

TO SUBSCRIBERS

The date on which your subscription expires will be found on the yellow address label.

THIS IS NUMBER

412

WHOLE NUMBER 412

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, JUNE 28, 1902.

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR.

Supreme and Resistless Monteth

"The Industrial Federation," better known as Monteth's Aggregation of Grandpas, has been badly thrown down. After nominating Mr. Squires of San Jose for Governor in preference to Mr. Monteth, this "supreme and resistless" movement nominated Francis Drake of Los Angeles for Lieutenant Governor. But Drake is not good enough to buy golden eggs when given them. Monteth called on him in Los Angeles, asking him to accept. The letter of Mr. Drake is interesting, not only for the fact of its being the refusal of Monteth's gold-brick, but also as an expose of Monteth's methods. Readers of Advance will remember that several weeks ago we stated that Monteth had nominated Socrates on one of his committees without asking permission. Mr. Monteth called on us shortly thereafter asking us to retract, but in the interest of truth we declined to do so. We offered him a half-cent for such a statement as he desired, however, but this offer has never been taken advantage of. Mr. Monteth was too busy. He was too busy chasing up and down the country begging people to accept nominations and sail in on the crest of a political tidal wave, the "supreme and resistless" movement of twenty-eight people in a convention assembled from the four quarters of Sausalito, San Jose, Oakland and Millpitca. The two actions of Mr. Monteth are on a par. If he was not so insignificant politically, Mr. Monteth could establish quite a reputation as a bluffer.

After its adjournment Wednesday week the I. F. tried to hold a Congressional District Convention in the Fourth District. Nine "supreme and resistless" people foregathered and adjourned. Forthwith rumors began to fly about that Andrew Furuseth was to be run for Congress—if he would accept. Adjournment was taken until Saturday night. We are unable to say whether any action was taken then or not. We could not attend personally, as matters of more importance called us elsewhere—the variety fairs in town. But a careful scrutiny of Sunday's papers failed to reveal any news of the I. F. It seems to have maintained "supreme and resistless" silence.

An attempt is being made to form a bread trust in San Francisco. A combination of master bakers is being talked up which is to be backed by the flour trust. The honestest fact in connection with it is the statement that by organization a saving of 33-1/3 per cent can be effected. If this combination is formed it is easy to see the finish of the small bakers. Of course this combination will cut down prices and raise wages. That's what all trusts are in business for. No sane person could, for a minute, suppose that people who have millions, more than they can use, would form a trust to get more of the unuseable encumbrance. A trust is a philanthropy for the fellows who own it.

News comes over the wires that the American Labor Union has received eight applications for charters from Massachusetts. That the teamsters and shoemakers of Chicago want organizers, and that Dayton Central Labor Council has signified its willingness to affiliate in a body. While we regret that trouble should break out between the A. I. U. and A. F. of L. yet we are glad that there are so many progressive unions in the country. One thing is certain, fratricide is a self-confessed failure, and Socialists should exert themselves to the utmost to secure its overthrow at the New Orleans Convention. By their endorsement of political action for trades unions San Francisco, St. Louis, Chicago and many other cities have practically repudiated Gompersism. And if the A. F. of L. will repudiate it this fall, an interesting strike is unique against union may be avoided. Let the cry henceforth be, "Down with Gompersism." The labor lobby must give way to the labor legislature. Politics in the union must give way to the union in politics. Socialism is our only hope.

John Mitchell, the coal miners, has issued an able statement of the case between the miners and the trust. He

shows that the miners get less than \$300 a year at the best. That though they are producing more than ever now the purchasing power of their wages is lower than ever. The overweighting of cars and the infamous system of docking are exposed. Even according to moderate capitalist standards the miners have a righteous cause. But what does the coal trust care for a righteous cause? It believes the time is come to crush the union, and to that end it will strive.

Discord in the Political Orchestra

Harmony is a wonderful thing. So wonderful, so delicate is that it is most difficult to preserve. When the Union Labor Party was formed, warned by the fact of labor parties theretofore, the managers took extra precaution to prevent discord. To that end they appointed a musician leader of the band. But musicality is not even the leader of the band can maintain peace. There seems to be not enough room in the band wagon, so a part of the party is totting away on an independent tune. Mr. Parry, J. Shakespeare Parry of the Bridge Builders' Union, no longer tries to span the chasm that yawns between the Republican and Democratic factions of the Labor party. He prefers to sit in his cigar-store and indulge in pipe-dreams of the day when will be the Hon. J. S. Parry, Republican and Labor Congressman, or Republican and Labor Governor. The Democratic faction, however, has petitioned for a primary in San Francisco, the fate of which will be decided Monday. But there is other trouble. Mayor Schmitz cut down the city budget and when the bill came back to the supervisors they rode over his veto unanimously. It might be expected that the Republican and Democratic supervisors would take an occasion to rebuke the Mayor; but, how about the four Labor men? One of them is the Mayor's opponent. This is not the first time that the Labor members of the Board have voted against each other or against the Mayor. All of which goes to show that a party is to remain a powerful factor it must have some great, positive program essentially different from other parties and in which all its members believe. The U. L. P. is a party merely of protest. Its kick having been registered its reason for existence ceases and it disintegrates. The Democratic party is going to pieces because it can find no great issue for the hydra-factions to unite on. The political atmosphere is most perturbed. It is the premonition of the cyclone of Revolution which is about to sweep throughout it. The Socialist movement has advanced to the charge against the Republicans, the party of capitalism. All that stand between will be ground to powder. We have the right of way. Clear the track!

Governor and President

Daily papers have been filled with news of riots, streets on the militia and abuse of the striking street car men in Rhode Island. So far I have failed to see a statement of the cause of the strikes in any of the dailies. On June 1st the new street car law of the State went into effect. Under this law no street car company was allowed to compel its employes to work more than ten hours per day. The companies in all the cities in the State refused to recognize the law and the men went on strike to secure its enforcement. Then the militia was called out to prevent the men from obeying the state law and to assist the companies in disobeying it. This is but a repetition of the occurrence at Croton Dam, N. Y., where "Teddy" Roosevelt sent the troops to shoot down the laborers who were striking to enforce the eight-hour law adopted by the legislature, and signed by "Teddy" as governor. Such is capitalism.—The Toltier.

The feudalism of capital is not a whit less formidable than the feudalism of force. The millionaire of today is as dangerous to society as was the baronial lord of the middle ages. I may as well be dependent for my loaf as for my bread. The time is ripe to come when men will be looked back upon the prerogative of capital with as just and severe condemnation as we now look back on the predatory chieftains of the dark ages.—Horace Mann.

Morgan is Absolute Master.

A New York financial plain that J. Pierpont Morgan's carrying trade needs is the Russian trans-Siberian. Morgan is planning to build railways in China. He has ordered the trans-Alaska steamer ships and railways. So no man knows through some of his companies. Ruddy Wallace—all of the great dash of poetry for Morgan. The artist with paint and brushes draws the picture for Morgan. So absolute has his hold is personally worth perhaps not more than 100,000,000. The total capital of all the companies he controls is 3,210,983,386—and all the gold, including the national fund, is estimated at 2,000,000,000. There are in the world 1,320,000,000 people. More than 200 million are employed by the companies. This means that 5,000,000 men, women and children are dependent on him for a living—100,000 persons contribute to his pocket. Three hundred of the largest steamships in the world are equipped with freight trains every ocean. Fourteen steam lines and forty-four railroads are under his control. On June 1st, 1900, and on a tonnage of 10,000,000 tons in their control. This railway mileage is greater than the combined mileage of Russia, Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Spain and Belgium. And more than 300 vessels which will sail under its orders cannot be duplicated from the merchant marine every ocean.

A world-wide transportation trust has long been Morgan's dream. English newspapers are making comically pitiful pleas to Morgan to let England come into the new trust. The fact that Morgan is addressed in tones of application shows that he is absolute master.

Not Alexander, not in all his glory; not Caesar Augustus, not even Napoleon, with all his mighty armies, was such a conqueror as J. P. Morgan with his little "yes" and "no" that makes or unmake.

No king is so powerful as Morgan, Edward VII. Emperor of Russia—any one of these is a pigmy in real power compared with Morgan.

In discussing the great power wielded by this modern financial giant, this same authority makes the astounding assertion that Morgan and six other American citizens have now become more powerful than any Congress or Parliament in the world.

The Heavenly Twins

News from Pittsburg states that Senator Hanna is acting as mediator between the blast furnace operators of the Mahoning and Shenandoah valleys and the furnace workmen, so as to avoid a strike. The Senator is the owner of several blast furnaces and his interest in coal, iron and transportation will be his, as well as his reputed magnanimity toward labor.

Senator Hanna and Samuel Gompers have joined forces to keep the men at work. It is reported that the operators will offer as a compromise an advance of wages rather than give an eight-hour day.—New York Times.

Mark Hanna, friend of Labor, who owns several blast furnaces and exploits the furnace workmen, joins forces with Samuel Gompers, labor leader, to keep the wage-slaves at work piling up more profits for the trust. As friends of Labor, Mark and Sam are Heavenly Twins.

Oppressors always preach contentment to their victims. Contentment under such social conditions is a crime against humanity.

Real Socialism Defined

To arrive at the true meaning of Socialism to-day we should go, not to the dictionaries, which give the various senses through which the word has passed in former times, but to the official statements put forth by the Socialist Party in its various national conventions of the several countries and to the writings of Socialists of international reputation and standing. Now when we come to examine these statements and writings, we find that there is a remarkable agreement on all essential points. In the United States the Socialist movement is of recent growth, but the platform of the Socialist Party of America is substantially the same with that of the Socialists in Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and other European countries.

Socialism means public ownership of the means of production, but not public ownership for the benefit of capitalists. Bismarck was the bitterest enemy of Socialism, and he was not without cause. Germany in the vain hope that he might thus check the growth of the Socialist Party. Glasgow owns its street railways, treats its employes very much as American railway corporations treat theirs, and uses the profits to reduce the tax rate on property. This is very different from what the Socialists propose.

Socialism is a movement of the working class (including all who do useful work of hand or brain) to capture control of the government, and to make the means of production, land, railroads and machinery, the collective property of all. Socialists do not expect to see this change brought about because the pictures of a future state will be so beautiful that all will want to realize them. Socialists understand that most people are mainly moved by the desire to set a living in the present.

Now here in America fifty years ago there was little in social conditions to interfere with a man equipping by his own labor enough to keep him in his old age. But in these fifty years great changes have done about. Individual production employed himself, has been a good collective production, where each man no longer complicated machinery, and where thousands and thousands of men serve a single corporation.

The new way of working is far more effective than the old, for more wealth is produced. But the surplus value produced by this more effective labor belongs, not to the workers, but to a small owning class.

Now the Socialist sees that the American laborers must soon reach the same stage as their fellow laborers in Europe, and must realize that they have no chance for getting the fruits of their own labor by voting for a party of their own and abolishing the plutocratic government which now oppresses them.

To sum up, then, a Socialist, in the proper sense of the word, not only believes in the common ownership of the means of production, but he understands that the laborer is defrauded by the private ownership of machinery (law of surplus value); he understands that people are mainly moved by their material interests (economic determinism), and he realizes that common ownership can only be brought about by the conscious efforts of the working class to overthrow the capitalist class and grasp political power (the class struggle).

This may not sound so beautiful as Utopian dreams, and highly colored pictures of alleged reforms in New Zealand, but it has the merit of being true. Socialist ideas are founded, not on speculations, but on ascertained facts. Collectivism is coming because it is the next inevitable step in human evolution. It is bound to come, yet you can do something to delay it or something to hasten it. Join the Socialist Party and work for its success at the polls.

Charles H. Kerr.

Labor and time-saving machinery are being introduced into the mills of the Billion Dollar Steel Trust, whereby one laborer at \$1.50 per day in wages can do three times the work of four skilled men. So chances who now receive \$6 and \$8 each for eight hours' work. Under socialism the new machinery would mean both more leisure and better living for all the workers, because they would own the machines. Under capitalism it means more profits for the bosses, idleness and hunger for some of the workers, and overwork and poorer living for the rest.

Sunday's Propaganda.

Comrade Mrs. Nevins read a paper on "Contagious Diseases and Microbes," which was a very fitting prelude to the propaganda meeting Sunday evening. The room was well filled, and most of the time was devoted to Socialism, and the meeting was thus logical and important in consequence.

Comrade Backus of the Mills School was the chief speaker, and his subject one of deep interest—"The Labor Union and Socialism."

He gave a brief history of the long strife between the worker and the leisure class. He even described the state of society before there were two classes—the primitive times when all worked for all. After that came a union of the old civilizations which depended upon slave labor. Then feudalism, under which men were told they were free but must never leave the land. The serf was more valuable to the master than the slave.

After feudalism came the wage system, because of invention and because it is cheaper to hire men than it is to own them. It was 400 years ago that the first labor union was formed. Since that time organized labor has won for itself the right to organize, the right to strike, the right to the free press and, best of all, the right to vote.

The old system is doomed, change is apparent everywhere. The capitalist has discovered that it pays better to co-operate than it does to compete. The labor union must be as broad as the trust. We cannot meet modern conditions with the strike and the boycott any more than we could take a dynamite gun with bows and arrows. We must fight the trust with its own weapon. We must fight the ballot-box. We must have the government on the side of the worker. The labor unions are realizing this and have recently voted to go into the ranks, as at Denver and other places, to win one step into all the ranks of the government will follow the flag, for it says in the preamble of the constitution that this government is for the common people.

Comrade Smith made a five-minute speech, in which he defended the theory of Socialism by saying that every fact now established was true a theory. Comrade Scott ended the discussion in an able manner, and for a pleasant change the propaganda meeting was thus devoted to Socialism and not to the usual rabble.

Comrade Vaughn was critic of the evening.

Socialist Strike Bulletin

Girardville, Pa.—Everything in this vicinity, at a standstill excepting Haven Run where the work of two men has been done. One pump man was on duty at the colliery but by roadside persuasion he was convinced of his wrong doing and he joined the ranks of the strikers. At Hammond Colliery, where the fire-boards and understrappers were doing the work, the roadside persuasion was also effective and the Hammond is now at a standstill. Deputies very scarce around here. Men on all law abiding, intend to remain so and win. The Governor and his imported thugs won't get a chance to apply the screws at this place. Water is rising in all the mines. Companies cannot secure enough men to man the pumps. Credit good and merchants say it will remain so until the end. At Wyoming a church service was temporarily suspended because electric light furnished by the Mt. Lookout Colliery was being used. The electric lights were turned on by the strikers during the remainder of the meeting.

Mahogany City, Pa.—Correspondent appointed here by Miners' Union reports as follows:

The companies are importing deputies at the rate of three carloads a day and they are deserting as fast as they arrive. The green firemen can't manage the pumps and miners are slowly but surely flooding. Five engines of the company have laid night to telegraph and electric light poles. The Chief Burgess here will not allow companies' deputies to enter the borough, and provisions for them were also denied here, the company has to ship all supplies from other parts. A Philippine soldier returning to his home was mistaken for a deputy and would have been mobbed but for police interference. Deputies who are leaving claim their services were obtained on false representations.

ADVANCE

To the Socialist Party

Analysis of the System

Poppies and Wheat

Organ of the Socialist Party of California. Published weekly by the Local San Francisco, Socialist Party.

Jas. A. Smith, Business Manager, Room 8, Old Fellows Bldg., San Francisco, California.

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

Trade Unionists Awake

Now, brothers, do not all this show that there is something at fault, something deep? You it is the ignorance of the workers towards the economic conditions of the world to-day. The product of our labor, commonly called capital, is doing the thinking for us to its own selfish benefit. Capital is combining to scheme and see how production can be enlarged by limiting the amount of workers employed, to see how the produce can be squeezed best, so that no law is passed to benefit the workers. To stand in the way, say, fight combined capital or trust could be suicidal for us to own the trusts are the natural outcome of combination and therefore encourage them as they are beneficial to the producing class in more than one way. It does away with the small exploiters, who are at least recognized as a class, "The Working Class." The trouble is that we who are producing the values can't be inside of the trust. Why? Because we do not own in common, with the capitalist the means of production and distribution. Our ownership is limited to our labor power. Do you know, brothers, what is our common weapon we have if any combination of capital low is rightly used? Our next step should be to take a lesson and also combine to trustify the labor power.

Let it be understood here that capital is recognizing only two classes, the Capitalistic Class themselves and Working Class, those who work for wages. Although some of our brothers may throw their chests out and say there are no classes, the plain, well analyzed fact remains, that we have the exploiting class and the exploited class.

The point is for every worker to see far enough that he too recognizes this struggle, that he belongs to the working class, that he does his own thinking and works for his own interest and to get control of the means of production and distribution. This, of course, is where the majority falls to reason right. The capitalist has possession of the necessities of life, not through the grace of God; no, but through the political power given them by us, the workers, through our votes. There is the rub. You at once see what we have through political power, we can have, we are the majority. Does it dawn upon you that we must trust our lot together and go to the ballot box as a solid class, conscious working-men's organizations.

Thirty years ago the call went around the world: "Socialism, socialists unite." In Europe they followed and succeeded, under monarchial rule, to better their condition by electing men to represent them in their legislative bodies, who have nothing but the interests of the workers at heart. Why can't we do this? Why can't we elect our own people, who will watch our interests, who will not let us see injunctions against us when we are right, who in general will be our servants, not our bosses. We need not be afraid capital is losing anything, they will look out for themselves. So, brothers, study up, do your own thinking. You have 30 minutes for lecturing purposes, use them and use them well. Yours for united action.—John A. Kluges, 499, N. Y. City, in Painters' Official Journal.

Oregon's Vote

Practically complete returns from Oregon give Ryan, for Governor, 5,332; Barzoe, for Secretary of State, 5,676; Myers, for Treasurer, 5,463; Hosmer, for State Printer, 5,269; Ramp, for Congress First District, 2,724; Gardes, Congress Second District, 2,724. This is a magnificent showing as compared with the Debs vote of 1900, which totaled 1,465. Oregon will make Washington and California hustle if she keeps up that lick. But there are others. California has promised herself twenty thousand Socialist votes.

The committee of five, appointed by the Council of Labor to arrange for a "conference" of delegates from the trades unions of Los Angeles county, for the consideration of future political action by the working class, has set July 20th as the day of meeting. The assemblage will be called to order at 10 a. m. in Council Labor Hall. Every bona fide trades union has the right of sending delegates in the same ratio as are now sent to the Council of Labor.

What We Are Doing.

Comrades: We are using the very limited means at our disposal to maintain William Mailly in the strike field; to arrange a lecture tour for N. P. Geiger in Pennsylvania; to send strike bulletins semi-weekly to eleven, socialists unions in fourteen states; have arranged lecture up to September 15th, for John C. Chase through trade unions and party locals in seven states; making lecture dates for Comrade and Mrs. Vanderleve of Belgium, beside maintaining operations at National Headquarters and assisting in the constructive upbuilding of the party in every State and Territory.

What Do the Comrades Mean?

Receipts of national dues for the first eighteen days in June show a decrease of almost fifty per cent, compared with the same period in May. Nearly all of the State organizations are in good standing for April, but at the present moment there are seventeen State Committees which have not remitted any monies on account of dues for May. Receipts for the Propaganda Fund have almost ceased. One of the greatest strikes on record is in progress, an exceptional opportunity for the Socialist Party has unfolded, and in this momentous hour, many comrades cease or become negligent in paying dues, discontinue their donations and allow the party to lapse into bankruptcy.

Wanted—Perfect Solidarity.

Comrades: This is not the evidence of a militant party spirit—to withdraw support and "get out from under" the class struggle at this critical time. Do you realize that we are in the thick of a great fight? Are you going to fight with us or desert us? Socialism depends on you. We have opened a Strike Propaganda Fund to continue and enlarge our work and we urge certain comrades, citizens, to compile lists for donations to the fund and send us substantial evidence thereof immediately.

Yours for Socialism,

Leon Greenbaum, Nat'l Sec'y.

National News.

Jno. C. Chase spoke this week before locals and trade unions at Higginsville, Sedalia, St. Joseph and Staggville, Missouri. Wm. Mailly is now in the strike field in the interest of the Socialist Party. Arrangements are now being perfected to have "Nic" Geiger lecture before the Coal Miners' Union in Pennsylvania. The Ohio State Convention adopted the Monthly Report Book designed for use of Financial Secretaries of the locals of the party.

A. M. Dewey will visit Utah in August and elect Socialist candidates under auspices of the State organization. Donations to Propaganda Fund received as follows: Reported to June 7, \$383.19 Local Bellevue, Ky., 2.00

Total to June 14, \$385.19

Comrades of Knoxville, Mo., expect to elect Socialist candidates to State Legislature owing to split in Republican party. James F. Carey will stump the State shortly.

Advices from San Juan, Puerto Rico, state that the Socialists and trade unions are being bitterly persecuted by the authorities, and mobs instigated by them. The treasurer of the Socialist Party was attacked and brutally beaten on the public streets, and many other party members have been thrown into all unmercifully beaten.

William Thurston Brown, who recently resigned his pulpit in Rochester, is planning to go on a lecture tour. He is willing to make a few engagements in New England in July, August and September, and after that he will make a trip to the Pacific Coast and back. Comrade Brown is an able man, a clear Socialist, and a good speaker.

N. A. Richardson will be the principal speaker at the Yuma Fourth of July celebration. The committee's intention that he should speak at Urbis Springs, but the Yuma date seems most important. Comrade Johnson writes that the whole population is eager for knowledge of Socialism.

Chief Elton of the Los Angeles police says: "Within a reasonable time, we hope to 'herd' all the excited women in a quarter of the city where their presence is not objectionable." He means the working class district in the Eighth ward.

The several locals of Alameda county have surrendered their charters and organized on the county basis. This will be found necessary in every county as the movement develops.

Socialists of Berlin, Germany, at the recent election gained twenty seats in the municipal council. They have forty-three members now, as against twenty-five before.

The landlord possesses the land and will not allow you to use it without payment of Rent.

The capitalist possesses the machinery and will not allow you to turn a wheel without interest.

The distributor possesses the products of labor and will not let you carry them without Social Rent.

Private ownership of land demands Rent. Private ownership of machinery requires Interest. Private ownership of commodities calls for Profit.

The system is indifferent to suffering and misery imposed upon its victims. The victims are the working class, the producers of wealth. From the results of their toil Rent, Interest and Profits are wrung.

Socialism would do away with private possession of land by rent-payers. There will then be no Rent, Interest or Profit to pay. Every worker will receive the full socially due share of the value his labor creates.

Vote to support the capitalist system and retard in case of exploitation—Rent, Interest and Profit—and you vote to continue the misery of the world; you vote for your own enslavement and forge the chains for the neck of your children.

No higher civilization is possible for the world's wage workers. Capitalism must be destroyed if the race is to advance to the enjoyment of a better life.

Freedom cannot be won so long as Rent, Interest and Profit devour the people's substance. Socialism alone promises a life for the people free from the laggard, capitalist, capitalist production and distribution. Vote for Socialism.—Social Democratic Herald.

Class Conscious

The March number of the Journal was full of good reading. I am glad the brothers are interesting themselves in their official paper.

If the wage earners and wealth producers would realize the fact that they are a class whose interest is diametrically opposite to that of the non-producer or non-working class, they would not be so ready to fight for the interests of the ruling class. They should fight for their own interests. They should produce, then they would be ready for another step, that is, political action, which will be the only way to get government, and with the government in the hands and under the control of the worker, all class distinction would be abolished. For with the tools of production and distribution under the control of the worker every one that was able would have to do his share of the world's useful work. But before we can expect this to come about the working class must learn to think for themselves and cease to be guided by the politicians.

I have been identified with the labor movement ever since 1881, and when I look back and think of the work that has been done, of the many brave and noble men that have been deserted by their class, simply because the slick politician stepped in and promised to do what was demanded of him, yet never did it or really intended to do it. I say when I think of these things I feel that the laborers surely need education on class conscious lines. It would not take the workers six months to gain all they ask if they would write and follow the same line of action that the trusts and monopolist follow.

We must learn to stand by our friends, aid and help our journals and papers, as well as each other in maintaining our organization, pay no attention to the enemies of organized labor, only to shun them or give a knock. Let the world know that all useful things in the nation has been created by labor and that the worker of the nation should own what they create. Labor must be its own savior and this can be done only by the worker himself. I am fully convinced that they should realize the nation that they have made.—A. W. Dyer, in Painters' Official Journal.

The result of the national election in France is now known. Conservatives held the same number of seats they had in the last parliament. Socialists have a net loss of two, anti-ministerial republicans lose nine, republicans lose eleven radicals gained three, socialist radicals two, socialists four, and Socialists fifty. The totals are: Conservatives fifty members, nationalists fifty-nine, anti-ministerial republicans ninety-nine, republicans one hundred and eleven, socialist radicals eighty, socialists forty-three, and Quiescists six. So the radicals and Socialists are steadily gaining ground and the government is more than ever dependent upon it.

By MARY FAIRBROTHER.

The poor have little here but how to keep them well and strong.

The lands they till with plow and hoe do not belong.

The grain they sow and also reap in wretchedness and pain, Nature's returns the pirates keep To speculate for gain.

—H. M. Edmonston.

There are a few people in the world who are Socialists who do not care especially for the catch words of the party, who never say "class struggle" or "class conscious," who believe themselves to be just as thoughtful and just as militant Socialists as the others who wish to set the pace for all mankind: One of the men who call themselves "scientific Socialists" said to me the other day, "I do not believe you can tell the real reason why you are a Socialist, for I do not believe you fully realize the class struggle in this country."

I suspect he is an egotist and for that reason he will never know the truth, but I shall accept his challenge and tell the readers of this department why I am a Socialist. These "scientific" people talk and brag great about history, they are not historians for they do not have the time. They are not philosophers, because they are too strenuous, and no one can be an honest historian who is not a philosopher. I care nothing for history, except for its inspiration. Its events and its personalities, its heroes and its poets give us the best we have or may be (possibly), and so it is that I do not believe that it is not, for I don't believe most of it. History is almost all fairy tales and life is so short. Nevertheless, the first reason I ever promised up to that time. It was free soil, free press, free speech and free homes for the people. If that dear father, who brought me up to believe in equal rights, political and social, for men and women had waited until the great Lincoln was nominated before he adopted Republicanism, I might have some cause to be a Republican now. But he moved early in the game and he counted it one of the deepest regrets of his later days that the party which he had believed in so earnestly when a young man had been so false to his high creed.

How could it be possible with the blood of such people in my veins, and with the life-long example of that honest man before me, to hang onto old-fashioned and dismantled ships, floundering in the surging waves of a new era? Could I be less than a Socialist? I believe the Socialism of to-day is like, in some respects, the Republicanism of yesterday and the Toryism of the day before. It is a Toryism for the freedom and uplifting of the race. Toryism was a bigger and a finer thing than imperialism. Republicanism was a finer ideal than the thing it displaced and the thing it has retrograded into. Socialism is the new hope, the bigger salvation, the thing all men meant, but could not express, and after Socialism will come a finer thing than we now hope, and for which we cannot stand, because it is beyond our ken.

I asked a man the other day if he claimed to be a man. He was indignant and replied that his claim was as good as that of any other. I asked him to not get excited. I don't believe he is a man, but he is getting to be a man. I don't believe he is a man on earth can begin to realize anything of what a man may yet attain in the ages yet to be, and that is another reason why I am a Socialist.

Socialism is not two tyrannies in the ideal to which we turn our eyes as the Israelites turned theirs to the promised land. It is the best we know of, or if it is not the best, it is the only thing the party which stands for the best we know.

I expect to conduct this department for Socialism and for the general advancement of women as long as it suits the local at San Francisco. I sometimes insert the phrases which mean so much to many of the comrades, but it is not likely for they mean nothing particularly to me. The reason I say that is because of Socialism were ours to-day, it would not be of the things which we call it; it would be what the average citizenship would make it. It might be a great deal better than

any of its definitions; it might fall short. To am a Socialist because the cause and traditions of my family make me such, in other words, because I can't help it. Then I am a Socialist because I believe it to be right as it is given me to see the right, and my hope is to be a better Socialist every day and see the right clearer and grow in courage. My duty is to help others see the truth, and to help them by persuasion, by argument, by fair means and by unfair ones, and in following out that course I desire to tell the whole truth in regard to the world around me, and help show men they must themselves strike if they desire freedom, and furthermore for being a Socialist, I am open to conviction.

To Women Socialists

There is a great amount of work to be done in the field of Socialist propaganda, and the workers are very few. It may be that you have not had the chance of speaking a word occasionally in conversation with your friends, but as you are Socialists, believers in the benefit of co-operation and organization, I do not need to remind you that such accidental and occasional remarks, although useful, are not so valuable as a regular, systematic method of promoting a knowledge of Socialism.

To all women who are Socialists, and anxious to see the cause of Socialism advanced, I would say: Organize yourselves into local unions and affiliates with the Women's National Socialist Union. The fee to the National organization is only nominal, ten cents a year per member, but it will save the advantage of books tending to open the eyes of the readers to present conditions, and awaken an interest in Socialist principles, and you can industriously circulate those books among your acquaintances.

Many more can be done in an organization than by individuals working without knowledge of each other. The benefit of the worker is also not to be overlooked. We learn from each other and fit ourselves to better work. We keep up with the times, and have the pleasure of congenial companionship.

Our organization aims at the most democratic methods, and each local is at liberty to follow out its own lines of work, whether they be literary, social or otherwise; with perfect freedom. There is no interference, but only the effort at mutual assistance.

Many plans are already on foot which will be of help to small, scattered locals, as for instance, a new collection of songs, a new series of lessons for young people. It is desired to hold a convention of women Socialists of California in San Francisco in the fall, immediately after the convention of the Socialist Party, and we therefore urge scattered groups of women to get into local unions and affiliate themselves with the National organization, that they may be prepared to send representatives to the convention when it takes place.

Assistance in the work of organization will be given if desired. The outline of a constitution will be furnished, which may be modified to suit the local requiring it. All inquiries will be gladly replied to. Will you not take hold and do your best to promote the cause of Socialism? Remember what Socialism promises to woman! It is a cause that deserves woman's earnest co-operation. For information please address Mrs. W. S. Abbott, Oak, Shasta County, California. President: Mrs. Marion H. Dunham, Burlington, Iowa, Secretary, or Josephine R. Cole, San Jose, California, Representative for California.

Fresno Wheels Into Line

Fresno, Cal., June 23, 1902. Editor Advance: I have been speaking in this county for the ten days past. He has organized locals at Sanger, Selma and Fowler. Saturday evening we had a large gathering of people in the court house park in Fresno, and aroused much enthusiasm. Socialists are rejoicing. That the time is at hand when the people will hasten to the Socialist speaker, is evident. R. F. Wilson is a grand worker for the cause. The Socialists of Fresno will meet in mass meeting Saturday, July 12th, to elect candidates for county offices, to be placed in nomination by petition. We expect a large meeting.

Fraternally, G. S. Brower. Whoever is content to be soot of the new gospel—Socialism—is a fool. Whoever treacherously stifles it is a criminal.—Emile Zola.

Brownie

By William R. Fox.

Come here, my little Brownie, And stand beside my knee; I want to tell a little story That someone told to me. A little star was watching From its window off somewhere; It saw a little fellow Who was standing on a chair. It was before the cupboard; He was silly reaching in. Fancy a little angel Committing such a sin! He thought no one was looking As he searched among the ware; But the little star was watching From its window off somewhere. He fished out a banana, Looking round this way and that; It belonged to little sister, And it was big and fat. Quickly his tiny fingers Stripped the yellow peel with care, And he ate up all the "gooey" As he stood upon the chair. Then he fixed the peel together Just where it lay before, Left it looking plump and honest, But it hadn't any core! That little star was watching From its window all the time, And someone told you papa About your little crime. Ha! Ha! my little Brownie! You didn't know I knew; The little star was mamma's eye; The little boy was you. Take care, my little Brownie! The world is full of eyes. For all it catches doing Such little tricks as those. Piffle a banana. And you go to lay, my dear; But, Brownie, steal a railroad, And you are a financier.

Appeal for Socialism.

Address delivered by Eugene V. Debs to the Miners' Convention in Denver, Colorado.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—The privilege of addressing you upon such an occasion as this imposes certain duties and responsibilities which I could not disregard without betraying your confidence, insulting your intelligence and violating the sanctity of my own conscience. You have a right to expect that I shall be honest with you, that I shall be honest with myself, and in this respect, at least, you shall not be disappointed.

Now we are in the midst of the mightiest industrial revolution the world has ever known. Humanity is trembling upon the verge of the greatest organic change in all history. The capitalist competitive system is productive of industrial masters and industrial slaves. We have the fruit of this system before us for inspection. This system before us is a deception. It has given us millionaires and mendicants, palaces and hovels, rogues and rags. It has reduced the working man, the producer of all wealth, to the very dead line of degradation.

The importance of organization is so generally conceded that it need not be discussed. In every great contest you have been divided, you have been backslided, your unions have been destroyed, you have been left at the mercy of your masters. The time has come for the working man in every department of industrial activity to realize that he has a class identity, that he has class interests, that if necessary for working man to combine upon the economic field where they are weakest, it is vastly more important that they shall combine upon the political field, where they are absolutely invulnerable. (Applause.)

Consider, briefly, the status of the working man of this country. He has nothing but his labor power in the very nature of the situation. If he succeeds in finding employment he simply succeeds in selling himself into bondage. Take the most successful wage earner in Denver, he does not know when some machine may be invented to replace him. The miner does not know when he can find another position if he loses this one. He goes up one street and down another. He leaves the city where he lives because the mines in the country are being trained. In due course of time he becomes what they call a vagrant, a tramp; a victim of the existing economic system in which man's life is of absolutely no value; a system where private profit is more important than human life. (Applause.) He is idle, his wife may be in want, his children may be suffering. No matter; profit must be made. One hundred and forty six thousand of these men are now on strike in the East. Examine the reports of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Statistics for 1901 and you will find the average wage for the year of the Pennsylvania coal miner was 78 cents a day. They have been organized. They have been thoroughly organized. Some of them were foolish enough to imagine that they

could in that organization conquer the capitalist. They were to strike on the first of April, but under the influence of the Civic Federation—a very useful annex to the capitalist class—and now after seven weeks the Civic Federation acknowledges its helplessness.

Not long ago I wrote a letter to the Denver press and said, "You miners ought to get together, 146,000 strong, and you ought unanimously to pass a resolution to the effect that you propose to obey the law, that you also propose to exercise all the rights and privileges granted you by that law, including the walking off the free man upon the highways of the state (applause); and if it comes to pass that a miner is shot down you ought to shoot back. If the mine operators of Pennsylvania insist upon a killing program, let it be an operator for a miner, and not miners only, as in the past." These 146,000 miners have been voting the Republican ticket. They gave the present governor of that state his 280,000 majority, and he is rewarding them for their fidelity in the old-fashioned capitalist way. He is returning bullets for bullets. When they learn to vote as they think and they assert their right to pass at the ballot box, when they vote their class into power, they will no longer have to starve upon the highways; they will no longer be shot at from the mouths of capitalist guns (Applause.)

My heart is with the strikers. I hope this year, in the world, if I could give them all the organized and unorganized men of the city of Denver and the state of Colorado. (Applause.) I would try to teach them, that the tool which they are working in a local paper, made by a mill owner, says: "The mill owners will not suffer." No, they will continue to eat three square meals. They can draw upon their bank accounts. The struggle is one between a human stomach and a steel bank vault. (Applause.)

The workman no longer owns the tools with which he must work. The owners of the tools are the masters of the slave who are compelled to use the tools of the whole bawling capitalist. The tool of production is being fought about by the tool of production and I would have you understand its great importance in this struggle. There was a time when the workman owned the tool with which he worked. That tool was long since touched by the wand of invention, and the machine is owned by a combination of capitalists. The workman in this process lost control of the tool with which he worked. He still has his labor power; he cannot work without his tools and he is compelled to apply to the owner of his tool for permission to work in other words, for permission to live. Not only this, but the machine has become so perfect that it can be operated by the unskilled labor of a woman or the deft fingers of the child, so that they have to produce profits for their masters.

In this system it is not a question of male labor or female labor, of white labor or black labor; it is a question of cheap labor. (Applause.) He who produces cheapest controls the market. The entire burden of the profit falls upon the workman. This is the tendency to-day in every department of activity.

I am no reformer. So far as I am concerned, I propose to end, not mend, this system. I don't like the term "reformer." It savors of suspicion. The most successful thieves I know pretend to be reformers. I like the term reformer. There is something in it that stirs the blood. I enjoy it. I prefer agitation to stagnation. The time has come for action. I believe the conventions now in session realize it and the delegates will put themselves upon record in a way to give hope and inspiration to the working class of the entire country. (Applause.)

The Socialist party is not a reform party. It proposes to abolish the capitalist system, to transfer from private hands all the means of production and distribution and turn them over to the people in their collective capacity. If the coal, for instance, is not the people's, whose is it? A Voice—Mark Hanna's.

That seems to be the opinion of the workmen, for they have been voting that way. The miners of Colorado have consented to make him a silent partner in the leadership of the American labor movement. (Laughter.) If I were a capitalist I would soon submit my case to a hawk for arbitration.

Now and then some splendid man occupying the pulpit dares to speak out—it is not long before he is like you—he is out of a job. You have a splendid example here in your midst in Myron Reed. (Long continued applause.) It is gratifying to me, it is a beautiful tribute that he is remembered as he deserves to be, with gratitude and love. Myron Reed was a man of profound sympathies with the suffering and struggling poor. When the miners were on a strike in '91, when they were besieged near Cripple Creek, and when the forces were being mustered to charge upon them, Myron Reed stood in the front ranks of his fashionable congregation and said: "My heart is on Ball's hill. I have a deep sense that the miner was

there first." (Renewed applause.) From that moment he was doomed. And he did not wait to be crucified, he crucified himself. He was in better company for it. It takes a real man and a real woman to be a Socialist. When great principles have been involved in history the majority were always wrong and the minority have invariably been right, and in the majority of events the minority have become the majority, and so it will be with the Socialist movement. (Applause.)

I appeal to you workmen to stand together to-day. Resolve that you will be true to your class. Then in the spirit of Andrew Jackson, accept the consequences of your act. Emphasize every industrial conflict by political action. The ballot is the weapon. It was found after a thousand years of blood and tears. It is criminal not to make use of it, or worse still, to use it to force your fetters more securely. I appeal to you to read and think and study, and above all if you have any prejudice against Socialism to dismiss it. You were told that it was a bad thing. Who says so? "TRACE THE STATEMENT TO ITS SOURCE AND YOU WILL FIND IT IS MADE BY THE MAN WHO WOULD DESTROY YOUR LABOR." (Applause.) Socialism is good for men. If it were not he would not be the man to warn you against it.

A sane capitalist ought to embrace Socialism. It does not do it for the reason that in his mad, insane strife the strings of his heart have almost dried. His blood is no longer red. Through all his life he has been seeking to get out of the world because his salvation as a capitalist has compelled it.

When the work of the world is co-operatively done, there will be no masters, no slaves. He who lives has a right to live. He therefore has a right to work, for only by work can he maintain himself. He would work by divine right, by the machinery of the world which he at his service. The machine is not yet ended. This is my message:

Come to me, you wage workers; at your bidding I will work, and I will produce; I will reserve from each day a certain number of hours that you may devote to moral and intellectual improvement; I will make it possible for you to have a complete life; I will make it possible for your soul to be emancipated from the dominion of your stomach; I will make it possible for you to fertilize this globe; come to me. Work together co-operatively. I am at your service; I will produce not for profit, but for use. I will produce to supply your physical wants; I will make it possible for every man to have the kind of work nature intended that he should do; I will make it possible for every man to be an intelligent man. I will transform this miserable doghouse that covers you; I will make it a temple of science; I will make you workmen the sovereigns of this earth. I will make the badge of labor the only badge of nobility." (Applause.)

Work of Two Socialists.

Boston, June 6.—When Carey's strike bill, which came up on Wednesday, May 28, for passage to a third reading, the Committee on Labor, which had reported favorably for the bill, the exception of three House members and one Senator dissenting, allowed it to go to vote without debate. A rising vote showed 32 for and 38 against the bill. At the point of no quorum and after a quorum had been verified, a second rising vote showed 45 for and 71 against. A roll-call was then had and resulted in 76 for the bill and 75 against. Before the vote was announced the Clerk notified the Speaker, who then requested that his name be called. The Speaker then cast his vote against the bill, tying the vote and thus defeating the bill.

There was applause from the enemies of the bill, and Carey gave notice that he would reconsider on the morrow. This was the first time the Speaker had voted during the session, or in fact for two years, and as he acted promptly, there is no disputing where he stands on labor measures—indeed, there never has been any question as to that matter, so far as the Socialists were concerned. The Speaker's action has constituted the principal political gossip of the past two days and the capitalist papers are still discussing the probable effect upon the next election.

That the Speaker's vote had carried consternation into the ranks of the Republicans, and of all sorts in particular, was made manifest on the following day, when Carey's motion to reconsider the previous day's action on the bill was under discussion.

The debate on the bill when reconsideration was taken was a long and interesting one, consuming almost the entire morning. But the chief point in particular was the discussion between Carey and MacCartney and Newton of Everett, the Republican leader in the House. Carey had spoken at some length, giving the principal reasons for his passage. He showed that any one could walk in front of any factory and speak to whom he chose and not be enjoined; but when workmen go out on strike, if the strike

seek to speak to any one and acquaint him with the conditions existing in the factory they were treated as if they had violated a criminal law. What was right yesterday had become a criminal offense to-day. If there is no statute against peaceful communication, why should the right be denied? When a judge issues an injunction forbidding men to speak to each other he becomes a law unto himself, assumes a legislative function and usurps power. We do not ask to violate any law, not only to protect certain men in the exercise of their rights.

Newton asked if Carey meant that courts had issued injunctions to prevent one man from speaking to another, Carey said yes. Injunctions of the most sweeping character had been issued. He cited the phraseology of one forbidding anyone "to persuade or to attempt to persuade" any one else nor to enter the employment of another. Carey read the opinion of Chief Justice Holmes of the Massachusetts Supreme Court upon the subject, whereby his words are used in the framing of the bill.

Newton quoted an opinion cited the difference between "agitation through a scheme of organization" and that of an individual. Carey repeated and showed how inconsistent it was to deny an organization what was declared to be the right of an individual. He regretted that disturbances occurred during strikes, but that most arose through misunderstandings as to the rights of strikers. We ask merely that the Legislature define these rights, and we have no objection if the rights are equal to the added responsibility. Give to the workers a definite understanding of their rights and that will minimize a strike and disorder. The opponents of the bill were in danger of increasing disturbances instead of removing them. Newton asked Carey if he favored Brigham's amendment. Carey replied that the bill did not do his service or violate any law, but only to define certain rights.

Newton spoke against the bill. He said Carey had discussed the bill. It was exceedingly fair and able, but he failed utterly to get the main point of objection to it. The right of one man to speak to another was not disputed; but it was the third party's rights that had to be considered—the rights of the company involved in the controversy. Carey asked Newton what he thought of an injunction issued against a corporation sending out agents to get men by misrepresentation during a strike. Newton replied that when a corporation infringes upon the rights of others the courts interfere. Government by injunction was a catch-phrase used for political purposes; courts have never interfered with individual rights, but they have acted wisely in preventing organizations from encroaching upon the rights of other men.

MacCartney said that Newton inferred that the only wrong committed was on the part of the strikers. He would ask MacCartney if he ever heard of an injunction being issued or granted against one corporation to prohibit it from soliciting men to go into the employment of another company. Newton said he had not. MacCartney replied that that was the point at issue. If it was conceded to be right for the committee to solicit employ from another company, why was it not right for an organization of workmen to solicit men not to go into the employment of another company?

Brigham's amendment was adopted, and upon a rising vote the bill was passed to a third reading by a vote of 100 to 67. On Monday last the bill was passed to be engrossed and was sent up to the Senate. No bill has attracted more attention during this session than this one, and that the Socialists should have got it through the House is looked upon as one of the most flattering tributes that could be paid to their energy and ability, as well as emphasizing their growing importance as representatives of a growing cause. The support given the bill by the Labor Committee was neither impressive nor enthusiastic, and the whole fight for the bill devolved upon the Socialists, who showed themselves well able to take care of their side. They succeeded in making the bill one of the issues of the Legislature, and their victory is all the more complete since they had the leaders of the House opposed to them.

Socialism in Prussia

Berlin, June 3d.—Baron Windheim, President of the Prussian Police Administration, has ordered the dismissal of any police attaché high or low, guilty of voting for Social or Democratic candidates, reading Socialist newspapers or in any way sympathizing with the movement. Socialism is making such rapid progress among the masses that it has induced the fear that it will eventually reach the police. A Prussian court recently failed to punish two working men for distributing Socialist literature among the soldiers of the garrison. This verdict has aroused considerable comment. It is thought it may signify that wider political freedom may yet be granted the army.

To the Worker

Shall you complain who feed the world? Who clothe the world? Who houses the world? Shall you complain who are the world, Of what the world may do? If from this hour you'd use the power, The world must follow you! The world's hangs on your right hand! Your strong right hand! Your skilled right hand! You hold the whole world in your hand, See to it what you do! Or dark or light, Or wrong or right, The world is made by you.

Then rise as you never rose before! Nor hoped before! Nor dared before! And show as was never shown before, The power that lies in you! Stand all as one— See Justice done! Believe, and Dare, and Do! Charlotte Perkins Stetson.

Appeal for Strike Propaganda Fund.

St. Louis, June 11, 1902. To the members of the Socialist Party, Comrades: Letters are reaching National Headquarters from the local miners' unions in various states, thanking the Socialist Party for collecting and distributing the news of the anthracite strike. The Rebels are in the throes of a veritable hurricane of strikes. Brewery workers are still out in Boston and Cincinnati; both of the above organizations likely to become involved on a national scale, while strikes of lesser importance rage or simmer at all points of the compass in this "sweet land of liberty."

In order to facilitate the capitalist class in digging its own grave in the social upheaval now in progress all over the country, you are requested to send contributions to the National Committee, in order to continue the work already begun of breaking up the "conspiracy of silence" of the capitalist press; sending party propagandists to the scene of capitalist "labor disturbances" and co-operating with the state and local organizations of our party and the trade unions involved. Let us do all in our power to encourage and cheer the strikers in their organized resistance to capitalist exploitation and intention to their ill-fated cause. Comrades, the hour for action calls upon you. We ask you to rise to the greatest of this opportunity and do your part, for the hand of revolution points to the last days in the calendar of capitalism. Fraternally,

Leon Greenbaum, National Secretary.

Growing in Omaha

One of the elements that must be hereafter reckoned with in future elections in this city and county is the Socialist vote. One who was interested in the recent recent county elections was that in that election the Socialists cast nearly or quite 1,000 votes. If this be true, and there seems no reason to doubt the assertion, there are several times as many out-and-out Socialists as there are populists, taking no account of the fact that most of the latter in this country are in spirit Socialists. The Socialists maintain headquarters on North Sixteenth street, where the seductive doctrines are dispensed at all hours of the day and night, and pretty soon they are expected to cut a considerable figure in local and State elections.—Omaha Examiner (Rep.)

More and More in Idaho.

Rigby, Ida.—School election was held in this district on May 28th. The Socialist Party won out. For the three-year term Fred Peterson had 23 votes against 17 for the Republican, 15 for the Democrats and 7 scattering for the one-year term, Wm. Adams had 19, with 10 for the Democrat, 9 for an independent, and 15 scattering. The Socialists are pledged to liberal school policy. This is the entering wedge in Idaho.

The political declaration of the Denver A. F. of L. convention was as follows: "Whereas, we realize the inadequacy of pure and simple trades-unionism to grapple with the same; therefore, let it

Resolved, by the Colorado State Federation of Labor, that at the next annual convention assembled, that we demand the initiative and referendum and the imperative mandate as a part of the organic laws of the state and nation. We further demand that our means of production and distribution shall be owned by the whole people, and we recommend to our affiliated unions the study and discussion of Socialist principles.

