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ADVANCE

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

WHOLE NUMBER 423. SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1902. FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR.

Woman's Socialist Conference.

The Socialist women of California met in conference Sunday, September 7th, at the party headquarters in San Francisco. The Wm. Morris Club, true to the precepts of the master, had made the useful beautiful by very tastefully decorating the room. The conference was called to order by Miss Josephine R. Cole of San Jose, the California representative of the Women's National Socialist Union. Miss Mollie Bloom of the William Morris Club was elected Secretary. A widely representative attendance was present from different parts of the State. Miss Cole opened the meeting. She said:

My dear Friends and Fellow-Workers for Socialism:

We have come together to-day because we feel the need of co-operation and intelligent companionship in our work for Socialist principle.

We are entering a field which has been heretofore almost wholly neglected by the Socialists of this country, the education of women and children.

I believe that I am justified in saying that very few of our Socialists realize how slowly the great masses of society change their habits of thought. To the ordinary Socialist man the education of the child seems altogether too slow a process by which to accomplish the great social revolution he is so anxious to see begun.

Yet, without the education of the child in Socialist principle, all the work of the Socialists of this generation is likely to come to nothing.

I do not forget that the co-operative commonwealth will owe much to industrial evolution, I realize that the industrial evolution of society is bringing us to a climax in economic conditions which shall necessitate a change in the relations of men toward each other. But I am also of the opinion that men will act, when the crisis is upon them, according to their knowledge of economic conditions, and according to the characters they have already formed.

The characters of these future men and women, their knowledge of economic principles, will depend very largely upon what you and I and other women do for them, not merely as little children, but as growing young men and women.

Now, education is not a matter merely of books and precept. It is far more powerfully a matter of example and practice. We should not only talk Socialist principle, but we should act it.

Socialism means briefly—Co-operation, Democracy, Equal Opportunity.

Leave out any one of these principles, and the ideal of Socialism is imperfect. We do not stand for a co-operation in which certain individuals shall dictate, while the remainder shall submit to being dictated to, neither do we stand for a democracy which shall fail to make use of the valuable economic principles of co-operation, nor does equal opportunity mean to us that the weakest individual shall be forced to struggle with the strongest for existence.

Socialism means to us that society shall take upon itself as a whole the responsibility for the welfare of each of its parts, and we believe that society will lose nothing by this, but on the contrary will be the gainer.

We believe that co-operation is the only reasonable method of conducting industrial operations. We believe that democracy is the only healthy and stable form of society, and we believe that equal opportunity is necessary to the preservation of democracy.

Co-operation does not mean that some individuals shall continually give, while others shall forever receive. It means that individuals shall work together in harmony, combined results to be for the good of all.

Now, if we do really believe these things we will certainly practice them. Women who really believe in co-operation will not desire to work separately and independently of of other women.

Women who believe in democracy will neither desire to dictate to others, nor will they tamely submit to being dictated to.

Women who believe in equal opportunity for all will not permit their boys to tyranize over their girls, nor their husbands to exert authority over themselves, without remonstrance and resistance.

Our lives are the best text books we can set before others, but we need not despise Socialist literature also.

In conventions frequently the change from a declaration of principles, and a profession of sentiments to the actual, practical work in hand, often seems like a sudden descent from the lofty to the insignificant, and sometimes it is even difficult to trace the connection between the sentiments with which a convention opens and the practical work with which it occupies itself. In this case, however, I hope that we shall all clearly see that the step from our declaration of principles to our practical work is a step upward; it is the putting into definite shape the principles which without such action would be only idle words. We have said that we believe in democratic co-operation. Let us, then, co-operate.

A few of the women here are already united in an organization called the Women's National Socialist Union. The President of this organization, Mrs. Wenonah Stevens Abbott, and the Vice-President, Mrs. Mary E. Garbutt, we are fortunate in having with us to-day. I will not enlarge upon the work that has been done by these two fellow-workers of ours, although it deserves our sympathetic and friendly appreciation. We are not here to eulogize each other but to get work. Both Mrs. Abbott and Mrs. Garbutt attend this convention as delegates from the California local unions to which they belong, and I think that, considering the number of active women workers California now has in the field, we should have no difficulty in forming a strong State organization.

I do not forget the large number of active Socialist women who are not yet members of the organization which has called this convention Many of you here are such workers. I do not beg of you to come in with us; I shall not even say, "I hope you will come with us." I only say to you, "Look this matter thoroughly and see if you do not think it will be better for us all to get together." Can we not do [illegible] If you think so let us try to find a means of uniting which shall be a help to us and not a hindrance. Let us look for grounds of unity upon which we can all stand.

It is not important that we should look for differences of opinion, and then proceed to disagree with perfect unamity. What is useful is tha we shall find one point of agreement, if no more, upon which we can all unite, and then get to work.

Following Miss Cole, Mrs. Smith of San Diego, Mrs. McMeekin of San Jose, Mrs. Garbutt of Los Angeles, Mrs. Greenbaum of Oakland and Mrs. Cogswell and Miss Bloom of San Francisco spoke on the necessity of a Woman's Socialist organization.

The report of delegates from clubs was then taken up and Mrs. Abbott spoke on the work in Shasta county. She told how life was awakened in the intellectually dead by the meetings held by the union, one woman coming sixteen miles to attend. A boys' debating club was formed which discussed local matters from a Socialist standpoint. The net result politically was one voter surely and six others fairly on the way, which was good considering the sparseness of the population.

Miss Cole reported the work in San Jose. A circulating library had been started which was accomplishing very satisfactory results. Franklin Wentworth's pamphlet, "Pride of Intellect," had been given to every member of the graduating class of the San Jose Normal School, and similar work will be done each year. A Socialist literature box was to be established in the park. A Sunday school taught the ten children Socialist songs and an entertainment for children filled the hall with people who had never before been reached. Neighborhood meetings had been started and a successful continuance of them was expected. Miss Cole then then spoke of the conditions of labor in the fruit canneries. The work, she said, was terribly exhausting, the hours long and the treatment brutal. Strong men fainted from overwork and women were known to have fallen unconscious and finally to die from the cruel strain. The women were locked in the canneries and those who fainted received no more attention or care than to be shoved under the benches out of the way until they revived.

Miss Bloom spoke briefly of the Wm. Morris Club and its attempt to get a library.

Mrs. Abbott reported for the National Union, of which she is President, that it had membership in all the Northern States, and in most of them one local union, and in some three. California, if it organized, will be the first State union, she said.

The subject of educating children was then taken up. Mrs. Reynolds of San Francisco spoke first and commended the truthfulness, fidelity and generosity natural to children before the corrupting influences of competition spoil them. Not only were the children subjects of education, she thought, but they were often good monitors of their parents' actions.

Mrs. Smith of San Diego argued for a clear conception of economic principles by women, that they might be competent teachers in that respect as well as on ethical lines. She commended Bebel's "Woman—Past, Present and Future" as the best Socialist book for women.

Mrs. Phelps advocated work among proletarian children. This met with unanimous approval.

It was announced that Mrs. Abbott and also W. T. Mills and G. F. Lockwood were getting out illustrated lessons for children. Mrs. Abbott, Mrs, Nevins and Mrs. Reynolds and Misses Bloom and Spauldine were elected a committee to draft a plan of work for the education of the young.

A lively debate was precipitated by the introduction of a resolution to actively take up work for women suffrage. Mrs. Nevins introduced a motion and Mrs. Abbott moved to amend to [illegible] the suffrage in school and library affairs. Mrs. Smith opposed both. She claimed that women were conservative and their introduction to the suffrage would be a great set-back to the Socialist movement. Miss Cole spoke in favor, claiming that women held to principle. Wherever woman suffrage obtained the character of elected officers was noticeably better. Women had less old political party prejudices and were open to Socialist thought.

Miss Boyer argued that women would do better with the ballot than without. They were becoming more [illegible]. Socialism could not be obtained without them.

Mrs. Greenbaum based the right to vote not on the use of the ballot for any party. Neither man nor woman should be denied the ballot, said she, because they would not vote the Socialist ticket. They would never learn to vote right until they first learned to vote. Women must demand their political rights and strive to secure them.

Mrs. Walker and Mrs. Phelps spoke against the motion in the sense that active work for suffrage was not the best line for Socialist women to follow.

Mrs. Cogswell made a powerful plea for simple Socialist propaganda. Poverty, crime and prostitution were the great evils. No effort should be diverted to make more votes. But all efforts should be concentrated on convincing those who already voted of the great need and the great justice of Socialism. It is wrong to put forth one ounce of energy, she declared, which, in the interest of an unsubstantial political privilege, delays for one hour the time of deliverance from the terrible industrial conditions. The vote was useless except to get industrial justice. That was the reason for democracy. Woman suffrage would delay that or at the best absorb energy which would hasten the coming of the co-operative commonwealth.

Mrs. Lockwood and Mrs. Burnside replied. Both claimed that women were easily made Socialists. Mrs. Lockwood said that for women to have any influence as Socialists, to enable them to command the respect of even their own sons, it was needful to have the ballot. Without the ballot they were reduced to the position of suppliants for a favor from the men—a position of inferiority and degradation from which women must be freed. The work for Socialism could be most effectually carried on with the ballot.

Mrs. Burnside expressed a fear that women would remain slaves under Socialism if it were obtained by man's vote alone. That men would claim the co-operative commonwealth as theirs exclusively being the full product of their labor alone.

Mrs. McMeekin and Mrs. Garbutt took the position which seemed to be the final conclusion of the conference. The business of Socialist women was to work primarily for Socialism. The woman suffrage clubs and the W. C. T. U. could work for suffrage and the Socialist Union could and would co-operate. But the object of the union was the greater and further idea of complete Socialism and to that end their greatest efforts should be directed. This was the sentiment of the resolution as finally adopted.

The conference then adjourned till 11 o'clock Monday morning.

Union Labor Denounces the Old Parties

The State Conference of the Union Labor party was held at the Turk-street Temple Saturday night, September 6th. The hall was crowded with delegates and anxious politicians. The first act of the Chairman, J. A. Brien, was to separate the sheep form the goats. The pilitcians were invited to go away back and sit down. This invitation was accentuated by the speakers as they followed each other in the discussion which took place. The Republicans invoked the only god they worship, Mammon, and his apostle on earth, popularly known as Col. Mazuma, strove to induce the Labor party to put up a ticket. But the distinguished gentleman met with but cold comfort. He found that when his orators praised the "honest workingmen" that phrase was about the only truth they uttered.

The Democrats were on the anxious seat for fear a ticket would be put up. All day runners kept piloting delegates up to F. K. Lane's headquarters. Lane plead for the endorsement of himself, and behind the smoke of his good cigars he thought to hide the ominous form of McNab, the lover of scabs. But the good cigars simply quieted the amusement of the delegates at the preposterous nature of Lane's candidacy. The actual proceedings of the convention gave either Lane or Pardee cold comfort.

Speaker after speaker from the country and city alike, although saying it would be poor policy to put up a State ticket, yet denounced both of the old parties in unmeasured terms.

A speech by Mayor Schmitz seemed to strike the keynote of opinion in the convention, and the applause that greeted his [illegible] cans or Democrats was loud and prolonged. He said:

Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of the convention and fellow-wageworkers:

Being the first speaker in this conference, having been your standard bearer successfully in the last campaign, I may say some things that will not, perhaps, be taken as the sentiment of this convention. I do not want them to be. I want you to consider them simply as the opinion of one man, one of you, who was of you, and who is of you still.

Regarding the advisability of going into a State convention and putting up a full ticket by the Labor party of California, I have been asked on all sides by the press what my opinion was. I have reserved that opinion in order that I might give it to you to-night first hand. (Applause.)

Without any more ado or without any further introduction, I want to state right here to you that as far as I am personally concerned, I am no candidate for any offise outside of the one I hold at present. I realize that while I have been in office only a short time I have been enabled to do some good for the workingmen of San Francisco, and I want to continue to do it. Therefore, I stand before you to-night without any selfish motives, talking to you as one union man to another, as one brother should to another, I say, without any hesitation, that I do not think the time is ripe for the Labor party to put up an entire ticket, because we have no time for organization, and to fail would do more harm to us than we could readily retrieve. (Applause.)

There is another very grave proposition that I wish to guard you against and to talk to you about. It has been with a great deal of amusement that I have heard on all sides the workingmen's convention bartered about. I have heard candidates say: "If I am nominated on the Republican or Democratic ticket the Labor convention will endorse me." Will it? (Cries of "No! no!") I have heard sensible men say: "If we can get this man nominated on one ticket, we will get the endorsement from the Labor convention." (Cries of "No!") I have said to you I have heard that with amusement. It has been amusement to me because I recognize that there is no man, there is no set of men that can control the Labor party of this city. (Applause.) And I warn you as you value your organization, as you value the future success of the party, that has started out under such good auspices, to endorse no one.

Therefore, as your representative in San Francisco, I say to you be very careful about indorsing anyone. To indorse either the democratic or republican candidate is to lose your identity. It is to lose your individuality. And instead of a Labor party, instead of a Labor convention, we would be looked upon as nothing more nor less than a "piece" club. (Applause.)

Atherton of Alameda, Butler of Grass Valley, Leavitt of Vallejo, Briggs of Stockton, Wheeler of Los Angeles, Daniels of Bakersfield, Giraud of San Jose, McCabe of Sacramento, Brower of Fresno, Burnett, Knox, Cornelius and Bowlan of San Francisco spoke against nominating and against indorsing. Cheers greeted the assertion of Brower that if what he said was Socialism it was all right.

Walter Macarthur was called for and spoke in part as follows:

The Democratic convention which met last Tuesday found itself confronted with what its orators said was a magnificent opportunity. They said that the Republicans had placed victory within their reach by rejecting Governor Gage. I believe that the Governor was rejected simply because he refused to unjustly call out the State militia at the time of the strike. But the Democrats have no such opportunity as we have here.

Now I want to say one word to delegates. You are not losing anything by refusing to put out a State ticket in the field. Your action to-night is a splendid commentary upon your intelligence. There are elements in San Francisco today who would be glad to see a third party in the field, but they would eventually throw it to the ground.

After Macarthur had finished speaking there were calls for Michael Casey. He was received with an ovation when he stepped to the platform. He said:

I know that there are men in this hall to-night who do not care to hear me speak. I know that some of the bitterest enemies to the cause of union labor are in this hall to-night, but I am going to speak to the hearts of the true laboring [illegible] for one [illegible] in the fight for the rights of labor still, and I will keep on in that fight. I will stand for principle if I have to stand alone.

Standing shoulder to shoulder the laboring men can elect their candidate today as surely as they did when they chose a Mayor from labor's ranks. But let me tell you the two great parties are not the friends of the laboring men.

I believe it would be inadvisable at this time, continued Mr. Casey, to place a third ticket in the field, but before this convention adjourns it should take some pronounced action to rebuke the two old parties for their unfriendliness to the cause of labor.

This sentiment was received with loud cheers.

At the end the following motion was put and carried with deafening applause, the entire assemblage rising to their feet, waving their hats in the air and cheering:

That it is the sense of this conference that the Labor party hold no State convention for the purpose of nominating a State ticket, and that the Labor party will not indorse any of the candidates placed in nomination by the Democratic and Republican parties.

A Practical Demonstration

Last week the Socialist party national committee received over six hundred dollars for the striking anthracite miners from its locals and members. This sum does not include monies that have been sent direct to the miners' headquarters by the organizations and individuals. This is pretty good proof that the Socialist party is the only political friend that the organized workers have, for no other party has contributed a cent. On the contrary, the Republican and Democratic politicians have sent the militia into the strike fields and hurled injunctions indiscriminately, to say nothing of openly and brazenly defying the laws. Nor is the Socialist party contributing funds to the miners for the purpose of securing votes, but the aid is extended because the Socialists believe in attacking capitalism industrially as well as politically. The capitalist class is the capitalist class in the shop and mine as well as at the polls, and don't you forget it!

All persons sending in postal-card subscriptions with name of James A. Smith as manager will confer a favor on the present management by writing from whom they purchased the cards.

The Local Convention will be held Sept. 21st at Pythian Castle.

ADVANCE

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San Francisco, Sept. 13, 1902.

The Platform of the Socialist Party of California

The Socialist party of California in State Convention assembled affirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, adopted at the National Socialist Convention, held in Indianapolis in 1901.

The Socialist party aims to organize the working class and those in sympathy with its program to secure the following demands:

First. The ownership and democratic management by all of the people of the means of producing and distributing wealth.

Second. Equal opportunity for all to have access to the means of producing wealth and for the toilers the full product of their toil.

Pending the accomplishment of these ultimate demands, we pledge our nominees for public office to work for all measures which will benefit the working class.

We advocate the following declarations and resolutions:

Resolutions

1. Modern industrial methods have forced upon our people a mighty political struggle between the exploiting class, or those who live from the labor of others, and the exploited class or those from whose labor the exploiters live.

3. We recognize in the great combinations of wealth, in the syndicates and trusts that speak the doom of competition, and consequently of all small and needless concerns simply the product of industrial growth; that these greater institutions must supplant the lesser ones just as the machine method of production has displaced the hand method; that the simplest law of business—the necessity for investment of surplus annual gains—must soon compel their few owners to possess th nation; that such concerns can but reduce our government to a plutocracy and our masses to wage-slavery. The only remedy lies in the collective ownership of all the means of production. The people must possess the medium through which the trusts exploit them. They must own the channels through which the wealth of the nation is flowing into the hands of the few.

3. The Socialist party views with interest and friendly sympathy the effort of workingmen, in California and elsewhere, to break away from capitalist parties and to unite in forming themselves into a labor or working class polibe a political class struggle. The capitalist class is now the ruling class; and the first step in the revolution of the working class is to raise the workers to the position of the ruling class. In the various stages of the development, which the struggle of the working class against the canitalist class has to pass through, the Socialist party represents the interest of the movement as a whole. It is not opposed to other bona fide working class parties. It has no interests separate and apart from those of the working class as a whole. Its immediate aim is the same as that of all other working-class parties—the formation of the workers as a class—overthrow of capitalist supremacy—conquest of the political power by the working class. The ultimate goal of the Socialist party, however, and that which it believes can alone bring adequate and permanent relief to the working class, is the entire abolition of the present wage system and the transformation of the capitalist system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into a public or collective ownership and management by the entire people for the benefit of the entire people.

4. We congratulate organized labor everywhere on the evidence that it is awakening to class consciousness and to the fact that *"nothing but the full product of a man's labor can ever be a just reward for labor"*; that it is recognizing the great fundamental idea of Socialism.

5. We commend the united efforts of laborers to defend their rights against the tyranny of organized capitalists, by the formation of trades unions and otherwise; and we denounce the attempts of capitalist combinations to subjugate labor by unscrupulous use of every power of government—legislative, executive and judicial—to destroy the organization of toilers.

6. The use of the injunction to destroy the liberties of the toilers is scarcely less infamous than the use of the bayonet and bullet to destroy their lives.

7. Whereas, In the smaller holders of land, in the typical American farmer, in the food producer of our nation, we recognize a band of laborers who are exploited, to a degree second to no other in the industrial field, and

Whereas, They are the direct prey of the money lender, the railway monopoly, the trusts, the syndicated grain gamblers, the milling and the manufacturing combines.

Resolved, That we call upon the working farmers and the farm-workers of this State to ally themselves with the other exploited laborers in their efforts to remove entirely the power of the exploiters—to aid in carrying out the program of the Socialist party.

7. We demand the initiative and referendum in legislation, the right of recall of officials at the pleasure of their constituency and equal political rights for all citizens without regard to sex.

Resolved, That the Socialist party favor the use of voting machines at all public elections held in California.

Socialist State Convention

Convention called to order at 10:30 by Secretary Bersford of the State Central Committee.

In his address of welcome he spoke of the reason for two conventions, the nominating and organization conventions. He congratulated the convention on the absence of any sack which played so conspicuous a part in the Republican and Democratic conventions.

Comrade N. A. Richardson of San Bernardino was elected Temporary Chairman without opposition, who spoke as follows:

I want to say one thing plainly and forcibly and I have written it down so as to be thoroughly sure that what I say will be correctly reported. First, I wish to thank you for the honor of being elected Chairman of the first political convention of the Socialist party.

(Speech.)

J. H. Fairbrook of San Francisco was elected Secretary and Miss Spradlin Assistant Secretary.

A credentials committee of eight from outside San Francisco was elected:—Anna F. Smith, M. W. Wilkins, Jos. Lawrence, Wm. Carpenter, John Murray, Jr., S. E. Alderman, G. S. Brower, J. J. Patton.

A committe of five was named on rules of order and permanent organization: C. H. King, M. Lesser, J. L. Cobb, H. Hauch, Samuel Murray.

A committee on platform was also selected: J. Geo. Smith, Calvin Pearson, N. A. Richardson, A. Appel, M. E. Shore, L. F. Edmiston and Frank Marek.

Convention then adjourned till 2 p. m.

The convention reassembled at the appointed hour. The Committee on Credentials reported the following delegates as having presented credentials:

M. E. Shore, Humboldt; L. E. Leonard, Lassen; Geo. H. Rogers, Napa; S. Edgar Alderman, T. T. Walrath, Sacramecnto; S. Murray, Solano; Scott Anderson, E. T. Page, Contra Costa; J. S. Cobb, Merced; Wm. Carpenter, Tulare; A. Appel, I. Rosehblatt, J. H. Fairbrook, Gus Postler, J. Barduhn, A. Sorenson, E. Liess, L. Vanalstine, W. M. Coward, C. H. King, Sr., F. R. Whitney, J. A. Meyer, E. V. Fleury, L. L. Nevins, W. C. Shepard, John Messer, Geo. Nisbet; H. Hauch, E. T. Richardson, O. H. Philbrick, J. Geo. Smith, M. Lesser, H. C. Tuck, J. M. Horstman, Wm. Schnieder, J. W. O'Connor, M. W. Wilkins, Jas. Andrews, Alameda; K. Bracher, Jos. Lawrence, San Jose; Wm. Main, Ira E. Johnson, G. S. Brower, Calvin Pearson, Fresno; J. W. Starkweather, Santa Barbara; R. E. Brakey, Ventura; J. J. Patton, Pasadena; John Murray, Jr., Frank A. Marek, Mary E. Garbutt, Los Angeles; N. A. Richardson, San Bernardino; L. H. Edmiston, Riverside; Anna F. Smith, San Diego.

Report accepted and committee continued.

Committee on Order of Business reported, C. H. King chairman.

Temporary officers were declared the officers of the convention.

Report adopted.

Report of Committee on Platform and Resolutions was read by N. A. Richardson.

It was then taken up seratim. The platform was adopted as read.

The resolution in regard to farmers caused a debate.

John Murray, Jr., spoke first. He argued that the farmers would sooner or later come into conflict with the farm wage-workers. Hence it would be wrong to make a special plea to those against whom we must ultimately organize unions of their employees. He therefore favored the substitution of the word "farm-workers" for "farmers."

G. S. Brower spoke for the original resolution. He said that we must organize a majority of the people. The farmers are a large portion of the people and we must have them with us. They are an exploited class.

S. E. Alderman got an ovation when he instanced the case of a Swede who wanted a mortgage because a friend had his land taken away by a man who had a mortgage. It showed plainly that the mortgage, not the deed, was the paper which gave ownership.

A. H. Appel spoke for the substitution, claiming that the invitation to the party should be limited to wage-workers.

L. L. Nevins, J. L. Cobb and Geo. H. Rogers spoke in favor of the wording "working farmers and farm workers."

Substitute amendment adopted.

Liess spoke against the whole resolution. He argued that it was not time to extend an invitation to farmers. The international movement was not ready yet to decide what attitude should be adopted. Our first effort, the question before the house is not how to get the farmers, but how to get the wage-workers.

Resolution adopted, 30 to 14.

Insertion of proportional representation lost—17 to 21.

Murray of Los Angeles introduced a resolution asking for the restriction of nominations to trades unionists.

Resolution lost.

Resolution by Appel on attitude towards trade unionists was lost and convention adjourned at 5 o'clock to 7 p. m.

On reconvening nominations were called for.

For the position of Governor: Fred C. Wheeler of Los Angeles and Geo. S. Brower of Fresno were placed in nomination. A ballot was taken, resulting in Wheeler 15, and Brower 30.

Comrade Geo. S. Brower, Carpenter 701, will therefore be our standard bearer for this campaign.

Frank R. Whitney of San Francisco, Street Carmen's Union, was unanimously elected nominee for Lieutenant-Governor.

H. G. Walker, an attorney of Oakland, and President of the Commercial Telegraphers Union, was elected nominee for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Wayland C. Shepard of San Francisco was nominated for Associate Justice. The other was left vacant temporarily.

C. H. King, Sr., of San Francisco was elected as nominee for Attorney-General.

For Secretary of State S. Edgar Alderman of Sacramento and Fred C. Wheeler were placed in nomination. Alderman received 17 and Wheeler 23 votes. Wheeler was made the nominee unanimously.

Alderman and Murray of Vallejo were placed in nomination for Controller of State. Alderman received 31 and Murray 10. Election of Alderman was made unanimous.

For Treasurer H. Hauch of Alameda and Oswald Seifert of San Francisco were placed in nomination. Comrade Hauch withdrew and Seifert was unanimously elected. The comrade is Treasurer of the Cooks' and Waiters' Alliance.

For Surveyor-General Walter Stevenson, a civil engineer of Pasadena, was unanimously elected as nominee.

For Superintendent of Public Instruction Mrs. Anna F. Smith of San Diego was nominated.

State Printer—G. A. Garrett of San Diego and H. S. Laverty of Los Angeles were nominated. Garrett received 21 and Laverty 27. Made unanimous. Comrade Laverty is a well known typographer and a Socialist of the old International days.

For Clerk of Supreme Court, Scott Anderson and William Costley, both of San Francisco were nominated. Scott Anderson received 34 votes, Costley 13, Murray, Jr., 1.

Scott Anderson, who is President of the District Council of Painters, was declared elected the nominee unanimously.

Congressional nominations were made as follows:

First District, M. E. Shore of Arcata, Humboldt county.

Second District, G. H. Rogers of Napa.

Third District, M. W. Wilkins of Oakland.

Fourth District, Wm. Costley of San Francisco, and member of the Hackmen's Union.

Fifth District, no nomination reported for the time being.

Sixth District, J. L. Cobb, Dos Palos, Merced.

Seventh District, Geo. H. Hewes, President of the Carriage Workers Union of Los Angeles.

Eighth District, N. A. Richardson, of the San Bernardino Federal Labor Union.

Railroad Commissioners:

First District, J. B. Hynes of Sacramento.

Second District, John Barduhn of San Francisco.

Third District, G. A. Garrett of San Diego.

Board of Equalization:

First District, Lyons Vanalstine of the Shoe Repairers Union of San Francisco.

Second District, H. Hauch of Alameda.

Third District, no nomination.

Fourth District, Frank A. Marek of the Carpenters' Union of Los Angeles.

Senatorial Districts:

W. F. Weed nominated for First Senatorial District.

Purity of Elections Committee: W. M. Coward, L. E. Nevins, J. H. Fairbrook, Andrew Sorenson, and W. E. Walker, all of San Francisco, were elcted.

The convention then took up a collection of $10 to defray expenses.

Adjourned at 10:30 to the call of the Chair.

Convention called to order by Secretary Bersford.

N. A. Richardson elected Temporary Chairman.

On ballot for Secretary Fairbrook received 42, Abbott 14, Fairbrother 0.

Fairbrook elected.

Mrs. Abbott was elected Assistant Secretary.

After considerable discussion a committee on credentials of seven was moved for. Murray of Los Angeles moved to bar San Francisco, Oakland and Alameda. King, Jr., moved to include Los Angeles and Pasedena, and Wilkins of Oakland moved as a substitute that Humboldt and the rest of the State be also shut out. All the amendments were defeated and a ballot was held on nominees. The vote was as follows: Alderman, of Sacramento, 51; Brower, of Fresno, 48; Starkweather, of Santa Maria, 48; Wilkins, of Oakland, 45; Cobb, of Dos Palos, 45; F. Marek, of Los Angeles, 44; H. Hauch, of Alameda, 42; Anna F. Smith, of San Diego, 18; Carpenter, of Tulare, 13; Edmiston, of Riverside, 13; Rump, of Vallejo, 12; J. R. Cole, of San Jose, 8; Mrs. Garbutt, of Los Angeles, 4; C. Pearson, 1.

A committe of five on constitution was then elected as follows: Richardson, of San Bernardino, 45; E. Liess, of San Francisco, 40; C .H. King, of San Francisco, 36; Walker, of Oakland, 26; Pearson, of Fresno, 25; J. G. Smith, of Oakland, 20; Murray, of Los Angeles, 19; Fairbrook, of San Francisco, 17; Appel, 12; Costley, 11; Bersford, 10; Holmes, 9; Mrs. Cogswell, 9; Lyons, 3; Tuck, 1.

A committee on order of business was then elected: Mrs. Reynolds.

The convention did not reconvene until 4 p. m., as it was not until that time that to report. There was a contesting delegation from San Francisco Club 1. The report of the committee was adverse to the seating of the contestants, Appel, Costley, and Whitney, but a long and rather warm fight was made to reject the report. After an hour's report the debate was adopted as read by a vote of 37 to 12.

The report of the Committee on Order of business was then accepted, and the convention in the evening passed to a consideration of the new constitution as reported by the committee.

The big fibate o fthe session was precipitated on the presentation of an amendment of Miss Cole of San Jose, providing for the revocation of the charters of locals that do not nominate a full ticket when there are qualified members willing to serve. It opened up the question of the attitude of San Francisco local to the Union Labor party, whether or not a local ticket of Senators and Assemblymen should be nominated against the nominees of the Union Labor party. The debate lasted from 10 to 11 Wednesday night and was resumed at 9:30 Thursday morning and was only ended at 4:30 in the afternoon, when a motion was made to submit the amendment and an amendment to the amendment as separate referendums to a party vote. The amendment to the amendment was presented by Patton of Pasadena, and provided that a local might not nominate when a bona fide working class party nominates genuine workingmen, pledged to abolish the wages system. Comrades King, Sr., Scott Anderson, Emil Liess, John Murray, Jr., J. J. Noel, J. H. Fairbrook, G. W. Brower, and C. H. King, Jr., and some others spoke in favor of granting permission not to nominate. Comrades Cole, Holmes, Lawrence, Mrs. Smith, Bersford, Miss Bloom, Wilkins, J. Geo. Smith, Postler and others spoke against.

An amendment offered by Murray of Los Angeles on supervisions and expulsions was lost by over a two-thirds proxy vote against it.

The constitution was finally adopted as amended in various wordings.

The report of the State Executive Committee was then listened to, the Secretary of the Committee reading. Before it was finished, however, a motion was put and carried by a large majority rejecting it. A resolution of censure on the editor of *Advance* was also voted down.

The State headquarters were removed to Los Angeles. M. E. Garbutt, W. A. Corey, L. D. Biddle, P. D. Noel, of Los Angeles; J. J. Patton, of Pasadena; Wm. Smith, of San Bernardino, and L. H. Edmiston, of Riverside, were made a provisional State Executive Committee, and Job Harriman was elected Secretary-Treasurer.

Miss Cole, Jos. Lawrence and Karl Bracher were elected a committee of three to investigate the San Jose Primary.

The Convention then adjourned.

The Class Struggle

There is but one class struggle. There are several kinds of class-consciousness.

The capitalist is class conscious. The labor unionist, who says the labor problemis an economic problem and confines his efforts for its solution to the economic realm, has one kind.

The socialist who gives his attention to both the economic and political realm has still another kind.

The labor unionist, not a socialist, is economically class-conscious. He believes that no good can come to him from the economic Nazareth of capitalism.

The thorough socialist is not only economically class-conscious, but he is politically so as well. He understands that no good thing for him or his class can come from either the economic or the political Nazareth of capitalism.

Nothing, not even collective ownership, is more fundamental to socialism than class consciousness. Without the latter there is no hope of permanent success for the future.

He who does not recognize class consciousness as fundamental is an unsafe leader. Though unwittingly, he is a capitalist in disguise and unworthy of socialist confidence.

The thorough-going socialist can afford to endure the sneers and innuendoes of his less well-grounded comrade, knowing that the success, safety and perpetuity of socialistic principles and institutions depend upon his willingness to stand true to his colors and when smitten on the one cheek, if necessary, to turn the other also.

The following from the pen of Carl D. Thompson is a remarkably clear statement of the principle involved:

Question—What do you mean by "the class struggle" and "class consciousness?"

Answer—We mean that since history began there has been a struggle between the class who do the work of the world and the class who have lived off the labor of the workers. The struggle of the warrior kings of Egypt against the shepherd kings and the slave revolts of ancient Rome are examples of the class struggle. And today the struggle has assumed an acute form. The invention of steam-driven machinery, the resultant concentration of enormous capital in the great tools of production which are owned by the capitalist class has produced two very marked and distinct classes—the laborers and the capitalists, with a disappearing middle class between them. The capitalist class, owning the machinery of production, struggle to maintain their ownership and increase their profits. This results in the organization of labor. The laborers resist the capitalist exploitation and hence arises the trades union movement, which is the modern class struggle.

The socialist does not make the struggle. He seeks to direct it intelligntly. So far the weapons of the struggle have been the strike and the boycott. The socialist urges the laboring classes to use the ballot also and with it to gain possession of the political power and then inaugurate the system of the collective ownership of the material means of production. This will put an end to the possibility of the exploitation of labor, stop the class struggle and do away with all classes.

And by "class consciousness is meant the realization of the fact of the existence of the different classes and of the particular class to which one belongs and with which his interests are identified. Nearly every capitalist is strongly "class conscious." He stands by his class. The laboring people are not so much so. Hence the difficulty of getting them to stand together and the ease with which all their efforts for justice have so far been defeated. The socialist seeks to make every laborer and producer "class conscious," so that they will stand by their class in their struggles for justice. By the organization of the "class struggle" into a political movement for the establishment of absolute justice to all classes the socialist sees his only means of winning victory for socialism.

To Defeat MacCartney

Reports from the 4th Plymouth representative district indicate increased activity on the part of the Republicans relative to the fall campaign, and it is understood that the leaders of that party are searching the district in the hope of finding a candidate who will be able to win out against MacCartney, the Socialist representative from Rockland, who has been elected three years in succession from a district which it is claimed is overwhelmingly Republican under ordinary conditions.

This year the nominee of the Republican party will presumably come from Rockland, the home of MacCartney, and already three names have been suggested, Amos A. Phelps, Charles S. Beal and Everett B. Church. All are young men and whichever one is nominated a warm fight may be looked for this fall—*Practical Politics.*

Richardson's Opening Speech

As Socialists we are engaged in the greatest and the noblest work that ever occupied the attention of the members of the human family. It certainly then behoves us to follow clear cut lines, to present our demands and our arguments in a manner that all may understand who are disposed to listen and investigate.

In the first place, Socialists seek the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth. Nothing short of that is Socialism. And let us ask ourselves seriously what is the first, last and only requisite to the accomplishment of this end? It is the removal, the absolute elimination of one class of beings from the industrial field—the cleansing of the body politic industrially from a vast swarm of parasites that now infest it—the abolition of functionaries whose services the world no longer needs—the eradication of the power, right or authority to exploit human labor.

Remove the power of man to exploit his fellows and of necessity the co-operative commonwealth is established. But as long as an industrial system obtains in which labor in any form is compelled to produce for one dollar that which sells in the market for two or more dollars; or conversely, so long as those who labor for a living are compelled to pay in the market two or more dollars for that which they or any others are paid but one dollar for producing; in other words, as long as the power to exploit is vested in any mortal or class of mortals, just so long must our fight continue, just so far are we short of the goal toward which we aspire.

The great battle then before us is clearly between two classes concerned in production—the exploited and the exploiter—and that battle can never cease so long as the latter is in the field.

We recognize the further fact that the exploiter can never be removed, his deadly work can never be obliterated, so long as he is left in possession of the mans whereby he exploits, so long as he owns and controls the channel through which flows the product of his exploitation—the means of production and exchange and the power to dictate the terms in the distribution, the division, of that which is produced. We therefore demand that the private ownership of nature's resources and of the vast machinery of production and transportation and the private domination of the mighty labor force of the world—this system that makes a privileged few the prime beneficiaries of all that the civilizing forces of the ages past have wrought—we demand that this system shall be abolished, and that the productive powers of the earth shall be operated for the benefit of every being ready andwilling to assist in their operation.

When it is said to a man or a woman: "Your right to life is inalienable; but your right of access to the means whereby you must sustain life is something for which you must supplicate at a plutocratic throne, something over which a few are the absolute masters, and you or your family may hunger and want and die if the private interests of organized greed are not best served by giving you a chance to live;" when an axiom that civilization has never dared to dispute is thus supplemented, thus qualified, it certainly presents a contradiction of terms that should shock the reasoning powers of even the most superficial.

But let us keep clearly in mind that this battle is between the exploiter and the exploited, and that it must result in the industrial death of the one class or the other. It therefore follows that every being whose labor is exploited—every one who is compelled by the capitalistic system to share the product of his toil with the owners of the means of livelihood of the race—every one is as thoroughly qualified by industrial conditions for our ranks as is any other.

I therefore contend that heretofore we have manifested too exclusive concern for the purely day laborer—the one who essentially works for wages. We have looked upon him as if he were the only man in the exploited ranks—the whole class upon whom the exploiter fattens. This is a palpable error, and the sooner we steer clear of it the better for our cause.

I contend that there is no class of laborers who are exploited to a greater degree than are the mass of agricultural workers, the direct producers of the food of the nation. I do not here include the owners of great holdings for renting or speculative purposes, nor the "farmer" who once a year or two makes a grand review of the work of his overseer and his serfs; I do not include this one in a hundred or a thousand who are as truly exploiters as are the owners of our railroads; but I do include the great mass of farmers who eke out a livelihood on the average farm—the real American farmer. I do include those whose struggles pay from four to ten times the labor cost of every instrument, machine or necessity that they must purchase, those who are through interest and through prices often below the cost of production for what they sell and prices in excess of that cost for every thing that they buy, contribute in a degree second to none in maintaining the bankers and money lenders, the railway monopolists, the mill combine, the meat trust, the syndicated grain gamblers of Chicago and New York—in fact all upon whom rests, and rests heavily, the hand of every form of organized greed known to the industrial world.

If these men are less numerous in our ranks than are the regular wage-workers, it is solely because of our neglect, because of our mistaken idea that our great class movement does not so much concern them, because of the nature and the field of our labor and the narrowness of view of our general propaganda.

It is true that these men do not comprehend the manner nor the degree of their exploitation. Neither did wage-workers a few yars ago. And to-day even many Socialists seem to be wanting in a similar line of discernment.

The wage-worker is more readily reached by our propaganda for various reasons. His community life and his organization render him more accessible; but chiefly because the manner of his exploitation is more direct, and hence more easily comprehended.

That corporations can fatten upon the labor of others without raising serious protest is a circumstance consistent, identical with, the fact that indirect taxes are more easily collected, excite less opposition, than does a direct tax. *Suppose for a moment that all commodities were sold at their labor cost and that the purchasers were directly taxed to an amount equal to the difference between that price and what they now pay, and that with a full knowledge of where that difference was going, and for what it would be used—that is, where it now goes and for what it is used—does any sane being doubt that there would be an industrial in this nation inside of one month?* And now ask yourself seriously on which side in that struggle would be found the typical American farmer? Would the regular wage-workers be the only men in the ranks of the protesters? Every man who would in that condition be in the battle that we are now waging should be with us to-day, and in every one of them we as Socialists have or should have equal concern.

I do not mean here to question the proletarian character of our movement for that is what it is and must continue; but I do mean to assert that the exploited farmer must be made to understand that his place is properly in the ranks of the proletarians and when he comprehends the nature and extent of exploitation that is practiced upon him, he will be with us and will prove a mighty power.

We have been and still are righteously ambitious to enlist organized labor under our banner; and certainly the history of the last twelve months has been most gratifying. But mark you, and mark it well, the enlistment of Labor Unions is of secondary importance when compared with the necessity that they be qualified for such a move before making the venture. We know and have always known that organized labor must adopt our demands. The old cry of "no politics in the Union" is fast becoming obsolete. The Unionist is learning that in independent class politics alone lies his industrial freedom. He is learning that politically he must go somewhere and we know that he has nowhere to go except into our camp. We know that in his resolution to move he must break with his political prejudices his first great victory over himself; he must formulate his demands and those demands to be any thing but patchwork must call for the dethronement of the exploiter—a demand that can be realized in but one way known to gods and men, by the collective ownership and operation of the exploiting medium, the means of production. Let us be ambitious then that he think quickly and clearly rather than he act hastily and ungardedly. As unionists let this always express our sentiments and vote them upon every roll call; but let us do it without passion granting willingly to every man his political preference. If others do not agree with us, it is because they are not qualified to do so and our first duty is to strengthen their qualification. When they are brought to understand our demands, when they realize even partially the nature of the struggle into which conditions are forming them, they will abandon the strike as anything at best but a truce in the midst of hostilities and resort to the ballot as the source of permanent good. Then they are with us and not for a mere change in administration or policy, not for some fruitless, barren reform, but for a revolution in our entire industrial system.

There is another point to which I invite especial attention. It is in regard to public ownership of certain utilities, municipal and national. There lurks in these delusions the most serious menace to our organization.

The formation of a new party is a call to action among the politicians of the old ones. Their function is three fold. First, they must divide the adherents of the new demands into factions and thus render them self-destructive. Second, they must infuse such part of the new demands into the old platforms as will render them delusive—they must insert "vote catchers." Third, they must adopt and enter into active work for anything and everything in the new demands except what will accomplish that for which they wre originally intended. Then they are in position to call for fusion—ready to sign the death warrant of the new organization, if it should answer, "We are with you."

To assume that we are immune from the attacks of these various forms of political disorders is to assume that our voting body is and ever must remain too microscopic for the operation of the political viviscector—an assumption too absurd to merit a formal refutation.

Now a plea for government ownership of railways, telegraphs and telephones and possibly for the initiative and referendum in legislation will doubtless be the trump card that the old parties will first play in their efforts to take our trick. Some of their leading editorials already admit that the railway monopoly has grown so great that "the only remedy is government ownership." Of course these railways must be purchased with cash and what is better, interesting bearing bonds, and if these old partyites should determine to squeeze out half the water, the roads would still cost about $10,000,000,000. We might thus be rid of one monopoly—that is, we would be rid of it after the debt was paid—but would we be rid of the mopoulists that now operate the monopoly? Hardly. Place such an amount of available negotiable assets in the hands of Morgan and his associates and what would they not monopolize? What would they not do for the small manufacturer,the small farmer and the small merchant? Can we afford to trade the railway monopoly for that which would follow such a deal? Can we afford to place ourselves under such bonded obligation to these men and at the same time qualify them for the monopolization of every other business known to our industry? Not unless the hastening of the final outcome of it all—Socialism—is sufficient compensation for any loss. But the point I wish to emphasize is this: How absurd it is to call such a proposition as I have just outlined Socialism; and how equally absurd to call a man who could be misled by such a move, a Socialist. We want none of it nor nothing to do politically with its advocates. What we demand is the elimination of the exploiter from business; not such augmentation of his power and influence as must follow the placing in his hands of the purchase price of one or more of our national concerns. National ownership of railways or municipal ownership of lights may be called socialistic, but it is as far from being socialism "as a fourth class boarding house is from being heaven."

As for the initiative and referendum in national legislation, comrades, we will get that when Socialists enact it and not till then; resolutions and vote-catching planks in old party platforms to the contrary notwithstanding. Promise what they may, there is always a way not to do it, and they may safely be depended upon to find that way. For example, I may cite the universal demands for popular election of United States Senators. Do you hear even an old party whisper regarding the defeat of any monopolistic chattel because of his failure to help put that measure through the Senate? The House has "made its record" on that question, just as will the next House; so has the Senate.

Whatever issue an old party or a new one may spring upon the country we must meet it with these questions: "When subjected to ultimate analysis or if forced to ultimate consequences, does that which is demanded redound to the benefit of the laboring, exploited masses, or is it detrimental to their interests, or are its consequences immaterial? Will it weaken or strengthen the hold of the exploiter? Is it a step toward his elimination as an industrial factor? The answer must determine our position regarding the demand—whether we favor it, or oppose it, or shall treat it with indifference.

Comrades, that which lies before us is work, incessant toil. We are face to face with the mightiest foe that ever defied a host. We must meet that foe squarely and we must vanquish him honorably. We have issued the challenge and have even gone farther; we have indicated our choice of weapons—the ballot. If these conditions are acceptable to our opponent, well and good; we rejoice at his decision. But we are in this fight and it is to a finish; there is no limit to the rounds. We demand a revolution that is thorough and complete and no cost, no labor, no sacrifice, of any nature whatever, can ever daunt us.

We know that we are right in our contention, that our cause is just and that our nation and the civilized world will be forced, in the regular course of events, to adopt our political creed. Let us not grow impatient nor lose courage. The millions nor even the thousands may not flow to us this year or the next; but the current is in our direction. The dykes and levees that force it our way are building upon every hand; and paradoxical s it may appear, it is true that their chief constructors are among the ranks of those who would fain turn that current from us.

And this is no exception in the law of progress. The staunchest adherents to every great wrong that the world has righted have been those most active in rendering its destruction imperative. This must needs be so; for an old institution that can be abolished only by revolution must be rendered clearly unbearable before a revolt can be organized—a work for which its chief beneficiaries are best qualified and in which they are most active.

Let us bid Morgan God speed in his great work. Let him span the earth with organizations and let kingdoms tremble at his approach. Let the courts enjoin and imprison; let the chains clank upon labor. Let judges decree that the striker shall not publicly utter his grievance nor even be fed from the charitable hand of his brother. Let our sweat-shops teem with starving thousands that a few may buy titles in foreign lands. Let the rich grow richer and the poor poorer; let them few inherit the earth. All this is essential to the regular and natural development of capitalism and all these are but disciplinary measures.

Remember that the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, Squatter Sovereignty measures, the Fugitive Slave Law and even the Dred Scott decision but partially aroused the nation. It required resolutions of absolute disunion and eighteen months of terrible war to awaken a fearless majority to the fact that chattel slavery had outlived its claim to respectful support on the part of any except its beneficiaries.

We know that our brothers and sisters are wronged; that they suffer everywhere, that they are robbed of their natural inheritance. We sympathize with them from our hearts. But we also know that our sympathy cannot save them, cannot even relieve them. We know that suffering is necessary to arouse them to a realization of the cause of their wrongs and that that suffering must come as capitalism develops as naturally as the night follows the day.

Our mission is not only to point the path to better things, to proclaim, to educate; but to vote for our demands and for them only. We must always and everywhere absolutely divorce ourselves politically from everything that savors of capitalism. Let its organizations in every form understand from start to finish that they can depend upon us for nothing except support of our demand—the collective ownership of every means whereby labor can be exploited—that we have no votes to throw away upon any party or candidate threof who demands anything short of this.

In our cause, the tempting half-loaf can never be accepted; for as we have already shown, the half-loaf is worse than no bread at all. When old party or new, when faction or organization of any character is ready to accept our demand it is ready to accept our name. Until it is thus prepared to enter our ranks without a quibble, we must shun it as a dangerous and deadly foe.

The Comrade

The Comrade for September is an extremely interesting issue, of great value alike for its literary and artistic qualities as well as its propaganda of Socialism. The frontispiece is a fine half-tone cartoon, by F. Dahme, entitled "The Tragedy of the Vote," which is also the theme of a strong editorial. There are a number of other good cartoons, among them being a series of four humorous carricatures by Father Haggerty. Ryan Walker contributes an amusing portrait study of J. A. Wayland of the *Appeal to Reason*, which will be greatly appreciated by those who know Wyland and his cigar. All the other illustrations are excellent. Among the principal other contents are short stories by Caroline L. Hunt, a Jewish writer, Z. Libin; "How I Became a Socialist," by Editor Snargo; "A Chat with Paul Singer, the German Socialist leader," by Richard Kichlit, and an illustrated poem by Caroline Pemberton.

With its next issue *The Comrade* begins a new volume and enters upon the second year of its existence. The editor and publishers have rendered a great service to the cause and it is gratifying to notice that they promise several distinct improvements to begin with the next issue. *The Comrade*, 11 Cooper Square, New York. 10 cents per copy

The good Socialist allies himself with the workers in the great class struggle on the industrial field. He is a good trade-unionist. In campaign times he digs down deep into his pocket and spends his evenings circulating literature. In strike times he assesses himself and offers himself as a picket at the seat of war.

Another Lie Nailed

Last week the capitalist dailies gleefully published an Associated Press report that Father Haggerty, who, like Father McGrady, is doing such splendid service in the cause of the working class as an exponent of Socialism, had resigned from the priesthood and withdrawn from the communion of the Roman Catholic church "because its doctrines were antagonistic to his economic creed." We withheld all comment upon the statement, doubting its veracity, yet having no evidence to controvert it. Comrade Max Hayes, of the Cleveland *Citizen*, however, immediately took steps to ascertain the truth of the matter, and received the following letter, which settles the question unequivocally:

"Editor *The Cleveland Citizen*:

"The Cincinnati *Enquirer*, August 22d, publishes a scare-head article anent my so-called resignation from the Catholic priesthood with the purpose, doubtless, of discrediting my work for Socialism. Among other things it asserts that "the reason assigned for his withdrawal from the ministry and communion of the Catholic church, Father Haggerty states, is the church's stand against Socialism and the incompatibility of her teachings with the doctrines of his economic creed." I have never made such a statement. It is true that I have withdrawn from the technical work of the ministry, but the withdrawal implies no derogation of my sacerdotal charter. I am as much a priest today as I ever was. I have not separated from the communion of the Catholic church; and I hold myself as much a member thereof as the Pope himself. Moreover, I do not find any incompatibility between the doctrines of Catholicism and the philosophy of Socialism. I do not believe in any economic creed, but I know a definite economic philosophy. Socialism is an economic science, not a system of dogmatic beliefs, and the church, as such, can have no quarrel with Socialism any more than she can come into conflict with the Roentgen rays or the Marconi system of wireless telegraphy.

The current misunderstandings of Socialism among Catholics arise from the political bigotry and ignorance of the real philosophy of Socialism on the part of the few bishops and priests who wage unjust warfare against a movement whose highest purpose is the industrial emancipation of the world's toilers, and whose ultimate effect will be:

To make earth's desert glad,
In its Eden greenness clad;
And to level manhood bring
Lord and peasant, serf and king:
And the Christ of God to find
In the humblest of our kind."

Trusting that you will give this letter as wide a circulation as you can, I am,

Fraternally yours,

Thos. J. Haggerty.

Van Buren, Ark., Aug. 25, 1902.

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Solano County Nominates

Benicia, Sept. 7, 1902.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Solano county met at Benicia Sunday pursuant to adjournment from Vallejo on August 21st.

The chairman was J. P. Maguire of Vallejo. All members of the committee were present either in person or by proxy.

A committee on Platform and Resolutions was selected and presented the following platform, which was adopted.

Here follows platform and resolutions:

PARTY PLATFORM.

The Socialist party of Solano county affirms its allegiance to international revolutionary socialism and declares the supreme issue in modern society to be the struggle between the working class and capitalist class for the posssion of the wealth that labor creates.

We call the attention of the producers of wealth in Solano county to the centralization of wealth and power into the hands of the few and the futile attempts of the middle class to curb this tendency, which demonstrates that the middle class is doomed to destruction and that the working class alone can solve the modern industrial problem.

We therefore warn the workingmen against the anti-trust and so-called reform movements as reactionary and only another attempt to use the workingmen as tools to further the interests of a class whose interests are opposed to their own.

Collective ownership by the working class is the remedy for the trust problem; revolution and not reform is the remedy for social misery.

We therefore call upon the workers to vote for the Socialist party—the party of the working class—distrusting and opposed to all other classes, to all other parties, and the only party that demands for the toiler the full product of his toil.

We especially call attention to our party organization. A party's policy is determined more by the organization than by platforms and resolutions. Every party claims to be the party of the working class because the workers constitute the majority of the voters. A true workingman's party, however, must be controlled by workingmen, for a party always reflects the interests of the class which controls it. We therefore invite honest workingmen to membership in our party in order that it may be kept free from intellectual jugglers, political ward heelers and the corrupting influences of the propertied class.

The Socialist party stands for the progressive demands of labor, such as shorter hours, employment of the unemployed, better sanitary conditions, better schools, abolition of child labor, etc.; in fact, anything that will materially, intellectually or morally benefit the working class and at the same time keep before the minds of the working people the evolutionary nature of society and the economic basis therefor, and the imperative necessity of the working class constitutes itself the ruling power in society and establishing collective ownership of the social means of production as the only means for the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery.

RESOLUTIONS TO STRIKING TANNERS.

Whereas, The tanners of Benicia have gone on strike against unreasonable hours and insufficient pay.

Resolved, That the Socialist party of Solano county extend to them our heartfelt sympathy, but at the same time reminding them of the fact that long hours and insufficient pay is the lot of the great majority of people under the capitalist system, and the only remedy for the evil against which they are now contending is the ownership by the workers of all the land and the tools of production.

TRADES UNION RESOLUTION.

Whereas, The trade union movement constitutes the economic wing of the class struggle,

Resolved, That the Socialists of Solano county appeal to the trades unions to support them in their endeavor to secure to the toiler the full product of his toil, assuring them of our hearty support in return.

Resolved, That no candidate be nominated by the Socialist party of this county, who is not a member of his union, providing there be a union of his trade.

FARMERS' RESOLUTION.

Whereas, The private ownership of the means of production, transportation and exchange and the consequent monopolization of the same through competition has virtually reduced the American farmer to the condition of the wage-worker, who must toil through life for a pittance; and,

Whereas, The farmer, like the wage-worker, heretofore has been the tool of the scheming lawyer and politician, the hirelings of the capitalist class;

Resolved, That we invite the farmers of Solano county to join the Socialist party and to co-operate with the Socialists and trades unionists in their endeavor to emancipate the producers from exploitation in all its forms.

THE COUNTY TICKET.

The following nominations were then made:

For Assembly—K. J. Doyle, President of Tanners' Union of Benicia.

For Sheriff—W. G. Luper of Machinists' Union, No. 252, Vallejo.

For Treasurer—Jacob Tillman, Cigarmakers' Union, No. 252, of Oakland.

For Recorder—George B. Chadwick, Shipkeepers' Union, No. 8970, of Vallejo.

For Assessor—J. A. Collier of Dixon. (No union of craft.)

For Coroner—J. P. Maguire of Painters' Union, No. 376, of Vallejo.

Before dissolving the committee collected from among themselves $25 to help the Benicia tanners in their strike, a very commendable contribution from men who are not any wealthier than the average Socialist.

Socialism in Colorado

A correspondent writes from Montrose, Col., to an exchange as follows:

"Four weeks ago socialism was apparently a stranger to this town and community. Those who professed to be socialists were unknown to each other and to everybody else—as socialists. Thanks to Crusader William H. Wise, he dropped in to this town as from the heavens, bringing with him the message and seeds. He delivered his message to three of the old guard (S. L. P.s) and planted the seeds. Ten days after that we have built our fort on the opera house stage, placed Crusader Eugene V. Debs in charge, and single-handed and alone he killed (for the old parties) twenty-five, and mortally wounded about 200. About 100 escaped either slightly wounded or unhurt.

Two weeks after that we find about 200 copies of socialist papers are throwing their deadly weapons into this unprotected community. Books and leaflets by the score are traveling from neighbor to neighbor, and street-corner arguments on socialism can now be heard any time of the day.

Last week another crusader of war, Benjamin F. Wilson, arrived. He is very dangerous. He usually carries a sharp wedge or machine gun or both. The alarm was loudly sounded.

A quick fort, nicely decorated and flagged, was erected in the center of the town and the crusader placed in charge. For two hours hundreds of men and women stood up receiving the heavy charges. The killed and wounded were again something frightful. The old guard tenderly dressed the wounded (with books and leaflets) and carried the dead to their headquarters.

The war has just begun. We have promised ourselves a killing at least every two or three weeks. The Wentworths, J. Stitt Wilson, Strickler, Hollingsworth and Thompson will be given an opportunity to show their prowess in this war, and at the rate we are going we will be able to send missionaries East or to China in a short time from now. In the western part of this county the Socialists already have a majority. Coming? Well, I guess so.

Advance Fund

Our postal subscription card sales is meeting with a favorable response. This is in no sense a contribution or donation, but for the *Advance* Fund to liquidate all outstanding debts, so as to be able to enter the campaign free of all obligations.

All contributions and donations are credited to the Campaign Fund.

Mr. A. S. and Mrs. E. G. Cogswell take the first $5 worth; Baby Hewald, 25c; Mr. R. and Mrs. F. Hewald, $2; L. Vanalstine, $2; Mr. and Mrs. J. Mertz, $1; J. Bardluhn, $1; A. W. N. Lyons, $1; Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Kirk, $5; M. W. Bockin, $1; Mrs. V. F. H. Phelps, $1; H. C. Wilson, $1; Andrew Sorenson, $1; Alice Sorenson, $1; Mr. and Mrs. G. F. Arthur, $1; Miss Lena Clark, $1; Mrs. W. E. Dunning, $1; Mrs. J. M. Reynolds, $1; Wm. Schlotan, $1; Baby Walker, 25c; Gus Postler, $8; W. H. Eastman, $1; Margaret McKinnie, $1; Cameron H. King, Jr., $5; H. Hauch of Alameda, $10; A. F. Lindwall, $2; H. Groner, $1; I. Rosenblatt $1; Mrs. I. Filia, $1; H. A. Clifford, $1; H. G. Walker, $1; Alice Spradlin, $1; W. C. Shepard, 50c; K. Lockwood Nevins, $1; T. P. D. Gray, $1. Total, $57.00.

Monthly Contributions: Northern District Organizer Fund:

C. H. King, Jr., $10; James Seller, $1; W. H. Eastman, $1; J. M. Reynolds, 50c; A. F. Lindwall, 50c; A. G. K., $2; F. H. Lynn, 25c; John Hohorst, 25c; J. H. Fairbrook, 50c; J. Mayblum, $2; H. K. Vornbrock, $2; J. Schmidt, $2; H. Weideling, $2; K. Gustafson, $1; Peder Offi, $1; Emil Sternberg, $1; P. W. Roder, $1; K. Phillipi, $1; Heinrich Neidlinger, $1. Total, $30.

Anyone not getting th paper will please report to whom and when and the amount paid. Send receipt or copy of same when you can.

Competition is the struggle of two men to do one man's job. The result is that the job is poorly done and the men are worse paid. Co-operation would enable them to do the job in less than one-half the time and do it better.

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