

Miners' Endorsement of Socialism

To the Western Federation of Miners, in Convention assembled:

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

Tulare Socialists Nominated

Delegates from the local organizations of Socialists of the county met in Hill's Hall this afternoon and made nominations for county offices. William Carpenter called the meeting to order. H. R. Wright was selected chairman and T. J. Marshall secretary. The following ticket was nominated: Sheriff, J. A. Wiles; District Attorney, left vacant; Assessor, Joseph Vossler; Auditor, H. R. Wright; Treasurer, George Wilson; Recorder, William Carpenter; Tax Collector, John H. Redstone; County Clerk, Joseph E. Watson; School Superintendent, Mrs. Nora White; Coroner, Charles L. Roenquist; Assessor, Samuel Barber; Supervisor of Fifth District, George Anthony; Delegate to State Convention, William Carpenter; E. O. Weiner was recommended to the State Convention for State Senator and E. C. Miles for Assemblyman. It was voted that the secretaries of the local organizations of the county should constitute a county central committee, and that Tulare City should be the seat of this committee. A vote of thanks was tendered Rev. B. F. Wilson of Berkeley for his services to the party in this county.

Missouri Convention

Our Missouri comrades held their State convention at Springfield, June 17 and 18. G. H. Turner of Kansas City was chairman and M. Ballard Dunn Secretary. Sixteen delegates were present from the different parts of the State. The National platform was reaffirmed. A resolution was adopted reaffirming the disbandment of the militia. The following is a significant declaration: "Whereas, the development of capitalism has practically reduced the farmers of this country to the condition of the wage-working class, and whereas, the speculation and investments by the larger capitalists directly and indirectly in farm lands and improved machinery renders their positions more and more precarious, and whereas, the conditions tend to bring the farmers to the same state of economic dependence occupied by the wage-working class, therefore be it resolved, That we call upon the farmers of this State to study the labor question and ally themselves with the wage-workers under the banner of the Socialist Party."

The Socialist School

A Branch Class in Social Economy to be Formed. The branch class of the International School of Economy announced by Professor Mills at his last lecture, was granted the use of the Socialist Headquarters at the last meeting of the Local, and will be formally started next week. Professors Backus and Smith who are to conduct the new class have had considerable experience in teaching Socialism and will doubtless make the study of the famous Mills lectures very interesting. It is proposed to meet Monday and Friday evenings (8, 10, Odd Fellows Temple), and the course will probably last twelve or fifteen weeks. At the extremely low tuition proposed—only two dollars, for the entire course, a class of at least fifty members should be formed. All the members of the Traintor or Correspondence departments of the S. S. E. are invited to attend free of cost. The first meeting will be held on next Monday at 8 p. m.

Register!

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

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

"The Industrial Federation"

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

Among the most notable features was the composition of the platform committee. It was as venerable a white-bearded body as the Roman Senate—and as of old. It was the old guard of the Socialists who have gone down in defeat so often, now lining up for one more defeat before the harvest death gathers them to their fathers—our great grandfathers. Some Socialists went to the convention, and in the morning session instilled a little life into the transactions. But new wine in old bottles won't do. Such old, old, very old bottles will stand in. They reorganized the convention when they felt the ferment of new ideas, and Socialists were barred. Thus the Industrial Federation is a proposed reform and reform without any Socialism. Let that be clearly understood. Instead of trying to unite with the Socialists this party is going in to fight the Socialists. Well, the dear grand old reform party that reverts their course is not admirable, but their judgment is pitiable.

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

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

Why We are With the Strikers

The hundred and fifty thousand miners who are out on strike in Pennsylvania are not Socialists. Probably not one per cent. of them voted the Socialist ticket. Most of them hate Socialism—or think they hate it because they do not understand it. But every one of the hundred and fifty thousand or more Socialists in the land is with the miners, heart and soul, in their battle. We wish them all success. We are with them because we are Socialists and because they are workmen. Whatever the demands of the miners, we are with them. For we know that workingmen on strike never demand half of what they have a right to. We are with them because we too are workmen, because our party is a working-class party, because we know that in fighting for themselves they are fighting for the whole of our whole class on the industrial battle, just as we are fighting it on the political field. These miners are not Socialists—not one in a hundred of them—not yet. But they will be with us some day, just as we are with them today. The terrible logic of events will teach them as it has taught us.

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

The joint labor of myriads of men creates every cent of value in the mines and breakers and coal-roads and yards. Only by joint labor of these myriads of toilers can the means of production be maintained. And the mines are a necessity for the life of the whole people. Yet we have left this handful of useless capitalist-owners to control the whole industry for their own profit. Consider, you miners now on strike, is it not ridiculous? You have to strike now for excessively moderate demands. The bosses would not even consider arbitration. For these very small demands you have to endure all the sufferings of a strike, all the dangers of a blacklist that may follow if you should be defeated. Yet you have a right to more than double the amount you are now getting in wages. Your labor produces every year more than twice as much as you get back. The larger half goes to Morgan and his kind. Under Socialism you would get all you produce.

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

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

Helphingstone's Route

San Jose, Sunday, June 15; Watsonville, Monday, June 16; Santa Cruz, Tuesday, June 17; Paso Robles, Thursday, June 19; San Luis Obispo, Friday, June 20; Santa Maria, Sunday, June 23; Losper, Monday, June 23; Ventura, Thursday, June 26; Oxnard, Saturday, June 28; arrive in Los Angeles, June 29. Edgar B. Helphingstone, State Organizer, San California.

The New York Socialist convention meets July 4th.

How Shall We Get Socialism?

By Walter Thomas Mills.

Do Socialists favor confiscation? No, there is not a Socialist on earth that favors confiscation. Our very movement for the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution is in order to prevent the capitalist through the power which private ownership has given him, from any longer confiscating the lion's share of the products of those who toil. Do you favor compensation? What is the use of contending for that which is absolutely impossible? Where is the wealth to compensate the toilers for the robbery and wrong of a single summer? Who can pay a mother for the life of her starving child? Where is the wealth to settle with the dying child itself for the wrong which robbed it of its life? Who shall be able, or try, to give back the glow of life's full-tide to the faded cheek? Who shall restore the broken spirit? Who shall be able to compensate the factory child, dragged from the freeds, barred from the school, dwarfed in both mind and body, bound to a life of ignorance and then disfranchised because he is ignorant, by the very authorities who denied him the opportunity to learn? All men should be able to give him the full stature of a man and, if this cannot be restored to him, what man of you will fix a price in dollars for the loss of the fullness of your manhood?

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

Then you will give the capitalist nothing? I have not said we would give him nothing. I have only said that the capitalist can never pay the debt they owe the toilers. As they cannot pay, the toilers should take the tools their toil has made, and the earth the great Creator gave us, and let the quarrel be dropped. As to giving something to bankrupt capitalists—the whole industry for their own profit. Consider, you miners now on strike, is it not ridiculous? You have to strike now for excessively moderate demands. The bosses would not even consider arbitration. For these very small demands you have to endure all the sufferings of a strike, all the dangers of a blacklist that may follow if you should be defeated. Yet you have a right to more than double the amount you are now getting in wages. Your labor produces every year more than twice as much as you get back. The larger half goes to Morgan and his kind. Under Socialism you would get all you produce.

I am sure that I am safe in saying that Socialists will do anything in reason but I want you to tell your bankrupt friends, the capitalists, that if they are going to throw themselves on the mercy of the court, they must get ready to come with clean hands from this new civilization. They must not take our lives and then ask our charity. There is more to be said in behalf of any compromise, which the quarrel could be ended and the new civilization started on its way in the Golden Age which my day promises.

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

Let us stand together now, and win in this new day, the victory of the ages! Go scatter the seed of the printed page. No let the story to those who do not know, or bring your neighbors, and both you and they join the Socialist party, and join it now. Join it everybody. Organize it everywhere. "We have nothing but our chains to lose, we have a world to gain."

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

The Massachusetts State convention meets September 24th.

ADVANCE

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Capitalist Protection of Labor

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

To the Revised Populists

Gentlemen: You are forming or attempting to form a new party. You are dissatisfied with the Republican party and the Democratic party because they are both the servants of the rich. You deem it necessary that there should be a party of the poor to look after the interests of the poor, and when victorious to pass such laws as will help the poor to rise out of their poverty.

We wish to suggest to you a few reasons why, instead of forming a fourth party, you should join your forces to the Socialist Party, which now stands in the third rank and is steadily pressing forward in its battle for human rights.

In the first place, the Socialist Party

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

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

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

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

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

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

Skimish Fire

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

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

The four combine is gradually getting control of the different plants on the coast. Opposition is fast becoming useless. Scarcely any organization has the means to buck against the Big Four. When a strike occurs on the railroads, the farmer will find that, be the season good or bad, he will only get enough from his crop to barely exist on, while the mill manager will get more and more wages with costly viands and the rarest vintages. The farmer who fails to join the Socialist party will have himself to thank for his own poverty.

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

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

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

Poppies and Wheat

BY MARY FAIRBROTHER.

"I cannot regard work as the highest necessity of man. The noble man is he who is idle, who cherishes, nourishes and develops himself; thus do the gods live, and man is the God of the creation. This is my hobby. I have confessed it. But in the chair of confession, there sits another being, and he is really right when he says: 'Well, my child, to do nothing more to be here—that would be the noblest and sublimest. Very right! But as no man can be here without another working for him—come here, stand on this point—then each must also work. All must be satisfied. None are here merely for the sake of being, nor others merely for the sake of working.'"—Berthold Auerbach, in *On the Heights*.

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

We call nature cruel when we realize how she makes us pay coin for coin for the things we want. Men are exploited and in turn they exploit children, and it is inevitable. Those of us who made up our minds long ago to be optimistic, know that it will be better some time, but the way is weary to these little ones so full of life, who lack physical force to resist. An elderly comrade said to me the other day, "Oh you do not know what you are talking about; you are an aristocrat, self-assertive and over-bearing; you don't know anything about hard ship." Wonder what the dear man knows of labor without recompense, that I do not know, who have toiled and bent over my work for long days, until I was so tired to at 11 o'clock at night that the tears rolled down my cheeks all the time I was trying to undress, why, no one can say. I worked for eight years on one problem in which my whole soul was engaged, and all the time was organizing a failure. On the day when my candidate admitted the failure, faced the responsibilities, financial, and otherwise, and the humiliation that a failure means, on the day when I reached that height, I was never being an aristocrat that "I'll ever again." What would he have the me know of hardship, misery and defeat? What more can he know of them all or of victory? By the way, what is an aristocrat? Along with a great many other things I have a notion of this, and if I could attain it, I should be very humble and very am in a social sense. The man is born that, or attains a finer sense of honor, than some people seem to have, and at the same time develops her own character so that she realizes that each day her ideal must be a little higher, and her usefulness

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

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

The Beauties of Profit

Meditation of a Doctor—"What a cursed season! Nobody sick! Not even a dog has a cough!"

A Druggist—"Everybody's in good health in this beastly town!"

A Grave Digger—"If we could only have a little cholera, I would give my daughter to the first man who asked!"

A Military Man—"Twenty years of peace! It's the ruin of my career!"

A Judge—"If it weren't for the criminals, sending me to the penitentiary!"

A Merchant—"If I succeed in driving my neighbor into bankruptcy, I'll get the city!"

A Lawyer—"Oh, such a stupid town! Nobody wants to prosecute anybody else!"

A Priest—"Ah! If the people would only remain in ignorance, we could always be more of the simoniacs!"

Politeness—"It weren't for the robbers, I should have to steal my living!"—From La Squilla (The Clarion), the Socialist Journal of Bologna, Italy.

Oregon Election

Our comrades in Oregon have been remarkably well. The vote cast is about 8,000.

This should inspire us in California to redoubled efforts. If Oregon can show such an increase, the chances are equally good for California. It seems certain that the Union Labor Party will not go in the field. The Industrial Federation is a farce gotten up by one Monteith, and need not be counted in. It is doubtful if they will get on the ballot, even so that we will have a clear field. Oregon is talking about 15,000 this fall. Certainly California can register 30,000. To work!

Our Position

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

ADVANCE

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.

Capitalist Protection of Labor

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

To the Revised Populists

Gentlemen: You are forming or attempting to form a new party. You are dissatisfied with the Republican party and the Democratic party because they are both the servants of the rich. You deem it necessary that there should be a party of the poor to look after the interests of the poor, and when victorious to pass such laws as will help the poor to rise out of their poverty.

We wish to suggest to you a few reasons why, instead of forming a fourth party, you should join your forces to the Socialist Party, which now stands in the third rank and is steadily pressing forward in its battle for human rights.

In the first place, the Socialist Party

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

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

In the second place it must not be forgotten that there are five speakers and organizers in the field besides the organizers of different localities. We have three weekly papers devoted solely to our cause and a paper in all parts of the State. We start this campaign a better share than with greater prospects than ever before. If those of you who believe in Socialism will ally yourselves with us it will be easy to get the Socialist vote that will win the election of 1904 the fight will be a straight out contest between the Republican trust and the Socialist people.

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

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

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

Skirmish Fire

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

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

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

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

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

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

Poppies and Wheat

BY MARY FAIRBROTHER.

"I cannot regard work as the highest necessity of man. The noble man is he who is idle, who cherishes, nourishes and develops himself; thus do the gods live, and man is the God of the creature. This is my heresy. I have confessed it. But in the chair of confession, there sits another being, and he is really right when he says, 'Well, child, to do nothing more to be here—that would be the noblest and sublimest. Very right! But as no man can be here without another working for him—come here, stand on the point—then each must also work. All must be satisfied. None are here merely for the sake of being, nor others merely for the sake of working.'"—Berthold Auerbach, in *On the Heights*.

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

We call nature cruel when we realize how she snuffs up with a lame hip. They are aggravating beyond belief and they are amusing to the last degree. Sometimes I try to think what they would be if they could only live for a couple of years, as they should live, as they are built to live. Then I remember the other little fellows in the sweat-shop filth and pollution. I think of the weary little bodies in the factories and the mills, and then I go down town and read in the Nashville daily a glaring headline of joy because a knitting factory is to be established soon, particularly suited to women and children. It is a splendid idea, a splendid idea. Some one must surely make some effort to stop it. But the problem is so large and stands so sphinx-like and sullen. So few folk are awake, and even if you talk loud you are hooded, and the respectable wonder why you don't attend to your own business.

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

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

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

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

The Beauties of Profit

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

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RIPANS I did not know what it was to do good breakfast in the morning.

AT DRUGGISTS The five-cent package is enough for an ordinary occasion.

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TO FRIENDS OF ORGANIZED LABOR! The 'Advance' Co-operative ... Bakery and Confectionery

BREAD, CAKES AND PASTRY DELIVERED TO ANY PART OF THE CITY.

National Committee

St. Louis, Mo., June 7, 1902. John C. Chase addressed Socialist and Trade Unions at De Sota, Gerhage and Springfield, Mo., last week.

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

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

Comrades of Skobeagan, Maine, expect to elect a Socialist candidate to the State Legislature, owing to a split in the Republican party.

Donations to the Propaganda fund are as follows:

Amount reported to May 24th. \$376.18 21st Ward, 6th Assembly District, Brooklyn, N. Y. 3.00

California State Committee Meeting held June 10th. Present Comrades Appel, Messer, Ober, Johnson, Reynolds, Heffron and Beroford.

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

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

Report to date on Organization Fund: Receipts: May 26, brought forward \$3.90

Expenses: May 26, by salary, 4-21 to 5-31, \$12.00

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

For National Committee—Richardson, 130; Holmes, 81; King, 18; Liss, 7.

On Los Angeles Resolution—Arranging a basis of representation—172 for, 7 against.

On International Secretary—First choice: Mills, 145; Herron, 65; Untermyer, 32; Simmons, 32; Hilquist, 18; Morgan, 3; Hoehn, 2.

Second choice: Herron, 68; Untermyer, 66; Simmons, 52; Mills, 39; Hilquist, 17; Hoehn, 4; Morgan, 3; Bandlow, 1.

Why Socialists Should be Vegetarians

Why Socialists Should be Vegetarians. 1. Because it is inconsistent for us to cry out against exploitation while participating in the most cruel and cowardly exploitation of the human brute.

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

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

The Advance Guard Has been doing good work during the week that has just passed.

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

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

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

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

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

N. H. Glatfelter of York, Pa., sends us a club of ten York after election. They will not be able to get along without Advance.

Chas. L. Fox, the National Committee man of our party, sends us in his name and the same is added to the list.

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

A Notice to Labor The brewery workmen have issued this notice: The daily press of the country published last week a certain decision of President.

On account of these "decrees" more fights with capital will develop, and the one to be held responsible for these onslaughts on labor by capital will be Gompers.

Shortly before going to press with this edition we notice a new "decree" of Gompers, where he, in consideration of the difficulties in the Anthracite coal regions, retract and contradicts his former decisions, and states that he never denied the mine workers or the brewery workers the jurisdiction over engineers and firemen working in those industries.

Spanish, English, and Shorthand Prof. Joseph H. Alfonso

Who Are the Socialists

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

In Belgium, nearly all the city laborers are Socialists, and the farm laborers are joining us at a rate that will make Belgium a Socialist country in a few years.

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

The Republican party stands for the interests of the big capitalists. They control the government and make the laws to suit themselves.

The Democratic party stands for the interests of the little capitalists. There was a time when they, too, could live comfortably out of the earnings of the laborers, but that time has gone by.

The Socialist Party stands for the interests of the laborers, those who do useful work with hand or with brain.

Indeed, no other class is worth considering. There was a time when the capitalist did a useful service in organizing industry. That time is past; he has turned over to hired laborers every duty except that of drawing dividends, interests and rent.

What we Socialists propose to do is to make the land, the machinery and the railroads common property to be operated in the interest of all the people.

SEE THE UNION CARD OF THE JOURNEMEN BAKERS & CONFECTIONERS International Union

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