

TO SUBSCRIBERS
The date on which your subscription expires will be found on the yellow address label.
THIS IS NUMBER
409

WHOLE NUMBER, 409

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, JUNE 7, 1902

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR

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

Special Workers

The meeting of those who are willing to do something for Socialism, held Monday evening at the headquarters in the Odd Fellows' building, was very successful. Fifteen special workers were enrolled and took up the work of going after subscriptions and new members and back dues. This number will undoubtedly be added to Wednesday evening, and "Advance" will become San Francisco's watchword. Comrade Mills gave an instructive talk on methods of work, and his advice will be very profitable to the local. The rapidly increasing membership gives promise of a magnificent campaign, and a good beginning is already made.

A Good Offer to Workers

Comrade A. Barreau of Ideal San Francisco has placed at the disposal of the business manager of *Advance* 1000 shares in the Flashlight Oil Company. This is valued in the market at \$20 a share; its par value is \$1.00. The land of the company is situated in the Oil City Coalfield district, Fresno county, Cal. It is an area of 1200 acres situated within two or three miles of the most productive well in the district. The district has paid over \$10,000,000 in dividends in the last three years from the production of oil. The land is free from royalties, and with a double title. Wells are now being bored, and there is every indication of good fortune awaiting the company. Comrade Barreau avers that there will be no assessments and he controls the majority of the shares of stock. We do not wish to misrepresent matters nor to raise false hopes. The company does not hope to make all its stock over a millionaires. But the 1000 shares owned by Comrade Barreau from his own savings is a real actual value, and there is every possibility that this value will be given as to these.

First—To the person who gets us the largest number of yearly subscribers each week there shall be given 100 shares of stock.

Second—To the person who gets us the largest number of half-yearly subscribers each week there shall be given 50 shares of stock.

This contest shall run ten weeks or until the 1500 shares are exhausted.

The only condition attaching is that at least ten yearly subscribers or ten half-yearly subscribers shall be necessary to entitle the person securing them to the prize.

The contest opens June 10th, and the first week will close at 12 o'clock, p. m., and only such subscriptions will be counted as are delivered to this office by that time. In sending in names state that you want them to count for you in this contest. The second week will close at 12 o'clock, p. m., on June 17th and runs to 6 p. m., each following Tuesday, and so for each succeeding week till the stock is exhausted.

There is no limit against any Comrade winning all the prizes every week, or after another. So that each one that starts the contest has a chance to win the whole 1500 shares, which represents at a market price of \$20 a value of \$300. Or, if a Comrade wins the yearly prize every week he gets 1000 shares, or \$200. Or if he confines himself to half-yearly he gets a chance at 500 shares or \$100. And, meantime, each Comrade who works for this is adding to the number of people who are reading a good Socialist paper and becoming through it a part of that army of 20,000 who will march to the polls this fall and vote for a Socialist Governor of California, that workers may be helped to get the full products of their labor.

Remember, now, the lists are open June 10th; they close June 17th, 6 p. m., for the first week. Who will win the first bunch? Hustle, Comrades, you all have a good show.

International Notes

Germany.

The two soldiers who have been tried several times for the murder of Captain Krostig have finally been acquitted by a court-martial.

Jacques Bonhomme.

Send in your dollar for four subscriptions early. You can get the people are hungry for this literature.

The Political Parties

Probably the most enthusiastic crowd ever assembled in the Metropolitan Temple cheered and shouted and waived their handkerchiefs in response to Comrade Walter Thomas Mills' thrilling characterization of Political Parties and their objects, on Sunday, June 1st.

"Political parties are only formed for the purpose of settling questions of the most vital importance to a nation—questions that could not in their very nature be decided within the halls of the executive or legislative bodies. The framers of the American constitution never intended that the people should have a voice in the settlement of political problems; they were to be fought out by Congress and the Cabinet—a government by the intelligent classes. The problem of the day—Democracy versus Aristocracy—was too vital to be settled by representatives, however, and was taken to the people, who forthwith divided into the first political parties and fought it out at the ballot box. Upon the election of the candidate of the common people, Thomas Jefferson, if the party in power had refused to yield to the popular decision, the immediate result would have been civil war.

"Again, when the land-grabber of the East and the slave-trader of the South were manning the freedom of the people, the matter became too serious to be settled by petition or representatives, and was fought out by the people at the polls. The victory was won by the self-employed farmers and mechanics of the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, who rallied to the cry of 'Free Press, Free Speech, Free Soil and Free Homestead.' The Eastern plutocracy yielded to the superior force of the Republican voters, but the Southern slave trader refused to retire from the field of the territory, and so the men who had organized to carry the election promptly organized to compel obedience to their mandate.

"The struggle of the ages is approaching its climax, and every man who can see the necessity for action to secure for all the right to life, to labor and a third if he refuses to take his place in the ranks of the one organization that will win a victory for humanity."

He closed his address with an outline of the activity of the unions, particularly referring to the address of Edward Boyce, President of the Western Federation of Miners, in convention at Denver.

He read the following telegram addressed to President Boyce:

"Two thousand Socialists send congratulations and pledge their help to make the workmen the political masters of America and of the world."

On a rising vote being called for every man and woman in the hall stood and joined in the yell of Prof. Mills' school—
I. S. E.
Sis! Boom! Bah!
Socialism! Socialism!
Bah! Bah! Bah!

Knows a Good Thing

Advance—Jas A. Smith: Dear Comrade—My best wishes to *Advance*. Your paper is clean-cut and I would not be without it. "Poppies and Wheat," by Comrade Mary Fitzbrother, is the only woman's column that ever interested me, and is a powerful departure from the conventional twaddle passing under that title in other papers. I cannot appreciate patterns for tidies, cooking recipes, or how to make corned beef for 10 cents; but I can understand a woman's strong sympathy for the women and children so cruelly wronged under our present conditions.

Fraternally, John Korian, Saginaw, Mich., May 22, 1902

Local Victories

PENNSYLVANIA
After a hot campaign Comrade J. W. Slayton has been elected on the Socialist ticket as Alderman of the Third Ward, Philadelphia. The Comrades are very proud of carrying many offices in the city.

INDIANA
In the spring election, May 27th, for town officers, the Democrats and Socialists had a tie in the Third Ward, and another election Monday, the 29th, gained the victory—Socialist, 109; Republican, 58; Democrat, 27; total, 234. We are proud to say the first Socialist in the State of Indiana.

Needed in Business

"I need them in cotton manufacturing," says the business man.

"I need them in glass-making," says the business man.

"I need them in iron-ore mining," says the business man.

"I need them in sugar-cane planting," says the business man.

"I need them in rubber-planting," says the business man.

"I need them in silk-rearing," says the business man.

"I need them in wool-growing," says the business man.

"I need them in grain-raising," says the business man.

"I need them in stock-raising," says the business man.

"I need them in sheep-raising," says the business man.

"I need them in pig-raising," says the business man.

"I need them in horse-raising," says the business man.

"I need them in dog-raising," says the business man.

The Only Possibility of Peace.

BY JOB HARRIMAN.

The phenomenon of an international working party composed of millions of workers, the solidarity and unification of which grows with years; pregnant with the most far-reaching results, is the most stupendous fact thus far recorded in the annals of mankind. Whoever has witnessed an international congress of this new-born movement, and has observed its singleness of purpose, can not have failed to have perceived that whatever differences arise in their ranks, the differences are only as to what method of procedure will best conserve the interest of their international organization and the principles in which they are all agreed.

The contrast between the growing solidarity of this international working class party on the one hand, and the international and international war between the innumerable capitalist parties on the other, is like a chasm in which is set forth the rise of Socialism and the fall of capitalism.

Though it is apparent that there is a permanent cleavage between the interests of the working class and the capitalist class in every locality as well as in every nation, yet the capitalist parties, locally, nationally and internationally, are bitterly fighting one another, and the result of this struggle tends to increase with their power. War becomes their dominant passion.

But it is different with the working class political party. The internal discord in the Socialist or working class political party begin in their infancy and tend to disappear as power develops. Solidarity becomes their ruling passion.

CLASS INTERESTS.

That we may see an expansion of this phenomenon we must inquire into the interests of the capitalist class and the working class. The capitalist class has no other interest than to get the most out of any scheme or plan first conceived and then put in operation; and that to understand either movement the scheme or plot must be understood. The working class proceed in this manner. Evolution does not follow ideas and plans, but on the contrary, ideas and plans follow evolution. Each class in the social body evolves along lines consistent with its interests, and both the ideas and ideals of each class are determined by those interests. Ideals are born of class interests, but class interests are not born of ideals. Strange as it may appear, our moral about which we have so much to say and over which we become so enthusiastic, are only the expressions of the interests at stake and will remain or rest away according as the interests which give rise to them are permanent or temporary. The final test as to what is moral is found in the law of the conservation of energy. The easiest way to accomplish an end is still the easiest, if not at once, receive the moral sanction of society. Our morals are accordingly formed and reformed by every change in the methods of industrial procedure.

We may, therefore, eliminate the questions pertaining to ideals and morals, and consider only the question of interests, in order to understand why there is a tendency toward international solidarity of the Socialist or working class movement, and why there is an ever increasing national and international strife between the capitalist parties. The inherent strength of the one and the inherent weakness of the other may be determined from the nature of their interests.

The fact that one individual is permitted to retain the major portion of another man's produce—is the foundation of our present industrial and commercial system. Naturally, there springs up a clash of interests between these two individuals. For, as the wages of the one increased, the profits of the other are decreased. Hence both parties struggle for the products of the other's effort, resulting in the employer constantly gaining in material advantage, inasmuch as he is always taking power from the man who works. As this method of doing business has become universal, it follows that a comparative law of the struggle for power, in which each party makes its business to gather profits from those who work have grown into a class antagonism of a common interest as against those who work, but not of a common interest among themselves. For since profits are the thing sought, because of the power thereby gained, they seek first to gain possession of the largest possible quantity of the product of the work-

ery; then they make war upon one another. What matters it to them whether they have taken this power directly from the workers or whether they have chased a fellow-capitalist and sliced him of his takings, since it is power or profits that they are after.

This every industry becomes a capitalist fight with which to directly attack the working class, and with which every individual capitalist is liable to an indirect attack.

THE WAR AMONG CAPITALISTS.
Not only does a state of war prevail between the two classes, but a similar warfare crosses the war waxes fiercer between the capitalists themselves. As the industrial war increases the political factor plays an ever more important part. Behind the political organization stands every individual in the community, ready to enforce the law. If he does not directly support the law, he is held to be a worker, producer, soldier, sailor, and the army and they enforce the law. The political machinery, therefore, becomes of primary importance. The profits arising out of the industrial and political become the power with which the political machinery is created, and thus the spoils of office become the goal of political parties without number. The political parties are the means by which the capitalist class seeks to retain the possession of the industrial means of the productive power, and the political parties are the means by which the capitalist class seeks to retain the possession of the industrial means of the productive power.

Though the war among capitalists is a prospect of gain, whether it be in the industrial field, the commercial field or the field of blood, it is a war. Each party demands the lion's share and take it whenever he has sufficient power. The power of the world would without cause by political parties. The political parties in America and India; of Germany in Africa and her island colonies; of France in her possessions around the Mediterranean, and others too numerous to mention are proof of this fact. With the capitalist state it is a question of power and not of justice. The industries give rise to profits and the profits give incentive to plunder in this system of piracy.

THE FATE OF CAPITALISM.

Thus the profits wrung from the working class give, first, to the capitalist class; second, to the never-ending war between the capitalist and the working class and third, to a war between individual capitalists themselves; finally, to war between the capitalist states. War in the industrial field, war in the commercial field, war in the political field, war in the field of blood, national and international—this is the ripe fruit of the profit system; this is the weakness of the capitalist system; this is the rock upon which the capitalist ship of state will wreck; for the capitalists must maintain the profit system or lose their power and if they do maintain it, they will continue to devour each other. The capitalist state is between the devil and the deep sea—namely, the capitalist class and the innumerable hosts of workers. It is being devoured in the all-consuming flames of greed and ambition. The all important question under capitalism, how much of the products and comforts of the working class can the capitalist class take, for just in that proportion their power increases.

Just as war develops from profits, so ambition and cunning and deceit and falsifying and treachery, become the intellectual methods of those engaged in the struggle for power. Thus the downfall of capitalist institutions and the decad-

(Continued on Page Three.)

Richardson's Speech

San Diego, May 15, 1902.
The Socialist of San Diego are feeling good over the very successful meeting of Monday night last, which was addressed by Prof. N. A. Richardson of San Bernardino. As a convincing, logical statement of the Socialist's proposition the lecture has, perhaps, never been excelled in this city. The Professor is looked for a two weeks' tour through the country, and will do the cause a wonder of good. If there is any way it can be done, he ought to be kept constantly in the field.

ADVANCE

What's to be Done?

Poppies and Wheat.

BY MARY FAIRBROTHER.

First: If you have any blanks for signatures petitioning a place on the ballot for the Socialist party get the blanks filled with signatures, swear to them in form furnished before some notary and send them in IMMEDIATELY to The Bersford, 600 Stevenson street, San Francisco, Cal.

We want all the names you can get, but they must be sent in right away to be available.

Second: If you have sent in all the names you can get, you have done what you could to get the Socialist party on the ballot. It then remains for you to work for the polling of so large a vote that it will never again be necessary to petition.

Send to this office for six-month subscription cards. They sell at 25c each. Take them and sell them to your fellow-workmen and neighbors. Few of them will refuse you, if you go after them properly. Don't apologize! They ought to apologize to you for not giving you the trouble of going after them. You are doing them a favor in putting them on the right political track.

Third: It is necessary to bind up our converts into an organization for political work. We must get them in touch with other Socialists, so that their faith shall receive the support and their enthusiasm the stimulus that comes from numbers.

We must put them in a position where they can learn the methods and get the materials for making more converts and adding new strength to the party. This work is the work of the Organizer. But we need the Organizer funds are needed and the Comrades must satisfy those funds in a large measure. This work is highly important. Therefore, Comrades, circulate subscription lists for the organization and campaign fund and send the money collected to the State Secretary, who will acknowledge receipt in this paper.

There are, then, three things to do: 1. Send in immediately all the names on the petition blanks you can get; 2. Get subscriptions to 'Advance'; 3. Get contributions to party funds to carry on the organization and political work. Let every Comrade tend to work with zeal, and twenty thousand will be our vote on November 4th.

The Wm. Morris Club

A large gathering filled Scottish Hall May 27th, in attendance at the entertainment and dance given by the Wm. Morris Club for the benefit of the headquarters of the musical and literary features of the evening added to the already excellent reputation of the club for its minstrel to the enjoyment of its guests. The dance that followed was participated in by a large number, and the floor was completely but not uncomfortably filled. Ice cream and lemonade were served refreshments, and added to the proceeds which net over \$50 for the fund. The affair was most enjoyable, and many requests are being made of the ladies that is considering an early repetition. The club is considering its next entertainment to the benefit of "Advance." If this is done, we are sure they will receive the most hearty co-operation, and a large sum should be raised to help settle some of the debts, which still incommode the management.

Resolution of Thanks

We, the members of Local San Francisco Socialist Party, hereby express our heartfelt appreciation and gratitude for the services rendered to the cause of Socialism, and to our organization, by Prof. Walter Thomas Mills during his stay in our city.

The enthusiastic series of meetings held at the Metropolitan Temple, which resulted in such a marked accession of new members into our local, and its arousing so many persons to a deep interest in Socialism, as well as the splendid work of the International School of Social Economy, has left the local movement at a high point than it has been for several years. To show our recognition of Comrade Mills' work we order this resolution of thanks spread upon our minutes as the action of this body.

San Francisco, Calif., June 4, 1902.

To a woman who has a disordered liver or who wears green glasses everything looks green; to a woman in love everything looks rose-colored, and to a Socialist everything looks black and white. Perhaps that is the reason that the meeting which resulted in the organization of a Consumers' League the other night seemed so much like a Socialist propaganda meeting. Mrs. Kelly was there, the well-known and dearly loved secretary of the National League, and Mrs. Nathan was there in her red lace and diamonds and her lovely white gown and her long gloves and her short sleeves and her beautiful hands and arms. A woman looks better in white on the platform than in any color. And as president of the New York Consumers' League is a handsome woman anywhere. All of which has nothing whatever to do with what is on my mind in regard to the meeting.

There is something incongruous, something which does not fit, in an elegantly gowned woman, who has been somebody's pet all her days, standing before an audience and talking about the suffering girls who work for a living and the boys who grow old and weary before the last years of their teens are reached, because they must meet such desperate responsibilities. The consumers are not the workers, that is part of them assume that they are not, though all dealers will tell you that they prefer the trade of working people for it takes less time and expense and the sales are more satisfactory. Perhaps this incongruity had something to do with the fact that Miss Helen Block of the Garment Workers' Union recited what she made a little speech and told what unions had done for the working girls in her organization, in making employment steady, in providing them with comfortable, in improved conditions in all directions, and wages that a girl can manage to exist upon. Anyway, whatever it was, she made a strong impression on the audience, by her composed manner and her sweet voice and the applause which followed was a great compliment, lasting, as it did, for several minutes. All this was interesting, and, I think, to what I am going to say as a Socialist does not appear.

Mrs. Nathan drew a picture, several times in fact, of a girl who lives in the world, and she asked what the prison-ers of the reformatories were erect are simply monuments to our own stupidity. Now I wonder what better Socialist doctrine one could desire than that? If she had gone further and said she wished to see every working girl and every child entering life as it might be enjoyed, if it were not for people of her class, she would have been a Socialist. If she had said that as a decent woman even her luxury and her wealth were tainted by the curse of capitalism until all real Socialists she should have been a Socialist. She stated conditions exactly as the most radical would state them. She drew the same picture of a girl suffering, deprivation, misery and blight that we know, some of us, by the feel of them, and in everything but the proposed remedy she made a good speech for economic revolution. She is in favor of capitalism. She is hedged in by the prejudice of her class, and she believes that certain privileges are hers by right of birth or inheritance. She is in favor of capitalism, to a different world from that of the working girl. She believes it to be her duty to help the working girl. She hugs her tender soul and takes unctious to herself because she is a liberal and so thoughtful because she argues, "I never wear shop-made goods, it is really not my concern, except in the way that we are all sisters." I have heard hundreds of women like her tell each other these pretty fables.

Socialism knows better. Socialists don't want anyone to be good to anyone else only in the way of love and care and sympathy, and the help which generosity will always know how to bestow, with lavish hand. Socialists want this woman, and the girl who is president of the working girls' union to have equal rights in all that pertains to the means of subsistence. To each girl who works give the full product of her toil, and until she is grown, give her a chance to develop whatever talent there is in her, by giving her an equal education with her sisters. Then, if women rich in human sympathy, with warm hearts and tender hands desire to help some one who is less fortunate and who makes a mistake for her own good, make mistakes under Socialism, the opportunity to give, what only a woman can give, will not be denied. When the curse of gold is removed from the earth it will be so fine a place, to live that we will care for life a thousand fold. And to womanly women, who always enjoy what they do for themselves, it will be a paradise indeed. In the meantime, the Consumers' League is a fine thought on the part of the rich women, for it has done good, and it will, and I say God-speed to it, in San Francisco, where it is reported, there is a larger consumption of sweat-shop goods than in any city of its size in America. The rich customer certainly has influence with the merchant, and the merchant has influence with the factory, and it can never do anything but good.

The Socialist Platform.

(Adopted by the Socialist party in National Convention at Indianapolis, Ind., July 31, 1901.)

The Socialist Party, in national convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple, and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of the worker, is owned by the capitalist and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalist to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them. Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes, the capitalist and the wage-workers. The once powerful and middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery. The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the slaughter of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which have led to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage-workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class and other classes, despite their many apparent conflicts are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois party ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class. The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective ownership of the instruments of production, by themselves constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied class.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depends upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We, therefore, consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

- As such means we advocate: 1. The collective ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the services and diminishing the rates to the consumers. 2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of his labor. 3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age. 4. The inauguration of a system of public industry, to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and State and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures 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 movement, 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 conditions of the working class.

Correspondence

Editor Advance: A few weeks ago your editorial fair sister, Mary Fairbrother, had a timely article on "Homes," and especially kitchens, how they are built and how they should be built. . . . I am sorry that I did not hear Comrade Everett's discourse on "The Home of the Future," which discourse, says, indeed, her to show up the shortcomings of the average kitchen and also of the man who plans the kitchen. Her words, in turn, induced me to write these lines, in the hope of inducing some other to write something on the line of building better homes. . . . Like hundreds and thousands of others I have read about Socialism, talked Socialism, voted Socialism, till sometimes I almost get tired of Socialism. . . . How would it be for a change to do a little Socialism? Are there 20 or 25 heads of families in San Francisco, who are afflicted with Socialism, that I might know they would be willing to take a small dose of active Socialism? If so, I would like to hear from them. But, please, don't talk all at once now, and don't be afraid that you will have to undergo an examination as to your "scientific" or "unscientific" Socialism. Even anarchists, if not already deported to Anarch Island, or the more lame single fathers will get a hearing; and as Oakland is the bedroom of San Francisco, and the bedroom will be probably an important feature of the Socialist home of the future, Oakland Socialists and co-operatives need not be fearful neither, in calling on or addressing O. Sims, 36 Geary street, room 34, S. F.

"Immediate Demands"

Editor Advance: There seems to be some confusion in and out of Socialist ranks concerning the significance of the immediate demands. As part of the revolutionary program they are useless.

In general tactics their purpose is clear enough.

Their presence in the platform, as well as the attitude of the Socialist Party in co-operating with the trades union movement, is explained by all consistent Socialists as a tactical action in the interests of many, Austria, Italy, France and Belgium.

In further confirmation of the fact that demands of a semi-revolutionary nature, as well as an active action by semi-revolutionists, do not impair the unmistakable integrity of the real demands, or of the party's political action, we point to the reports of conventions abroad, especially the International, and to the party's steady growth.

Further proof of the wisdom of the Socialist Party's tactics could be found in the fact, that the convention of the Social Democratic Federation in England, recently, by a vote of 8 to 1 rejected De Leon's proposal to accept his impoisonist S. P. & L. A., it being antagonizing to trades unionism.

The immediate demands on the platform but serve to explain the real nature of the revolutionary part of the platform. They emphasize the fact that if robbery is legalized, that it is not consistent to limit the extent of the robbery; that if he right to take railroads out of the possession of the capitalist class, it would be right to take the entire means of production and distribution out of the hands of the capitalist class. They emphasize the fact that if it be at all legal for a body of workers to unite for the purpose of resisting the exploitation of the working class, will be just as legal for their organization to demand, through the use of the ballot, the abolition of all exploitation of labor, and for a private class of their fellow-citizens.

It is true, the immediate demands might have been a little more Socialistic; but then, the convention which framed them was composed mostly of young Socialists, and they builded wider than they knew, choosing opportunism rather than impossibility.

Agnew, Cal. Chas. A. F. Purdy.

Organ of the Socialist Party of California: Published Weekly by the Local San Francisco, Socialist Party. Jas. A. Smith, Business Manager, Room 8, Odd Fellows Bldg., San Francisco, California.

Subscription price, 50c per year; six months, 25c.

Life and Property

The Chicago capitalists are just now furnishing us with an illustration of their notions of the respective rights of people to life and property. Property rights are sacred. The man who interferes with property rights is really sacrilegious, and if necessary the police may spit his head open, the militia may bayonet him or the regular troops may turn loose the galling guns upon him. There is no human right that is not entirely subsidiary to the right of the capitalist to make a few more filthy dollars. This is the actual practiced belief of the capitalist, as exemplified at present in Chicago, last year in San Francisco and throughout everywhere.

The capitalists have the right to get all the railroads and charge the farmers all the traffic will bear, thus confining them to poverty and hard toil their lives through. They control the most supply of the nation and cause a meat famine; they can deprive the sun-stricken children of the poor of needed ice; they can adulterate milk; they can rob, steal, and murder to the utmost extent, providing only their victims are sacrificed to profits—the only god the rich adore. This is their creed, according to the testimony of their daily lives.

"While Ye Have the Light, Work!"

From every part comes the most encouraging reports as to the progress of the Socialist party. To one, who is in touch with the labor and capitalist press of the country, it is evident that we are trembling on the verge of a great enthusiastic move for Socialism. Everywhere a new spirit, stirring and working the masses of the people. Labor has lifted its eyes from the monotonous daily task and is looking forward and upward. A light has shined upon its vision, and its glancing eye tells of the hope that stirs its heart. Daily the time of its triumph draws nigher.

Hitherto California has held an honorable position in the ranks of Socialism. While no minor political victories have been won within its borders, yet the vote throughout the State has been so great as to make us yield rank only to Massachusetts in the proportion of Socialist to capitalist electors. California has presented many difficulties and also many advantages to the Socialist movement. The spaciousness of its population, which is no greater than that of the city Greater New York and is scattered over a territory 800 miles long by 300 miles wide, is the chief difficulty. The great distance between the railroads make the expense of a traveling agitator and organizer very heavy. But to balance off this intelligence, and the rebellious character of the population makes them favorable subjects for Socialist propaganda. Our cause makes no progress with fools or submissive, slavish-minded men. But the people who have had the energy to come to California to escape the harder conditions of the East and Europe, and the native Californians with traditions of freedom and independence immediately behind them, such are not fools or slaves and they must and will become Socialists. What they need is to hear the summons and know to what it calls. We must send the messengers of our tidings to them. We must spread among them the word we have given. They must be told what it is we wish and work for. As far as off they hear the tramp, tramp of the feet of our marching multitude. They have their heads to hear more clearly and grasp its meaning. And when our message and call to action. And then, through the earnest voices of our speakers and organizers, the mission and the hope of the toilers is revealed to them, they will take up the cry and join our ever-increasing host.

It behooves every Socialist, then, to work for the cause. The capitalists are preparing their forces against us. Over and over again, Morgan and Hanna and Roosevelt have declared that Socialism is the foe they most dread. They know that Socialism will grow rapidly in the next few years and Hanna even predicted that in 1904 the contest for the Presidency would be between the Republicans and the Socialists. Knowing this, they are working actively to head us off and to foul and betray the workers. The time is pressing upon us, therefore. Let us work the harder.

Architecture Under Socialism

BL OLIVER EVERETT.

A noted writer once said: "Show me the habitations of a people and I will tell you the degree of civilization they have attained." This is merely another way of stating the truth the Socialist so often reiterates, that man's material environment is the result of his economic condition. This is true of the nation as well as of the individual, and the national architecture reflects the economic condition of the people.

Before taking up the subject of this evening's talk, I will describe some of the achievements of preceding generations in the art and practice of building, which will show how the predominant influences of the national life can be traced by studying the architectural monuments that different races and nations have left behind them.

The purposes for which buildings are erected are various. First in order come those erected for habitation, then those for purposes of defense, though often the two are combined in the same structure.

After these prime necessities have been provided, and as the people become more civilized, places of public amusement and of public assemblage became necessary, and still later temples for religious worship form another important, with different requirements and different aims.

The mode of life of a warlike people is reflected in its architecture as surely as the dwelling place of the individual indicates his conditions.

ANCIENT ARCHITECTURE.

The conditions of slavery existing in ancient Egypt are well typified by the Pyramids that yet stand to tell us how an entire people was sacrificed to glorify their lives for the gratification of the whims, and to perpetuate the memory of their rulers. It is estimated that the construction of the great Pyramid of Cheops required the continuous services of one hundred thousand men for a period of twenty years.

The religious enthusiasm of the Middle Ages has left us the most beautiful cathedrals that excite the admiration of the beholder, and when I assert that no building erected to-day in this country will stand comparison either in beauty of design or durability in construction with the masterpieces of the ancients, I am sure you will be forced to agree with me.

What modern dwelling can compare with King Solomon's temple, with its tomb public or private baths with those of Carthage, what monument with the triumphal arch of Trajan or of Constantine.

What building erected within the memory of man can be predicted to endure for five hundred years? Yet the Pyramids have stood unshaken for probably ten times that length of time, and will probably endure ten times as long again before they crumble to ruin.

Buildings to-day are not erected to endure, but to return their owners the largest possible interest on the least possible expenditure of money. If buildings were built as they should be, insurance companies would all go out of Constantinople.

Nor is it only on the score of durability that these old buildings surpass our efforts. To get an idea of the immense scale on which they were constructed, take the Coliseum at Rome, a structure of public amusement, capable of seating over one hundred thousand spectators.

Planned in the form of an ellipse, with a major axis of 615 feet and a transverse axis of 310 feet, the arena or central space reserved for the gladiatorial contests was 281 feet long by 176 feet across; it was surrounded by tier on tier of seats, ascending as they receded from the arena, till the height of two hundred feet was reached, and this entire building of solid masonry and stone work was completed within the space of two years and nine months.

But the public amusements of the Roman populace was not confined to one building by any means.

Publius Vitor says that the City of Rome contained public and private baths to the amazing number of 850. Some of these we know from their ruins were buildings of great extent and magnificence.

No modern building are comparable with these: no modern temples of worship can compare with the temples erected by the old Greeks and Romans. The dome of Notre Dame, of hundreds of lesser ones, scattered all over Europe. Why is this?

MODERN CONDITIONS.

I will read from an article in the Engineering Magazine that will tell you why.

"Let us examine the society that produced the great works of the Gothic and the early Renaissance styles. They were the work of cities in their prime, at least were intensely DEMOCRATIC communities. They were organizations of free workers proud of their skill, jealous of their reputations as craftsmen. The affairs of each trade or 'mystery' were managed as a whole; the price and qual-

ity of the product, the number of journeymen allotted to each master, all were regulated in the common interest. Processes were simple, machinery all but unknown. The architect was simply the master-builder, and each craftsman who wrought a part brought ample skill and craft pride to his task. All worked in a common style, the prevailing one of the hour, and all lived jovial lives free from the cares of the world. Small wonder then that in the works of that time we find our ideal of the artistic perfection to which we vainly aspire. They were the works and they are the monuments of a society as dead as the negativeness.

"Contrast our own social conditions. Our craftsmen are politically free and highly educated men, in theory at least. Economically—that is to say actually—they are mere wares, subject like other wares, to the law of supply and demand; they are bought for the work they can do. Their interest is, of course, to give the highest efficiency of labor for the least, i. e., the wages. And this view is enforced by the trades unions to which they must belong, for these unions know that increased efficiency of labor must, on the whole, lower wages and hence do not encourage it.

"The architect, himself almost a ware, bought and sold in competition with others, harassed by a thousand uncertainties and perplexities, gives what energy he can spare to his life as an artist. He must subordinate the exact form and shape of his buildings, specifying all materials and labor, minutely describing all constructive forms, working out all decorative detail from the standpoint of mere cost at least. For the building itself is a ware, and its price is settled by competition. The lowest, as a rule, is the best bidder, and if 't' were done at all 't' would be done quickly, 'for 'time is money.' The architect is a man of extraordinary force and enthusiasm he will, nevertheless, work out his design with vast and loving care, securing the co-operation of young and ardent assistants, who work as they love for money, but that even he will find the execution in the hands of a contractor to whom profit is the first law, which, on pain of ruin, he is not to disregard, and finally of workmen who cannot be expected to hold their work as higher than themselves, and they are wares. Can we reasonably look for art work from a commodity? It is only wonderful how much we actually receive.

"Humanity is not to be wholly expressed by the formula of trade, and people after all will give more than is paid for." Can any Socialist that have said it better? These comparisons show you I think that the ancients have surpassed us in meritorious achievements in the line of building, and I will give but one more instance of the greater thoroughness of their methods. When Roman conquerors subdued a hostile race, the pride of the conqueror was perpetuated, and the memory of his achievements was kept alive by the erection of a triumphal arch of marble. When Admiral Dewey achieved a victory in Manila Bay, and the whole nation went into hysterics over the affair, how was the greater thoroughness by the erection of a triumphal arch spanning one of the main thoroughfares of New York City? How many of you know how it was built and what has become of it?

It was built of lath and plaster and was recently carried off to the dumps, where it properly belongs.

UNDER SOCIALISM.

Now let me try to predict what will be the effect of Socialism, or the co-operative commonwealth on the architecture of the future. I think I may safely say that all its military characteristics will be eliminated completely. When nations learn to war no more, when our ideals of right and justice are such that they will no longer need fleets and forts to enforce them, then our fleets and forts will go where Dewey's arch went, and the wasted efforts now spent in maintaining them will be applied in erecting buildings for both public and private use, so that we all may enjoy substantial residences, elegant and commodious public buildings and workshops, and never be saddened with thought that any human being still has to live in the slums. In this connection let me read to you an extract from an Encyclopaedia dictionary of architecture, showing that the laboring man of to-day is considered of less value than the beasts of the fields.

"Estates being of no value without hands to cultivate them, the laborer is one of the most valuable members of society; without him the richest soil is not worth owning. It follows, then, that his condition should be more especially considered, and it is the duty of every country gentleman to take care that the laborer on his estate as so considered as to be made at least comfortable. The shareholder should be poor of his kingdom are obliged to put up with it, truly affecting to a heart fraught with humanity. The weather penetrates all parts of them, which must occasion illness of various kinds, particularly agues, which more frequently visit the children of cottagers than any others, and early shake

their constitutions. We are careful of our horses, many of our dogs, which are less valuable animals; we bestow considerable attention upon our stables and kennels, but we are apt to look upon cottages as encumbrances and clogs to our property, when in fact those who occupy them are the very nerves and sinews of agriculture.

In describing the requirements of dwellings for the poor laborer the authors say: "One room should be provided for the man, and another for the children." It would be well always, if possible, that the girls and boys in a cottage should be separated, but unfortunately this entails expense, and perhaps is not so materially necessary, because the boys find employment at an early age."

I think under Socialism we will be able to provide proper accommodations, and that without despoiling a horse of his stable or a dog of his kennel. Under Socialism I look to see more beautiful buildings than we have to-day, for we will have the time to design beautiful buildings; I look to see more substantial buildings; for we will not be obliged, as at present, to economize in their construction, or consider the ways and means; the resources of the Socialist will be applied to supply any and all demands made on them.

Not only that, but I look to see the factory and workshops so transformed that they present no hindrance to the worker, but rather places of public amusement. Why should not the places where labor is performed be made as agreeable as humanly possible? Why should the toiler be surrounded by dirt during the hours of his work as well as in the privacy of his own home? And for the same reason that the millionaire decorates his private residence, why should he be surrounded by pleasing environments, and his task rendered agreeable and not repulsive.

THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCE.

All these things I look for, and many other conditions that will make this world a pleasant place to dwell on. Yet I am not one of those Socialists who desire Socialism as inevitable; that the present economic forces will drive us there whether we desire it or not. The present system cannot long endure; I am fully aware of that. You can rest assured that if the great masters of industry have their way, it will be Socialism that will come, but slavery. Do you know that the capitalist system is trying to perpetuate itself as long as it can, we are trying to overturn that system? That the forces of revolution must become stronger than the forces of conservatism before we can hope for Socialism?

In closing, I would like to think that many Socialists are too apt to look at Socialism from a single standpoint. This it seems to me is wrong, for Socialism is as many-sided as humanity. Socialism is all things to all men.

To the just man it fulfills his highest ideals of justice; to the working man it solves the bread and butter question; to the artist and craftsman it furnishes the only basis on which to realize their highest ideals of art and architecture and make of them living realities.

For any one of us to insist that his own view only is correct is to make the serious mistake made by two knights, who fell into a dispute as to whether the shield on a certain statue was made of gold or silver. They got so angry that they maintained his own opinion was the right one, and finally came to blows. After they had nearly killed each other, they agreed to let the dispute be settled by the first passer by, who told them that on one side of the shield was of gold and the other of silver.

Possibility of Peace

(Continued from Page One.)

element of character go hand in hand to a common tomb as a result of an industrial system which develops a class interest permanently at variance with the interests of the race. Nevertheless, the capitalists will follow their immediate interests even though they wreck the nation and lower themselves into the tomb.

THE BASIS OF SLAVERY.

So also will the workers follow their interests. Of this we need make no mistake. It remains only for us to understand what the nature of that interest is, in order to perceive the necessity of others may be toward a permanent class interest, or toward the general interest of the race; toward liberty or tyranny, toward a moral or an immoral social life, toward an intellectual revival or decadence, toward lofty or degraded ideals. We must remember that liberty and tyranny are not mere abstractions, but they are the immediate results of the individual control of material resources.

Whoever has his comforts absolutely secured is a free man; whoever is dependent is a slave; and whoever holds in his possession the necessities of others may be a tyrant at his will. Tyranny is born and nurtured by the necessities of the many being held by the few.

In this struggle we began to dawn upon the many that as tyranny increases the

power to tyrannize increases; that the power of the rich to tyrannize over the workers is derived from the workers themselves; that it is the workers who produce the profits; that it is the profits that furnish the power to make more profits and thus the rate of profits determines the degree of tyranny. It is also tyrannizing over workers that no one ever makes profits out of himself. As individuals make no profits out of themselves, of neither can a class make profits out of itself. Therefore to see that the working class cannot receive more than it produces and therefore can never receive any profits whatever.

Hence it becomes the dominant interest of the working class to abolish the profit system and, instead of spending their lives in producing profits for others, conserve their energies by keeping their products for themselves.

THE SOLIDARITY OF LABOR.

The inventions of the last century which bind the workers together in the great industries, and which force them to co-operate in production, have also brought the necessity of co-operation in distribution. As the factory or machine system of production extends from nation and the interests of the workers, by reason of the changes in prices and shifting in nation, to commercial exchanges set the scale of wages, become likewise international. The idea of the abolition of the profit system being the child of the factory system, Socialism naturally grows wherever the factory is planted and thus becomes international in its character.

This being the nature and the source of the interests of the workers, it is plain why the workers do not require the power, and why their internal strife tend to a minimum, while their strife with opposing classes tend to the maximum struggle. The workers and their interests bind them together, and their differences arise only on methods of procedure, which is consistent with a healthy development. The workers being bound together with mutual interests, and their interests being divided by conflicting interests, it becomes apparent that the march of time will shift the preponderance of power to the working class or the Socialist movement.

The present capitalist class and state will therefore disappear. The present capitalist will be absorbed in the fields of industry. Their interests will become mutual with the rest of the workers. The political state will be transformed into an industrial state.

LABOR'S TRIUMPH MEANS PEACE.

Class wars will be of the past; for profits, the bone of contention, will be no more.

Industrial battles and commercial conflicts will not arise, since there will be no profits to inspire the struggle.

Political party strife will disappear, once there will be no spoils of office upon which to live. Being rent with no more class wars, no more industrial wars, no more political wars, no more war of shell and shell, no more tyranny; and being bound together with mutual interests, our motives and actions in life will be revolutionary, our social life and morals and ideals will be accordingly transformed. War will not only cease to be the ruling passion, but it will be looked upon as the last remnant of the brute.

Mutual interest is the salt of the earth. No more movement was ever organized that had not for its foundation the interests of its members.

Let us not be deceived. It is this mutual interest of the workers of the world that is making the Socialist movement. In time it will call into action all the power that lies dormant in this all powerful class. It is easier for them to live by keeping all their products than by keeping a part. The easiest thing for society to do is the right thing. The conservation of energy is the first law of nature. The standard of morals will therefore be changed. Instead of the easiest method for the capitalist class being the standard of morals, the easiest method for the race will become the standard of right. A man's influence in the community will then be determined by the advantages he adds to society and not by the amount of power he takes from society.

Mutual interest is the rock upon which will break the Socialist movement and the gates of capitalism can not prevail against it. The future is ours. Our power is irresistible. Our National Committees and bondsmen shall be free, and the distributed shall enjoy the free.

M. V. Bork writes that as he does not approve of our present method of organization and desire to work a large untouched field along his own lines, therefore feels it only right to decline the nomination for National Commitment and requests no vote for him. We regret this attitude of Comrade Bork, and yet recognize that he could not do otherwise. There can be no question, however, that considerable numbers of workers will make toward the advancement of Socialism, though it would be more effective, both in quality and quantity, if performed in harmony with the organization.

Rockefeller on Survival

"The American Beauty Rose can be produced in the splendid and fragrant which bring cheer to its beholders only by sacrificing the early buds which grow up around it. This is not an evil tendency in business, but a merit. The working class of a law of nature and a law of God. The growth of a large business is merely a survival of the fittest."—John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

The above paragraph is an extract from an article published by Mr. Rockefeller Jr., in which he defends the present trust methods, and favors monopolistic schemes through which a few individuals are enabled to accumulate vast possessions and to hold what they get.

According to that gentleman the trusts and the great capitalists are the "Beauty Roses," and the order forms, produce Standard Oil Company and other sweet smelling flowers, it is necessary to sacrifice the farmer, the business man and the working people generally, as unripe "early business buds."

If the Government owned the oil it could furnish it to the consumer at one cent per gallon, but according to Rockefeller's logic, the law of God requires that the people be charged 15 to 20 cents per gallon so that a "Rockefeller Rose" may be grown which annually takes a profit of \$60,000,000 out of the people.

Mr. Rockefeller is a pious gentleman and a Sabbath School teacher. Every week he instructs his class, informing them what God has said, and the laws of God. "No," he does not require the teachings of Jesus as does Mr. Rockefeller. He says Jesus favored war and that it is God's law that one bright, strong man may rule over his brother, that he may build up himself.

I do not so understand the teachings of the Great Teacher. He admitted that wars were bad, but he said: "I will bring him through whom they consist." He gave us the Golden Rule, and over and over again condemned selfishness and greed. While recognizing the existence of selfishness in the world, he preached against it and said: "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another." He did not deny that the "law of tooth and claw" prevailed among animals, and fishes, and reptiles, but he gave the world a moral—a higher law.

"There is a wide difference, is seen to me, between the teachings of Mr. Rockefeller, in which he established a law for the human family to forever work under the savage law that controls animals, while the latter appeals to men and women to rise above the instincts of tigers and sharks, and reptiles, and to live by the law of co-operation, fair-play, brotherhood and love.

Mr. Rockefeller seems to think that if Nature or God has established a law for savage wild beasts who fight till the "fittest" survives, then the same law should be observed by men. It does not seem to occur to Sabbath School Teacher Rockefeller that God, having endowed man with reasoning powers, an upright form and a moral nature, has therefore placed him on a higher plane than the animals and requires more of him than the hyena, the gorilla or the hog.

We condemn certain heathen for killing the girl babies because they are not of the "fittest" seen in earning a living for the parents. How much better is Rockefeller's business theory of sacrificing the wage-worker and people of small means, to the end that the giant trusts may grow more powerful, and thereby "survive" the "early buds" in business, means destitution, squallor, ignorance and death to not only the girl babies, but the boy babies of the poor, and destruction of the parents also.

The trust promoters and the rich monopolist are not to be condemned because they have ability and shrewdness, but they are open to criticism if they use their talent to accomplish selfish ends only, and scheme to gain unjust advantage over their fellow-man. They are fit subjects of condemnation when they resort to the methods of the fox, the spider and the shark, in their efforts to become "Beauty Roses."

Suppose Mr. Rockefeller owned a farm and had four children. Four of them are of average intelligence, honesty and industry. Their labor produces sufficient to generously support the family. The fifth one, Johnny, is bright and crafty. He will not work, but a schemer and unscrupulous. He lays about plans, which he calls "business," to exploit his brothers out of more than half of what their labor and industry produces. He desires to enter into the industry of his brothers' course, and encourage him in his deep laid schemes to sacrifice his brothers as "early buds," that he might monopolize everything the farm produces and thereby blossom out as a "Beauty Rose," and be called the "fittest" of the family. I am inclined to believe that even our Sabbath School teacher, Johnny D. Rockefeller, would put a stop to that sort of "business" in the Rockefeller family.

Now, Uncle Sam has a farm, and oil, and coal, and iron mines and numerous

(Continued on Page Four.)

