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WHOLE NUMBER 413.

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1902.

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San Francisco Propaganda

Comrade Reynolds presided over one of the largest propaganda meetings held recently in the Academy of Science and Mrs. Phelps, of the Mills school, delighted the audience by reading a few of her own thoughts in refutation of the fallacy that Socialism will destroy individuality. Cameron King, Jr., who is a prime favorite with the San Francisco Socialist audience, had a good subject and one of interest right now—"Strikes and Socialism." The text for his talk was a recent article in *Literary Digest*, giving a history of strikes in America for the last twenty years. The boss has in his hands all the means of life, the worker is the creator of wealth and the only one. But he must ask the capitalist for permission before he can go to work, because the boss has control of all machinery. One half of all the wealth of the country is in the hands of 150,000 people. Eight per cent of the people own the property, ninety-two per cent own nothing. How then does the workingman win fifty per cent of the state? It is because the boss will lose more in one way than he will in another, and if the boss figures that he will, in the long run, lose less by coming to terms he comes over and the worker wins. The whole thing is a strike for power.

Please bear in mind that no working man will ever win the full product of his toil by going on a strike. He will never receive over one-half of the products of their toil, and generally about one-quarter. This is according to Carroll D. Wright. The struggle for power is as old as the wage system. The strike is an expensive method of carrying it on. An arbitration is simply a demonstration of the relative strength of opponents; it can never be decisive.

The unions must call on the state when they fall themselves, that is, they must get into politics. They failed in child labor legislation.

The conclusion of improper workers. Even after the law is enforced, the men must go on strike to impose it. The unions are, therefore, obliged to resort to force means than economic ones. Even Samuel Gompers has discovered that the union must go into politics, because they are otherwise always betrayed. Mr. Gompers should know his lesson, for he has often enough been on his knees begging for laws which have not been granted.

But there is another method. The legislator who has a voice and a vote is the man the laborers want. Nothing can be won by begging, but if you can demand recognition it will come. We have proved this by local strikes. It is common gossip that powers of government are used against the strikers as a rule. This means that the workers must yield.

When labor controls the government the executive labor will win justice. Is the warfare for power to go on for ever? What then shall we do? We must defeat them, so that all their power will be taken from them and they will lay down their arms? How? Only one way. If this money and the energy expended on strikes had been given to the Socialist party, a sane system of society had been established. Instead of living in huts in poverty and working for a pittance, you would have a free life of leisure and the mass might progress in all directions. We want no compromise, but a victory. Then we will have permanent peace and happiness.

Great interest was manifested in the questions and much practical information desired. Mr. Christie told his opinion of Mr. Gompers, and of the alleged labor representations in Congress. Mr. Zapp was the second of the five minute speakers, and his notion was that other things than money enter into strikes.

Mr. Vaughn was next Socialist five minute speaker. The strike is a protest on the part of the worker against the present conditions. The unions have been in politics for quite a time. The trouble has been that the men who have been elected are capitalists.

Scott Anderson closed by saying that the only thing ever accomplished by unions is the shortening of the hours of labor.

After Comrade King's closing remarks, Comrade Costard made a good critic's report, in which he commended Mrs. Phelps, and referred to the speaker of the evening as being too hard on the trade union, for the union is Socialism in swaddling clothes. Bye and bye all trades unions will unite and vote the Socialist ticket.

Forging Ahead at Vallejo

The comrades at Vallejo report considerable progress in the propaganda there. On June 11 Mrs. Phelps and W. T. Mills spoke to a large audience in the Farragut theater, and as a result several new members were added to the local. The following week Miss M. Lena Morrow spoke on the Bank corner one night and the night after before the Labor Council. Comrade Morrow's address was very well received and her eloquent pleading for Socialism made many converts. June 25 C. H. King, Jr. spoke at an open air meeting. A crowd of one hundred and fifty listened attentively for an hour and a half to the argument for Social political action. After the address two active trade unions joined the party then and there and three others signified their intention of doing so on the following evening at the regular business meeting of the local. A significant thing occurred when a request came from the Central Union Labor Club to the Machinists' Union asking for the election of delegates to a nominating committee of the Union Labor party. Members after member declared that they would not support such a move, that Socialism was the workingman's hope, and the Socialist Party was the workingman's party. The proposition to send delegates was defeated by a big majority. The same result is expected when the matter comes up before the other unions and before the Labor Council. Meanwhile the Socialist local has an active membership of thirty, which the members confidently expect to triple in the next few months. The outlook was never so bright as now, and the hearts of all beat high with the hope they cherish.

Philosophy of Socialism

People often speak of Socialism as if they were a system that could be transferred to another country.

Utopia offered for criticism. It is discussed as if it were a "reform" that could be compared with other reforms, and Socialists are asked to unite with "other reformers" in a state of society, either proposed or existing. The "Co-operative Commonwealth" is no more Socialism in the true form. Such talk implies an utter misapprehension of the essential characteristics of Socialism.

It should be distinctly understood from the beginning that Socialism is not the system of the word that was the competitive society of our fathers, or the Monopolistic society of today. Socialism is the philosophy of social development that treats the great economic laws, according to the working of which each of these stages of society must naturally be a development from its predecessor. There is no common ground between Socialism and any scheme or plan for the improvement of society. To attempt to unite it with any of these is as sensible as to ask an astronomer to "fix" with some reformer who is seeking to improve the climate by introducing changes in the earth's orbit, because astronomy treats of the laws causing variations in the relative position of the earth and the sun.

The basis of Socialism, in this sense is found in what is sometimes called the "materialistic conception of history," or Economic Determinism. The foundation of this conception was stated as follows in the preface to the famous Communist Manifesto, issued by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, in 1849:

"In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which the superstructure of political, intellectual history of that epoch."

Consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of CLASS STRUGGLES, contests between oppressed and exploiting, falling and oppressed classes.

Perhaps this position can be made clearer by an illustration from the field of biology. It is a well known law in the world of plants and animals that in any organism the entire form and structure is simply the most advantageous manner of arranging the material of which the plant or animal is composed in order to meet the difficulties with which it is surrounded. Every limb, muscle, leaf, branch, or root was developed because its existence was of advantage to the organism as a whole in obtaining its support from its environment.

In the same way society as a whole is simply the form in which its members unite to conquer nature. It is a machine, an organism, a structure with which to obtain the good desired by its members. Let this be not misunderstood. If society is but a means to the satisfaction of human desires through conquest of an external world, the law of a society does not depend upon this fact, but only upon the law of the desires that govern. If all the social energies are expended in the production of the means to satisfy the merely animal desires to the neglect of the production of good and true, and if even then these necessities are not secured to the majority of the members of society, then that society is indeed bestial.

If, on the other hand, the social organization is such that the animal needs are secondary, secured to all by mechanical means, while opportunity and leisure are guaranteed to every one for the development of the ethical and artistic—then the plane of organization is vastly higher.

In other words, this philosophy is a "big philosophy" only to the extent that those whose idea of "goods" to be produced and desired to be satisfied embraces the production of good and true, and whose aim is to secure to all the means for the production of good and true.

The position, however, is granted that the economic and social laws of the world are not the same law of expansion which is the law of the superior power and more vital interests of national parties—that same law demands that a labor party move forward consistently from one victory over capital to another. Every victory means an encroachment on the right of the "boss" to run his business his own way. Every union demand is a step toward a greater and wider exercise of that function of ownership, direction of methods of use, management of the social place where they could stop, therefore, short of ownership and management of industries themselves.

Since they were doing this politically it would be going to the ownership of industry and working class ownership of government that they must logically come to.

But the Union Labor party has failed to recognize this. It has attempted to reform certain evil conditions within the existing capitalist system. It has attempted, through its mouth-piece, Mayor Schmitz, to serve capital as well as labor. If it continues this policy it is doomed. The capitalist will buy and betray it. The workers will desert and damn it. The war between the capitalists cannot be harmonized on the political field. The Union Labor Party must take one side or the other. If it goes for capital it will be swallowed by the national Republican party. If it stands for labor it cannot do otherwise than adopt the Socialist platform. Since the Socialist party is a national and international party, the Union Laborists might as well join the Socialist local here and now. The Socialists demanded that complete revolution in society which would destroy the tyrannical oligarchy of capital and raise to control of the public power the working class, the producers of wealth. That a free and fraternal commonwealth might displace the hell of competition.

Comrade Mills' address lasted nearly two hours and he was frequently interrupted by bursts of applause. At the close three hearty cheers were given for Mills. Then three rousing cheers for the Socialist Party. Then a Labor Party man called for three for the Union Labor Party but the response was very thin. The machinists want Socialism and will vote for it.

Machinists Cheer Socialism

"Not Reform, but Revolution is the political aim of the working-class." This was the stirring message which Comrade Walter T. Mills delivered in lecture tones to the machinists in San Francisco Wednesday evening, June 25. His subject was "The Union Labor Party." Several weeks previously he had delivered a lecture to the "Class Struggle," and so well pleased were the machinists that they demanded another opportunity to hear him. Comrade Mills handled his subject with great skill. He began by outlining the task before the working class. He showed that the struggle was not merely a local fight, but that the class war was a national and international conflict. Throughout the civilized world identically the same forces are lined up in a gigantic struggle for supremacy. One the one hand are the myriad battalions of those who make things, but who are practically penniless. On the other hand is the small but crafty, unscrupulous and perfectly organized army of those who make nothing, but who take and now own practically everything. The strikes in San Francisco were but local battles in an international class war. The Union Labor Party is a part of the bid fair to become an international party, possessing plants all over the country. The Machinists' Union was a local of the International Association. Not only that, but other corporations, which other unions had to fight, operated at least on a national basis, and hence to battle with them successfully at the polls the unions would have to enter national politics. When the speaker had established this proposition, he went on to show that the only possible solution of the question of the International Association was Socialism. The Union Labor party must be consistent. It must stand for the complete victory of labor or perdition. The same law of expansion which is the law of the superior power and more vital interests of national parties—that same law demands that a labor party move forward consistently from one victory over capital to another. Every victory means an encroachment on the right of the "boss" to run his business his own way. Every union demand is a step toward a greater and wider exercise of that function of ownership, direction of methods of use, management of the social place where they could stop, therefore, short of ownership and management of industries themselves.

Socialists Capture Colorado

There is great rejoicing among the Socialists in the great mining state over the fact that Colorado is the first state to have a Socialist Governor. They expected to have one any day, besides several other states. They are going to capture not merely the Chief Executive of the state but the whole works this fall. But even before the election they have managed to secure the Young Governor. It happened this way. D. C. Costie, one of the publishers of the *Colorado Chronicle*, a trades union paper, was elected Lieutenant Governor of Colorado. Mr. Costie has been a radical and staunch upholder of labor and added a great deal of strength to the Democratic ticket. Very recently, for some cause, unknown to us, the Governor of Colorado has been off duty and the Lieutenant Governor has acted in his place. The spread of Socialist propaganda had seized hold of Mr. Costie some time ago, and recently he has supported the move to swing the trades unions in line for Socialist political action. Two weeks ago he sent in his application for membership which was accepted. And now a Socialist occupies the gubernatorial chair of Colorado. He has been beset on all sides since this declaration by pot-house politicians of various legends, threats and influence, and speaking generally he authorized the following statement to be made, which first appeared in the *Rocky Mountain News*:

"Yes, I sent in my application about a week ago, and on Sunday night was made a frequent member of that party. I shall be found fighting for these principles. I admit that I have been advised against it, and I have heard much talk about political errors, but I mean to take the stand and to stick to it. I am more anxious than anything else to do some good in this world, and believe in a man following his convictions, first of all. I have believed in Socialism for years, and I am not content with elevating the working classes to a place of independence and to that position they should rightfully occupy. Having taken this stand long ago, I shall not turn back from it now, and I do not want to know of anybody who would rather remain in conviction than to hold any office."

Humboldt Aroused

Comrade M. Lena Morrow, after giving a great deal of valuable work in Oakland, Stockton, Sacramento and Vallejo, has gone for a while up to Humboldt county. She is an indefatigable worker and strikes telling blows for the cause. Writing under date of June 27th she sends in

several subs for *Advance*, and gives a brief note of the work she has on hand. She has held two big hall meetings, besides others in the open air at logging camps nearby. Friday and Saturday Scotia and its logging camps were visited and "very interested-ones" are reported. A great bunch of literature was disposed of and subs for *Advance* were procured. Humboldt county has needed the services of a speaker, and Comrade Morrow has filled a long felt want. Her agitation has given the community a shake up, and Socialism is being talked of on all hands. Watch the vote next November.

An Appeal on Behalf of the United Mine Workers of America

To the Members of the Socialist Party
Comrades—Since the issue of our previous circular with reference to a Strike Propaganda Fund, comrades who have received and circumstances which have come to light, indicate that the present struggle will extend over a wide territory, and that the magnitude of the magnitude unprecedented in the history of the labor movement of this country. At this critical time it becomes proper for our comrades to pause and consider well the policy which it should adopt towards the strikers.

One hundred and fifty thousand men have thrown down their tools, in a rebellion against their capitalist masters. The immediate cause of this strike is a mere wage dispute, and as such is naturally and eagerly seized upon by Socialists to show the folly and wrong of the wage system. The sudden discontinuance of wages, which barely affords the means of subsistence, is a direct and certain starvation to hundreds of thousands of men, women and children. This being the central living fact in the strike, does not the condition demand that our comrades should not be content with results secure thereby both to the striking miners and to the Socialist Party?

While our comrades should use their own judgment about agitation and propaganda under the conditions referred to, we urge, in order to make the Socialist Party a vital factor in this present economic phase of the class struggle, that all members of the class struggle, that all members of the class and sympathizers with our party should concentrate their efforts to render all financial aid possible to the miners. In pursuance of this policy we shall send henceforth to the general offices of the miners' organization all donations received for the Socialist Party.

We furthermore urge a special appeal to our comrades to circulate subscription lists, and if necessary to call special meetings of their respective locals, in order to make the most of the present economic phase of the class struggle, that all members of the class and sympathizers with our party should concentrate their efforts to render all financial aid possible to the miners. In pursuance of this policy we shall send henceforth to the general offices of the miners' organization all donations received for the Socialist Party.

All such donations should be sent to W. B. Wilson, National Secretary-Treasurer United Mine Workers of America, 1103 Stevenson Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Yours fraternally,
Leon Greenbaum, National Secretary.
By direction of the Local Quarum.

The Advance Guard

Comrade Lindwall surprised us with thirty new subs. Keep on with your good work.
Comrade Miss Morrow from Eureka and Fortuna, Cal., is doing excellent work. She sent us six yearly and eight half yearly subs. Things are coming our way.
Mathew forward us one. Keep on.
Comrade Beresford added four to our list. Boys and girls keep on with the good work.
Comrade W. E. Walker does likewise, and adds six more subs to the good cause.
One more from Vallejo. Cal. Send them in boys.
Comrade Lawrence of Santa Clara, Cal., sends in one. Keep up, comrades. By doing this we all will share the good things of this work before long.
Comrade Marro adds eight more names to the list. This is the work that tells. Fire away, comrades.

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

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Press dispatches now announce definitely that the Senate will do nothing until December toward passing the national eight-hour bill. Any shock that the country may now experience on this account cannot be reasonably attributed to the soundness of the news. *Coal Seamen's Journal*.

New Laws for New Times

A change in the laws is the only hope for the wage-slave, as it was for the black slave. The only improvement which has ever come to the working class came through legislation. The first check on the awful downward grade of labor came in the English factory legislation of 1803, which became effective a dozen years later, but not until labor was allowed to combine in 1824, was there any real improvement and this came chiefly to the skilled worker.

John Stuart Mill said: "It is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being." He would have had added, "fed by his own exertions," for machinery has benefited those who live on others' work.

In 1880, though productivity had increased twelve-fold in the time which had elapsed after the passing of hand work, the hours of labor worked by the average wage of the laborer had fallen to one dollar—one-third of what it was when he produced one-twelfth as much, so really one-thirty-sixth of the average production granted labor four centuries ago. Do you, in the face of these figures and the immense fortunes being piled up by non-workers, deny that labor is being robbed? The conditions present conditions with the vast increase in power of production, to effect a proportionate improvement in the condition of workers is a sufficient proof that the system is unjust. Workers are being reduced to beggary, not because of exhaustion of nature's resources, but because they produce too much, and the system does not because there is too much food waiting to be eaten; going naked, because too much clothing has been manufactured; freezing, because too much fuel has been mined! Yet this is the state of things we call over-production, which shuts down work and expects the worker to hibernate like one of the lower animals, or live on charity.

It is because of these conditions that the Socialist demands equal opportunity for all—and this is not the equal division which the unformed charge us with, which no scientific Socialist ever advocates.

No firm divides its capital. It keeps that intact and shares the profits. This is what we, the people, will do when we go into business on a common-sense basis.

I grant that this is an era of prosperity for the capitalist not yet "gobbled" by larger ones, but the census figures for the whole United States show a decrease of 8 per cent in the wages of laborers in manufacturing and mechanical industries between the years 1890 and 1900, notwithstanding the partial figures quoted by Dr. Mcintosh. In 1890 over 1,000,000 workmen in these lines received \$1.39 per diem. In 1900, 1,463,949 received \$1.30, yet Dr. Mcintosh's report shows that the cost of living increased 11 per cent in these ten years and has gone up another 7 per cent in the last two without figuring the beef combine conditions. Factory labor received 8 per cent less wages in 1900 than in 1890, but of course paid the additional 11 per cent increase on the cost of subsistence.

New Jersey, one of the States which the doctor carefully omitted when compiling his statistics, and the most thoroughly "trustified" of the States, made the most rapid decline (of 10 per cent) in warning as to what we may expect as this "wages" comes westward. In 1890 the industries of that State paid an average of \$2.24 per diem as against \$1.39 in 1900, a decrease of 32 per cent.

South Carolina, according to Census Bulletin of February 20, 1903, shows an increase of 48 1/2 per cent more in wages than in population—how many small capitalists pushed to the wall does this represent? Women workers in that State have increased 79.3 per cent faster than men and children under sixteen 191.7 per cent faster. Is this prosperity? Is it prosperity to put our babies to work as an age when they are sure to break down? Is it a sign of prosperity to raise a nation of invalids by overwork in childhood?

English statistics as to the effect of work on children who are "fourteeners" to six-hour a day workers, between the age of eleven and thirteen, show that these half-timers weigh 28 pounds less and are nearly seven inches shorter than their elders who are not obliged to work. Yet these children are working under no more unfavorable conditions than do the children in our factories.

We deny ignorance, yet we approve of a system that keeps children at work when they should be at school. Every one of us who upholds this system, by which our brothers (whose knees we are) are enslaved, is guilty. Shame upon us all! "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these ye did it not unto me."

Those did not object to one receiving "incalculable cases of hardship approaching starvation," but there is no need of our discussing these isolated cases, for the father knows what can be done by the thousands, and that their number is

constantly increasing. Need we wonder when a Methodist minister, Rev. George Campbell, says: "I do not believe, if Christ were now on earth, he would be a member of any particular sect. But he would in all probability be a Socialist. If ministers wish to eradicate the 'four great evils' let them no longer carefully ignore the sixth chapter of 1 Timothy (and kindred chapters) in selecting their texts."

The statistics of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor show that there has been a large increase in unemployed labor since 1890. In regular order beginning with that year, the percentage of unemployed has been: '92-09, '93-18, '94-23, '95-34, '96-39, '97-47, '98-58, '99-73, '00-81. This percentage does not take into account farmers and those who cannot expect to be employed the year round, yet it may be asserted that it fairly represents the proportion to the unemployed throughout the land, for laborers kept informed as to conditions, and were there very much better ones elsewhere, they would not have staid in Massachusetts.

The New York Labor Bulletin shows that from October 1, 1898, to June 30, 1900, the average of unemployed was 10.7 per cent, and when conditions permit employers to receive the help, or when the supply of labor exceeds the demand, it affects the market exactly as sim-wages go down, rarely up.

Massachusetts reports show that one-quarter of the adult males in eighty-eight unclassified industries (not including agriculture) receive less than \$8 each for a week's work—and periods of unemployment would bring this down. Yet such a man must support his family, and we can safely count that he pays at least two dollars a week for two rooms which he can stay. Is it any wonder that "women wear positions from men and children so from women, as some writers so glibly say? What can the mother do but try to eke out her husband's insufficient wage? And when both fail to keep the wolf from the door, must not the child come for his share of the money allowed labor? If Massachusetts is too far away to oppose that Dr. Mcintosh investigate conditions in San Francisco, before going abroad to clear up other deep-seated evils, or biannual report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for California says—among other things too numerous to mention—that it found:

"Corner Third and Minns streets—One girl operating big machine by foot, gets \$9 per week. . . . Two girls working on buttons said they earned 25 to 30 cents per day. . . . Two women said they got 30 cents for finishing. . . . Man gets 26c per week, boy 33c at week. . . . 441 Stevenson street—Employs 21 females, three males. All work in small room 10 by 24.5. . . . Two girls at \$1.50 per week, one at \$2.50. . . . at \$4.50, three at \$6. . . . Market street—Found 54 girls and 24 men in factory. . . . Two girls get \$1.50 per week."

And so on. Omitted portions explain unsanitary conditions, pale, underfed appearance of wages, etc. Looking at this problem from the side of the man who man who believes that the competitive system is the only possible one—that is, for the capitalist of argument, imagining that the capitalist has the right to the money which he invests—what would be just for employers to claim as their share of the profits?

Money loaned at interest is regulated in most States, and an excessive rate is unjust. Let us say that 8 per cent is a reasonable return, and 10 per cent prime, then allow for extra risks in times when every employer is apt to be swallowed by a large one, and say that 16 per cent is sufficient for extreme risks. If United States census-bureau statistics for 1890 were approximately correct, let us see what the employer took—by virtue of his strength and his employee's need. (As capital is being amassed even more rapidly than at that date, there is nothing unfair in going back to these statistics, which it happens that I have at hand.)

Manufacturing statistics by the San Francisco Bulletin 248, state that 2,905 firms had a nominal capital of \$66,612,049, employed 46,850 workers to whom they paid \$29,560,057 for manufacturing from material that cost \$77,132,003. Products valued at \$131,265,717. Additional expenses were \$7,901,154 and estimated profits \$16,314,431, or 25 per cent of the nominal capital.

In Chicago 9,959 firms, with a capitalization of \$232,477,938, employed 205,108 people, to whom they paid \$119,146,357 for turning \$386,814,848 of material into profits valued at \$632,184,140. Incidental expenses were \$41,560,751, profit its estimated value \$82,678,174, being 29 per cent of nominal capital. (Bulletin 222.) New York in same year had 25,300 firms, with a capitalization of \$420,238,902, employing 351,757 people, to manufacture material valued \$357,086,306 and goods valued at \$763,833,923. Wages paid, \$228,537,295, incidental expenses, \$60,223,425, profit on nominal capital, \$117,996,956, 28 per cent.

In these three centers, representing the three sections of the country, the employers reaped a profit of twenty-seven and a third per cent on watered stock—and of course no one will deny that if the water were squeezed out the profit on the capital actually invested would be more than doubled. If you think this amount of water excessive, look it up! Take the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul R. R. for that year. Its capital stock was \$71,793,161, its assessed valuation \$2,848,607. Of course we will admit that a "pull" may have assessed the stock at one-fifth valuation; but though we suppose this, their actual capitalization, that is three-quarters water, is three times for 1890 must not mislead us as to the average wage, for the \$637,35, \$686,61, \$648,41, all represent the average wages of the country, clerks, and other employees, etc., were figured in with the poorest paid workers. The rank and file did not receive any such living wage.

Of how much more than a legal rate of interest, then, does the average employer deprive workers? This is not Socialism, of course, or the reply would be all that he takes. Is it not time that our legislators protect the weak wage earners from the capitalist highwayman?

Poverty, the result of our system, and its attendant evils are the chief cause of intemperance, do not judge Hon. G. W. Ross because he no longer drinks. He has discovered, as many of us who live in times past worked out, that "prohibition does not prohibit." We will live in the deep Franco-Willard, who may be said to have known as much as any of us of his workings, wrote a few weeks before he died: "Had I my life to live over again, I should devote it entirely to the cause of Socialism." She had located the cancer, which gives us that symptom which we call intemperance, and she had found the drink habit while men are degraded to desperation by misery and wretchedness, or while they live in a back alley, where there is nothing but the spilling of many children and scolding wives drive them to the street. When policemen drive men from loitering on the sidewalk, where they have gone for a breath of air, what are they to do but drift into the open place open to them: the saloon? And the etiquette of the saloon would compel a man to drink even though he had no appetite for liquor and hunger were not giving him a gnawing faintness which he believes intoxicants will calm.

Prof. R. T. Ely, who is not a Socialist, says: "We should note first the temptations to intemperance. . . . The character of the toil of many laborers. Long hours are regarded by competent authorities as a cause which predisposes to the use of intoxicants. . . . The strain of work by the side of rapidly moving machines, on the nervous system, is another predisposing cause of intemperance, which has been amply attested." Robert Howard said before the Bids Committee of the United States Senate: "Drinking is the most prevalent among working people where the hours of labor are long."

Well, I will close by again quoting the text which we need to frequently recall: "The love of money is the root of all evil." Oak, Shasta County, Cal.

Labor and Politics

Hearst's Chicago American, discussing the subject of labor and political action, says:

"The organizers and leaders of the labor movement have generally been men of integrity and character, but they, like all other people, have often been subject to the blandishments of a fat salary and a good job. The real workingmen—those who use the shovel and the pick and those who work in the factory and the mill—are not in any way benefited by the fact that one of their representatives has received a lucrative job. The real workingmen and women can be benefited only by improving the laws and making better and fairer conditions under which they live. The interest of the great body of workers can be affected only by the laws that are made and unmade in the legislatures and in the courts."

It is just what the Workers' Gazette has been wanting to say for some time. The old way that labor has handled the subject of political action has proven a dismal failure, so far as the masses of laborers are concerned. Voting with both the old parties, destroying one another's influence, and now and then getting an office for a man who would rather share with his lungs than with his hands, has resulted in worse than nothing; for many good labor advocates have lost their sincerity and force in the environment of spoils. It is time to try uniting at the ballot box on the broad principle of special privileges to none. There is but one party that proposes a scientific, just and genuine method of electing the man who stands for public ownership of what belongs to the public, and that dog-

gedly refuses to be led off the track by any compromise for office which does not carry with it the power to pledge to give every laboring man in the country the FULL product of his toil—Workers' Gazette, Omaha.

Socialist Propaganda

Editor Advance: There is no other action in militant Socialism which so proves its merits by the results attained as the propaganda. The question thus naturally arises "Is there such a thing as a scientific method for conducting propaganda?"

Many of our people are holding the opinion that the propaganda is a sort of chance affair. That it is just how one chances to touch and operate the mood of the person or persons with whom one is conversing.

Such comrades also think that if the propaganda were only carried by the right person, having the proper manner of address, that Socialism would convert many of those who are now, by virtue of their economic position, anti-socialists into Socialists.

Before me on the wall is a full page illustration from a past date Sunday Call, portraying a cowboy in full regalia on horseback in the act of "snubbing" the steer which he has just lassoed.

The June McCreary's magazine also has a little story of a cowboy tournament in it, and the point gathered from it, as well as the picture is, that the horses understood the act of snubbing. The horse who does this act has learned that all steers are alike, that all will run; that the steer does not know that he will get snubbed, and the horse does know it, and that his little act of snubbing will roll the largest steer onto the sod.

Every other working class or bourgeois, is like a steer; he will run at Socialist propaganda; he must be pursued, lassoed and snubbed, lastly tied.

The simpler the economic argument in favor of Socialism, the more tremendous their power.

The most effective propaganda is the face to face propaganda, because the propagandist must seek his subject and attack him.

No mode of open meeting, whether in a hall or in the open air can do so much toward furthering our cause as the neighbor to neighbor propaganda. For the meeting fails to get the crowd wanted, and when an audience is obtained the speaker must be a good speaker or the meeting will fail to arouse.

Not that the open meeting should be superseded by the other mode, but that the private propaganda should be carried on unobtrusively and persistently.

To do this it is first necessary to extend the private propaganda among the Socialists themselves. These should be sought out by the active nucleus of the local, and have the face impressed on their consciousness that it is now they must act, if they would hope to see Socialism in their time. The Socialists themselves must be snubbed into the local.

Then follows the establishment in every local of a propaganda school. This is not so difficult as it looks. The experienced workers know that every steers acts just like every other steer, and the sole reason for the local propaganda school is to teach the pinto how to snub.

The form of argument which is the one called the "Bourgeois." It consists mainly in asking the other fellow embarrassing questions, which involve him in a dangerous series of admissions, hence out of his own consciousness.

The nucleus should also see to it that there is a series of graded literature to be placed in the hands of the workers in the propaganda school. This method of procedure, if successful, will enlarge the numerical strength of the local, increase its funds, and relieve the nucleus of experienced workers and able speakers of performing many tiresome chores.

It will also contribute much to the success of open meeting by reason of the workers snubbing in the listeners. To be sure, this method of work, like all others, will not work all at once, but will bring good results in time.

The Socialist must first be brought into line, and this will no doubt take much time and patience.

No Socialist local has a membership as large as the number of Socialist votes cast in the locality. Because the masses of voters of Socialist voters think that the small number of able men are sufficient to carry on the business of the local and attend to the propaganda work; they have only to drop in line on election day and vote.

It is not highly probable that they would nearly all belong to the local, attend meetings, and expect their share of the propaganda work, if only that work were organized for them to do, and do effectively?

It is up to the Socialists to answer this question. The discussion can only be productive of good. Comrade Editor, please lead off the polonaise by commenting on this article. Yours fraternally, Chas. A. F. Pardy, Agnew, California.

Wanted--Cash.

Circular Letter sent to All State Secretaries.

Dear Comrades: Circumstances oblige us to urge you to send us national dues at the earliest possible date, and we also suggest that you issue a special request to your locals to pay up for us as promptly as possible.

Extraordinary circumstances existing at this time call for a general rallying of the movement, which cannot be accomplished without the co-operation of the respective State Committees. There are seventeen State Committees at this moment who have not remitted national dues for May.

A crisis exists in the labor movement, owing to the great miners' strike, which is putting our national organization to a very severe test. The Pennsylvania State Committee has not sufficient means at its disposal to meet the requirements of the strike situation in that State, and its appeal for funds through the party press has elicited an inadequate response. They have appealed to us to assist them by sending additional speakers into that State, which we are most willing to do, but regret that just at this time so many State Committees are delinquent in sending national dues. We are contributing \$10 per week toward Comrade Mailly's expense in Pennsylvania, and we have gone to considerable lengths to arrange a lecture tour for Comrade George, who is the same strike which he began on June 24th.

At the same time we have been to a quite heavy expense in arranging Chase's tour through the Pennsylvania and Maryland States for Comrade George, who is the same strike which he began on June 24th. We have also gone to considerable expense in maintaining Comrade H. C. Darrall as a propagandist through the States of New York and Pennsylvania.

We respectfully submit that we are asking all that can be expected of us with the very limited resources at our disposal. We have not possibly asked for every local in the country for contributions to special strike propaganda fund. We are already beginning to receive results from this. Our local receipts during the past few months have not averaged more than \$500 per month. Were it not for the fact that the trade unions are contributing so heavily to the expense of our propaganda, we could not possibly meet more than the scale that has been and is being maintained. I beg to remind the comrades that the average receipts of this office per month would not exceed more than one month's expense and salary, for one month of one first class organizer A. F. L. In conclusion, I again urge that you co-operate with us, and meet the national crisis in the general labor movement. We have advanced for the past two weeks have advanced between \$6 and \$8, and I have had to borrow money to-day to pay the salaries of our office help.

Yours fraternally, National Secretary.

Chase's Report

Perry, Iowa, June 19, 1902.

Leon Greenbaum, Secretary Labor League Bureau:

Dear Comrade: During the past two weeks I have addressed meetings in Sedalia, Higginsville, St. Joseph and Stambury, Mo., Council Bluffs, Iowa, Fort Dodge, Perry and Boone, Iowa. The meetings in Higginsville, St. Joseph, Omaha, Council Bluffs and Fort Dodge were all well attended. The others were not what they should have been under the auspices of railroad men. One the Locomotive Engineers, the other the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

Both of those meetings were miserably handled, there being no one, seemingly, to take interest to do any work for the success of the meetings.

The Omaha meeting was very good. I spoke in the park until the rain interfered, then we took the crowd to the Socialist headquarters, where we continued the speaking to about four hundred people. The Fort Dodge meeting was under the auspices of the Carpenters Union. They secured the opera house, hired a band, and paraded the streets and turned out a good audience.

I find that public meetings of this kind are something of a novelty in these places in Iowa. They hardly know the meaning of them. They are well pleased, however, with the idea of holding meetings, and future speakers among them will find it easier.

There is more conservatism here among union men, and more speakers among them is very essential to wake them up. Next week I have a meeting in Mt. Winterest, Albion, Ottumwa, Keokuk and Van Horn.

Fraternally yours, John C. Chase.

All lovers of republicanism will hope that among the speakers on the 4th of July there may be found at least a few with enough courage to get the momentous lesson that, as things now stand in our country, Independence Day represents a memory rather than a fact.

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Child Labor in the South

Twenty thousand little children are toiling out their lives in the textile mills of the South... She says, on the subject of night-work: 'Without regulation of hours there is no reason to prevent the mills working at night, and when they can do so profitably they will avail themselves of this permission.'

'A clerk in a cotton-mill told me that little boys turned out at two in the morning for some trivial fault... Mrs. Ashby-MacFadyen says that there is hope that the legislature of Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina may, at their next sessions, pass laws prohibiting the employment of children under twelve, although the effect of this action thus far have met uniform failure.'

Progress of the Press

The Chicago Socialist makes the following comments on the remarkable growth of Socialism... About three years ago the lonely wanderer toward the Socialist oasis found the American press as quiet on the subject of social relations as was the Sahara at full moon.

'The physical, mental, and moral effect of these long hours of toil and confinement on the children is indescribably sad... 'How sternly the pound of flesh' is insisted on by the various employers is illustrated by the case of two little boys of 9 and 11, who had to walk three miles to work on the night shift for 12 hours.'

'In Huntsville, Ala., in January, just before I was there, a child of eight years, who had been a few weeks in the mill, lost the index and middle finger of her right hand... 'In one mill city in the South a doctor told a friend that he had personally amputated more than a hundred babies' fingers mangled in the mill.'

'No mill-children look healthy. Any one that does by chance, you are sure to find out has but recently begun work... 'No one that does by chance, you are sure to find out has but recently begun work.'

Peace Over Africa

'By Edwin Markham. An Extract. Let there be no more battles: field and flood. Are sick of bright-ahed blood. Lay the sad swords aslep. They have their fearful memories to keep. These wars in the dark of battle burned— Burned upward with insufferable light, Lay them aslep: heroic rest is earned. And in their rest will be a kinder might. Than ever flowed upon the front of fight. And let the flags; they weary of the day. Worn in their wild climb in the wind's wild way. Quiet the dauntless flags: Grown strangely old upon the smoking crags. Look, where they startle and leap! Look, where they hollow and heap! Tremulous, undulant banners, fared and thinned. Living and dying momentarily in the wind. And war's impetuous bugles, let them rest; Bugles that cried through whirlwind their behest; Wild bugles that held council in the sky. They are aware of that curdling cry. That tells own how to die. And cannons worn out with their work of hell. The brief abrupt persuasion of the shell. Let the shrewd spider look them, one by one. With filmy cables glancing in the sun; And let the throbbe in their empty throats. Build his safe nest and spill his rippling notes. The Literary Digest.

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Press Bulletin

The following telegram was received at National headquarters June 21: Clarkburg, West Virginia: Mother Jones arrested here this afternoon upon Judge Jackson's injunction while attending a mass meeting of miners and citizens. Comrade 'Nick' Geiger commences his tour among the miners' unions of Pennsylvania this evening at Carbonada. Comrades Collins and Mally are now in the strike region.

'I know the sweatshops of Hester street, New York; I am familiar with the vice, depravity, and degradation of the Whitechapel district; I have visited the Ghetto of Yonkers; I know of Siberian atrocities; but for misery, woe and helplessness suffering, I have never seen anything to equal the cotton-mill slavery of South Carolina—this in many ways America, the land of the free and the home of the brave.'

He goes on to describe one of the little fellows in the mill as follows: 'I thought to lift one of the little toilers to ascertain his weight. Straightway through his thirty-five pounds of skin and bones he fell like a heavy door, and he struggled forward to tie a broken thread. I attracted his attention by a touch, and offered him a silver dime. He looked at me dumbly, from a face that might have belonged to a man of sixty, so sunken, tightly drawn, and full of pain it was. He did not reach for the money—he did not know what it was. * * * There were dozens of just such children in this particular mill. A physician who was with me said that they would all be dead, probably in two years, and their places filled with others—these are pleurisy, pneumonia carries off most of them. Their systems are ripe for disease, and when it comes there is no rebound—no response. Medicine is of no avail, and they die.'

'The Chicago Socialist makes the following comments on the remarkable growth of Socialism... About three years ago the lonely wanderer toward the Socialist oasis found the American press as quiet on the subject of social relations as was the Sahara at full moon. Only the voices of what the brilliant capitalist scribblers might have called "a few Socialist jackals" were breaking the stillness of the valley of exploitation, in anticipation of the feast they would have on the body of capitalism. The Appeal to Reason was struggling along with a list of 10,000 subscribers. The New York People was splitting in two like an amoeba, and the De Leon half headed full sail toward obscurity, while the other was facing the cold world with a thrill of awed expectancy. The Workers' World was almost at break into this world of trouble, the San Francisco Class Struggle struggled for its existence against the dull and slow understanding of the American, waiting and the Coming Nation was waiting for the Messiah who would lead it into the promised fields of brotherhood and eternal harmony. As for the metropolitan press, it considered Socialism as too unsavory and too disreputable a subject for "respectable" papers to handle.'

To-day there is not a single publication, metropolitan or otherwise, that is not forced to touch the subject of socialism, directly or indirectly, in almost every issue. The remotest corners of the Union are filled with the ripples of the tidal wave of Socialism that is drowning all other topics in the paramount issues of social and economic evolution. A mighty wave of unionism is at the same time sweeping across the country and giving the discussion of matters social and political a significant tinge of red that causes the bourgeois heart to beat with alarm.'

One of the most encouraging products of this triennium is the "radical press," an off-shoot of the populist and seceding democratic sentiment. They are a journalism what the missing link is in zoology—the bond that connects the past with the future. The more intelligent and independent American workmen have already outgrown the world of thoughts which these papers place before their readers and are finding satisfaction in supporting the numerous able and strong Socialist papers that are now finding willing ears in all parts of the land. Some of these papers are rapidly steering toward the goal of financial and literary success, and their workmen who understand the inestimable value of a strong Socialist press are doing their utmost to widen the sphere of influence for their chosen organs.'

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