more, and the more I share the richer I grow.

An ancient sage was not far wrong when he said the love of money is the root of all evil. Money is but a symbol for all the things which it will buy. Socialism proposes to take the conditions surround-

ing all those things and make them such that every man can have all of them that a sane mind can desire, all of them that a reasonable man can ask, in short all of them that is his own, whether by right of his share in humanity's common heritage in the bounties of Nature or whether by right of the creation by the labor of his own muscle and brain, without any struggle, without any shutting of his eyes to the rights of others, without any hardening of heart, without any engendering of hatred. In that condition lies the hope of ethics.

It does not matter whether you endorse a certain doctrine which is sometimes, unfortunately, preached as a part of part of Socialism—the so-called "materialistic conception of history," which Enrico Ferri styles "economic determinism," which is in simplest words the doctrine that material environment makes the man, outright; or whether you hold with the ultra-religionist, that man has simply got to be good, no matter what his environment, or be damned; or, whether, with me, you find truth in a middle ground between the two views, you must admit that as man is, and is likely to be in general for some ages yet to come, environment is a tremendously important factor in determining character.

Whatever your opinion upon this, when you hear the gloating of the grain farmers over the withered wheat fields of India; when you attend the thanksgiving services of the California orange growers over the frost blighted orchards of Florida; when you see the stockbreeders toss their hats in jubilation because the Boer war raises the price of mules, you must realize that if there is ever to prevail a code of ethics with a standard higher than expediency we must establish a state of affairs in which man shall not constantly find his advantage in his neighbor's loss—we must cease to conduct our activities by the method of selfishness, which is competition, and must use instead the method of unselfishness, which is co-operation.

We shall sometime have society on an ethical basis—when we have Socialism.

I approach the seventh subdivision of my subject with a feeling of diffident reverence. For as I see it the religious significance of Socialism is both its Alpha and Omega. Right and useful in their time and place, are all the classes which I have mentioned here to-night, and many more which I have not time to name, but this division comprehends all there is and all of them which is not destined to be outgrown. Unless Socialism has a truly religious essence it can be but a partial and temporary achievement at the best. Argument, based on self-interest, on facilitation of industry, on political expediency, or on any other ground, may gain the assent of humanity, and even arouse a temporary enthusiasm, but nothing can be permanent which does not work eventually, though it may be indirectly, for the evolution of the higher nature of man.

If I were not a stranger to most of you, it would be superfluous for me to say that religion does not mean to me the doctrines of any sect, nor the articles of any creed; nor even would all the good which is in all the religions that have ever been founded serve to define it. Rather, if I can attempt to define it at all, I mean that universal admiration of the human heart after the eternal verities which partially expresses itself in all religions, and which, disguised by other names, wells up from the great hearts of Paine, Voltaire and Ingersoll. Men who are rated, and who fancy themselves the bitterest foes of religion, are often its truest friends, their battles being only with narrowness, ignorance and corruption, usurping the sacred names.

I say then that Socialism is lacking unless it has a religious bearing. Has it? Let us see.

If we search for the very essence which underlies all religion, according to my definition, under whatever name it appears, I think we shall find it to be something which in its practical activity may be summed up in the word altruism. It is true that religious activities are in great part directed along the line of direct individual efforts to realize the divine; but even so, the means of such realization, as laid down by all the great religious teachers, is nothing more nor less than the practice of altruism. And if we look deeper into the meaning of their teachings we shall find that they have meant more than their disciples have usually understood, and that they taught altruism not because it is good practice or exercise, but because Divinity itself lies hid in humanity. Did not one of the greatest of them say, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me?"

In one of your daily papers some time ago was an article which calmly related that one William Young, because his wife was sick and starving, and he had no food to give her, stole a bicycle and attempted to sell it; he was caught, and while he was locked in a felon's cell in the city prison, his wife occupied a cot in the woman's ward of the same prison, not that she was

(Continued to page 4.)

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In the early days of our race the Almighty said to the first of our race: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," and since then, if we except the light and air of heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without first having cost labor. And inasmuch as most good things have been produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored, and others have, without labor, enjoyed a large portion of the fruits. This is wrong and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

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(Continued from page 3.) charged with any crime, but because she had not where to lay her head. Could Jesus have meant anything else by the sentence just quoted than that that crime (I do not mean the theft of the wheel, but the real crime) will, with all its millions of counterparts be added to the accounts of those who suffered them to be committed?

Eighty thousand dollars can be raised in a little while to ransom a missionary. If the report were to go out that Jesus was in the tank as a vag—which he was—can you imagine the stir which would be aroused in the Christian world? Yet what did Jesus himself say?—"one of the least of these." It is no excuse to say that the unfortunates are so many that one's best efforts can make no visible impress upon the huge bulk of misery. That may be something of a reason for refusing to waste one's strength in hopeless efforts to cure; it can be no excuse for neglecting to prevent.

A man whose self and family were stranded among the wreckage after the Johnstown flood might have urged the hopelessness of succeeding all the multitudes of sufferers as a fairly good reason for restricting his efforts to his own little circle. But suppose that some man had been present just before the dam broke, and that a handful of earth laid upon the first crevice would have stopped the break. Would not his duty and his crime if he failed in it have been multiplied as many fold as the number of those who stood in danger?

A worse than Johnstown flood of misery is breaking over humanity every day. A handful of earth, wrapped up in a Socialist ballot will stop all future breaks.

Whether you answer to Jesus as your Master or to Mohammed, or whether you recognize none but your own conscience, I challenge you in the name of the Most High—the highest you can conceive—to know what account you will give of your ballot.

S. Edgar Alderman. Sacramento, March 30, 1902.

No Fusion

Persons first entering the Socialist party or becoming interested therein are often surprised to find what they think a narrow policy cropping up occasionally or perhaps frequently.

It is well to understand what underlies this "bigotry." There has been in the past too much of this and may easily be again, but many policies will appear narrow which are necessary to final success.

We need to understand what it is that underlies this strange tendency among people with no theological training in heresy hunting.

The secret is this? Socialists have a policy radically distinct from any other party that is now or has been.

They propose a revolution in industry and the character of the government. All other parties propose changes in details—Socialists intend to alter the foundations of the system.

This is revolution. Previously revolutions came with no party back of them.

There was no ballot to appeal to, so brute force had to reign.

Conditions now are different. The battle must be fought at the ballot box. The war is already on. The troops, however, are unorganized. The forces that must do the fighting do not all know that there is any war.

The capitalists know that there is a struggle and are conscious of their interests at every point. Labor, however, is only partly conscious of itself and of the war. Indeed, great troops of laborers think, perhaps, their interests are the same as that of capital.

It is hard to fight a battle if your soldiers think they are in partnership with the other side.

Socialism is the organized army in this battle. Its purpose is to train for the battle—to train in the knowledge that there is a war to be waged. The main obstacle has always been that workers were so slow to realize that they were wage slaves with interest opposed to their masters.

The trade unions are slow to awake to this in spite of the many proofs of the fact they receive. They could not go on in the old way if they realized the class struggle. When they wake up to the fact that a war is on they will do as the western unions did this spring, namely, line up for battle with the Socialists.

Now, you will find that wherever Socialists appear narrow there is something involved which they think is mixing them up with the enemy.

Socialists know that they would win to-morrow if every wage slave, i. e., every one who depends on some one else for a chance to work, knew he was a slave and that his freedom must be won from the capitalists and their capitalistic government.

The capitalist knows and feels his own interests. He is class conscious himself, but his tactics are to keep the laborers from seeing that they as a class have interests utterly opposed to his own. They deceive labor into fighting the capitalistic

battles and mix up the issues all they can.

Is it strange, then, that Socialists are afraid of anything which tends to blur the lines and make people forget this class struggle or fancy that anything can be gained by old compromise methods?

This week a person who thought he was a Socialist said to another: "I do not expect Socialism will ever win as a party; I expect its principles to be absorbed and some of the old parties carry them out a little at a time."

Now, if the majority of Socialists knew no more than this the party might as well break up.

Socialism win through capitalist parties? As well expect France to win in a war with Germany by letting the Germans fight the closing battles for her.

A war is on. Never run the risk of putting on the firing line men or women who do not know which side they are on or even whether there is a fight or not.

Now because this is so important Socialists often have to seem ungracious. Instead of welcoming everybody who can vote, with open arms, they act sometimes as if for dear life all the year round to one way. This for a party which works as if for dear life all the year round to make converts seems queer until one understands.

It is like the Methodists who turn the world upside down to make converts and then sift its new members by a six months' probation.

Sometimes Socialists turn necessary caution into unnecessary suspicion and foolish fear. This should be quickly checked. One party of Socialists has lost its usefulness by carrying this principle of battle into a method of petty inquisition.

This our party must avoid. But never forget the principle back of the party which every member must accept when he joins. There is a class struggle and Socialism can only win as a victory of the laboring class as against the forces of capital. To join the Socialists is to enlist for this battle.—R. A. Maynard of the Colorado Chronicle.

Delegates Take Notice.

Delegates Please Take Notice. All persons attending the Socialist party conventions should take the precaution to secure a certificate from their resident railroad agent, from whom they purchase their tickets, that they are attendants upon the convention. This will enable you to secure a one and one-third fare for the round trip if there are a total of fifty persons present at the convention from outside of San Francisco and Oakland, Cal. Failure to get a certificate from your resident agent will debar you from the return one-third rate.

California State Committee

State Executive Committee's Weekly Rept Meeting held August 16, 1902.

Present: Messrs. Appel, Ober, Johnson and Bersford.

Comrade Messer in the chair. Communications read from A. B. Cook, H. Hengst, J. V. Gallivan, A. Osterhaus, Wm. Carpenter, Karl Bracher, R. J. Everett, E. T. Page, J. V. Loring, T. H. Bowman, Chas. Ocks, John Diener, A. F. Smith, R. H. Binns, Jos. Vossler, W. S. Gerow, C. S. Rosenquest, F. M. Borden, H. B. Wiener, H. Flowers, M. E. Shore, E. B. Helphingsine, L. A. Dawson, A. F. Snell, A. Page.

Cash received during week: From locals, Fresno \$2, Peris \$3, Santa Barbara 60c, Ventura \$2.70, Arcata \$1.25, Westminster \$9.50, Los Angeles \$10, San Bernardino \$3.20, Tulare \$7.03, Sacramento Total \$41.95.

\$5. Santa Cruz \$4, Three Rivers \$1. Received for campaign fund: Jos. Vossler and comrades of Woodville, \$2.50. Total receipts for week, \$44.45. Net cash balance on hand, \$32.

Comrade N. A. Richardson was declared elected Organizer for the Northern District of California.

There being but little prospect of the organizers being able to repay the money advanced to them by the State Committee, it was moved and carried that the debts be cancelled.

The committee decided that the Advance can no longer be regarded as a party paper, and the Secretary was instructed not to furnish it with copies of the minutes of the committee. Meeting adjourned.

T. Bersford, Sec't.

True representative government does not exist. We have a sham representation. It does not represent the people. It represents the politicians. We are law-abiding people. Yet our laws are made by the minority of the people, and by an irresponsible oligarchy more dangerous than our fathers revolted against.—Prof. John R. Commons.

The slaves of custom are the sport of time.—Seneca.

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