

# ADVANCE

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## *The Strategic Point in the Class Struggle.*

We have repeated so often that the capitalists are organized for the purpose of destroying the trades unions that our regular readers are doubtless tired of the statement. And yet, it must be remembered that there are many who do not readily appreciate what the fact means. We take the liberty, therefore, of reiterating and again explaining the reason of this conspiracy against labor.

To know why the capitalists seek to destroy the labor unions, we must first know what the labor unions seek to do which is obnoxious to the capitalists. The trades unions are organizations of workingmen who seek by united action to raise their wages, to reduce the hours of labor and to better the conditions of labor. The sick and out-of-work and other benefits are not the real, special business of trades union activity—belonging rather to general beneficiary fraternal orders. These benefits are but means to strengthen the union, to hold and increase its membership, so that its real object may be more successfully striven for. When we understand this, then, we have the key to the source of the capitalist's hostility to labor unions. Examine this point a little more closely.

### **The Struggle Over Wages.**

Labor produces wealth. This wealth, produced by the working class, may be divided roughly into two parts: one, the wages of the working man who produces it; two, the profit of the capitalist who lets the workingman work. It is manifest, then, that so long as the product remains the same any increase of wages means a decrease of profit, and *vice versa*, any increase of profits means a decrease of wages. If the product is ten dollars and wages are two dollars, then profits are eight dollars; but if wages are raised to three dollars, then profits fall to seven dollars. Plainly, then, there is a struggle between the working man and the capitalist over the division of the product of labor, each trying to increase his share. And since the labor union reduces, almost stops competition, since it makes a united and therefore powerful demand for higher wages or shorter hours, the capitalists hate and seek to destroy it. Its gain is their loss.

We have seen the antagonism, the inevitable hostility, between capital and labor. Consider the relative positions of the two. Both sides are organized. They are fighting each other—not individuals against individuals, but organization against organization, a class against a class. It is a class struggle. As members of the working class it is necessary for us to discover where the strength of the enemy lies, to find out the vital point, the key to his line of battle, then to assault that, capture it and put an end to the struggle.

### **No Armed Truce.**

In the first place, we must understand that the struggle must be ended. It will not do merely to patch up an "armed truce," to enter into yearly agreements—which are frequently broken—but which demand for their keeping that both sides remain ever ready to fight for

their maintenance. Such a policy is as foolish as the terribly burdensome "armed peace" of Europe and, owing to the direct daily conflict of interest between the two antagonists, labor and capital, in much greater danger of continual violation. An expensive and oppressive "armed truce" between labor and capital is not to be thought of as a solution for the problem. The struggle must be stopped; the cause of the conflict must be removed.

The cause of the conflict is the desire of the workingmen to get a greater portion of the wealth which they produce. This desire is certainly justifiable and all the preaching of contentment will not appease it. Only the satisfaction of this desire by giving to the working man all he produces can ever stop the conflict. So long as profit exists, forcing the worker to divide up the wealth he produces with an employer whose only function is in working his men, or a stockholder whose only occupation is clipping coupons, so long the working man will struggle for more wages. When he gets the full product of his toil he will realize that to increase his income he must increase his labor and will govern his actions accordingly. Until that time he will struggle with the boss for more wages.

When we consider the matter in this light, we can see that society will get no peace until the working man gets justice—gets the full product of his toil. We may also view the matter from the opposite standpoint. The capitalists are not acting on the defensive. On the contrary, in their greed for profits they seek ever to work men faster and faster, to pay less and get more out of the workingmen. They are now banded together to break the unions in order that they may have the workers at their mercy. The capitalists seek to disorganize labor, to divide their enemy and conquer piecemeal. This for the purpose of permanently subjugating the workers, so that forever the laboring man will obey the absolute authority of the boss, work the hours and for the wages and under the conditions which the organized bosses dictate.

### **Source of the Bosses Power.**

Again we ask, having found the tyrannical purposes of the organized bosses, What is the source of their power and how may it be attacked and destroyed? The answer is easy. Why were the Wholesale Butchers of San Francisco able to make the Retailers take down the union cards and assist in the attempt to destroy the union? Because they controlled, they had property rights in the meat supply. No one could get meat elsewhere and they would supply it only to those who did not display the union card. This their property rights gave them power to do. It was a case of "No meat or no union." The Union Iron Works says to its employees: "Work the ten hours we demand you to work or don't work at all; we will starve you out." Again, it is their property rights that give to Mr. Scott and his partners the right to deprive of their employment, of their means of livelihood, the two thousand odd workingmen. When J. Pierpont Morgan has gathered everything in

sight into his great combinations, property rights will give him the power to tell the rest of the people to get off the earth and the sheriffs of the country would be bound by their oaths to execute the law, to evict all who trespassed on Morgan's earth. The point is this, that the laws of the country give power to one man or set of men to get control of the means whereby the people earn their living, and hence get the people in their power, being able to cut off their food supply on the one hand, as in the case of the Butchers, or to cut off the means of their getting wages with which to buy food, as in the case of the Union Iron Works. They get the people right where they live.

### **The Necessity of Political Action.**

It is a principle of military strategy that a general must always provide for the food supply of his army. Cutting off supplies is a favorite method for subjugating an enemy. The army of organized labor, therefore, must break up this control of the sources of their food supply which their enemy has acquired. The property rights of the capitalists in the means whereby the people live must be abolished. The laws which give one individual the right to take possession of the means of producing wealth and thus be able to say to the rest of mankind, "Pay me a tax or profit of all the product of your labor, above such wages as you can live upon, or you cannot work at all; you can starve"—the laws which give that power foster the most unendurable tyranny on the part of the bosses and the most impoverishing and miserable slavery on the part of the men. Such laws must be abolished.

This, then, is the key to the situation. This is the point of attack. Private property in the means of producing and distributing wealth must give place to collective ownership of those means. The people in their collective organized capacity, the state, must own all the industries of the country, and operate them on a democratic basis—every one having the right to work, to produce wealth and to get the full value of his product when he does labor. In order to effect this change the governmental powers must be captured. The workingmen, whose goal is this change, this revolution, must organize themselves into a political party to capture the legislative, executive and judicial positions. It is to their interest to do so; it would abolish poverty and enable them, by a few hours' labor, to obtain far more of necessities and comforts of life than they now get by long days of arduous toil.

### **The Social Democratic Party.**

They must do it to defend themselves against the constant encroachments of the capitalists. Already the beginnings have been made. The Social Democratic Party stands today as the representative of the working class, pledged to this program. It is composed of working men. It aims to fight the political battles of the working class. It seeks by organizing the working class politically, by adhering strictly to their interests, judging each measure as to its effects in hastening or delaying the victory of the working class. The



SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY seeks to emancipate the workers from the slavery of the wage system and to establish the workers' republic, the co-operative commonwealth, Socialism. Fellow-workers, join the Social Democratic Party and vote its ticket!

## Labor's Political Struggle

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

### Holland

The diamond-workers of the Netherlands, having the strongest union in the world, voted by referendum an average of 5 to 1 to support the Social Democratic Party in future political campaigns.

### Denmark

The students of the University of Copenhagen have just opened a new club house there. There was a reception when it was opened, and Knudsen, the Social Democratic deputy, made a very good speech. He spoke strongly in favor of the union between labor and intellect and said that both were to work for the people, with the people, and by the people.

### Great Britain

The next annual conference of the Social Democratic Federation will be held in Birmingham, on Sunday, August 4th, and Monday, August 5th.

The Social Democratic Federation has placed three propagandists in the field. The working people are reported to be recovering from the fever of jingoism, into which they were thrown by the South African war, and the Socialist agitators are holding successful meetings.

The English Socialists are much pleased with the sharp and apparently irreconcilable division of the Liberal party, which was developed in a vote in the House on the treatment of the Boer prisoners. The Liberal party has, for many years, been the great bulwark of capitalism, the buffer which broke the force of many working class movements. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the breakdown, which now seems inevitable, of this party, for it will bring about a realignment of forces and open new opportunities for the revolutionary Socialist movement.

### Italy

The young king of Italy, Victor Emanuel, is said to have laughed at the fears of the Conservatives of Socialism, and expressed the opinion that the Socialists would benefit the country if they had the governing power. The dispatch adds that Victor declared that he had read the platform of the Socialists, and that, while it contained an antimonarchical plank, he appreciated the value of their economic and social demands.

The members of the Executive Council of the Italian Socialist Party, together with the parliamentary group, have passed the following resolution: "Although the Socialist Party cannot give its confidence to a government which always represents a class, the interests of which are opposed to those of the proletariat, yet in the present political and economic condition of the country, the parliamentary group may, in certain cases, show its approbation by voting in favor of those reforms which are conducive to the normal development of Socialism and to the interests of the proletariat."

### United States

The Brockton "Vanguard" has suspended publication.

"Mother" Jones will be the orator of the day at Cleveland, O., on Labor Day.

Eugene V. Debs delivered a Fourth of July oration before the Socialists of Chicago.

Kentucky Social Democrats, independent, voted to be represented in the unity convention in Indianapolis, July 29th.

Social Democrats elected to city council in Rich Hill, Mo., making two out of four now controlled by the S. D. P.

Cleveland, O., Social Democrats are voting on a proposition to maintain a State Organizer and establish a State official organ.

Representative James F. Carey has been elected delegate-at-large from Massachusetts to the national unity convention.

The Socialists of Oregon have organized with a temporary State committee, composed of C. S. Harnish, Albany, Chairman; W. S. Richards, Secretary, and Asa Lewelling, Treasurer. A State convention will be held before October 1, 1901. Oregon will be represented at the national convention at Indianapolis.

From near and far come reports that the various Socialist factions are preparing for the great unity convention to be held in Indianapolis, beginning July 29th. The general opinion seems to be that organic union will be perfected without much friction, and that the ground-work will be laid for a mighty forward movement of all who favor Socialism.—Cleveland Citizen.

The Social Democrats have three speakers in Oregon. In Portland, according to the "Daily Times," "a man who attracted such a crowd as to blockade a street Sunday by talking Socialism was hustled off to jail. Other street haranguers are immune from arrest, though they are so common and numerous that perhaps they are not able to commit the offense of blockading the street."

The statement of Congressman Taylor, Rep., of Ohio, before the Industrial Commission, in Washington, is causing much comment. Mr. Taylor said he didn't know the remedy for trusts, but that they "will lead to Socialism because the people represented by the government will arise and take into their own hands the works operated for the few and operate them for the benefit of the many." Such thoughts are growing nicely.

The second federal singing festival of the "Arbeiter Saenger Bund" (Workingmen's Singing Federation) of the Northwest of the United States will be celebrated on Sunday, July 7th, in Chicago. Six hundred singers will be present, and this army of well-drilled and enthusiastic lovers of song will form a monster choir, such as few mortals are fortunate enough to hear. The festival will be introduced by a street parade with music and flags unfurled. Besides all the singing societies of the Federation, six trade unions will be represented in the parade. The members of the singing societies are nearly all German Socialists, and in the interest of the propaganda, all local branches of the Socialist parties are invited to take part in the parade.

A reformed burglar informs me that the decrease in burglaries is not evidence of decrease of crime, as some authorities have been claiming. He says the quality of goods now handled by merchants is so fraudulent and shoddy that even the most industrious burglar cannot make half a decent living for himself and family. There is just as much robbery now as ever, he claims, even more, only it does not come to the attention of the police, being done at first hand, without the somewhat costly labor of the burglar specialist.—Uncle Sam.

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LOCAL NEWS.

On Wednesday, June 26th, Local San Francisco, S. D. P., admitted eight new members, and last Wednesday evening six new party members were initiated.

The best crowd to go with on a picnic is undoubtedly the Wood Workers. A day spent with them, on July 14th, will convince you of this. Look for their advertisement on the last page.

The Labor Council intends to start its own official organ, which will be published weekly in the interest of the Council and the ninety affiliated unions. The subscription price will be \$1 cash, in advance.

At the last meeting of the Labor Council Comrade Villa D. Reynolds, wife of our party's State Secretary, and a delegate from the Women's Union Label League, was admitted to honorary membership and seated as honorary delegate.

The San Francisco Rochdale Co-operative Store of 1896 Mission street has got out a discount list for its members, embracing every line of staples and fancy goods they do not carry. Members get this discount from these places by retaining their cash checks and presenting them to the manager of the Rochdale store.

The "Advance" Co-operative Bakery is well under way to success. Bread that is made under conditions fit for a human being to live in is better bread and more healthful than if made in a noisome cellar, where evils upon evils dwell together. If you ask for the Union label, or drop a postal card to the "Advance" Co-operative Bakery, 1557 Mission street, you will get bread and cake made under the most hygienic conditions obtainable.

Comrade Liess will deliver two lectures at the Academy of Sciences Hall, Thursday evening, July 11th, and Thursday evening, July 18th, respectively. The subject will be "Dialectics of Socialism," and will be of the most profound interest to all comrades. An intellectual treat is in store for every one who will attend. The science of the Socialist movement will be given in such simple language that any one may understand. Every comrade should make it a special point to be present at these two lectures.

"Our" Millionaires.

According to the New York "Herald," there are 3,828 millionaires in the United States, and in a recent issue it presents a detailed list of their names, classified according to the States in which they live. "One two-hundredth part of one per cent of the population of the United States, or one person out of every 20,000," says the "Herald," "controls about one-fifth of the nation's wealth; that is, 3,828 millionaires out of a population little in excess of 76,000,000 own \$16,000,000,000 of the \$81,750,000,000 at which our entire property is fairly valued. In the first quarter of the century just closed there were not more than half a dozen millionaires in the land, and two only—John Jacob Astor, in New York, and Stephen Girard, in Philadelphia—had sufficient wealth to make them particularly conspicuous. Now we are nearing the 4,000 mark." The "Herald" might have added that the one-fifth of the nation's wealth controlled by the millionaires represents the capital of the country, which is being utilized to absorb four-fifths of the wealth produced by labor.—Cleveland Citizen.

Labor's Economic Struggle

Notes Showing the Strife Between Organized Labor and Capitalism.

Belgium

In Brussels a printing office proprietor was fined \$40 for attempting to force his employes to leave the union, and was also required to pay \$380 to the men. In this country laws covering this matter are declared unconstitutional.

United States

Machinists of Milwaukee have been enjoined by the courts against issuing a boycott. Trade unions in this country, it is calculated, have increased 100 per cent during the past sixteen months.

In New York five assistant factory inspectors were arrested for accepting boodle from manufacturers who were violating the laws.

Eugene V. Debs was chosen as arbitrator in several labor disputes in Terre Haute, Ind., and in every case his decisions were accepted by both sides in the controversies.

Another Kentucky judge has decided that unionists on strike have no right to collect assessments during labor troubles and to persuade other workers to go on strike.

The capitalistic New York "Sun" says that the tobacco trust employs girls making cigars at \$2.50 a week, 60 cents of which goes for far fare. The girls are, therefore, expected to live on \$1.90 a week.

The weavers' strike at Paterson, N. J., has received reinforcements by the weavers of the Enterprise broad silk mill striking in sympathy. Police are active arresting girl strikers for supposed interference with scabs.

Goldsmith & Co., New York shirt waist manufacturers, discharged fifty girls because they persisted in singing while at work. They were receiving twelve cents for making a shirt waist, and doubtless they sang songs to forget their troubles.

The Pennsylvania Legislature has turned down every bill introduced in the interest of labor, including several important ones for which the miners lobbied, but passed everything that capital wanted and that was greased with boodle. The laborers are contemptuously kicked aside after voting for the politicians.

Press dispatches from Huntington, W. Va., report that a state of warfare exists in that region. It results from the attempt made by deputies to serve notices of the sweeping injunction issued by Justice Jackson. The miners is noticed elsewhere in this issue. The miners are reported to be armed and the deputies were compelled to flee for their lives.

United League of Philadelphia has had warrants issued for the arrest of Director of Public Works Haddock and Chief Hand, of the Bureau of Water, for violating the act of assembly, which provided that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work on all municipal work or contracts.

The Detroit United Railway Company has refused to accede to the demands of the Street Car Men's Association for an increase in wages of two cents per hour, a twelve-hour day instead of the present twelve and a half-hour day, and the return to pass-books for the employees instead of the present badges they are compelled to wear in order to ride free of charge.

From now on the San Francisco Labor Council meets at Pioneer Hall, entrance on Fourth street. Take elevator.

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San Francisco





# 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.

The best propaganda leaflet is a copy of "Advance." It contains argument for the unconverted and brings tidings of joy and progress to the downhearted. Circulate "Advance."

Are you circulating that petition for the "Palace of the People"? Call on the "Advance" office and leave the petition blanks that are filled and get new ones. Over 10,000 names are needed, comrades! Get to work.

The Fourth of July, the day of Independence, when the Steel Trust and the Coal Trust and the Oil Trust and the Railroad Trust could, by a simple order, deprive of their means of living nearly a million men.

Capitalism must be destroyed!

Now the California eight-hour law is declared unconstitutional by the young Judge Sloss, whom the workers elected last fall by such a handsome majority. Well, we Social Democrats can say, "We told you so."

Certain inalienable rights, among which are the rights to life, to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness. To exercise the right of happiness you must have leisure to pursue. Even one hour's less work a day is denied you by the boss. To exercise the right to liberty you must be able to control your means of living. The Trust is in a position to dictate what you shall do, and it dictates. To exercise the right to live you must have the right to work. The blacklist has been declared legal.

We are entering into an intenser stage of the class struggle between capitalism and Socialism. It is imperative, therefore, that the only class-conscious Socialist organization, the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, be strengthened by the active membership of every workingman who knows what Socialism is and wants to get it. It is the duty of every Socialist to immediately become a member of the party. The coming campaign will need the most active service from all and our efforts can be best directed by the organized party. If you are a member of the party, devote one night a week to persuading some other Socialist to join the party. Let your watchword be, "ORGANIZE!"

"Advance" devotes much space to San Francisco matters because there will be the hottest kind of a campaign for Socialism waged here this fall. The efforts of organized capital to destroy the trades unions of San Francisco has made this city a storm-centre, a strategic point in the present battle of the class struggle. We solicit correspondence, nevertheless, from all over, and are only too glad to print whatever news of other localities the comrades will send us. We wish "Advance" to be the fighting organ of the working class of California and the Western States, and the newspaper of the Socialist movement. If each local will appoint some correspondent and oblige him to send us news at least once a month, it will be helpful all around.

## ADVANCE

### *Impressions.*

BY JOSEPH J. NOEL.

Mr. Carroll D. Wright of Washington, D. C., admits that he is not a Socialist. This is a rather daring thing for a man in the public eye to do these days. "We are all socialists now," said the Duke of Westminster, or the Pope, or Mark Hanna, or somebody, and the idiocy is being echoed by everybody! We must even suspect the sincerity of this compiler of statistics when he says he is not a Socialist, for between the lines he gives evidence of a sneaking affection for the co-operative commonwealth. True, his conception of a Socialistic state precludes all possibility of the development of the Democratic idea to keep pace with the Socialistic idea. (One could show the economic necessity for democracy under Socialism; he could show that because of the life of the whole people being dependent upon the most competent administering affairs, then the most competent would administer affairs and the opportunities for developing competency being so much greater under a system of equality, than now, good material would be always plentiful. But placing the democratic idea and the Socialistic idea on the same plane of development makes for comprehension.) This honest employee of the government is so fearful of government as now constituted would not exist under Socialism that he gives the impression of anxiety about his job. It is to be gathered from this he never hob-nobbed with the local scientists who have a co-operative commonwealth bias, or he would have discovered that the highest functionary under the new order of things will be the compiler of statistics. He says that "under the most advanced Socialistic state there must be a use for some form of government which demands from each individual the highest and purest social service." We might grant this for the sake of argument and say, Yes, but the highest and purest social service will not be the slaughtering of Boers or Filipinos, or the shooting of strikers or building of bull pens, but we won't, ever for argument's sake. For, under the advanced Socialistic state, government will be nothing more or less than ADMINISTRATION OF THINGS. Democracy is more than a name. It means the rule of the people. And if the people rule themselves there will be no occasion for a government demanding the highest and purest social service, nor will the picture of the working man, standing between the plow and the altar, ready for labor or sacrifice, have any true significance. These semi-savage, semi-religious symbols can appeal only to the man capable of feeling annoyance over the predicted end of the rule of McKinley, Hanna & Co.

The commissioner says that Socialism has no philosophy and no system, that it is merely a criticism. The implication being that there is nothing constructive put forward by the Socialists. About two-thirds of this is true. Socialism can be no more than a criticism of the present condition of society for some time to come. The most effective propaganda is done by pointing out the injustice and inequality existing under capitalism. The matter-of-fact people can be stirred only by matter-of-fact statements—statements they can verify by turning the corner. But that Socialism is no more than this, even Carroll D. Wright will admit on second thought. And if the gentleman who would solve all problems by statistics can point to any force in society today to be compared with Socialism in con-

structiveness, I will make him a present of this whole argument. That Karl Marx did not go around with a pair of scissors, cutting out a co-operative commonwealth to suit Mr. Wright, is to be regretted. Unfortunately, he was so busy trying to get behind the facts that make for the development of society he had no time to produce the work which would please the commissioner of labor. For instance, the truth so reluctantly granted in the opening of his article by the commissioner, "that industrial conditions constitute the basis of society and that all reforms must hinge upon industrial conditions," is one of the discoveries Marx and Engels were so busy making they had no time to ply the shears. And about this truth, though stated differently, rage today all the lesser lights in the philosophical world. Free Will versus Determinism, idealism versus materialism, are the two opposing forces up in the rarified atmosphere where dwell the intellectual giants of the world, and where not a few prigs imagine they dwell because they have caught the phraseology. Out of this battle of the books will come a philosophic system that will suit the economic conditions, for philosophy, like everything else is subject to development; it is governed by the same law of evolution that governs the development of society.

Another of the great discoveries by Marx and Engels that is constructive, because it is true, and in which he anticipated Gumplowicz and—I will have to confess it—the commissioner of labor himself, "that society develops because of antagonisms between groups," deserves mention, if merely to show that Socialism is not exclusively critical. This is surely a creative thought. It points the way for all time. It is philosophic system enough for the proletariat, though it may not suit the refined taste of our commissioner. It is iconoclastic and revolutionary. It will destroy gods, but they are false. It will be destructive and yet will be constructive. It will tear down and yet the upbuilding will be so far in excess that the structure will endure as long as civilization. Just as the tree in the sunshine exudes injurious carbon dioxide with the health-giving oxygen, so, too, the following of this law of development to its logical conclusion, which will mean the eventual supremacy of the working class in all the affairs of life, must of necessity bring some evil with the good. But as in the case of the tree, the health-giving excretions will be so far superior in quantity and quality that in the end only good will be the outcome.

And another thought, not insanely critical, that a socialist has given to the world, is the labor theory of value. The power of this to change conditions when it becomes a social concept can be scarcely imagined by even such a poet of figures as Mr. Wright. The fact that labor creates all values is slowly but surely gaining ground among even the better classes. The so-called Austrian school of economists gained a few moments of fame by attacking this great discovery of Marx'. But their puny efforts, though backed up by a few in our own ranks who have no thought outside the pages of the last read book, and who have an insane desire to be different, fell into disrepute through the lack of truth and originality in the concept. The labor theory of value will endure, because it is a reflex of the economic conditions, and is a summing up of the case from the standpoint of the working class. All theories of value have had their place in the world when they were enunciated at the proper psychological moment, or, to phrase it better, when they were voiced at the time a



group or class needed them to meet the requirements of an economic change.

The implication that Marx was a victim of Hegelianism is wrong, Mr. Wright. The master Socialist was too great a man to be the victim of any philosophic school. He carved out a way for himself, and used only such material as was necessary to him. Just as Shakespeare transmuted Hollingshed's chronicles, or the legend of Hamlet, or the tales from Bocaccio into the refined gold of his imperishable dramas, so Karl Marx caught what he needed for his masterpiece from any source. Without the dialectical method "Das Kapital" would have been limited that much in value, but who can say that Marx would not have taken the hint from the Greeks himself and discovered the laws underlying this method of reasoning? It was in the air. Some one had to be a prominent factor in the evolution of thought; why not Marx?

And now, official sponsor for state Socialism, if you think there is not enough constructive thought in these fundamental propositions of proletarian Socialism, let me suggest another, growing out of the one that is most prominent in our movement, namely, "that development comes from antagonism between groups." To advocate taking possession of the government by the group that is the stronger is not entirely critical. If you want the Socialist program in a nutshell, there it is. The group or class that does the labor of the world being numerically the stronger, will wrest the government from the unproductive and parasitic group known as the capitalist class. It is a very simple plan and there is no more doubt of its success than there is doubt about the constructiveness of the thought behind the words and phrases of Marx and Engels that went over your head.

One of the many blessings growing out of the numerous strikes now going on in this city is that workingmen may get an opportunity to become acquainted with their families. One woman, the wife of a machinist, made the remark that she didn't care how long the strike lasted so her husband remained as kind and loving. "I never thought it was in him, or rather, I thought he had forgotten how to be tender and say kind things. He used to come home so beat that the least thing annoyed him and his temper was worn to shreds. He would lie down or go out to the union, and get up and go to work. That was his every-day life. Now—," and a glad light shone in her eyes.

Another incident, illustrative of the same thing, happened the other day on Fell street. A small boy went home crying to his mother, and when asked what was the matter answered "that the man who is living with us now beat me." He had seen his father so seldom that he did not know him.

Several Socialists complained of the lecture last Thursday night, by the Rev. Jay William Hudson of Santa Rosa. True, there was very little positive propaganda for Socialism in "The Signs of the Times in the Novel of Today," but there was any amount of negative propaganda. To begin with, he did not treat of the novel of today at all. "All Sorts and Conditions of Men" was written before the preacher himself was born. But the fact that he took this novel as typical of the life and hopes of our times shows a habit of mind preachers fall into at an early age and never quite overcome. Their ideal is to always bring the dead back to life, to recast society in some ancient mold.

Mr. Hudson gave such a lecture as one could well expect from him. He is a creature of the open spaces; he knows not the life men live in the whirlwind of the cities. His hopes and aspirations are provincial, his conceptions of life are from between the covers of a book. He stated that while he was in London last year he visited a room where the children had been compelled to walk the streets till two o'clock in the morning, that the room might be rented for immoral purposes. He said that 60,000 men walk the streets daily in London, unable to find employment. These things he saw with his own eyes and he described them with considerable dramatic force, though a bit too stagey now and then; still, as a solution of these problems that were up against his face, he offered a photograph of the People's Palace, a dream come true of Walter Besant's author of "All Sorts and Conditions of Men." One can easily get a focus on his transcendentalism from such a solution. Flowers and music are good things, but they are poor solace for the human hearts that yearn in the Whitechapel district or in the slums of any great city. This boy with the actor's instinct took much comfort in the lights and shades presented in the horrible, congested spot. That he knew the value of words, and had studied the proper inflection for emphasis, was evidenced by his reference to the "joyless life" so many times, and to the fact that the "slum dwellers never smiled."

And when he held up the photograph of the People's Place, where seven thousand men, women and fools could sit and listen to a symphony, not one of the audience considered the picture, the Palace, or the music sufficient apology for the horrors he had described in the first part of his lecture. Therein was the negative propaganda.

Mr. Hudson is as far behind the times as was Sir Walter Besant before the latter goodly gentleman died. The signs of the times in the novel of today cannot be discovered by reading a work of fiction belonging to another epoch. If ever the preacher from Santa Rosa catches up with the literature of his own time, we can expect him to offer something more substantial than a symphony for the human misery that is caused by lack of food.

#### SAN FRANCISCO PROPAGANDA.

The lecture of Wm. Jay Hudson, delivered at the Academy of Sciences Thursday night, was thoroughly enjoyed by a large audience. The subject which the speaker took was a description of the East End of London and the attempt to ameliorate conditions there by the People's Palace. The inspiration for this Palace came from Sir Walter Besant's novel, "All Sorts and Conditions of People: An Impossible Tale," wherein is described the erection of a Palace of Delight by means of which its founders hoped to illuminate the lives of the East End millions with some ray of hope and joy. The speaker claimed that much good was resulting from the realization of the Palace, though not the absolute solution. Some deprecatory remarks about the class struggle called forth a lively debate, in which our comrades justified attacks on the capitalist class as not only necessary from the political standpoint but well-deserved by the inhumanity of the real political and industrial leaders of the capitalist class.

Next week, July 11th, and on the following Thursday, July 18th, Comrade Emil Liess will speak. He is to deliver two lectures on the subject, "Dialectics of Socialism." No comrade who wishes to understand the philosophic

basis of Socialism should fail to attend these two lectures.

On Sunday and Tuesday evenings the regular street meetings were held at Market and Grant avenue, Comrades Noel, Wells, Costley and King, Jr., doing the speaking. Probably a third meeting will be started shortly if more comrades will participate in the work. The awakening interest in Socialism makes the prospects for a big organization and a big vote this fall appear very favorable.

#### Vallejo Agitation.

Saturday evening, June 29th, a crowd of over two hundred workingmen listened to Comrade C. H. King, Jr., expound the principles of Socialism. Most of the citizens of Vallejo work in the Mare Island Navy Yard, and as a consequence their political eyesight is discolored by their watchfulness for their jobs. Nevertheless, they listened for two hours while the speaker explained the plundering of labor by capital, the organization of the class struggle, and the choice which confronted modern society—either the tyranny of organized capitalism or the freedom of socialism. One hundred copies of "Advance" were distributed and much interest was awakened.

#### Intellectual Development of Socialists.

I have no patience with that class of Socialists who, like sleuth hounds, are continually hounding those who have at some time in life been in error on some economic idea. I am willing to let men advance. I know there are those who are class-conscious Socialists today, who have not always thoroughly understood the philosophy of Socialism. If these men have reached the stage in education that they have laid aside economic fads and middle class theories, I am content to let them alone and not try to create prejudice against them by hounding them about past mistakes. There was a time when the people who are continually railing at others for their past mistakes were not Socialists and even voted for capitalist candidates, but their own past errors are never mirrored in their own minds, and they never see themselves as they see others. Such a course is not just to the men who have grown into a perfect knowledge of Socialism nor best for the upbuilding of the true Socialist movement.

It would not be hard to prove that most class-conscious Socialists in the early beginnings of Socialist agitation had some erroneous ideas on Socialist philosophy, but I respect and honor the men who have become strong enough to reach the plane of class-conscious Socialism and possess the manhood and courage to contend for it; and I have no disposition to hound them for the mistakes they made in their evolution from middle-class politics into the realms of pure Socialism. Great movements can never be crystallized by such a policy, and in my opinion it is a false system of tactics out of which only evil can come.—Farmer's Social Economist.

#### Scott Anderson's Tour.

Comrade Scott Anderson, State Organizer S. D. P., is to speak in Orange (Orange county), July 8th; Santa Ana, July 9th and 10th; Escondido, July 11th; Del Mar, July 12th; San Diego, July 14th to 20th.

At about the same time that President McKinley was orating in California on how the humblest citizen can aspire to the highest place within the gift of the nation, his cousin, aged 93, was sent to the poor-house at St. Joseph, Mo.



## 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.

### Agitators are Necessary.

We are often told that the poor are grateful for charity. Some of them are, no doubt; but the best among the poor are never grateful. They are ungrateful, discontented, disobedient and rebellious. They are quite right to be so. Charity they feel to be a ridiculously inadequate mode of partial restitution, or a sentimental dole, usually accompanied by some impertinent attempt on the part of the sentimentalist to tyrannize over their private lives. Why should they be grateful for the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table? They should be seated at the board, and are beginning to know it. As for being discontented, a man who would not be discontented with such surroundings and such a low mode of life would be a perfect brute. Disobedience, in the eyes of any one who has read history, is man's original virtue. It is through disobedience that progress has been made, through disobedience and rebellion. Agitators are a set of interfering, meddling people who come down to some perfectly contented class of the community and sow the seed of discontent among them. That is the reason why agitators are so absolutely necessary. Without them, in our incomplete state, there would be no advance toward civilization.—Oscar Wilde.

Coal and coke companies along the Kanawha and Michigan Railroad, in West Virginia, are going to combine. J. P. Morgan is pushing the work.

## On the way

### To Socialism.

Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad may pass into the hands of the Union Pacific on a hundred-year lease.

The Chattanooga, Rome & Southern Railway has finally passed into the hands of the Central Railway of Georgia.

The "war" between the Arbuckles and the Woolson Spice Company has been settled and the two great concerns will henceforth act in harmony.

Monongahela River Consolidated Coal and Coke Company is understood to have closed the deal taking over three important properties in Alabama, for about \$3,000,000.

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company has increased its capital stock from \$100,000,000 to \$150,000,000—result of the recent wet spell, we suppose.

Eastern capitalists are said to be behind the scheme for forming a combination of the redwood interests of the Pacific Coast with capital of between \$15,000,000 and \$20,000,000.

Dispatches from Omaha, Neb., state that plans for consolidating the street railways of that city and Council Bluffs, the electric power plants of the two cities and the Platt River Canal are assuming definite shape.

A strong company is quietly buying up property along the prospective route of the rapid transit tunnel in New York City, with a certainty of immense gains when the tunnel shall be completed.

Boots and shoes are easily cleaned by a new English machine having a rotary brush mounted on a stand and operated by treadles to remove dust from the boot, the polishing being done by a small wheel, to which the blackening has been applied.

A tobacco stemming machine is now perfected that will dispense with fifty per cent of the labor of the tobacco stemmers—which means the disemployment of many thousands of people. So it goes under capitalism. Under Socialism, that invention would mean easier work and more leisure for the workers.

### Riot Suppressors.

Tammany Police Commissioner Devery delivered himself thus at the convention of Police Chiefs in New York recently:

"We meet here to exchange views on how to suppress strikes, riots and all disturbances. As for me, gentlemen, I say, act promptly. Go at it. Don't let 'em spread. When you are tied up and in doubt about a situation, communicate with the Chiefs of the bigger cities and they will help you. And when you are asked for help in these matters, drop everything and attend to it."

How do the workingmen of St. Louis like that kind of talk? Do you think the Chief of Police of this city would hesitate to act on that advice? There is no necessity for getting excited over this little gathering of riot suppressors. They are only carrying out the work for which they were appointed, and it would not be right to censure them for being true to the men whose influence gave them their soft snaps. When you workingmen elect municipal administrators that will appoint chiefs of police who sympathize with the working class, who are closely allied to that class, you will witness a different kind of a meeting from that held in New York.—Missouri Socialist.

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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.



**Delegates to Unity Convention.**

Upon the proposition to send a delegate from the northern part of this State and one from the southern part, the referendum vote of the S. D. P. of California resulted as follows:

To send delegates as above	For	Against
San Francisco.....	2	36
Los Angeles.....	30	
Alameda.....	13	
Benicia.....	20	
San Diego.....	20	
Tulare.....	5	
San Bernardino.....	7	
Hemet.....	11	
San Jose.....	11	2
Alhambra.....	6	
Riverside.....	11	
Santa Ana.....	7	
Oakland.....		13
Redlands.....	20	
Totals.....	152	51

The resolution was declared carried by the State Executive Committee at its meeting, July 1, 1901.

The following nominations were made for delegate from the north: H. Ryan of San Jose; J. J. Noel of San Francisco. For delegate from the south: F. J. Spring of Los Angeles; H. G. Wilshire of Los Angeles; J. S. Roche of San Bernardino.

Cameron H. King, Jr., G. B. Benham and John M. Reynolds were nominated for the north, but declined the nomination.

The vote on the above delegates will be canvassed July 13, 1901. Every Local should send in its vote by that date to the State Executive Committee upon the credential form which has been mailed to each Local Secretary.

All Comrades and Locals should subscribe to the fund required to pay expenses of the delegates. Remit with vote to John M. Reynolds, Secretary S. D. P., 422 Sutter street, San Francisco.

[Comrade J. J. Noel declines the nomination.—Editor ADVANCE.]

**Local San Francisco.**

General Party meeting on July 3, 1901, at Labor Bureau Hall, 915 1/2 Market street, Comrade Emil Liess in the chair.

Minutes of June meeting approved.

Organizer reported two good street meetings—one Sunday night, the other Tuesday.

Balance of the petition list to be printed with instruction for return of same.

Rubber stamp donated by Comrade Conti (value, 50 cents), to the party.

Report of Credential Committee: All members present in good standing.

Delegate to National Unity Convention: Comrade William Costley.

Comrade Costley recommended to other locals in California for their signature to his credentials.

Comrade King, Jr., resigned as Financial Secretary. Comrade Oscar Johnson elected to take his place.

Six new members admitted.

Comrade Costley resigned from the Board of Directors of ADVANCE. Comrade Whys elected to fill vacancy.

Motion carried to change subscription of ADVANCE to one dollar per year as soon as it appears with sixteen pages.

Comrade Reynolds, chairman for propoganda meeting Thursday evening.

It is the sense of the party meeting that every member of the party be pledged to secure one member within fourteen days.

Comrade Costley nominated by Local San Francisco to represent Northern California at the Unity Convention.

The following resolutions were adopted as recommendations to the Unity Convention and the delegate pledged to urge their adoption.

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 a national 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, subject to the discretion of the delegate.

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; provided that the State Organizers be elected by general vote of the State.

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 the State Executive, subject to general vote of the State.

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.

Joseph J. Noel, Secretary.

**Successful Propaganda in Southern California.**

San Diego, Cal., June 30, 1901.

Editor ADVANCE:

Dear Comrade: We have had good meetings most everywhere, but Escondido gave us the greatest surprise. We did not know a soul in the town, yet we organized a local of fourteen members right on the street after our meeting.

Last night we held an open-air meeting here, speaking to an immense crowd. One, Shade of De Leon faith, who has been holding forth here, inflicted his august presence upon us, and when questions were in order, wanted to know if it was not true that the Social Democratic Party did not accept political jobs from the capitalist class. He followed with several other questions, and after settling them, he asked for the platform, which we gladly gave him. He then proceeded to hang himself as per the rules of his Suicide Club, in the most approved fashion. Murray made clear to the crowd the cause of the difference and tried to arrange an open-air debate with Shade, but this gentleman stated he had to leave here Monday.

This washing of dirty linen in public is disgusting to us, but we have to meet the issue when these fanatics attack us openly on the street.

We shall be hereabouts for a week or ten days, speaking in and out of town and generally aiding the movement to our best ability.

With best wishes, fraternally, Jas. S. Roche.

**Stitt Wilson in Los Angeles.**

Los Angeles, July 1, 1901.

Editor ADVANCE:

With Comrade Anderson just gone, Comrade Vail coming, and Mr. Wilson here, we are having quite a variety of speakers. Mr. Wilson is giving a series of lectures, one of which he delivered in our last propoganda meeting. His subject was "The Competitive System Impeached." After giving a complete analysis of the present system, he answered questions put by the audience. The floor was then thrown open for a general discussion, after which the critic closed the meeting. We had a large crowd, although many left before and right after the speaker had finished.

We hope that Mr. Wilson has put the "germs of Socialism" into the minds of the men who, perhaps, had never heard of it before. We also hope to see the effects of his work in the increased membership of our local and in the larger attendance of our regular meetings.

Comrade Holmes has gone to Long Beach to speak every night for a week. Murray and Roche are still on the road. Spring will soon leave for the convention. This leaves plenty of "home work," but as there are a few faithful ones, we get along all right. Yours, for the cause,

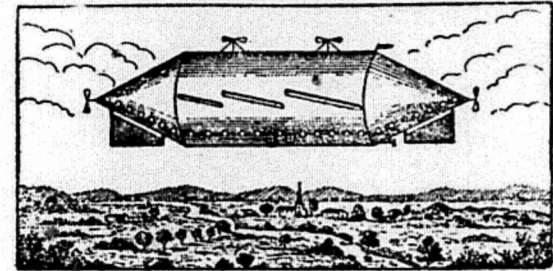
Olga Wirthschaft.

**Chas. H. Vail Soon to Arrive.**

Chas. H. Vail, the National Organizer of the S. D. P., will arrive in California, July 18th. He will remain in the State about three weeks. Every Local of the Social Democratic Party should be addressed by Comrade Vail. The State Executive Committees will have posters printed to send to cities where he will speak, which will greatly assist the Local in collecting an audience.

John M. Reynolds, Secretary State Executive Committee, will arrange the matter of dates. No Local will be omitted from the list if the expenses (\$8 per lecture) can be met.

A lecture by Comrade Vail will give an impetus to the movement and greatly increase the influence of Socialists in their community.



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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 open educational meetings every Thursday evening on social and economic subjects at Academy of Sciences Hall, 8.9 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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