

The Logical Political Labor Party.

Fellow workingmen: The first thing to be thoroughly understood is that the political party of labor is not merely an organization to get jobs for a few individuals. Any party of that kind is a mere piece club, and is unworthy of any man's support. The political party of labor must have for its object the enforcement of proper labor legislation and the establishment of labor principles in the institutions of the government—in short, not to benefit a few politicians, but to enact measures which will better the conditions of all workingmen. This brings our inquiry down to the definite question, What measures are really required to benefit labor?

Every election different associated interests appoint committees to look after their political welfare. The saloon keepers have their committee, the cigar dealers theirs, the improvement clubs or land-holders theirs. The Merchants' Association and the Employers' Association carefully select their candidates and platforms so that the principles of the men whose election they advocate will be most harmonious to their "business interests." They want the government to establish the most favorable conditions for them to sell their especial lines of goods. By political action they secure it.

What Evils Are to be Remedied?

Labor has its especial interest, an interest separate from the "business interest" of the bosses. The workingmen exist by the sale they make of their labor-power, their ability to create wealth. It is entirely just and proper, then, that the workingmen should combine and secure such political action as will give labor the most favorable conditions.

The demands which labor makes, the things it seeks to accomplish, are the shortening of hours, the increase of pay, and the betterment of the conditions of toil. The just complaints of the workingman are that he must work long hours, under very bad conditions, for small wages. To remedy this it is first necessary to understand why such conditions exist. We must know the cause of the poverty of the people, which exists despite their long hours of toil, despite the marvelous increase in the productive capacity of modern civilization. Why have the workers no share in this advance?

Ask yourselves, fellow-workingmen. Why are you not able to get more wages and shorter hours? The immediate answer is, because the boss won't give them to you. And the boss will not give you these things you seek, these things which, in truth, are but a modicum of justice, yet of great benefit to you, so unjust are your present conditions; he will not give you these things because he does not have to. Behind you, while you make your demand, he sees another man who has been out of employment for some time, who seeks work with the greatest eagerness, because he is in want, because the wolf of hunger drives him to it as the bloodhound of the Southern slave master rounded up the negro slaves. These unemployed and necessitous

men are looking for your job, they are competing for your place; and you are lucky if, instead of merely acting as a bar to your securing better conditions, they do not begin a cut-rate competition in the price and terms upon which you sell your labor-power, and thus enable the boss to force you to accept lower wages or quit your job and give place to a competitor in the labor market. It is competition, then, that forces men to work for low wages, that forces them to toil long hours, that forces them to submit to the dangers of unsafe and unhealthy factories, to the ever imminent menace of life and limb. Competition is the evil. We must find out the cause of it.

What Causes Competition?

It would seem to an unprejudiced mind that when there was only a certain amount of work to be done to provide the world with what it needed for its maintenance in the way of food, clothing, shelter and the comforts and luxuries of life, and when there were a certain number of men to do that work, the best method would be to get them to work together, to cooperate. Let every man work; let every one perform his share and participate equitably in the result of their joint effort. But under present conditions some men work long hours and others go idle. At times we have the absurd condition that vast bodies of men are out of work, idle and hungry, and at the same time the mills and the machinery which could produce the wealth they need are unused and motionless. The reason for this condition is not far to seek. It is because the means of producing wealth, the various industries of the country, are owned by private individuals who will not allow them to be used unless they can make something out of them—make, indeed, as much as they think ought to be made. Take, for instance, the Union Iron Works. Why do not the workmen go in there, appoint their foremen and superintendents, finish the contracts, working nine hours a day, and draw down the money for themselves? Simply because Mr. Irving Scott owns that property and backed up by the law refuses to let the machinists work unless they work ten hours a day. And when they do work ten hours a day the wealth they produce he claims as all his own. It is because he gets this wealth that he employs them. It is not charity, nor the infinite love he bears them, that impels him to hand out his laborer that monumental "gold brick," work for wages. It is because when they work ten hours eight hours are consumed in piling up the millions which he claims for his wealth. The product of the other two hours' labor is given back to the workers, so they can get the necessaries of life and come back on the morrow strong enough to work another eight hours for nothing. Mr. Scott simply takes advantage of his legal power to employ or not to employ the laborers, to make some of them do more than their share, thus keeping another portion idle; and by making the two sets—the ins and the outs—bid against

one another, he secures their labor for a price far below the price at which he sells the product of their labor. Thus, you see, it is private property in the means whereby the people earn their living that causes competition amongst them for the chance to live.

Class War Between Labor and Capital.

The bosses have learned that competition is harmful. They have grown tired and disgusted with fighting one another for customers. So they have combined. From partnerships to corporations, from corporations to trusts, the progress of consolidation, combination, organization, goes steadily on. We now have the billion-dollar trusts throwing down the gauntlet to organized labor and getting ready to crush all workingmen's unions. Why are they doing this? What, do you think, is the meaning of these employers' combines endeavoring to destroy all labor organizations? Is it to aid the workingmen in getting better pay or shorter hours? No! On the contrary, it is thought possible, by crushing the increased power of resistance which united action gives, to enable the bosses to further reduce your wages and lengthen the hours of work. This is the reason, and the only reason, for the assault on trades unions and labor organizations. The capitalists seek to completely enslave and degrade the working class. They have formed their organizations for that purpose and as a consequence have organized a bitter class war. Organized capital against organized labor.

But every class war is a political struggle. The executive, the legislative and the judicial departments are used by the dominant class always for their own benefit, to increase their supremacy, to enhance their power. The use of injunctions, of laws against combinations, of police and soldiers, is always made against the workingman and in favor of the boss, the capitalist. Is it not necessary, then, fellow-workers, to get control through an organized political party of these places, that these branches of the government may be run in favor of the workers? Should there not be a political party of labor to fight on labor's side for labor's rights and labor's victory?

Labor's Political Program.

It is a class war between labor and capital. One or the other must be supreme. If Capital conquers in this struggle, Labor will become degraded and enslaved—forced to the bosses' bidding, working at hours and wages dictated by the heartless, greedy worshippers of mammon. Liberty will be the hollowest of mockeries, the worst of shams, and all our political rights will be filched away.

But capital will not conquer. We, fellow-workers, number millions; at the ballot box our strength is irresistible. With the mighty force of the millions of toilers we can crush the ambitious capitalists who seek to keep us mere wealth-producing slaves, living in misery, want and toil for their pleasure, ease and plenty. Let us take the wealth which we have produced; let us resume possession of the

means whereby we live and operate them for our own benefit. Let us co-operate in the use of the means of producing and distributing wealth, in order that we may produce most abundantly and have as much leisure as possible. Let us take possession of the privately owned industries that the private owners may no longer be able to take away from us the wealth we have produced.

Do you not see, fellow-workers, that we have found in the cause of the poverty of the people lies in competition, that competition is caused by private ownership of the industries, that this private ownership has taken the form of combinations, of trusts, which seek to increase the competition of the workers, that they may be forced to work longer hours for less pay? Since this is so, the only program for labor is to abolish competition by abolishing private property in the industries whereby the people live; to establish in its stead the co-operative commonwealth. It is your duty, then, to take your part in this struggle, to join the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, which is fighting for labor on just such a program, and work for its success, which with your aid is sure.

Labor's Political Struggle

Notes Indicating the Progress of the World's Socialist Movement.

Germany

This year's National Convention of the Social Democratic party of Germany, in compliance with the resolution adopted last year at Mainz, will be held at Lubeck during the third week of September. The question of the workingman's dwellings will be placed on the order of the day besides the regular business. Comrade Dr. A. Sudekum, the representative from Nuremberg in the Reichstag, will make a special report on the subject. The convention will be an open session, except some sittings when advantage will be taken of the repeal of law forbidding political combinations of workingmen to hold meetings behind closed doors.

SWITZERLAND

At Winterthur the Socialists elected 40 out of the 120 members of the Election Bureau.

In Davos, the famous summer resort and watering place in the Canton of Graubunden, the Social Democrats elected Comrade Pronnier to the municipal council.

DENMARK

The Social Democratic party of Copenhagen arranged an imposing demonstration against the Danish government. Not less than 187 unions and Socialist societies, with thirty-six music bands, marched in a parade, after which a protest meeting was held, with six Socialist deputies to the Parliament as speakers.

Belgium

The Belgian Socialists, whose latest watchword is universal suffrage on the basis of one man one vote, have issued a manifesto declaring that they will continue to agitate with increased activity until the government has been compelled to yield to their demand. It is now proposed to begin a series of street demonstrations, combined with an organized system of obstruction in the chamber of representatives, with the view of forcing the hands of those who oppose this reform. Under the present system of balloting for the chamber of representatives the minimum age for voting is fixed at twenty-five. A supple-

mentary vote is granted to those who have attained the age of thirty-five, and are either married or widowed with legitimate issue, and who pay a certain sum in taxes; two supplementary votes are granted to those holding stated educational diplomas, or who possess real estate of a certain value. This system is an improvement on that which was in vogue before 1893. In that year the Socialists made a demand for universal suffrage, which was backed by a general strike. The result was a compromise, the plural voting gaining a considerable advantage to the propertied class, as represented by the Liberal and Clerical parties.

Holland

Rev. A. de Koe, pastor of the Herv. church in Helder (Holland), who, at his request, was permitted to resign, said in his parting address to his congregation: "I cannot hold my office any longer, because the church, as it is organized at present, is unable to fulfill the longing of humanity for a higher life. For it administers exclusively to the welfare of the capitalists and not of the proletarians, and the clergymen are hampered too much by church regulations. All this is opposed to my conception of life, and therefore I resolved to leave the church." The valiant pastor is now a member of the Socialist colony in Blaricum, Holland.

Great Britain

The Scottish Trades Union Congress was recently in session in Paisley. By a vote of 66 to 8 it adopted this resolution: "That, in the opinion of the Congress the workers can not obtain the full value of their labor and avoid strikes until the land, mines, minerals, railways, railway machinery, industrial capital, and all conditions essential to production and distribution are owned and controlled by the State for the people, and as the best means of obtaining these great objects the Congress urges using the power of their societies to secure direct and adequate representation of labor in Parliament and all other public bodies."

Poland

Comrade Joseph Pilsudski, who had been arrested, imprisoned and sent to Siberia in February, 1890, when the police authorities in Ladz discovered the party printing plant, has fled from Siberia and is now in a place of safety. The news of his successful flight was spread in Warsaw on May 18th, and created indescribable enthusiasm.

Japan

"The Labor World" of Tokio will be made a daily as soon as there will be obtained three thousand subscribers who will pay one year's subscription in advance.

"The Labor Movement in Japan" is a new book published by the "Labor World." Its English edition will soon be published.

The special edition (May 20th) of the "Labor World" was confiscated on the 21st ult. on account of publishing the Manifesto and Platform of the Social Democratic party. The paper is prohibited to publish any article on similar topics.

Spain

The dispatch previously published announcing the election of a Socialist candidate for Parliament in Madrid, Spain, proves to have been unfounded. Although it is claimed that Socialist candidates there and in other cities actually received votes entitling them to election, none have been seated. The Spanish government has repeated its old trick of "fixing" the election returns, and it may be that only a violent outbreak will put an end to the reign of corruption and arbitrary tyranny and make orderly political action possible.

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United States

National Secretary Butscher reports a new local organized at Camas, Wash.

A movement has started in Missouri to change the name Social Democratic Party to "Socialist Party," as the law requires.

Max S. Hayes has been elected delegate from Cuahoga county, Ohio, to the National Unity Convention. He was the first delegate elected in the United States Senate.

In view of the nearness of the National Convention the National Council has authorized the N. E. C. to act as such until the convention and to withhold the call for election of a new N. E. C.

Members of Local St. Louis have pledged themselves to raise one thousand dollars during the next six months for the "Missouri Socialist," thus assuring the existence of the paper and laying the groundwork for future success.

Comrade Charles H. Vail is now working in Washington, and any Socialist organization in the States of Oregon or California which may desire his services should at once communicate with him. Until July 5th he may be addressed, in care of Jas. D. Curtis, 1735 Eighteenth avenue, Seattle.

The Ohio State Committee, S. D. P., with W. G. Critchblow as Secretary, meets every Monday evening at the Secretary's home, 1145 West Third street, Dayton, Ohio. Address all communications for the Ohio party to same place.

Local Dayton, Ohio, carries on a very active agitation. Last week it took in ten new members, and more are in sight. The lock-out is bearing good fruit. Social Democrats begin to be recognized by trade unionists as the only party upon which they can depend.

Comrades McGathen, McWilliams and Dittmore of Eddy, Oklahoma, were injured and the first lost a wife and a twelve-year-old son in a cyclone, which swept over the place June 5th. Much damage was done to the farm houses and the wheat crop.

Local St. Louis has adopted resolutions declaring that a convention of Missouri Socialists should be held in that city on July 27th, to unite the Socialists of the State so that there can be a solid delegation for unity in the National Convention. The resolutions provide that in case national unity is not accomplished by the convention, the Socialists of Missouri will nevertheless remain united.

The International Library Publishing Co., 23 Duane street, New York, widely known as publishers of Socialist literature in the United States, have sold out their entire pamphlet department, including stock on hand, plates, copyrights, etc., to the Debs Publishing Co., and have retired from that department of literature in favor of the latter company. We are requested to announce to all interested that the Debs Publishing Co. are now prepared to fill orders for pamphlets, and that special rates to agents, booksellers, branches, sections, etc., will be given on application. Orders should be addressed to Debs Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Ind.

The pastor of St. Paul's Universalist church of Rutland, Vt., has arranged for a series of six Sunday evening addresses on "Good Citizenship," and has secured a banker, lawyer, editor, "distinguished" citizen, and Superintendent of schools to speak. Comrade James M. Lull will close the series with an explanation of the Socialist position.

Cuba reform experience is like that of our own cities—simply an exchange of bosses.—Saturday Evening Post.

Labor's Economic Struggle

Notes Showing the Strife Between Organized Labor and Capitalism.

Italy

Agricultural laborers in Italy are striking for the nine-hour day and are winning their demands. Strikes are also on in the cities.

Russia

Russian labor troubles continue. The reports are very scanty, but there is evidently no sign of submission on the part of the workers. A dispatch of June 17th says that the dockyard authorities at St. Petersburg have been forced to close the docks on account of the labor agitation. Troops have been called out against the strikers—just as in America.

Poland

Warsaw, June 4th.—Eleven workingmen, who were arrested during the May-day demonstration, were sentenced to three months' imprisonment "because they sang forbidden songs and resisted the Police. Two others were sentenced to one month because they would not say why they were on the street at the time. The new Governor-General Tschertkoff is responsible for these infamies.

United States

Waitresses of Massilon, O., have organized. Chicago iron molders have agreed to arbitrate on their demand for advance of wages from \$2.75 to \$3.

Boston Central Labor Union has denounced the militia and called upon all workingmen to leave military organizations.

The United Mine Workers' organization of Illinois voted to send \$500 to the distressed families of the miners killed in the mine explosion on Vancouver Island, British Columbia.

The wage-scale of 10,000 glass workers was settled at the joint conference in Pittsburgh last week; the 2,200 blowers get an advance of 5 per cent and the 2,200 gatherers an advance of 8 1/8 per cent; the others will have the same wages as last year.

The first machinist to desert the union in Bridgeport, Conn., and sneak back into the shop was a DeLeonite. The Social Democratic Maennerchor is arranging a grand Fourth of July picnic for the benefit of the strikers. Ben Hanford will be the speaker.

Of the three delegates elected by Cigar-makers' Union No 97 of Boston to the convention of the State Federation of Labor, two—Patrick Mahoney and David Goldstein—are active Social Democrats. Over 1,100 votes were cast in the election.

The ranks of the Chicago machinery manufacturers, who had heretofore stood together in resisting the machinists' strike, were broken on June 14th by the surrender of six firms. As a result 135 men went back to work under the nine-hour rule and at the wage-rate demanded by them.

It has been decided by the Chicago branch of the Women's International Label League to start a movement for the organization of thousands of girls who work in the homes of Chicago. It is estimated that there are more than 60,000 girls and women in Chicago eligible for this new movement.

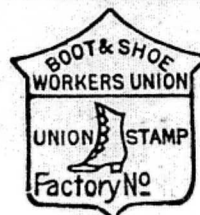
The weavers of the Modena Cotton Mills at Gastonia, N. C., are on a strike against an indirect reduction in their earnings. Recently the mill changed from plain cloth to dimity, making no allowance to the weavers for the finer goods. The weavers assert that they were able to earn only from 80 to 90 cents a day, as compared with the \$1 to \$1.15 earned on the coarser fabrics.

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Demand Boots and Shoes with this Stamp on Sole or Lining. Don't patronize dealers unless they sell these goods.

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ADVANCE



The Official Organ of the Socialists of the Pacific Coast.

Published Weekly by Local San Francisco Social Democratic Party, at 134 Murphy Building, San Francisco, California.

Subscription, per year 50 cents; six months 25 cents; three months, 15 cents.

It is a safe estimate to say that seventy-five per cent of the politicians get office "just because he made dem goo-goo eyes."

The Social Democratic Party believes that the government should be a government of the workers, by the workers, for the workers. If you are a workingman, vote for the Social Democratic ticket.

If your fellow-trades-unionists are tired of paying out their hard-earned coin for the benefit of the landlord, get them to sign that proposition for a Palace of the People, in which headquarters and meetings room for trades unions will be provided free.

Remember the Party meeting next Wednesday evening, July 3d, at the Labor Bureau, 915½ Market street. Business of great importance will come up for consideration, including the sending of a delegate to the Unity Convention. Come to this meeting and put yourself in good standing with the Party.

The formation of "Leagues of Catholic Workingmen" in Italy to scab on the workers who strike for better conditions will hardly be a recommendation for the liberal ideas of the church or its supreme pontiff. If this is the form of their friendship for labor, labor will look for other friends who entertain more agreeable ideas.

That proposition for the employment of the unemployed provides that the applicant must be two years a resident of the city. Tell this to your friend, who fears the city will be flooded with outside workers. Tell him also that the effect will be to raise wages in all industries, as it provides that those employed by the city shall earn a wage of at least two dollars for a day of eight hours.

Some time ago a certain delegate from the Retail Clerks' Association spoke before the City Central Committee in favor of the "six o'clock closing movement." It was then voted to give the Clerks the privilege of the floor in our propaganda meeting, which was duly done. Last Saturday this same delegate invited a comrade to join the "Fremont Republican Club," of which the Secretary is J. T. Gibson, the only merchant refusing to close at 6 p. m. Comment is superfluous.

Now that there are rumors of threats by the Wholesale Butchers, that they will not sell meat to restaurants displaying the Union Card, and the Cooks and Waiters will strike and boycott if the card is not displayed, we may expect the following impromptu grace of Robbie Burns to be said at private tables:

"Some ha'e meat and canna eat;
Some can eat that want it;
But we ha'e meat and we can eat
And so the Lord be thankit."

ADVANCE

A NEW THIRD PARTY.

The able article on the movement in "Old Mizzoura," by Comrade E. Val Putnam, which appeared several weeks ago in "Advance," was reprinted in the New York "Worker" and the question raised of the danger of a third party which should endeavor to take the wind out of the sails of the Social Democratic Party, has since been made the subject of discussion. In Wednesday's papers comes news of the attempt to actually organize such a party. The same people whose actions in St. Louis first attracted Comrade Putnam's attention, are at the head of this scheme and they are endeavoring to win the support of W. J. Bryan and other Democrats who represent the anti-plutocrat sentiment in that party. The place this party expects to occupy is to be a buffer between the class-conscious workingmen and the capitalist. It will be—if it really ever becomes anything—a party of pure opportunism, with radical tendencies. As such it is bound to be short-lived. While its formation may temporarily cheat the Social Democratic party out of its rightful claims to the support of the workers, nevertheless, in a not very great while, so surely as our principles are correct and our tactics the right ones, so surely as the class struggle intensifies, our victory will inevitably come.

The true inwardness of this party is the hope of middle class politicians to secure jobs on the strength of the radical movement which they cannot win in the Democratic ranks. They do not know enough, they are not courageous enough, nor honest enough, to come into the Social Democratic Party, accept its scientific program, take up the burden of fighting out the class struggle, through the dangers and hardships of the battle that lies before us, and earn by such labor the sweet fruits of the victory which shall be ours. But two things condemn them to failure; first, their own incompetency; second, the lack of any permanent economic interest behind them.

There are only two anti-plutocratic classes: One is the middle class, the other the working class. Such a party as proposed must gain the support of the one or the other of these interests. The proposed party seeks to cater to a compromise between the two. But this is an impossibility. The only thing that the two have in common is the fact of an antagonism to the plutocracy, the big capitalists. But this antagonism proceeds from two opposite points of view. The middle class seeks to destroy the organization of industry which the capitalists have effected, but to preserve the principle of private ownership of capital. The working classes, on the contrary, seek to preserve the organization of industry but to destroy the principle of private ownership. The consequence is that no compromise can be had; the only thing that can be done is to take those industries from which the middle class has been driven and make them publicly owned, in order that the big capitalists may be crippled by cutting off part of the surplus-value which they would use in encroaching on and organizing the industries yet remaining to the middle class. But this would prove futile, inasmuch as the same economic conditions would soon prevail in one industry after another. The middle class can not survive as a producing class. The inexorable laws of economic development have pronounced its doom. Concentration and organization are the essentials of cheap production and in the competition for sale of goods cheap produc-

tion is the prime factor of success. Even in the distributive industries the encroachments of the trust tend to make the merchants mere salaried agents and the department store so grinds down the little shopkeeper as to make him the helpless dependent of his working class patrons. In consequence of this obliteration of the middle class the new party, to win support, must cater more and more to the working class. The men who are at the head will thus be forced either to admit the correctness of the position of the Social Democratic Party or go out of business. We believe they will do the latter.

For our part, we think their propaganda will have the effect of strengthening our own. As an admission of portions of our truth we will have less difficulty in establishing our entire contention. This does not mean, however, that we are to welcome or be indifferent to the new party. Our course of action is certainly clear. It is to attack as vigorously and indefatigably as possible such an organization, to show its illogical position, to prove our correctness. Meantime, to forestall it, to organize as thoroughly as possible the radical element, to get into line and pledge to our organization those who do not see the truth clearly and completely.

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Comrades! It is absolutely essential that you bestir yourselves in getting new subscribers to "Advance." It is only by a large circulation that the paper can be made a success. We have no wish to continue as an eight-page paper, our present size. We feel it imperative to enlarge to a twelve or sixteen-page edition. Not only is it our earnest desire to so increase, but the rivalry of other papers makes this almost necessary. It is easily within the range of possibilities to do so. All we need is an increased circulation, a greater support. We ask each comrade, therefore, this small favor: Devote one night a week to getting one subscriber. Set apart one of your evenings, approach the most likely subject, and work on him until you secure his subscription. Don't feel backward or ashamed of doing this. You will be committing no crime—the crime will be in omitting to do it. Every comrade should understand this: a doubling of our circulation means a doubling of our income as well as a doubling of our influence, so that, being able to double the quantity and improve the quality of our paper, our value increases four-fold. Now then, go to work!

Did you hear of the militia being called out to help workingmen win a strike? Why not? Because the government is a government for "taxpayers," for proprietors—to help them fleece the workers.—Seattle Socialist.

Impressions.

BY JOSEPH J. NOEL.

The average preacher is a humorist, consciously or unconsciously. Even when he has reformed he still retains many amusing features. Let him go in for labor agitation or political agitation, and he will always act up to the coat he used to wear. He gets so into the habit of blowing on half-burnt embers that nothing can stop him. He waits for a voice from the tomb to guide him, and he draws his inspiration from a book that can be interpreted to suit every mood. In his anxiety to galvanize a corpse he often oversteps the bounds of common sense. In an age when there are so many laws against vagrancy, he insists that men live as Christ lived. The preacher of the moment is the Rev. R. Logan. He thinks that workingmen should strike for a half-holiday Saturday, and let all other impossible and unreasonable demands go by, including the "obnoxious union card." The amusing feature of the reverend gentleman's lecture came when he told his reasons for desiring the holiday Saturday afternoon. It is to give the workingmen a chance to go to church Sunday morning. And the wise preacher assured his hearers that a majority of the merchants and manufacturers would grant the demand.

Considering the reactionary stuff that is dished up to their congregations by the average preacher it is to be supposed that the merchants and manufacturers would help them to rope in the unsuspecting workingmen. A certain reciprocity in the business of sand-bagging between the capitalists and the gentlemen of the cloth can be looked for at all times. They compliment each other and are interdependent. The capitalist contribute so much for doctrine, that is clipped and trimmed to suit their case, and the preachers bend in reverence before the shrine of great possessions. Christ would not shake hands with nine-tenths of the fellows who mouth His moral platitudes in the pulpits o' Sunday. With all his faults the Lowly Nazarene was no snob. Unfortunately, He was the last of his line. The only true Christian died when He perished on the cross.

The confession by the Board of Education that twenty thousand children of school age are out of school in this city makes quite interesting reading. A law will be asked for, making it compulsory for these future citizens to attend school, at least six months in the year. And the complications rising out of the enforcement of the law will be many. Chief among these may be mentioned the lack of school room, through lack of food and clothes and boots and books may be depended upon to add to the muddle. It is not a disgrace to have twenty thousand children of school age out of school in this city as long as the competitive system is endorsed every election day by the fathers of the children. Not one child of the capitalist class is on this list of delinquents. Everything that can aid the undeveloped intellect of these precious darlings of the better class is done for them. No cold or hunger ever interferes with their lives. No selling of newspapers, no washing of bottles, no peddling of fruit, no gathering of coal, no sacrificing of young lives to add a bite to the family larder. Twenty thousand children of the working-class are compelled to seek these things. Their lives are cramped, and their chances in the struggle for existence

are reduced to the vanishing point. They are stamped unfit almost from the cradle. They fill the prisons and the workhouses. They become the tramps and the vagrants. The children of the capitalist class have no handicap in the race of life. They are cared for when care counts for something. Under Socialism every child will be guaranteed this care and we shall have a race of men in the world with whom one may associate without capitulation.

University professors put their years of special investigation to many unique uses. But it remains for the University of Chicago to produce a professor interested in the millinery shops. Here is what he says:

"To the small store proprietor who is complaining of the all-devouring greed of the department store:

"Don't spend all your time with your grief.

"Do something original to attract attention to your place.

"If you have or if somebody interested in you has an individual artistic impulse, give it full sway in your window display.

"Don't have your store look like every other store of its kind.

"It has been shown that a new style of knotting a ribbon may give a small millinery store a vogue in the very shadow of a big shop."

And the strangest thing about this knotting of ribbons is that it will stop the onward march of the trust; according to the Bible of Mr. Brooks, professor.

Here is another gem of a professor, or an editor, or somebody with wonderful sagacity, and a thorough knowledge of economics. It is clipped from a St. Louis publication, "The Writer": "If some merchants would advertise their business as energetically and persistently as the politicians advertise themselves, there would be no further talk of hard times." One peculiarity about these editors and professors is that they imagine all is well with the world if only the shop-keepers are busy. One could say sarcastic things about them, but what's the use.

From France comes a hint of a change in the attitude of Socialists towards Party organs. All the Socialist papers in France are owned by capitalists. During the trial of Dreyfus, under the manipulation of the clever Jaures, the Socialist press stood by the prisoner on the Isle Du Diable; and though the brilliant talker gave a promise that the Socialist party would not be dragged into this fight between two opposing factions of the capitalist class, he forgot his promise and split the proletarian army in two. If the press had been owned by the party, at least the truth could have been learned. But being the personal organs of men, who wished to split up and demoralize the French Socialists, they were used to hide the truth. Hence we had the spectacle of Socialists at each other's throats about a matter that was really no concern of theirs.

It is very apparent how such things would go in this country. Take the "Appeal to Reason" as an example. Because Mr. Wayland is in a hurry for Socialism, he is willing to have it a step at a time; yet we who think we know better scorn any such absurdity. And here the personal organ conflicts with the accumulated knowledge of the party. Mr. Wayland is only one man, and is so busy cashing checks and money orders from new subscribers that he has no time to study what Socialism really means. For that reason he will be

found in the front rank of the first fake party that bobs into existence for the purpose of taking over the railroads. And his thousands of readers will imagine this is Socialism. On the other hand, the members of the party, having suffered and struggled and stolen an hour or two from their masters to read, the net results of this struggling and suffering and reading finds expression in the party press. The editor, while molding, to a certain extent, the opinion of his readers, is, in turn, reacted upon by them and is guided by the social consciousness of the group surrounding him. This group is the whole party. And the whole party can never do wrong, for that which an organization does to itself is never wrong. Mistakes may and will happen, but these are merely lamps, as our religious friends would have it, to the feet.

The Boston "Traveler" opens its columns to a word of reason occasionally. It is a capitalist sheet, run for the benefit of its advertisers, but the managing editor lets a line or two escape his blue pencil, and the Socialists, always being on the alert, have the benefit. Here is a letter that was published without comment:

"It seems that it is in the air that we are to have a panic very soon. Now, the cause of panics: Panics are an effect of a cause, and that cause is the system of competition. On every hand we hear dissatisfaction. We read about it in other lands besides our own. That discontent is growing, no intelligent person will deny. That poverty, crime, insanity, misery, dependence and degradation are increasing the world over, is a fact that can be proven in a hundred ways; and that the capitalist and workingmen, in the main, are ignorant of the economic laws which govern production and distribution, and while they know we have a social evil, neither think the system of competition is at fault. And so we have a hundred and more diverse theories to account for poverty, and all evils of our social system. And so, and especially at the time of a crisis, some nostrum is set up as a cure-all. But we have nations with free trade and nations with high tariffs; so we have nations with gold standard, and likewise with a silver standard, and bimetalism; we have in this country hundreds of counties with no saloons, and yet, in all nations and this country, we have a vast volume of misery. And so I say that in every nation we have but the same system of competition, and the only hope is Socialism. With liberty and justice for the workingmen of the world, in full running order, panics would be impossible, and so would the suffering and misery that accompany the panics."

San Francisco Comrades, Attention!

There will be a party meeting Wednesday, July 3d, at the Labor Bureau Association Hall, top floor, front. All party members are most earnestly requested to attend, as the following important matters will come up for discussion and settlement: Election of delegate to Unity Convention. Instructions to delegate, signing of credentials, etc. (Each delegate has as many votes as there are signers of his credentials). Also the arrangement of meetings for Comrades C. H. Vail and J. Stitt Wilson. Other questions of vital importance will be discussed. Bring your membership cards and be put in good standing. J. J. Noel, Organizer and Sec'y.

A Chicago professor objects to the practice of parting the hair in the middle. Why doesn't he object to the capitalist's practice of parting wages in the middle?—Worker.

A Letter and the Answer.

Comrade Lipscomb of Missouri was invited to the Detroit Conference of Reformers, and, in answer, he sent the following:

"Dear Sir: Your several invitations requesting my presence at the Conference of Reformers, to be held at Detroit in the beginning of July, to hand.

"I appreciate the courtesy you bestow, but must decline the invitation, on the grounds that I cannot spare the time and cost of such a trip.

"I must say that I would be pleased to be there if I could do so, not as a reformer, but that I might explode some revolutionary bombs in your midst. I feel that in declining to attend this conference I would fail to do you justice if I did not point out wherein I think you are wrong, and also as your invitation, while bearing my name, is, in reality, a general rather than a personal matter; hence I send a copy of this letter to the 'Missouri Socialist' for publication.

"To begin, I am not a reformer. I do not care a straw about reforming the present system of private ownership of capital, but it is my life purpose to do all I can to abolish capitalism and along with it all forms of servitude, wage-slavery, etc.

"Furthermore, the system your adherents maintain creates two distinct economic classes, one owning the associated tools of production and the other the tool-less class, while your active adherents are what seems to me to be largely those who might be termed middle-class intellectual fadists who are seeking to throw off their backs the more successful exploiters, but at the same time maintain a kind of guardianship over the great army of the proletariat.

I further hold that the only essentially useful economic class in society is the working-class. Hence, if society is ever purged it must be done by the working-class as a class at the ballot-box, so while I, as an individual, fill a notch in the capitalist system as a middle-class exploiter of the working-class, I propose to array myself with the working-class, in a militant class army to march straight to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the workers' republic, or as we sometimes say, the Co-operative Commonwealth.

"It is my purpose to attend a convention in July, but not a reformers' convention, but a class-conscious Socialist convention at Indianapolis, and I suggest that it would do your members an immense amount of good to adjourn your convention to that city, and there be spectators. You will learn something of the workingman's plan of his own emancipation.

"With kindest regards to all sincere people I am fraternally,
Caleb Lipscomb."

Chairman McFall of the Oklahoma territorial committee, has issued an address to the party in which he says: "Those of us who have had the benefits of the Vail meetings appreciate that they have been an effective means of propaganda and education. In all, fifteen meetings were held at ten different places. With one or two exceptions the attendance was good, and in every case the audience was carried by Comrade Vail's irresistible logic. These meetings have proved a great stimulus to the comrades and have added to our number many converts. We are only sorry that arrangements could not have been made at other points in the territory." An appeal is made to build up the Socialist press for the campaign of 1902. A special organizer will probably be placed in the territory next fall.

San Francisco Propaganda.

Thursday night, June 20th, was the final address of Comrade J. Stitt Wilson in the Academy of Sciences Hall. By eight o'clock it was impossible to get another person in the hall, and many that came late were turned away. Comrade Costley presided, and after a brief introductory speech, called upon the "boy orator of San Francisco," twelve-year-old Nathan Schmulowitz, whose declamation was greeted with well-deserved applause. Comrade Mrs. Alice Sorenson recited an original poem on "Carnegie's Libraries," after which the speaker of the evening was introduced. For over an hour Comrade Wilson hammered away, driving home Socialist truths with his characteristic force and eloquence. Applause and cheers were frequent, and when, at the close a rising vote of thanks was proposed, it was responded to with unanimous enthusiasm. A collection of \$19.50 was made to cover the speakers' expenses and over \$60 was then and there pledged to bring Wilson back from Los Angeles in August for two Metropolitan Temple meetings, and also to get Comrade Vail here in July for a couple of Metropolitan Temple meetings. Oakland and Alameda have pledged about \$75 to this fund also, so that the services of these two eloquent Socialists are practically secured. Seven people made application for membership and a number of others took application blanks with them to fill out and return next meeting.

The street meetings are continued with great success, Comrades Noel, O'Brien, Costley and King, Jr., doing the speaking. More speakers for the street are needed, however. Comrades are urged to be present Tuesday and Sunday evenings, and take a hand in the work. Market and Grant avenue.

Altogether there seems to be a pretty good-sized revival of interest in Socialism going on. If all the Comrades will take right hold now, put their shoulder to the wheel and give a good boost to the organization, we may expect nothing less than a doubling of our vote in November. Gird on your armor, brothers and comrades, the bugles of the battle are calling, calling. Join the army of proletarian emancipation! To the front! Every man is expected to do his duty.

Prefer Party Organs.

Los Angeles, Cal., June 25, 1901.

Editor ADVANCE:

Last Wednesday we had one of the most interesting debates of the season. The question was, "Resolved, That Socialist propaganda could be made more effectual without the use of party organs." Comrade Spring, on the affirmative, laid much stress on this point, "that, although we have control of the editors of the party organs, we often, from personal reasons, will not take steps to remove such editors, although we fully recognize that they are not doing what they should, and that there are others who could do better." In order to illustrate his point he referred to a paper in which this was going on.

Comrade Holmes, taking the negative, said, "that party organs are what we make them, that we can control them, and if we don't, it is our fault. If an individual edits a paper, you have no control over him. He may call himself a Socialist, but in his paper he may write anything but Socialism. He showed us how a party organ (of course, there are exceptions) will write strict class-conscious Socialism, not a lot of sentimental stuff, or even personal matter. The majority of men who read one of the party papers for any length of time would vote the Socialist ticket, whereas only very few who read the other class of papers voted the ticket.

When the vote was taken, it was almost unanimously in favor of the negative.

Our dance, for which we had been making preparations for almost a month, has come off very successfully. There was a large crowd; everybody had a good time; and, last, but not least, we have something to add to the "Delegate Fund." Our fund is swelling rapidly, and I hope this will encourage other locals, who, perhaps, have not been as successful as we have. There are only a few weeks more, but, if we all do our best, we can send half a dozen delegates to the convention. Everybody recognizes that this is the most important event that will come up for a long time, so get in and work. Yours, for the cause,

Olga Wirthschaft.

Socialism is, after all, in its fundamental conception only the logical application of the scientific theory of natural evolution to economic phenomena.—Enrico Ferri.

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3. Profits and interest may be applied on the unpaid share.
4. Shares are \$100 each, and each member can hold only one share.
5. Each member has only one vote.
6. Each member is eligible to office.
7. Shares are all transferable. (With the consent of the Board of Directors.)
8. Interest is allowed on all share capital. At present at 8 per cent.
9. All the members of the store hold regular meetings for the election of officers, reports of manager and auditing of accounts. Officers under bonds.
10. All employees are employed by the Board of Directors.
11. The net profits are divided among the members in proportion to the purchases of each.
12. All trade is done on a strictly cash basis.
13. Goods are sold at market rates.
14. Only pure and reliable goods are handled.
15. Liquors are not sold.
16. Arrangements are being made so the members will get reductions on purchases besides groceries.
17. Believers in Union.
18. Call at store, 1896 Mission street, and get in touch with the movement.

National Executive Committee.

Springfield, Mass., June 22, 1901.

Comrades: As the time of the convention is drawing near, the N. E. C. is anxious to close up all its accounts so as to make as complete a report as possible to the convention and in order to do so, the Comrades are requested to see to it that their Local settles at once its indebtedness if any, for Int. Del. stamps, for the assessment of ten cents per member, levied last February, and all Comrades are requested to pay up their dues to date. **COMRADES DON'T FAIL TO ATTEND TO THESE MATTERS AT ONCE.**

All Secretaries of Locals and State Committees are notified to forward to the National Secretary the names of the delegates elected to represent them at the National Convention immediately after their election, so that a complete list may be on file to be used, if necessary, at the convention.

The attention of all Secretaries is also called to the semi-annual reports, which they are requested to fill out and forward to the National Secretary before July 15th, so that the membership of our party at the present time can be included in our report to the convention.

Prompt attention in all of the above matters will oblige,
Yours fraternally,
W. BUTSCHER, Nat'l Sec'y.

Comrade Vail's Lecture Tour

Rev. Chas. H. Vail, the National Organizer of the Social Democratic Party, will be in California during July. Locals should send at once an application for one or more meetings. Address John M. Reynolds, State Secretary S. D. P., 422 Sutter St., San Francisco, Cal.

It is not often that men of great prominence in the Socialist movement of the East visit this State. The expenses attending the trip are paid by charging \$8 per lecture. Any local or Socialist organization in this State which can secure a lecture by our eminent and eloquent Comrade will be amply repaid for the outlay. Comrades should get together and avail themselves of this opportunity offered.

Mrs. Vail accompanies her husband and shares his work in lecturing. She was formerly a minister.

Should it be convenient for some member of the locals to entertain Comrade Vail and Mrs. Vail while they are in the city, the expense of lectures would be reduced.
John M. Reynolds, Sec'y.

City Central Committee.

At the meeting of June 26th, Comrade Appel in the chair, eight new members were admitted. The receipts of the week were \$31.60.

The instructions to the delegate to Unity Convention were moved to be printed and presented to party meeting one week hence.

Comrade Scarper was appointed chairman for propaganda meeting on Thursday evening.

The committee on Political Movement and Preparation consists of Comrades Scarper, Zant, King, Sr., King, Jr., Whitney and Everett.

Eight dollars and twenty cents and thirteen due stamps were received from the 19th Assembly district.

The collection of propaganda meeting at Academy of Sciences were \$19.50, which was given to Comrade J. Stitt Wilson.

New cards are to be issued to members when cards are lost.

Bills for organizing and editorial work on ADVANCE to Joseph J. Noel, were \$10.

Arrangements are to be made for a debate between G. B. Benham and J. Stitt Wilson, on the return of the latter from the South.

Noel, King, Jr., and Benham were elected a committee to receive Comrades Vail and Wilson.

Comrade King, Jr., is to go to Vallejo to lecture Saturday evening.
Joseph J. Noel, Sec.

Proposed Instructions to Unity Convention Delegate.

San Francisco, June 26, 1901.

To the City Central Committee, Local San Francisco, S. D. P.—

Comrades: Your committee appointed to draw up recommendations to the party meeting for instructions to Unity Convention delegate beg leave to report the following resolutions:

Resolved, 1, That we favor the name "Socialist Party" being the designation of the National organization.

Resolved, 2, That we are opposed to the system of ten cents quarterly subscription to the party organs.

Resolved, 3, That we favor the present system of

the sale of due-stamps for collecting and receipting dues.

Resolved, 4, That we favor Chicago as the seat of our National headquarters.

Resolved, 5, That National Conventions be held in the year of Presidential elections.

Resolved, 6, That we recommend that the National Executive Committee be composed of the State Organizers of the several State organizations, a quorum to consist of five members; meeting to be not less than once a quarter.

Resolved, 7, That the National Executive Committee elect a National Secretary, who shall be a salaried officer and shall devote his whole time to the party work.

Resolved, 8, That we disfavor the appointment of National Organizers; the agitation in organized States to be conducted by the State Committees, the organization of unorganized States to be effected by the Organizers of neighboring States.

Resolved, 9, That all grievances of locals be governed by State organization.

Resolved, 10, That the powers of the National Executive Committees be defined and all rights not expressly delegated be reserved to the State organizations and the party membership.

Retail Trades Council.

The meeting of June 25th, 1901, opened at 8:30 p. m., President A. R. Andre in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and adopted. The credentials of McAdams, vice Hamilton, were received and the delegate seated. Bills were ordered paid.

The reports of the Unions were as follows:

Bakers: The Co-operative Bakery will be opened at the end of the week; they expect to have bread on the market on Monday. Every loaf of bread and every cake will have the Union Label on it, and every Union man is requested to ask for that Union Label on the bread.

Barbers: Good. Had election of officers; all the old officers were re-elected.

Boot and Shoe Workers: Request the agitation of Stamp No 60, the Union Shoe Stamp. Will give a picnic at Fernbrook Park, on July 7th, 1901.

Brewers: Expect to get the eight-hour contract signed on July 15th. Request union men to look out for the Brewers' Union Label on beer kegs after that date.

Bottlers: Good. Levied an assessment of 25 cents for the Labor Council's Strike Fund.

Broommakers: No delegates present.

Retail Clerks: The early closing movement progressing nicely. Union men are doing their duty by not buying after six o'clock.

Shoe Clerks: Progressing nicely. Request delegates to agitate in their Unions that Union men should ask shoe clerks for the Union card.

Milk Drivers: Progressing nicely.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees: No report.

Laundry Workers: Progressing nicely.

French Laundry Workers: At a standstill.

Milkers: No delegates present.

Wine Bottlers and Cellarmen: Progressing nicely.

Executive Committees' report adopted as progressive.

Visiting Committee's report adopted as progressive.

Resolved, That the nomination of officers for the Retail Trades' Council take place on the first meeting in July and election the last meeting in July.

Moved and seconded and carried, that a committee of three of the best orators of the R. T. C. be appointed to go before the French Laundry Workers' Union. Brothers Wille, Less and Andre were appointed.

Good and Welfare: Personal experience of delegates in Union Work.

Meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted, A. DIJEAU, Sec'y.

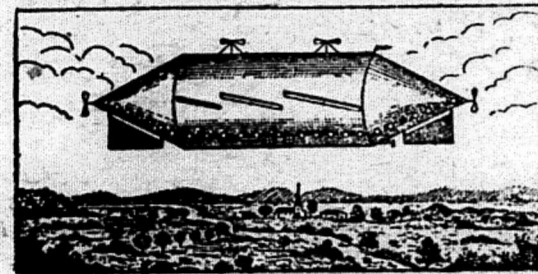
CONTRIBUTIONS.

To ADVANCE: Moeller & Sass, City, \$2.50.

To the Vail-Stitt Wilson lecture fund: Clark, \$1;

Cushman, \$1.

The following pledges for the Vail and Wilson fund have been made: Mr. McKinley, \$5; Mr. Cushman, \$5; L. E. Pate, \$5; Mr. Landers, \$5; W. M. Coward, \$5; C. H. King, Jr., \$5; J. M. Reynolds, \$2.50; L. D. Trew, \$2.50; Mr. Burnside, \$2.50; Chas. Blumberg, \$2.50; Mr. Hildebrand, \$1; Miss Tish, \$1; Mr. Carter, \$1; Mrs. McRae, \$1; S. Rosenthal, \$1; cash paid in by Farrell, Ober and others, \$3.50. Total, \$51.50. (As some confusion occurred in the taking of names, any error of name or item should be called to the Financial Secretary, C. H. King, Jr., ADVANCE office.)



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1901

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LOCAL OAKLAND, of the Social Democratic Party, holds regular weekly lectures every Thursday evening, 8 p. m. at Becker's Hall, 918 Washington st. Admission free. Address, correspondence to J. GEORGE SMITH, 212 Hearst Bld'g, San Francisco.

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO, Social Democratic Party holds regular weekly lectures every Thursday evening on social and economic subjects at Academy of Sciences Hall, 89 Market street. Meetings begin at 8 o'clock. Open discussion follows each lecture. Questions answered; free platform; public invited. Admission free.

LOCAL ALAMEDA, of the Social Democratic Party, holds open educational meetings every Friday evening except first one of month which is devoted to business, at 2424 Central ave. room 8. Address communications to J. C. STAMER, 2061 Encinal ave.

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Letter Box.

J. L. McG., San Jose.—The organization of scab "Leagues of Catholic Workmen" in Italy may be regarded as very unfortunate for the strikers, the league and the Catholic church. As for the latter, Rev. Father Peter C. Yorke has said the Pope is not infallible. We presume this is one of his mistakes.

R. N. T., City.—Oh, he's having lots of fun. "The Challenge" forms the basis for a Socialist rival to "Puck" and "Judge." An independent can be permitted such capers. The only danger is that the individual will never again be taken seriously.

O. L. D., Oakland.—In the religious vernacular, "Faith without works is dead," Socialist sentiment without Socialist organization is impotent. JOIN THE PARTY!

To Our Critics: The whole staff of ADVANCE (the managing editor, as well as the two associates) most gladly offer their resignations to those Comrades who think the paper is not being run as it should, and hope they will lose no time in taking our "jobs" (with the princely salary of \$300.00) themselves, and conducting the paper as it should be done. We are conscious of our limitations and realize that each of our readers is infinitely better acquainted with and capable of performing the work than ourselves. We have cut our journalistic coat according to our cloth. A better garment might be made if our critics will supply more cloth.

A Very Interesting Book.

"Karl Marx"—Biographical Memoirs, by Wilhelm Liebnicht. Translated by E. Untermann. With portrait frontispiece. 182 pages. Neatly bound in cloth. Price, 50 cents. Charles H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago, Ill.

If any one wishes to spend a pleasant evening, chatting with Liebnicht about Marx, he or she can do no better than get hold of this translation by Untermann. The reader is transported bodily from his own fireside to the lively scenes in the Marx household, and amongst the little group of revolutionary exiles that gathered about it. One spends a most delightful time listening to the old "Soldier of the Revolution," recounting anecdotes of his association with "Mohr," as Marx was familiarly known. The picture of the persons and times presented is perfect in its vividness. We have read few books wherein the characters treated are made to appear with equal lifelikeness. In this Marx and his "comrades in exile" are depicted, so that one understands their emotions and passions. You see how they lived every day, not on any special dress-parade. They become human characters, great and powerful, but human and to be loved, not gods to be worshipped. There is a strong touch of nature that makes us all akin. We give the book a most hearty recommendation.

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