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427

ADVANCE

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

WHOLE NUMBER 427.

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1902.

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR.

Socialist Vote Trebles in Maine

Woodford, Me., Sept. 19.—Official returns from the Secretary of State for the State election held on September 8th, give the Socialist party a total of 1,966 votes. This is a clear gain of 1,314 votes over our record in the State election in September, 1900, and a gain of 1,088 over the vote we polled in the national election of November, 1900.

We have won a place on the official ballot and feel greatly elated. The heartiest congratulations are due to the comrades whose self-sacrificing efforts made possible these gratifying results. Socialists here we feel that the time when Maine will take a place beside her sister Commonwealth of Massachusetts, by putting Socialist representatives in the legislative body.

Increase in Vote Indicated from All Parts

Oregon and Maine are always watched with interest by the old party politicians, as their State and Congressional elections are held in June and in September and are regarded as indicating the results that may be expected in the other States in November. Their votes is deemed a safe political barometer. The results in those two States this year may therefore be considered as forecasting an unparalleled increase in the Socialist vote throughout the country.

In November, 1900, Oregon gave 1,466 votes for Debs and Harriman, our candidates for President and Vice-President. Maine at the same time gave 878 votes.

In the State elections held in Oregon last June we polled 3,532 straight votes, while most of our candidates received from 5,200 to 5,500. In Maine's State election this month, as shown above, we polled 1,966 Socialist votes.

Taking the two States together, our straight increase over the vote of November, 1900, is no less than 135 per cent. Considering that neither Oregon nor Maine is an industrial State; that the active comrades in each State are comparatively few in numbers and unable to carry on an adequate campaign, and that in Oregon the "liberal" Democrats got all the semi-Socialist votes, leaving us none but the thoroughly class-conscious Socialists, it is evident that the increase of our vote in the country at large may run far beyond the ratio shown in these two States.

The Worker never attempts to predict the results of a campaign, but in the election figures of Oregon and Maine, as well as in the campaign news of Colorado, from Pennsylvania, and indeed from every other State, it finds every reason for the highest hope and the most vigorous activity.—The Worker.

Spread the Glad Tidings!

GIDEON S. BROWN has arrived in San Francisco. The Carpenter of Fresno, Socialist nominee for Governor of California, fresh from a most successful campaign among the trades unions of the South, has begun his campaign among the unions in San Francisco.

WEDNESDAY NIGHT, OCTOBER 15th, at the Alhambra Theatre, corner of Eddy and Jones street, a big ratification and campaign rally will be held. The best speakers will be there and the hall should be filled.

ALHAMBRA THEATRE seats nearly 3,000, it is said. The Democrats and the Union Labor party have each filled it to the doors, let us now jam it tight and hold an overflow meeting on the outside.

EVERYBODY COMING.
Let every Socialist be a committee of one to carry the glad tidings to his neighbors. Call at the Campaign Committee headquarters, No. 29 Eighth street, or the regular room, 8 Odd Fellows' hall, for advertising matter. Bring a crowd with you. These are great days for Socialism. Wednesday night at the Alhambra Theatre, Jones and Eddy.

Socialists are favorable to every genuine working class political movement, but it is only those candidates of a working class party who keep themselves clear and aloof from the old capitalist parties who can be thoroughly trusted. When a capitalist party endorses a working class candidate it expects some favors in return—yet of course it may get left.

Shasta County Socialists Nominate

The Socialists of Shasta county met last Saturday and nominated the following ticket. There are prospects of electing some of the candidates:

Sheriff—J. A. Farmer of Glenburn.
Clerk and Auditor—J. Slaughter of Redding.
Treasurer—Jas. A. Davis of Ges Point.
Assessor—A. J. Niles of Dryden.
Superintendent of Schools—Wenonah Stevens Abbott of Oak.
Recorder—Chas. P. Baker of Keswick (Member Western Federation of Miners).
Coroner and Public Administrator—C. F. Courtz of Millville.
First Supervisorial District—R. H. Hoover of Redding.

Campaign Committee—G. R. Williams, Bella Vista; P. Slaughter, Redding; C. F. Courtz, Millville.
Purity of Election—G. R. Williams, Bella Vista; J. T. Baker Oak; Ira Smith, Redding; W. W. Felts, Cottonwood; J. A. Cole, Shingletown.

The Socialists of Shasta county in convention assembled reaffirm their adherence to the principles of International Socialism, declare their allegiance to the Socialist party of America, of which they are a part, and indorse the platform formulated by the State convention of the party.

We hold that the rapid concentration of capital and its control over the government has forced the issue of economic evolution; and that, while the trust represents the most advanced stage of present economic progress, yet because it is based upon the private ownership of the means of production, it is opposed to freedom and fatal to the future welfare of the republic; therefore, the next step in social development must be taken, which is to change from capitalism to socialism, from competition to co-operation, from the private ownership of the means of production to the ownership and administration by the people. The method of production has been socialized and the means of production should be made to correspond, all tools and machinery being owned in common.

While working to secure the immediate demands of our national platform in the way of shorter hours, higher wages, freer education, inauguration of public workshops and factories, insurance for old age, woman's suffrage, abolition of child labor and direct legislation, we must insist that these measures can only be of benefit to the workers when administered by themselves. Until the whole people secure all the powers of government, we can only partly better our condition, as capitalist judges will declare unconstitutional any laws not favorable to the continuation of capitalist rule.

The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class, and this can only come through the workers constituting themselves a party which will vote as solidly as Union labor strikes. We therefore warn the working class against so-called public ownership movements as being attempts of the capitalist class to secure government control for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of these industries and not for the betterment of the conditions of the workers. It makes no difference to the worker whether he is exploited by American capitalists under a protective administration, or exploited by foreigners under a free trade administration.

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?"

Resolutions.

1. Whereas, The trade union movement constitutes the economic side of the class struggle; be it
Resolved, That the Socialists of Shasta county appeal to the trade unions to support them in their efforts to secure to the toiler the full product of his toil, assuring them of our hearty support in their struggles.

2. Whereas, Certain papers have endeavored to give forth the impression that the failure of the Union Labor party to nominate a State ticket was a tacit endorsement of the Democratic nominees; Whereas, We know with absolute certainty that the intention was to throw this support to the Socialist party, in view of that party refraining from putting up another working class ticket in San Francisco; be it

Resolved, That all Socialists are requested to supply themselves with copies of the proceedings of the Union Labor party State Convention, and also with the proceedings of the U. L. P. in Los Angeles, and use those on all possible occasions to refute these false impressions.

3. Whereas, The private ownership of the means of production, transportation and distribution has, through monopolization of these reduced the American farmer to the condition of the wage-worker, who must toil through life for a pittance and live as the exploited tool of scheming politicians and capitalists; be it
Resolved, That we heartily approve the State resolution which invites the working farmers to join our party and co-operate with us in our endeavor to emancipate the producers from exploitation so that we may bequeath a free land to a free posterity.

4. Resolved, That all printing and supplies used in this campaign bear a union label whenever that is possible.

5. Resolved, That we heartily endorse the child protective resolution passed by the Woman's Socialist Union of California, to-wit:

"Whereas, Minors of the United States are a majority of its citizens, though not yet eligible to vote; be it

Resolved, That we deprecate all laws that fail to consider their welfare; and furthermore, be it

Resolved, That we will, individually and collectively, agitate the rights of children and do all in our power to bring about a public sentiment which shall demand the formation of a court, co-equal with the United States Supreme Court, whose duty it shall be to consider all laws with reference to their justice toward the rising generations yet to come, and which shall have power to declare unconstitutional and nullify all laws that wrong these citizens."

A Jolly Good Time

No one ought to miss it.
No one will miss it.
Every one in San Francisco ought to be there.

It is a sacred duty; a duty you owe to yourself and your country to be there. We ask it as the great duty you owe to us to come and enjoy yourself.

At Scottish Hall on Tuesday night, October 14th, there will be a grand entertainment and ball for the benefit of Advance and the Campaign Fund of the Socialist party.

The ladies have been working hard. The business manager has been working hard. We want to talk pretty hard, too. Just listen!

Advance is progressing. We're on the boom! You've heard about those debts? Well, we're going to pay them all off pretty soon now. The Dyspeptic Order of Knockers have discouraged people to the full extent of the law. The knocker now is "knocked." Comrade Cogswell and others started them "going" with the "Advance Fund," which now reaches toward \$90. This entertainment and dance will put the finishing touches on the croakers, who have been as concerned for the welfare of Advance as are poor nephews for the health of rich uncles.

Are you a croaker?
Come to the Scottish Hall, 107 Larkin street, Tuesday night, and see how lonesome a man can be in a crowd.

Are you a Socialist?
Call immediately at room 8, Odd Fellows' building, get a dozen tickets for the entertainment and sell them by Tuesday night.

Do you like music and song and dancing? Come and bring all your friends of similar tastes. The finest talent will be on the program and the best dancing facilities will be afforded.

This will be not only a great social gathering, but also be practically a campaign rally. Every Socialist should attend and bring all his friends. Let every one know and tell them all to come to Scottish Hall, 107 Larkin street, San Francisco, Tuesday evening, October 14th.

You may search the Democratic platform with diligence and a microscope, reading between the lines and around the margin, but you will find no reference to child labor in Democratic States. And why should you? As well look for a politician in heaven or the truth about Socialism in a capitalist paper. The Democratic party is not on earth for the purpose of abolishing the profit system.

Unions Welcome Brower

Comrade Gideon S. Brower, the Socialist nominee for Governor of California, lost no time, after arriving in San Francisco, in getting to work. Wednesday evening he spoke before the District Council of Painters of which Scott Anderson, the Socialist nominee for Clerk of the Supreme Court is president. The Painters gave Comrade Brower an enthusiastic reception and he received from several delegates invitations to address their respective unions.

From the Council Comrade Brower, accompanied by Comrade Anderson, went before a great meeting of the Cooks and Waiters, whose treasurer, Oswald Seifert, is the Socialist nominee for State Treasurer.

The union was very busy but was glad nevertheless to grant Comrades Anderson and Brower the floor. The reception accorded our nominees' speeches was hearty and encouraging to the greatest degree.

A program of three or four unions a night is laid out for the next week or so.

Southern Agitation Remarkably Successful

You will observe that the old party press does not herald our meetings as they do those of their capitalistic bosses; but we are at work and are making ten converts to their one every day.

In Tulare county we had good meetings at Porterville, Exeter and Tulare. Was there two years ago and the change of sentiment between that time and now strikes one like a revelation. If the same ratio of increase is developed throughout the State our vote will easily be quadrupled when compared with that of 1900.

Have just closed a series of five meetings in Ventura county—at Santa Paula, two at Oxnard and two at Ventura. Spoke in Oxnard on Tuesday night in the afternoon and Ventura at night. The meetings were well-attended and the interest marked. Ventura county has some good, live workers and they are going to make things move.

Have just entered Santa Barbara county for a series of six meetings.

I observe that Senator Foraker admits that trusts are but a "natural development from industrial conditions." We tried to tell him that years ago; but then great statesmen are very conservative, you know. Yes, and the Supreme Court says that the steel trust is a legally organized corporation. Now, as the O. P.'s what they are going to do about it and how they are going to remedy its abuses. They must now quit "dragging it into court," and when they have driven the other combines into corporations they will drop the "dragging" business—and then what?

They (the O. P.'s) are now getting ready for the formation of international trusts, where they are not already formed, and the removal of the tariff would hasten that work to a degree second to nothing else that could occur. Every sane man, even though he may call himself a Democrat, knows that whatever is necessary for the preservation of the trust will be done. Hence the day it becomes necessary to form an international steel trust, that trust will be formed and the removal of tariff would bring it into existence quicker than any other one thing that could be done. But don't tell the Democrats anything like that; they might be offended. They might think we were questioning their statesmanship.

Your truly,
N. A. Richardson.

Shasta County, Attention

Wenonah Stevens Abbott, Socialist nominee for Supt. of Schools in Shasta county, will speak at the following places on the specified dates. Will Socialists living in or near any place on this itinerary assist her in making her arrangements, as it is hoped that the Socialist vote in that county may be quadrupled at this election.

Olinda, Oct. 10th, Cloverdale 11th, Keswick 13th, Iron Mountain 14th, De La Mar 15th, Kennett 16th, Copley 17th, French Gulch 18th, Shasta 19th, Igo 20th, Ono 21st, Harrison Gulch 22d, Watson Gulch 23d, Anderson 24th, Cottonwood 25th, Redding 27th, Millville 28th, Bella Vista 29th, Round Mountain 30th, Montgomery Creek 31st, Bume Valley Nov. 1st, Fall River Mills 2d, Pittsville 3d.

Utah Socialists Unite and Nominate

On Labor Day, September 1st, the Socialists of Utah met in convention at Federation hall in Salt Lake and nominated a ticket, consisting of Mat Wilson of the Painters' Union for Congress, and Warren Foster, the newspaper and insurance man for the Supreme bench. When it became apparent that the so-called Lehi faction was willing to make any reasonable concession in the interest of political harmony, and John C. Hasson, a Park City miner, with no prejudices either way, was elected chairman, many who have held aloof from the charter organization presented their names and were given membership in the convention. About the same time the candidates of the former Socialist convention withdrew from the ticket to leave the field open for new nominees.

Nine branches were represented and there were forty-eight delegates present. J. B. Smith was secretary. The committees appointed were: Credentials—John Deering, A. B. Elder, J. H. Zenger. Resolutions—L. S. Larsen, Mrs. E. A. McGilton, Mrs. W. H. Tawney, Jos. McLachlin, M. H. Wilson, Geo. Poate, I. E. Pratt.

The report of Organizer Lund showed that the party owed him \$22 for money advanced. State Secretary John Woodhouse of Lehi presented his resignation. He assured the Socialists that he was still loyal to the party, but felt unable to perform the duties devolving upon him. A letter was read from Dr. W. H. Schock withdrawing his name as a candidate for Congress. Matt Wilson, Dr. Schock and J. C. Hasson were proposed as nominees. Vote, Wilson, 29; Hasson, 14; Schrock, 11. For Judge Foster received 37; Schrock, 9; Owen Prentiss of Provo, 1; A. B. Elder, 1; Ben Johnson, the former candidate, withdrew from the ticket and refused to stand for nomination at the convention.

It was the best Socialist convention ever held in Utah, and leaves the party in excellent fighting trim.

Campaign Headquarters

The Campaign Committee has opened headquarters at 29 Eighth street. Comrade E. E. Kirk is chairman and Comrade Scott Anderson is secretary. It meets every day at 4 p. m.

Three things are wanted:
First. Every comrade is urged to attend and give his views and ideas on methods and measures for campaign activity.

Second. Every comrade who can devote his time, even though it be only one night, is urged to notify the committee what he will do for campaign work and when.

Third. Money is most urgently needed. Money must be had immediately and plenty of it. Money after Christmas won't be of much use. Comrades should, comrades must, come forward immediately with liberal contributions. Never before in San Francisco have conditions for our propaganda been so favorable. Give the means to get seed to sow since the ground is well prepared. Two hundred dollars must be had immediately. Let the Comrades do their duty.

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'Sees Dimly

The Bee has never been a Socialist paper. It never will be. It believes Socialism to be a politico-economic rainbow. But this it will say: The theory of Socialism is right. It is the naked doctrine of Jesus Christ, as preached from the Mount, sought to be applied to the functions of government. It could never be put into practice, save to a limited extent. To a certain limit it has been applied in various countries, for government ownership of public utilities is nothing more nor less than diluted Socialism.

But the doctrine the Tribune puts forth—that concentrated and combined capital in the shape of trusts is such a blessing to the nation that it would be a degradation of labor to check its outrageous charges against the American people by striking at the tariff root which gives them sustenance—that is a doctrine not entirely wrong in theory, but infamous in practice.

While true Socialism would never do as the rudder to this or any other government, a little more diluted Socialism and a little less unfluted capitalism would be a godsend to this nation just now.—Sacramento Bee.

ADVANCE



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San Francisco, October 11, 1902.

Socialist State Ticket for California

- For Governor
GIDEON S. BROWER
Of Fresno, Carpenters' Union 701
- For Lieutenant-Governor
FRANK R. WHITNEY
Of San Francisco, Street Carmen's Union
- For Chief Justice of the Supreme Court
H. G. WALKER
Of Oakland, Attorney and President of Commercial Telegraphers Union
- For Associate Justices
EMIL LIESS AND WAYLAND C. SHEPARD
Both of San Francisco
- For Attorney-General
CAMERON H. KING
Of San Francisco
- For Secretary of State
FRED. C. WHEELER,
Of Los Angeles, Secretary Carpenters' Union
- For Controller of State
S. EDGAR ALDERMAN
Of Sacramento
- For Treasurer
OSWALD SEIFERT
Treasurer of Cooks' and Waiters' Alliance
Of San Francisco
- For Surveyor-General
WALTER STEVENSON
Of Pasadena
- For Superintendent of Public Instruction
ANNA F. SMITH
Of San Diego
- For Superintendent of State Printing
H. S. LAVERTY
Of Los Angeles Typographical Union
- For Clerk of the Supreme Court
SCOTT ANDERSON
Of San Francisco, President of the District Council of Painters

The Socialist Party and the Trades Unions

By Job Harriman.
The Socialist party of this country and especially of California is again confronting a crisis in the ever present Trades Union question.
It is upon this question alone that the Socialist Labor party was split, and it is by reason of their continued opposition to the Labor Unions that they are literally crushed out of existence.
Many members of the Socialist party seem to think that the labor movement with all its economic and political tendencies, is the outgrowth of the science of Socialism, but the fact is that the science of Socialism is merely an expression of and a deduction from the labor movement and the present economic development. Many of us seem to have forgotten that it is the constant struggle by the employer to take the largest possible amount of the laborer's product which has caused the organization of the Labor unions. These workingmen have learned that when united in their unions they are infinitely more powerful and efficient in resisting such encroachments than when acting singly and alone. It is this fact that has developed the Trades Unions into the strongest and best defined expression of the working class interest. It is for the same reason that class consciousness in economic affairs is best developed in the trades union movement.
It is this working class interest and the consciousness of it that protects and pre-

serves the Trades Unions and causes them to constantly purify themselves from the persistent corrupting influences of their capitalist employers.
When these unions enter the political field, it will be because they have learned that the strike and the boycott are not the only weapons of warfare within their reach. And we may be sure that the same class interest and the same class consciousness which begets the unions and preserves them from the influence of the capitalists, will become the controlling power and preserving factor of their political party. Doubtless they will make many mistakes in their political experience as they have made and still do make in their economic organizations; but their class interest, to which they are inseparably bound, will always guide them and determine their actions.
It is this class interest, developed, not theoretically, but by the economic struggle, and personified by the trades union movement, that must dominate the Socialist movement before we will become a living and potential factor in American affairs.
Not only is this true, but the Socialist movement will never be safe from middle class tendencies until it is absolutely dominated and controlled by the interests of the organized portion of the working class.
Why should it not be thus? To whom does the militant socialist movement belong if not to the working class? Have they not the right to it? Have the unions not the power to take it when they wish? Have they not already begun to take it in various cities of the land? What is the Socialist movement without the working class? What is it without even the organized portion of the working class—or what can it become? Are not the principles of Socialism the logical deductions from the labor movement and the present economic development? Is not political action on the part of the working class, and especially of the organized portion of the working class, the very thing that Socialists have, by reason of their deductions, so long foreseen and hoped for?
And now shall we fight the unions when they are just beginning to separate themselves from all capitalist parties? Shall we fight them now, when they are refusing to indorse even union men who are nominated by capitalist parties, and are indorsing all union men nominated by the Socialist party?
If it is true that the principles of Socialism would further the interests of the working class, and if it is true, as we have so long taught, that every class will do whatever is to its interest so far as it sees and can, and since it is a fact that labor parties are rejecting all capitalist political parties and are accepting the Socialist party, and are, moreover, asking us wherein the principles of Socialism will further the interests of the working class, would it be for the interests of that class for the Socialists to decline their invitations and to fight them on the political field?
If the principles of Socialism are correct, will not the interests of the working class cause a strictly labor party, in time, to develop into a Socialist party, whether we accept or reject their invitations? Shall we block their efforts?
Since the unions are guarded by their interests, what more can we ask of them than an opportunity to fight for their interests and at the same time do propaganda work among the only class where there is any hope of success?
Shall we join them or fight them? Arouse their enmity or gain their friendship?
Fusion? Well, do not fear it. It is either fusion or benevolent assimilation. Fusion is perfectly safe for Socialists if that fusion is made with a class conscious workingman's party, even though that party may not be posted on economics or see their political class interests with our clearness of vision.
The independent, Socialist party, in my judgement, has but two years' lease of life on this Coast. The trades unions will put up tickets in all the important cities in the State two years hence. In that case where will our vote be found? It will be found with the working class party—where it should be. It will be a repetition of the same story that is now being told in San Francisco, only we will have less votes and they more, because the hope of the working class success will be livelier and the interest greater.
Let us not fear fusion. Let us consider the People's party fusion and see the difference.
The Populists proposed middle class, capitalist, measures and their party was dominated by middle class capitalist interests. Their tendencies were determined by their interests, and therefore they naturally aligned themselves with one of the stronger capitalist parties.
But both the socialist and the union labor parties are dominated by working class interests—their tendencies are away from all capitalist parties—and therefore they will be safe in joining their forces in combat with the capitalist parties.

No Socialist will assert that the populists could have carried out their proposed measures, even had they not fused with the Democrats. Neither will it be held that there were other than capitalist measures proposed by the Populists, and therefore the logical place for them was in company with one or the other of the capitalist parties, and union became an irresistible mandate for them.
The very same fact, namely, that the interests of the Union Labor party and the Socialist party are identical and the measures proposed are for the interest of the working class, will, in time, force the two organizations to work together for their common end—even though maintaining separate organizations.
Joint action between the Socialist and the Union Labor party is therefore not dangerous to either party, and is the only safe course for both of them to pursue.
The class interest dominating the union labor movement will hold the Socialist party strictly to the economic struggle and save it from middle class tendencies and unethical sophisms, while the socialists, by reason of their economic knowledge, will save the Union Labor party from political mistakes, which would require years to rectify. Far better to have the principles of Socialism incorporated in a platform of a party which is dominated entirely by working class interests and by organized working men, who are fighting for their interests on both the economic and political field, than to have those principles incorporated in a platform under the correct name, but partially dominated by middle class interests and tendencies.
This does not mean that the farmers are refused admittance into the Socialist ranks. It only means that the immediate interests of the farmers are not and cannot be supported by working class or Socialist legislation.
It is to the farmers immediate interest to preserve his farm, free from mortgages and thereby keep himself in comfort. This he cannot do. Economic development will eventually force the small farmer to the wall.
The small farmer is therefore interested immediately in his own self preservation, but he is also interested in ultimately establishing the co-operative commonwealth.
Individuals may be moved by their ultimate interests, but as a class men only act in accordance with immediate interest.
But the immediate interests of the working class as well as the remote interests, are in perfect accord with Socialist legislation, and for this reason the working class interest will logically dominate the Socialist movement and all others who come to the Socialist movement must forsake their immediate interest for the ultimate purposes of Socialism.
The men in the trades union movement, who, against all odds, persistently fight for their own interests and the interests of their class, are the timber out of which a class conscious, political movement must be built. Those workingmen who will not join with their fellow workmen in the economic struggle will not stand to the guns in the political struggle. There may be a few exceptions, but this is the rule.
It would undoubtedly be a calamity to lose our name—which is far from probable—but a stroke of palsy, such as the Socialist Labor party is suffering from, would be infinitely worse. Let us make no mistake, for it is the same fight in a little different form. If we turn our back to the working class when they are in a struggle, whether economic or political, we will be justly considered as their enemy; hatred for and prejudice against our movement will be engendered with more or less justification; the now open doors and welcome hands will be closed against us and the tide in the affairs of our movement, which if now taken at the flood, will lead on to fortune, will, if ignored, result in misfortune to the working class and our movement will be delayed for years to come; that is until the working class without our organized aid can work out their own salvation.
Let us hope that the membership of our party will carefully consider, soberly argue and wisely vote upon the substitute for the amendment in the constitution proposed by the convention. To me it seems the only possible course for us to take. I know there are many reasons offered in good faith by the opposition and that there will be many difficulties to meet, which ever way we move. But move we must and obstacles must be overcome.
If the substitute for the amendment should be adopted by the party which permits any local to refrain from nominating a ticket in opposition to a bonafide working class party, whose candidates are working class men, pledged to the abolition of the wage system, it seems to me that we as Socialists would be in duty and honor bound to fight all such candidates who accept the nominations of any capitalist party. We would be able to show that they took their seats by reason of capitalist support and would owe and pay allegiance thereto. But on the other

hand it would be, and is, our duty to support all bonafide working class candidates on a working class ticket.
In this discussion I beg of the comrades not to resort to that bitter and unreasonable method of discussion made so offensive by the Socialist Labor party. Let us keep our organization intact and whichever side is in the majority abide by the decision. Let us also grant to the minority the perpetual right to agitate for their views and remember that this is not the only knotty problem that will develop in the Socialist movement. Let the columns of our papers be opened to a free, full and manly discussion.
Roche on the Labor Party
To me the real or apparent necessity for compromise by the Socialist party of today with the Union Labor party only evidences the fact that our policies in the past toward the economic organizations were false, and hence reactionary. "We're up against it" now, and the only question is whether, like the De Leonite Stalwarts, we will go down with the ship, or try to weather the gale by pouring a little oil on the troubled waters. Expediency—results are what we seek after all, and if by bending now we "stoop to conquer" sooner in the ultimate, I'll bend as low as the rest and take my medicine with the best grace possible. The "holier than thou" position assumed by the political movement toward the economic organizations in the past, is responsible for the present situation. The problem, however, is a perplexing one, I must confess. Just how much of a working class movement the Union Labor party is and how much of it is a political decoy is the important thing to determine. At this distance it is certainly hard to advise. Yes, my views of the trades union movement have altered materially. I see we cannot ignore them and it is question, therefore, of working with them or working against them. We have learned the lesson a little late, however, and hence the apparent necessity of eating "humble pie." We may have to construct a different craft altogether and abandon the old one before we get through.
JAMES S. ROCHE.
The Women's Socialist Union
At the recent convention of women Socialists of California, held in San Francisco on the 7th and 8th of September, a constitution was framed for a State organization, to be known as the Woman's Socialist Union of California, to affiliate with the Woman's National Socialist Union. Nominations were made for the State officers and for heads of several departments of work which the Union proposes to undertake.
The constitution and the nominations made are now being submitted to the local women's unions for their ratification, and the vote upon the same will be counted on November 1st. Immediately after the counting of the vote, the officers of the union will be in position to take up their regular duties and make definite plans for the winter's work. Any local club or union of Socialist women which may desire to unite with this State organization is requested to send its application to Josephine R. Cole, representative for California, San Jose, Cal. Women who are working for Socialism individually, and who are not in a position to unite with a local club, will find it to their advantage to join the State organization as members-at-large, and come into touch with other women who are engaged in the same work. All inquiries will be gladly received and promptly answered.
As *Advance* has very kindly consented to allow us space for notices, we wish here to return our thanks for this courtesy, and at the same time to beg women readers to send us news of their work for Socialism, in order that we may keep in touch with each other. Until the appointment of an editor for this department, news may be sent to J. R. Cole, San Jose.
I hear that our national president, Mrs. Abbott, is adorning the fences in Shasta county by painting Socialist mottos upon them. We recommend the plan to others.
We wish to call the attention of all readers to the matter of traveling libraries, which we are now trying to get together for circulation throughout the more unsettled parts of this State. Anyone who has good Socialist literature to donate, or useful scientific or historic works, will help our cause by sending the same to Mrs. Wenonah Stevens Abbott, Oak, Shasta county, Cal. Mrs. Abbott is already in receipt of requests for a library and can put the books sent her to immediate use.
The Woman's Socialist Union of San Jose has published a small book of Socialist songs for the use of children. They will be furnished to any who may desire them, at two cents each, or 40 for 50 cents.

Put Workingmen on Guard
America by common consent is called "the home of the free and the land of the brave." We are fond of pointing to our great domain as an asylum for persecuted subjects living under monarchical forms of government, and have invited the weary proletariat of Europe to share the freedom won by the valiants of 1776. Our championship of man's freedom has been the by-word for a hundred years or more.
The constitutional planks of free conscience, free speech and free action have operated so widely within our borders as to attract vast numbers of immigrants to the American shores of prosperity.
The Declaration of Independence today stands as an obsolete and outraged fabric, because the rights it vouchsafed to all are only procurable by a handful of men—the plutocratic lords of finance.
No less an authority than Chauncey M. Depew has stated "that fifty men controlling the railroads of America can in one week tie up the traffic so completely as to paralyze business from the Atlantic border to the Pacific coast." Why? Because the freemen (slaves) of America have voted away their birthright by sending representatives to Congress who have sanctioned the *exclusive privilege* to the detriment of the *general privilege*.
Is the Constitution worth anything to the men, women and children of the United States of America? No!! Because it granted to all our subjects "equity before the law," and in these days of 1902 every mother's son and daughter of the great populace is crowded by the most outrageous inequality that "WE" the capitalists, may capture the markets of the world.
Until humanity understands the higher law of man's primal consanguinity, then trades unions are a national blessing. What is the secret of the trusts' success? Concert of action! In unity there is strength. What is the secret of the American Federation of Labor's success? Concert of action! Unity brings unification of interests; a union of forces carries all before it. If an amalgamation of millions can capture the markets of the world, then an amalgamation of voters can sweep from legislative power the rascals of finance.
Workingmen of America, what are you thinking about? Centralize! Unify! Harmonize under the great banner of Social Democracy, and artisans will sit in Washington to make the laws for the slaves of the shovel and needle.
"The man with the hoe" will ever reflect the status of American labor unless the toilers of the field, factory and mine unite in one solid phalanx and vote as one man for labor candidates. You have tried Republican and Democratic leaders and you will find them recreant to their trusts, when it comes to guarding the interests of the great dinner-pail and lunch-box brigade. They have capitulated before the vampires of the lobby for all time. Think before you vote them again in power. Try the workingman as your steward. He knows how it feels to lay bricks all day in the broiling sun; his wife and children know how it feels to sit twelve and fifteen hours bent over the machines of the sweat shop, bearing with a pittance that forged a balance against them at the corner grocery. Artisans will be loyal because they have felt the pangs of hunger and the pinch of winter's blasts, as ladders and cupboards bare forced their sisters to the street to seek for bread.
Try the honest toiler in the shop as your representative! He can serve you no worse than those who made pledges, yet sold you on the block and frittered away for a mess of pottage your precious birthrights.
The barons of the coal mine leave the capitol without concession, and tell the executive that Federal troops must be furnished to protect the under-selling help, or failing this coal shall not be moved. Mark, workingmen the sequel!
If the nation's representative is built of timber that is weak, then the bucket rate of coal at corner stores will rise to prices that should land five tons within your cellar door.
If this same guardian of your interests is built of "timber strong," then the army will not be ordered out, and Congress will take charge of what the people need.
The Constitution, drawn by men who stood for justice to humanity wherever found, without regard to race or creed; which opened doors that all might enter this broad field and leave behind the tyranny of a class whose yoke wore virtue to a thread, will yet dissolve the inequalities of caste, and bring to all their due measure of food!
Elect workingmen pledged to make the industries of the people the property of the nation. **VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET.**
E. N. Treadwell.
San Francisco.
If you receive the *ADVANCE* and have not subscribed, some friend interested in the cause of Socialism has paid for it to secure your interest in the same.

Los Angeles Labor Enters Politics

Two hundred and thirty-three delegates from Los Angeles trades unions in convention at Council of Labor hall last Saturday evening decided, after a warmly waging decided, after a long and warmly waded discussion to place a full Union Labor ticket in the field. Aside from this one point of debate, entire harmony prevailed throughout the convention. George McGahan, president of the Retail Clerks' Union and delegate to the Council of Labor, was nominated for the office of Mayor unanimously, after Francis Drake, the convention's first choice, had declined the proffered nomination on the ground that he was not an aspirant for any public office, but desired only the success of the Union Labor ticket. At 12:10 o'clock in the morning the convention adjourned, to reassemble in Council of Labor hall at 8 o'clock Monday evening, when the ticket was completed.

The debate of the evening lasted fully two hours, and was occasioned by the question as to the adoption of one or the other of two reports submitted by the committee on platform and resolutions—composed of Pleace of the Bricklayers' Union, Goodman of the Team Drivers, Mitchell of the Federal Union and Robinson of the Typographical Union. This committee presented the following majority report:

Resolved, That this convention nominate a complete city ticket, and that only bona fide union men of good standing wherever possible, who are not the nominees of any capitalistic party, shall receive nomination, indorsement or support at the hands of this convention.

From the same committee was submitted the following minority report:

Resolved, That this convention indorse union candidates and that it do not put up a Union Labor ticket in the coming city election.

The result of the prolonged debate was the adoption of the majority report.

The committee on platform and resolutions presented the following report on platform and it was unanimously adopted:

"We, the organized wage-workers of Los Angeles, in convention assembled, declare in favor of the principles of the American Federation of Labor and the international working class movement.

"We, the organized wage-workers of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries—struggle between the capitalist and the laborer—must result in the abolition of the wage system, for wages can never be regarded as the equivalent for labor performed.

We believe that the various changes in national, State and municipal laws which are needed to give the producer the full equivalent of his toil, can best be secured by united action at the ballot box.

"We pledge our candidates, if elected, to carry out the before-mentioned principles to the full extent of their power, and also to work for the following immediate demands:

"First—Direct legislation, being the initiative, referendum, imperative mandate and proportionate representation.

"Second—Abolition of the contract system and direct employment by the city, at union rates of wages, for all labor performed, organized labor to have the preference in such employment.

"Third—An eight-hour day for all public work.

"Fourth—The union label to be placed on all public printing, and preference to be given to all goods purchased by the city which carry the union label.

"Fifth—Civil service reform; tenure of office during good behavior, and promotion for meritorious service.

"Sixth—Payment of wages weekly and equal pay for women for equal work performed with men.

"Seventh—No shaving of city warrants. City employees to have preference in order of payment over contractors.

"Eighth—All municipal franchises to be owned by the city.

"Ninth—Ample public school facilities; school books free; play grounds; teachers to receive ample compensation.

"Tenth—Adequate sewage system, including storm drains. No sewage to be used for vegetable irrigation.

"Eleventh—Public lavatories."

The following resolution was adopted: "Whereas, President Mitchell, Fahey, Duffy and Nichols, representing the United Mine Workers' Association, made offers of arbitration, and in every possible way sought to end the present coal strike without further strife; and,

"Whereas, The anthracite coal mine owners declared to President Roosevelt and the people of the United States that they had nothing to arbitrate, and that the members of the United Mine Workers' Association were a band of outlaws and murderers who should be immediately suppressed by United States troops; and

"Whereas, These same mine owners and the capitalists they represent, are the real destroyers of the life and liberty of the men, women and children who toil in the

coal fields, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That only public ownership of the mines and other industries will relieve the miners and other wage-workers from a condition of industrial servitude.

"Resolved further, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States and a copy to the United Mine Workers' Association."

From the Federal Union:

"We are in favor of the civil service amendment to the city charter, and we recommend its provisions to the careful consideration of the members of our party." Adopted.

From the Federal Union:

"We give our unqualified approval to city charter amendment No. 12, providing for direct legislation, and urge the members of our party to work for the success of this amendment." Adopted.

The resolutions committee recommended, and the recommendation was approved, that: (1) The Union Labor party of Los Angeles be organized, (2) That an executive committee to direct the actions of the party, be elected. This committee will be chosen at the reconvened session. Monday night Francis Drake of the Allied Printing Trades Council acted as chairman of the convention, and A. Vinette of the Carpenters' Union as Secretary.

Tariff Reform and Socialism in Humboldt

Democrats of Humboldt county opened their campaign in the beautiful little town of Fortuna, in the person of Hon. Thos. J. Geary as the principal speaker, and in a very eloquent address to a large audience he explained the political situation and exhibited a wonderful knowledge of many existing evils, and recommended as a remedy for all of them tariff reform. The reintroduction of the Wilson bill or a similar bill would send forth its healing influence through every part of society and pour the oil of gladness on the wheels of industry, so that everything would march in peace and joy and all growling and grumbling would cease forever, and the joyful sound of joy and gladness would fill every heart in the land, etc.

Wonderful remedy! So simple and so easy! I wonder if the American people can so forget in such brief time since the Wilson bill was in operation that the country was so prosperous and happy, so free from tyranny, that exploitation of labor was a thing unknown. No Coxey army marching toward Washington, and no Debs in jail by injunction, no strikes heard of; nothing of the kind under the Wilson bill. No! No!! The reenactment of the Wilson bill is the soothing balm offered by the Hon. T. J. Geary for every wound.

On October 15th the Socialist candidate for Congress, M. E. Shore, will visit our town and offer the Socialist remedy, and if it is not better, more applicable, and more reasonable than Geary's remedy, I would advise him to keep it for his own use.

T. M. Edwards.

Socialism and Unionism Growing in Japan

Socialism is now a recognized force in Japan especially among workers as well as among intelligent portion of our people. As the industrial capitalistic system advances, the growth of socialism will be accelerated more and more. As the capitalistic tyranny and cruelty increases so much the more people will look towards incoming knowledge of socialism as the only possible means of getting rid of growing competitive pressure of money power bitterly felt on every side. But at the same time the growth of socialism is dreaded by greedy capitalists and capitalistic government. To please the capitalistic classes or from a fear of the growth of Socialism our authorities began lately to suppress the activity of socialists. We have been meeting this thorny experience at every point. The detectives are busily engaged in tracing and watching conducts of us socialists. In the recent blacksmiths strike in the government arsenal our police authority put its force in a full swing and tried to put down the strike at all cost. All the meetings were dispersed at once and they tracked every principal workman to and from his house. Some were arrested and carried to the police station and cross-examined to intimidate the strikers. Moreover the authorities seem determined to check further development of socialism and recurrence of a strike any more. Until very recent times we have been accustomed to hold public meetings unobstructed by the police force. Now freedom of speech is infringed. Every time we have had public meetings some speaker is suppressed by stopping his speech. On the first instant Mr. Nishikawa was stopped as soon as he uttered a few sentences at the public meeting in Shitaya. On the 6th Messrs. Nishikawas and Okada's speeches were suppressed by a police sergeant at the meeting in Honjo district. The reason for the suppression is that the speeches are

against peace and order. These speeches were nothing but a scientific analysis of socialism. We have been accustomed to speak on the subject and in such style in the past unhindered but now we are severely censured and we must send in a notice to the district station at the time, place and name of chairman three hours before the opening of the meeting even the nature of meeting would be scientific and non-political. Any meeting of a scientific nature is freely held by any one without police interference but ours will not be considered as such hereafter and must come under strictest supervision of the police authorities. As our meetings are considered by the authorities as of political nature and must hold them before the presence of the authorities our speeches will likely undergo a severe scrutiny and censure. This, however, we do not fear at all, because our speeches never will be anything of revolutionary or incendiary nature. We socialists stand on a sound scientific basis; we speak the truth and things of true facts that are undeniable, and we intend to carry out our aims and principles by all peaceful means. We can say of Socialism, as Lasalle said once: "With truth there can be no arguing. You might as well wish to argue with the pillar of fire which went before the Children of Israel."

There will be some disadvantages, however, to be treated as we are by the authority.

By such a forced treatment we are not allowed to address ourselves before persons who are under twenty years of age, student classes and females because our students and women, as well as youths under twenty are forbidden to attend a political meeting. Thus practically our field of activity will be encroached on by that obnoxious police law.

In spite of such hindrances and oppressive measures Socialism is growing and the number of Socialists is rapidly increasing. It is gratifying to hear that even Mr. Kumazo Kuwada, who has been a strong opponent of Socialism and anything Socialistic, it is reported by the press, will work under Hon. Yano, the author of the "New Society," for the immediate practical application of Socialism in Japan. If the report be true we congratulate the author of the "New Society." Mr. M. Kuwada is one of the committee on the factory law investigation.

The bill for the factory law is already drafted by the government and it will be again placed before the higher industrial council that will soon meet in the city.

However, we have a little. It is doubtful if it will be introduced in the Diet, which is composed of capitalists and landlords, and it may be that in the wisdom of this council the bill will not be introduced at all.

Socialism is indeed a hope and salvation for the working people. It is their religion, strength and power. Socialism

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is making a strong and lasting impression on the minds of workers. We have a good audience at meetings everywhere, and Socialism is spreading like a prairie fire. We Socialists are planning to have as many meetings as we can this autumn in the city and its vicinity. We are sure of obtaining a large number of Socialists in the city and then we will start a Socialist municipal party by the coming winter.

All things taken together, our prospects for Socialism is very bright.—*Sen Katayama in Labor World (Japan)*.

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ADVANCE FUND.

Previously acknowledge, \$78.00; Mrs. I. G. Powell, \$1.00; A. G. Swanson, \$1.00; Geo. Nesbit, \$1.00; Wm. Sumer, \$1.00; total, \$82.00.

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Socialism--the Hope and Glory of the World

By William Thurston Brown.

It is becoming increasingly evident to all students of life that all moral, educational, religious and social questions when reduced to their lowest terms are economic questions. If that be true, then, whatever is done to solve the economic question is so much accomplished toward the solution of these other questions. When, therefore, we make the cause of labor fundamental we simply recognize that the labor question underlies all others, and that so long as we deal with other questions and ignore this, we are dealing with effects rather than with the cause. I am thoroughly convinced that the first real and positive step we shall take toward a better civilization will be in the emancipation of the working class. The division of society into two economic classes is the logical result of the system under which we live. I think it would be true to say that this result is simply an essential part of the evolution of society. What I want—and what every student of social questions wants—is that men shall frankly recognize the existence of these questions. They certainly exist. And while a man belong to the capitalist class and not know it, it is becoming more and more difficult for a man to belong to the working class without knowing it.

Let me make myself understood. The capitalist class is made up of those who live from profits in the form of interest, rents or dividends on stocks. Or to put it another way it is made up of those who possess wealth as private property which they themselves had no hand in creating. No one created the land. Aland-lord, therefore, is in so far a capitalist. That value of land which is given to it by large aggregations of people, by society, by location, is one of the assets of the capitalist class. In their hands, in one way or another, will be found all the machinery of production and all the means of the distribution of products. The working class is made up of those whose living is derived from their personal labor, whether of hand or brain. We shall also be obliged to admit that under the present system of industrial organization where combination is the watchword and nearly every industry is being incorporated in a trust, the ranks of the capitalist class are being rapidly depleted and the ranks of the working class are being greatly augmented. Not only does the organization of trusts for the control of the output of production and the ownership of the entire machinery of industry by a few tend to reduce mankind economically to these two classes and make the line between them very definite and the task of passing from the lower to the higher well nigh impossible, but there are other agencies which work the same result. It must be very evident to any man who has the mental power of putting two and two together that the logic of the trust mode of industrial economy is to make absolutely permanent this line of class distinction. When all the various forms of industry will be as sharply defined in this country as social caste is in India. With these trusts permanently in private hands there would not remain the possibility of passing from the working class to the capitalist class. There would grow up two distinct races: a master race and a servant race.

But every labor-saving invention is hastening the same result. Inventions, as any observer of recent events knows, limit the field of labor. If a machine can be made which will do the work which formerly required five or ten men, and do it more rapidly and accurately, it is evident not only that the use of such a machine is inevitable and wise, but that the opportunity of labor is diminished. The determining factors in every department of industry are economy of time and expense and excellence of workmanship. The trust and the introduction of improved machinery are simply the application of these natural laws of evolution to production and distribution. And nothing under heaven can prevent this application. No law which attempted to prohibit the formation of trusts or to interfere with the introduction of improved machinery could be enforced or ought to be. Any such movement is an attempt to check the progress of civilization. It is fighting against the stars in their courses. The trust is here to stay and every department of industry must be obedient to its will. Improvement in machinery will go on in leaps and bounds, so that it is not at all utopian to prophesy that within the next hundred years the demand for human labor, except in the higher lines of art, will be reduced at least one-half. You and I within a few years have seen the horse displaced in one whole department of public service, that of street car traffic. Steam electricity and bicycles are certain to retire the horse to an extremely limited area of service. The same line of industrial progress is bound also to reduce the area of manual toil to a minimum. In our century and a quarter of existence as a nation we have grown from a population of three millions to one of seventy-

five millions or more. And yet it is perfectly safe to say that with the improved machinery of the present time economically used the food product needful for the seventy-five millions could be raised and transported to all the homes of this vast country by the labor of fewer men than were required to do a like service for the three millions in the little strip of land along the Atlantic seaboard then inhabited. It is a condition and not a theory that we are facing to-day. And that condition is a system which produces and will perpetuate, unless changed, this economic caste, the capitalist class on the one side, the working class out of work on the other.

What is needed just now more than anything else is that we shall see clearly the facts, even as they are seen by that class whose interests are chiefly affected. And the chief fact is that industrial evolution has brought us to a crisis, where we must consider whether it is necessary or wise whether these two classes should be perpetuated. It is the belief of some of us that the relation between these two classes is, or is sure to be, practically identical with that which subsisted between master and slave forty years ago in our Southern States, with this difference, that while the slaveholder then was rendered by public sentiment, if not by statute law, responsible for the welfare of his slaves, and they were reasonably sure of a living, the capitalist class to-day are not held responsible and do not regard themselves as responsible for the welfare of the working class. I do not think they should be held responsible. But the fact remains that the condition of the working class is, in some respects worse than that of the slaves. A slave who had grown old and useless in his master's service was cared for. He always had the certainty of being provided for. To be sure, society now makes provision by houses and other institutions for the aged and useless members of the working class, or for such as live to be old. But the expense of these institutions is not borne by the capitalist class, but by the working class themselves. I hold that the entire expense for the care of the aged and feeble—indeed, the entire expense of every public institution is borne, in the last analysis, by the working class.

Let us take an illustration of the condition of labor under the present system as compared with corresponding conditions under slavery. A railroad built in the South before the war was built by slave labor largely. What did the slaves receive for their work? Exactly what a gang of men now doing the same work would receive—their board and clothes and lodging while working. At the end of the work what would these two classes of laborers have? They have both built the roadbed and laid the track for a railroad. Neither one would have anything in the shape of money, for the wages of railroad laborers do not amount to more than enough to feed and clothe them while they work. Both classes have given their labor, as the horses have, and received the same compensation: food, clothing and shelter while they work, often of a very poor sort; but while the slaves were sure of being cared for, the whites and freemen, are turned adrift to find another job or become dependent upon charity.

It ought to be clear to any thinking person that the perpetuation of such a system would be the greatest calamity that could befall civilization. Indeed, if it could be perpetuated, civilization would cease. I believe that it can be shown that it would be morally, ethically, religiously, socially, and industrially to the advantage of the capitalist class, as well as to that of the working class, to put an end to the system. I believe that it can be shown that a democratic form of government is incapable of surviving unless this caste is abolished. Better a monarchy in name as well as in fact, better any sort of class government frankly recognized, than to maintain aristocracy under the name and form of democracy. And an aristocracy is the only possible result of the existing economic order, an aristocracy based on wealth, on capitalism. Capitalism, Capitalism means mastership, there can be no doubt about that. Capitalism has not a single point of likeness to the principles of democracy. Democracy is the expression of the will of the people. Capitalism makes no place for popular suffrage. It is monarchy or aristocracy applied to industry. When did you ever hear of a government in which masters chose slaves to be their chief officers? And when did there ever exist a slave who was fit to fill such office? The perpetuation of the present economic caste in this country means the destruction of democracy, because it cannot have any other effect than that of unfitting the members of the working class for having any part whatever in government. To give the franchise to slaves is a travesty on common sense. Slavery unmans men, destroys their self-respect, makes them servile and cringing and base.

But if political wisdom and the dictates of brotherhood did not make a change seem necessary and just, there is another consideration, which, if true, should be conclusive. It is the conviction of a grow-

ing number of men that the present industrial system works injustice to the laborer, or producer. For under this system the capitalist class is, in the very nature of things, and independent of any man's volition, the product of exploitation. It is held that the private fortunes of the capitalist-class have been largely built up from the appropriation of a value created by the working class, or by society itself.

Here are men and women, as we all know perfectly well, who work hard and well, who are sober and industrious and skillful who yet do not receive sufficient for their labor to enable them to live a decent life. Some of them cannot even live out half their normal lifetime. Thousands are out of employment, necessarily so, made so partly by the introduction of improved machinery, partly because thousands upon thousands of people are not able to buy the things they need, and so create a demand for labor. Thousands are employed only a part of the time and are under the nervous tension of anxiety lest they should not find work. Some are hopeless. Suicides have increased tremendously, and a large percentage of them are those who have been unable to find work. Women are driven to shame and men to crime. Meanwhile we have the spectacle of great stock companies making such enormous profits on the product of their factories that they feel obliged to water the stock to keep down the rate per cent of the dividends. And some one is earning for other people good round dividends on stock that never had any existence. Well, what shall we do about it?

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