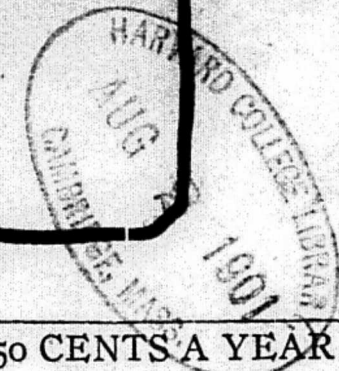


ADVANCE



WHOLE NUMBER, 364

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1901.

50 CENTS A YEAR

NEW TENDENCIES IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

(Advance proof of the International Socialist Review.)

That the present moment is a critical one in the history of the Socialist movement in America is commonplace. Every observer has noticed that both within and without the Socialist organizations, the influences that affect the Socialist movement appear to be approaching a climax. Whether this condition will continue to grow more acute for some time to come no one can say. But it would seem probable that the Indianapolis Convention would mark the turning-point. Coming as it does at such a crucial time, that convention will perhaps mark the beginning of the greatest setback it is possible for a movement resting on economic development to receive, or, as we all hope, the date from which the Socialist movement will have shown itself large enough to effectively cope with an industrialism, whose rotten ripeness has prepared the way for a new social organization.

One thing is sure, and that is that in the midst of the most tremendous, political, social and industrial chaos the world has ever known, the one center of intelligent evolution is to be found in the developing of Socialist thought. Every field of art, literature, science, music, education, or industry, is feeling the influence of that thought. A delegate from the recent meeting of the National Educational Association at Detroit states that the whole proceedings swung round a contrast between the new pedagogical theory, demanding educational advance and growth, and the capitalistic environment that cramped and deadened all things educational.

The populist party is today but a memory, so far as a political organization is concerned. But the impulse which once led to the casting of a million votes in blind protest against a galling Capitalism is becoming more intelligently revolutionary. The suffering of the American farmer during the past ten years, together with the lessons of general economic development, have made the farmers of America ready for Socialism. But the Socialists are not yet ready for the farmers. The majority of Socialist writers and speakers are so hopelessly ignorant of the problems of agriculture that they cannot possibly have an intelligent opinion upon them. Yet they are anxious to write farmers' programs and to give voice to farmers' demands. Many a Socialist talks learnedly of the problems of agriculture from the depths of a city office who not only knows nothing of practical farming, but would be hard put to it if asked to name a single periodical or book on agriculture. If such men will first study the needs and demands of the farmer they will find that he is simply making, in a more or less intelligent form, the age-long demand of the slave, that he receive what he produces and that he possess in common with his fellows the tools with which that product is created.

The great body of trade-unionists, too,

through the formation of trusts, issuance of injunctions, and use of militia, are being forced to recognize the necessity of independent political action to secure common possession of the essentials to life. When they have recognized this fact they are Socialists. The labor fakir is losing his grip all along the line. Capitalist politicians are being driven from the unions. Active Socialists in the trade-unions are hastening this process at a multitude of points.

Within the political parties all is chaos. In the height of its power the Republican Party is panic-stricken, lest its old dummy adversary disintegrate and give way to a real antagonist. Hanna shrieks out that the next struggle will be between Republicans and Socialists. Wayne McVeagh repeats the same statement in more guarded language. The leading spokesmen and writers of the Republican Party hover round the fading form of their dearest enemy and urge the "reorganization" of the Democratic Party, and hail with joy all signs of reviving strength. But the case is hopeless. The economic class, whose interests were represented by the Democratic party, has ceased to be of sufficient importance to be hereafter represented in the political world. Therefore, that party has ceased to exist save as a disgusting memory that one would fain put aside and out of mind. From the party organizations of Ohio, New York and Illinois, as well as from countless individuals, comes the proof that since the class of little exploiters has disappeared, there is nothing left for the professional politician save to choose between the proletariat and the capitalist class. But the vultures flock only where carrion calls, and proletarian bones have already been picked too clean by the hyenas of Capitalism to invite the visits of the foul birds of politics. So all these, whether formerly Democratic or Republican, try to cling to plutocracy. Neither one sees anything to be gained by espousing the cause of the workers. And they are right, for he who comes to the proletariat of today can rob him of nothing but his fetters.

Millions in America today have been prepared by economic development for the acceptance and understanding of the principles of Socialism. But the Socialists, who should be spending every energy in bringing those principles before the people who are ready, are wasting their time in child-like wrangling. The time is now here for action. If we who are in possession of the machinery of Socialist political parties have not intelligence enough to adjust that machinery to accommodate the new elements that are ready for Socialism, then those elements will form a political machinery of their own and we will be forced to accept their work. This will mean perhaps years of costly blundering and human suffering, as unnecessary as cruel and costly.

One thing is certain. This fiercely foment-

ing new wine demands new bottles. A mighty social upheaval, a great political party, an economic revolution cannot be confined within the bounds of a fraternal society for propaganda purposes. The greatest need of the hour is not, as in the past, a training school for propagandists, so much as a political expression of the movement that is already at hand. Questions of dues, officers, constitutions and membership must give way to the larger facts of economic exigency and social evolution. The current of revolution has grown too broad in America to be confined within the limits of any lodge-like organization, and any attempt to so confine it will fail with disaster to those who make the effort, as well as to the Socialist cause. This does not mean that officers, dues and constitutions are not necessary, for they are of great importance. Those who would seek to dispense with such essentials are emptying out the baby with the bath. But from now on these things must be looked upon as merely means to an end, and not always the most important means. This is not a question of choice. It will not be by vote, but by social development that this condition will come to pass. When Socialism shall have begun to spread into every nook and corner of the country, when nominations are made in legal primaries by voters whose qualifications are determined by Capitalist law, when success shall have given us the responsibility for official actions as well as the work of propaganda, when, in short, we shall have become a political and social force instead of a mere educational cult, then the fundamental change will have come, no matter whether we have had sense enough to realize it and accommodate the forms of our organization to it or not.

Purity of economic doctrine can no longer be secured through party discipline. The time is even now here when the attempt to uproot economic heresy by personal expulsions becomes the broadest of burlesques. The purity of Socialist principles must henceforth be maintained by the burning away of all dross in the heat of free discussion. The right and true must be made to triumph, because of their logical power to conquer, and not because of the support of party discipline. This demands the greatest freedom of personal discussion and action within the party. At a time when the Socialists were but a chosen few in a hostile land, when the corrupting influence of Capitalism beat ceaselessly upon each individual from every side, then it was perhaps necessary that those principles be intrusted to the few who would protect them from contamination and preserve their purity. So long, too, as there were confusing, but still powerful, economic classes with conflicting interests, was pressing danger from those who would steal from the Socialist armory a portion of its weapons, only to bend them into forms that could be used against their rightful owners.

But today, when Socialists have left their sectarian seclusion to take the offensive upon the field of battle, and when development has progressed to the point that there is no class or party that can afford to accept a portion of the Socialist logic, lest they be at once compelled to take the whole, this danger is no longer imminent. If today such a party is allowed to grow up and to act as an obstacle for a few years to the progress of revolutionary Socialism, it will be because the organized Socialists have not recognized the changes of economic development and have sulked in cowardly seclusion within their tents, while those of perhaps less knowledge of Socialist principles, but more courage of their convictions and greater grasp of present social movements, have dared to act, even if unwisely.

Once more, "it is a condition, not a theory, that confronts us." The Socialist movement has already outgrown the reach of party discipline; with the hundred independent Socialist papers of to-day, grown into a thousand in a year hence, any press censorship becomes as impossible and as ineffective as personal expulsions. We grow, not because we will it, but because we are alive and obey the laws of growth.

Any organization that shall correspond to present exigencies must possess great flexibility. The Socialists of no other time or place were ever confronted with such a task—nor such an opportunity—as that which now lies before the Socialists of America. It is more nearly comparable to the international problems that have confronted the Socialists of Europe than to any questions that have ever arisen within national boundaries. It is even more difficult and more significant than any international question, for in the last analysis all such problems could be solved by cutting the Gordian knot of international connection and leaving each nation free to solve its own problems. But political and economic relations force us to accept the fact of national unity, and it is but the part of a coward or a fool to refuse to recognize this fact. History, tradition, political practice and economic solidarity demand that there be but one national Socialist Party, and any discussion of anything else is an idle waste of breath, which may, for the moment, obstruct the coming of such a party, but cannot prevent its ultimate appearance and success. Whether that one party will come as the result of intelligent co-operation, or as a survival after a bitter fratricidal struggle, is for the Socialists of America to decide.

But if there is national unity, local diversity is no less a fact. There is as great variation in economic conditions between Maine, South Carolina, New York, Mississippi, Illinois, Florida, Dakota and California, as between Germany, Belgium, France, Norway, Italy and Spain. Yet, as was said before, there must be an organic unity and not a federation of independent, isolated groups, extending over the entire United States. To talk of anything else betrays an ignorance of American political, social and governmental institutions too dense for argument to penetrate. The ideal must be complete State autonomy in local affairs, with closest national co-operation in all affairs, and national control of national affairs. This ideal can be realized through the establishment of a central control that shall be almost entirely advisory and educational in its character, and that shall secure obedience to its decrees only because of the possession of wider knowledge of the things on which it speaks.

Under the conditions of the future the maintenance of a membership in a dues-paying organization will be rather a mark of greater activity for Socialism than a test of Socialist or-

thodoxy. The party machinery will be an instrument of co-ordination and communication, not of discipline and regulation.

The whole attitude of the Socialist movement from now on must be one of attack upon the entire capitalist organization at every point of opening. We must "bore from within and strike from without. Let us become conscious of our strength. Let us lay aside Utopianism in all its forms. Let us maintain the purity of our doctrines by striking them continually against the weapons of our adversaries, that all unessential matter may be jarred away. Let us not fear contamination by contact with Capitalism. Let us rather draw close to every old and decaying social institution, that, while preserving our identity, we may strike the harder blow. This does not mean the slightest concession to Fabianism, compromise or fusion. We must always and at all times preserve the class-conscious position, maintain our independence and abate no jot of our principles. The evolution of the ages has justified the truth of those principles and every passing day emphasizes their truth. Today no man dare openly challenge the fundamental principles of scientific Socialism. No man has challenged them for many years. Why, then, should we fear injury to them in closest comparison with the exploded positions of the defenders of Capitalism?

We have nothing to gain from half-way measures, save delay to complete victory. Economic evolution in America has wiped out all stepping-stones between Capitalism and Socialism, and he who fears to take the whole leap will but fall into the abyss that separates them.

Two contending forces are struggling for the mastery in the Socialist movement of America at this moment. One sees only this new phase of economic development, and that the old institutions of Socialism do not correspond to the new demands. They would wipe out all the work of years and surrender all to the exigencies of the moment. These men would abolish national organization, and, indeed, all organization, and enter the field of Capitalistic politics to scramble for votes through the competitive offers of immediate amelioration. The other force remembers only the good work of the past and fails to recognize that new forces are here. They would seek to maintain a secular church, a doctrinaire seclusion, and a personal discipline. Let us apply the Hegelian dialectics that, in a modified form, lie back of the earliest Socialist classics, and seek the solution in a higher synthesis, that shall conserve the old and include the new—that shall maintain principles intact, but shall give the greatest flexibility of form. If we can do this we shall have solved the problem that lay before us and acquitted ourselves like men and women and Socialists.

The industrial depression in Europe continues to spread. Upward of 100,000 workers are on strike or locked out in Russia and frequent collisions with the troops occur. In Germany the Krupps have added 5,000 men to the already large army of unemployed iron, textile and other workers. In Austria and Switzerland the depression is daily becoming more intensified, and big strikes are raging in Italy. In France a national strike of the miners has been ordered, and in Belgium also national strikes of various trades are contemplated.

A great coal strike is impending in France. The general committee voted in favor of calling the men out. The politicians and newspapers are panic-stricken and trouble is feared.

A Lesson in Economics.

A British vessel was once cast away and totally wrecked upon a beautiful and fertile island in the Pacific, and all on board were lost save one man. The survivor, finding himself the sole inhabitant, did what Englishmen have always been in the habit of doing with islands they have discovered—took possession.

Having saved from the wreck a number of small arms with plenty of ammunition, a hammer and an axe, together with various other implements, he was provided with means for killing wild animals, catching fish, clearing land, and constructing for himself a comfortable habitation. Like Robinson Crusoe, he captured and domesticated a few wild goats.

Shortly after he had well established himself on the island, an American schooner foundered upon the same shore, with the loss of all except one man. As the schooner went down, the American swam for the shore. When he got his feet on the bottom and began wading toward land, the Englishman, seeing him, ran down to the shore with a gun, calling out, "Hold on there, you can't come ashore here. This island is my property."

Being unarmed, nearly exhausted, and with the water to his neck, the American was at the mercy of the Englishman; but he demanded, "By what right do you hold possession?"

"Oh," said the Englishman, "I was the first here, and that is a valid title to property throughout the world."

"Yes," said the American, "quite correct—that's true."

"Then you acknowledge the island to be mine?" said John Bull.

"Yes, I acknowledge the island to be yours."

John: "Very well, then. You can come ashore only on the condition that you will be my slave."

American: "No, indeed, I will not submit to any such thing. I am a free-born American citizen and—

"'Ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves
While the earth bears a plant or the sea rolls its waves.'"

The Englishman, taking in the situation, and realizing that the acknowledgment of his title to the island was equivalent to an acceptance of the relation of master and slave, replied as follows:

"Oh, very well, very well, Samuel. I was not aware that you were a free-born American citizen. That makes a difference. You can come ashore with the understanding that you shall work for me to pay land rent, and to earn your board and keep." To this the American consented.

The next morning the Englishman called the American to him, saying, "Here, Samuel, clean and cook for my breakfast this fowl I have shot, and you can have the gizzard." The American was very indignant, and protested.

"Very well," said the Englishman, "the island is mine, the birds are mine, the gun is mine, and you have no rights here. You must either work for the price I am willing to pay, or go without eating and get off my land."

There was no alternative. The free-born American was obliged to submit and serve the Englishman for the compensation offered. Thereafter, he was allowed to have the giblets of every fowl he cooked, and the table refused to earn which he was constantly occupied from sunrise to sunset, tilling the soil, milking the goats, catching fish and preparing the food.

He could not strike for higher wages, because the Englishman owned the land and held the guns. He had free choice, to either put up with his treatment, or go back into the sea. According to the laws of title throughout the world, no one can deny the soundness

of the Englishman's right to the island and everything on it. He was certainly under no more obligations to do anything in charity for the American than we all are in duty bound to provide for any unfortunate.

One day there was a revolution on the island. The American, finding the Englishman sitting under a tree, sound asleep, stole upon him, seized his gun and covered him with it. Awaking, Johnny Bull found himself looking into the muzzle of a gun. There was no alternative but unconditional surrender. The American had won the island by conquest. No one can deny the validity of his title. He had weighty grievances and good and sufficient reasons for rebellion, and was entitled to all the rights of a victor.

John, being a free-born Briton, protested against being enslaved. Samuel told him that he could call it anything he pleased. He said he would give John just enough to keep soul and body together, but he had no objection to his terming it either "hard times and honest labor for small wages," or "slavery." It amounted to the same thing, as he had learned by experience.

It should be stated that the American allowed the Englishman the right to vote, but it was distinctly understood that he should vote his way.

A little later, three Jews were cast away upon the same island. They were unobserved until after they had made good their landing. They were fortunate enough to get ashore guns and ammunition for their own protection, with a considerable quantity of merchandise, before their vessel went down.

The American was now obliged to take the Englishman into equal partnership with him for mutual protection against the Jews. But the Jews, being by nature the most law-abiding and peace-loving of people, were much more inclined to barter than to fight, while Samuel and John were only too glad to sell a good portion of the island to the Jews in exchange for some clothes which they sorely needed.

It was then discovered that the only point where freshwater could be obtained was within the Jewish territory. With ever an eye to business, the Jews charged for the water. John and Samuel argued that it was absurd to place a price on water—that, like the air, water should be free. But the Jews were able to show that rights to water must go with land rights, and that even the air is not free, except to him who has a right to stand upon the land under it. There could be no doubt that the Jews owned the water. They did not ask the Gentiles to take the water, but for what they chose to consume they must pay a fair price. The Gentiles, being forced to submit, offered to purchase the water with the fruits of their labor, or the produce of their land, but these the Hebrews did not need. They did need more land, and for this alone would they sell water. The Jews soon became the sole owners of the island. The Gentiles were then forced to pawn all their personal belongings for water, until the Jews became possessed of all the property upon the island.

It is undeniable that the Jews had a valid right to all they had acquired. There is no question about it. They had not even used force. They had not compelled the American or the Englishman to do anything except what they wished to do, and to obey laws common to all civilized society. They had furthermore been much more civil than either the American or Englishman had been before their arrival. The Jews were simply more prudent and better at a bargain—they were better business men than the Gentiles.

At this stage, we find the Englishman and the American existing on the property of the

Jews without means of continuing their existence except through charity from the owners of the island. The Jews did not believe in slavery, and the American and Englishman were naturally opposed to it, both being free-born men. There was certain work which the Jews could give them, providing they could afford to do it for the wages offered. They would give the Gentiles a simple but sufficient diet, all the water they could drink, and the privilege of voting, but as there were three Jews and only two Gentiles, the enfranchisement of the latter was not a serious sacrifice to the property owners.

Under the same laws of justice, and according to the same reasoning upon which are based all rights to property in every civilized country in the world, we find upon this island the Jews in absolute but rightful possession, the American and Englishman naked and practically in slavery.

What is the moral? Whose was the land?—Hudson Maxim, in Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly.

Wasted Energy.

B. Franklin Smith of Detroit has compiled an estimate of waste labor largely from official sources, which is being widely copied, and deserves careful consideration on the part of those who perform productive labor, for the latter are compelled, under the present planless industrial system, to furnish all the wealth possessed by society and to support the non-producers, drones and wasteful laborers.

Mr. Smith's investigations lead to the conclusion that in the present social state and methods of government men are compelled to resort to every conceivable scheme and device to "make money," regardless of ethics, charity, or even the gallows. Many of the schemes are wrought in secret and found to be illegal, as the criminal records show, and many other "legitimate businesses" are no less than legalized robbery. It is pointed out that we make very hard work of the "struggle for existence." The reason for this is that we work continually to one another's disadvantage and thus waste our labor.

The following is the estimate of waste labor compiled by Mr. Smith, and which is by no means complete and includes only the male population:

Assessors and receivers of taxes.....	185,000
U. S. Customs Department.....	40,000
U. S. Internal Revenue Department..	35,000
Life Insurance	220,000
Fire Insurance.....	105,000
Trust and Loan Companies.....	184,000
Banks	482,000
Land agents, collectors and speculators	420,000
Traveling salesmen (registered).....	386,000
Superfluous store men and clerks ...	850,000
Ticket agents, brokers, etc.....	110,000
Pawnbrokers and money-lenders.....	88,000
Advertising in all branches.....	425,000
Superfluous newspaper staffs.....	320,000
Law practitioners.....	175,000
Office help.....	450,000
Drones of wealth, the parasites of society, those who sit in luxury and idleness	250,000
Those employed in making costly furniture and costly clothing for the favored few.....	125,000
Those employed in building palaces for the rich, who should be engaged in building houses for those compelled to live in crowded, filthy, disease and crime-breeding hovels.....	250,000
U. S. soldiery.....	85,000
Commission men and jobbers.....	115,000

Here is a total of about 5,000,000 useless non-producers, who are supported by pro-

ductive labor, exclusive of the great army of the unemployed, and which, as already stated, does not include all branches of wasteful labor. The list might be extended to include another million of useless workers and middlemen who ride upon the back of productive labor and subsist upon profits, from the trust promoter and easy political boss and heeler, with no visible means of support, down to the shoestring curbstone merchant and idle prisoner in the county jail. It goes to show that fully one-third of what is called the working population of the United States waste their labor and their lives.

"It is easy to see," says Mr. Smith, "that if we all worked in harmony and to the advantage of all, that no one would have to work more than four hours per day to maintain the race in comfort and happiness."

The remedy suggested is "Socialism, pure and simple, as those who now waste their labors could then use their power to produce something."

What this enormous waste of energy could produce if directed into productive channels is a stupendous problem for conjecture. It is a problem that Social Democrats have solved, and all they ask is that those who have not studied this important question to do so without prejudice and from the standpoint of material interest and benefits.

CARNEGIE'S LIBRARY.

To Our Friend and Comrade Eugene V. Debs.

There's a spot on the books of dead men's bones,
And a spatter of blood over all;
There's a rough, ragged hole in each leaf you turn,
Like the wound from a rifleman's ball.

There's the last gasp of men shot down at command
Of this gracious and generous man;
There's the blood and the groan, the grief and the shame—
You picture it, any who can.

There's a picture of Homestead—will we ever forget
How those brave, ragged men were defenseless slain—
Were slaughtered like beasts, like poor hunted beasts,
By Carnegie's will and for Carnegie's gain.

Will we ever forget how the mothers and wives
In their rags and their woe knelt down in the dust,
And clasped their dear dead then, just as they fell
By the rifleman's ball or the bayonet's thrust?

Will we ever forget how the press of the land
Made light of the slaughter by saying, "The dead
Were foreign-born men, who, in impudence, asked
For the right to be living and earning their bread?"

Will we ever forget how, in sweatshop and mine,
The fathers and mothers and children are slain?
How virtue is bartered and childhood is crushed
By Carnegie's will and for Carnegie's gain?

How the skeleton babes, at the milkless breast,
Give their poor little lives to his greed?
How the girls on the street and the mothers in rags
Are reflecting his generous (?) deed?

And this is his gift, all shining with blood,
The gift that he proffers with arrogant hand;
This is his penance for murder and lust;
This is his jest to the slaves of the land.

But the books are not dumb; they have eloquent tongues
To tell you their pitiful story—
How the bodies and souls of women and men
Have built him his temple of glory.

How the walls are of bones cemented with blood
And wet with the dropping of tears;
Of hearts that have broken for wrongs unwritten
These hundreds and hundreds of years.

For these wrongs to our comrades we'll never forget
Nor this master of bread with his cunning and greed.
And the gift that he proffers—we spurn it and scorn him,
For we hold it in keeping with his class and his deed.

ALICE T. SORENSON.

Impressions.

If there is a man with the experience of a man, and able to think as becomes a citizen, who denies that there is at present going on a struggle between economic classes, he deserves special notice as a unique specimen. From New York to California workmen are ranged in an army on one side, while capitalists are ranged in an army on the other. A very conservative estimate of the actual number of men in the first army would be about 200,000; in the other army there are about 200, or at most 500. The 200,000 must obey the slightest wish of the 500 or they cannot work, which means, they may starve. The five hundred men composing the one army could be swept out of existence by the other army in ten minutes. The loss of the five hundred might mean considerable—to their wives. But to society, to the productive energy of the men they are keeping in idleness, the loss would be so insignificant they would not be missed the second day, and would be entirely forgotten in a week. The five hundred capitalists could not take their wheels beyond the grave with them and set up a system of exploitation in the hinter land. And how long, think you, would the 200,000 men stay away from productive labor if the five hundred were removed? About long enough to organize themselves and elect a foreman. Then what is it that keeps these 200,000 men idle and separated by only a week or two from the pangs of hunger? The small army of 500 men, backed up by all the majesty of the law.

These five hundred men represent a class organized to exploit, to drag from another class all the wealth this latter class produces. The organized minority holds the disorganized majority in subjection. Their chief weapon is the government. It is established to sustain the organized minority in all its acts. Whatever this minority may do is legal, whatever the majority may do is illegal, and whatever is illegal must be suppressed.

The interests of the army of 200,000 are opposed to the interests of the army of 500. These two armies represent two classes and the interests of those classes are exactly the same as the interests of the armies; they are opposed to each other. This opposition does not begin one day and leave off the next. It does not remain in action 364 days in the year and become suspended on the 365th. Because the pure and simple trades-union leader and the hungry politician tell you that there is no antagonism between the classes on election day, the 365th day, is no reason why you should be an ass and believe what they say.

Ask yourself this question: If the class to which I belong is opposed to another class, and that opposition is the natural outgrowth of the present competitive system for which no single man is responsible, how can it be that my voting for members of another class, which wishes the present system to continue, is of any benefit to my own class? The answer will determine whether you will vote for the Social Democratic Party, the party of the working class, or the Republican or Democratic parties, the parties of the capitalist class. Pay no attention to your pure and simple trades union leader, even when a seeming change of heart comes, because some of his pet schemes have been defeated, or to the hungry politician, spellbinding his way into your affections by the old claptrap phrases about liberty, etc. The man who would betray a principle for temporary gain at one time, will repeat the offence if you give him another chance. Once a traitor, always a traitor.

The recent decision of Judge Sloss on the eight hour law shows wherein a measure passed for the benefit of the working class becomes illegal because it conflicts with the interests of the capitalist class. Everything that would elevate the working-class and put it in a position where intelligence could be developed is a menace to the continuation of capitalistic rule. There is a threat in the struggle for an eight-hour work-day. The working class, as such, stands for this addition to its social good, that time may be given it to develop its latent qualities, that time may be given it to reason and think. It is a very small concession and could be granted without any immediate loss by the capitalist class. For it is well known that a man will do as much in eight hours as he will in twelve, taking the year through. But the use to which those extra four hours might be put is what causes offence to the thinking members of the ruling class. A man with time to read, might read. A man with time to listen to a lecture might attend a course of lectures. What he might read and hear would undoubtedly start him thinking. And from the beginning of history to the present time, the group or class with the government in its control hated the man that could think. Caesar asked who was the fellow with the lean and hungry look, and when told it was Cassius, answered, "I like him not: he thinks too much."

The man who thinks will always be an enemy of the oppressor, and the decision that the eight hour law is unconstitutional is no more than an expression of fear that the men working eight hours might have time to think.

Another decision that may be of some service in helping to wake up the trades unionist to a realization of his true position, comes from Cincinnati. It was made by Judge Clark of the United States Supreme Court and puts an effectual quietus on picketing. He will be quoted by all the judges hereafter as an authority, for every ruling that makes for curtailing the privileges and limiting the powers of the working class at once elevates the judge making it to the position of a savior. "Thus from precedent to precedent we glide, unto a nobler manhood," as the late poet laureate of England said. The precedent established by this new Daniel come to judgment, that all picketing by strikers is "unlawful, immoral and wrong." And the learned judge describes picketing "as intercepting and speaking to men while going to or from a factory—ANYWHERE, EVEN MILES AWAY." The last clause takes the decision out of the realm of mediocrity and makes the judge eligible to the United States Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, a story that is vouched for by the "Vorwaerts" of Germany, tells how the wives and daughters of these judges and members of the capitalist class while away the time. Being superior persons, because the economic inequalities of today make lazy people with an opportunity to indulge their desire to do nothing—superior persons, they must needs seek for a sensation that would stir their jaded nerves. To this end vivisection parties are all the rage among the elite of Paris. The article in "Vorwaerts" tells how a party of American ladies (?) under the patronage of a few members of the haute ton of the French capital, repaired to a doctor and watched him, with becoming interest, rip up the belly of a large dog, to show the action of the lungs and heart. The ladies then enjoyed the sight of a half-skinned frog jumping about when pricked by an electric needle, and after being to all

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intentions and purposes dead, brought back to this life of suffering through the aid of a galvanic battery.

To add to the further happiness of his distinguished guests, the doctor cut open the head of another dog, and after applying an acid to those lobes of the brain that control the fore part of the body, forced the poor beast to drag itself forward by plunging the electric needle into his hide. At this horrible sight two of the ladies (?) fainted and the party was postponed till the next day.

This is surely ministering to minds diseased with the luxury of our forced civilization. Nerves that will not stir at the cries of human distress, and that have been trained to repose by years and years of practice in the most cruel schools, the grosser bourgeoisie circles, find a sensation worth recording in the awful agony of poor dumb beasts. What a fearful commentary on the life of our better classes! And what a prophecy one might indulge in concerning the eventual outcome of such practices if nothing of greater import intervened to help forward this class to its impending destruction. - Give these vitiated creatures unwonted sway over our destinies, such as they have at present, let them but feel their mastery secure, and not dogs, or frogs, would be their victims on the vivisection table, but men and women of the working class. Can you doubt it, after reading of Homestead and Coeur d'Alene?

Comrades: Your attention is requested to the invitation issued by the Joint Arrangements Committee and which appears in another column. All delegates to the coming convention are requested to read the same carefully for their information.

All delegates are especially requested not to forget to obtain from the ticket agent when purchasing tickets for Indianapolis a delegate's certificate, which they are to bring with them to the convention, and which certificate will be signed there by an agent representing the railroad companies.

The certificates will be good for a two-thirds reduction of the fare home for each delegate, so don't forget to secure certificates when leaving for the convention.

No certificate will be signed by the company's representative unless said ticket is purchased within three days of the opening of the convention. Therefore, comrades, do not purchase tickets until you are ready to leave for Indianapolis.

The above specification does not apply to persons who live a traveling distance greater than three days from Indianapolis. Such delegates can purchase tickets and apply for certificates as many days before the 29th as it requires for them to travel the distance.

Therefore, comrades, do not forget to secure certificates from your ticket agent when leaving for the convention.

The convention is but one week hence, and a last request is made by the N. E. C. to all locals and state committees to settle up their accounts at once.

The N. E. C. shall need considerable money to pay the expenses of the convention, and also needs considerable to pay off the indebtedness of the party. It is therefore requested that one last supreme effort be made by all organizations affiliated with the N. E. C. to pay their indebtedness. Locals and State Committees are also requested to notify the national secretary at once of the names of delegates elected to attend the convention. Locals are also requested to forward at once their semi-annual reports, as we wish to include in our report the membership of the party at the present time.

WM. BUTSCHER,
Nat'l Sec'y.

Delegates, Attention.

Headquarters Joint Committee of Arrangements,
Socialist Unity Convention,
Indianapolis, Ind., July 1, 1901.

To the Branches and Locals affiliated with the Social Democratic Parties with headquarters respectively at Chicago, Ill., and Springfield, Mass., to the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party, and to the various Locals and Branches affiliated with the Independent State Organizations of Socialist Parties—

Comrades: Pursuant to instructions which we have received from our respective National Headquarters, and in conformity with notices issued from the same sources regarding the National Unity Convention of Socialist Parties to be held in Indianapolis, Indiana, on July 29, 1901, we herewith extend you a cordial invitation to be present at said convention.

Being instructed to make such arrangements as would conduce to the economy and convenience of the delegates and facilitate the work of the convention, we hereby inform you that said convention will be held in Masonic Hall, corner of Washington Street and Capitol Avenue, and will be called to order at 10 o'clock on the morning of Monday, July 29, 1901.

The Grand Hotel, located at Illinois and Maryland streets, two blocks north of the Union Station, having made a special rate of \$2 per day, has been selected by us as the headquarters of the convention.

Cheap rooms and restaurants may also be found in the vicinity of the convention hall, and arrangements may be made to reserve rooms by forwarding instructions to Geo. E. Mills, 1222 1/2 E. Court street, or to Wm. Mahoney, 120 N. Penn. street, Suite 18.

A special rate of one fare and a third has been procured upon the following terms: Those attending convention must purchase first-class tickets within three days from opening of convention, not including Sunday, and must get a certificate from the railroad agent, showing that such ticket was bought to attend the Socialist Convention. These certificates must be presented at convention on 31st day of July, to be signed by secretary and representative of railroad. Upon fulfillment of these conditions a return ticket may be purchased for one-third regular fare; provided, that there be at least one hundred certificates representing tickets for which not less than seventy-five cents have been paid.

It is important that at least one hundred certificates be presented in order to get the benefit of the reduction, and these tickets must not be sold or speculated in, as the Party is pledged to redeem all such at full rates.

Hoping that your respective organizations will be represented with delegates contributing their wisest counsel to the assembled Socialist forces, we conclude by proffering our labor in the performance of any services which we may be able to render to visiting delegates.

Yours fraternally,

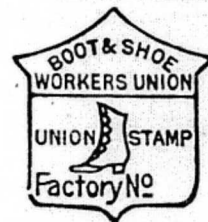
Signed: Geo. E. Mills, R. Grenling, J. W. Kelley, M. H. Wefel, Wm. Croke, Leon Greenbaum, E. Val Putnam, M. S. Hayes, Wm. L. Hamilton, Wm. Mahoney, Joint Committee on Arrangements.

Letter Box.

E. H., San Diego, and others.—The facts in the "Frisco Capitalist Job-chasers" case are simply these. The charter of San Francisco, which went into effect January, 1900, provides that the Board of Election Commissioners shall be composed of five members, two each from the two highest political parties and the fifth from the party polling the third highest votes. The Socialist Labor Party (Kangaroo) having polled the third highest vote recommended to the appointive power, Mayor Phelan, the appointment of one of our oldest and most trusted Comrades, Oliver Everett, who, as the Mayor could legally do nothing else, was appointed, and secured a four-year term, which he is now filling with efficiency and with credit to the party (now known as the Social Democratic Party). Other men were recommended for other commissions to which the law would allow their appointment, but for which its provisions were not so explicitly mandatory, and consequently they were not appointed. The matter presents itself to the San Francisco Comrades in this light. The law gives them a chance to get certain executive positions which do not ally them with a capitalist party, but which, on the contrary, they obtain only through their separate action. If we permitted the appointive power, the Mayor, to exercise his own discretion, he might appoint any old kind of reformer as a Socialist. We decided to recommend tried comrades, thus practically ourselves appointing our own man.

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Karl Marx' Economic Teachings.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated for the "Advance" by Kaspar Bauer.

CHAPTER I.—THE COMMODITY.

I. *The Characteristics of Commodity-Production.*

The task which Marx undertakes in his "Capital" is an analysis of the present mode of production, the mode which, since Marx, has become known as *the capitalist mode of production*. In his work he does not treat of the general laws, so-called laws of nature, which underlie all processes of production; the inquiry into these is not the task of political economy, but of physics and of chemistry. Neither does he attempt to analyze merely the forms of production common to all peoples, as such an inquiry could bring to light only commonplaces, familiar to every one; such, for instance, as the old phrase that in order to produce man must necessarily have land, tools, food, etc., etc. What he did do, was to examine the laws which determine the movements of a definite form of social production; of the form dominant in and peculiar to a certain period and certain nations; of the form obtaining during the last few centuries among European nations, and nations of European origin, and which is also commencing to establish itself among other peoples, e. g., Japanese, Chinese, Hindoos, etc. The present capitalist mode of production is essentially different from all other modes. There is, for instance, a clear line of demarcation drawn between it and the Feudal mode which ruled in Europe during the middle ages, or the primitive communism which existed at a very early period of social development.

Let us look at modern society. We find that its wealth consists of *commodities*. A commodity is a product of labor, produced, *not* for the *personal use* or consumption of the producer or people associated with him, *but for the purpose of exchange* with other commodities. We see, accordingly, that it is the social quality which stamps a product as a commodity. An illustration will make this point clear: Yarn spun by the wife of a backwoods farmer out of flax grown by him, and woven into linen which is to be used by the family of that farmer, is an *article of use*, but not a commodity. But, if a weaver produces linen out of flax, for the purpose of exchanging the linen with the wheat of a farmer, or, to go a step further, if a manufacturer in his factory, through his workmen, consumes tons of flax daily in *order to sell* the product, the product is a commodity. It is true that the product will also be an article of use, but one which has a particular social function to perform, i. e., to be exchanged. It is impossible to tell by the linen itself whether it is a commodity or not. Its appearance may be the same when spun by the farmer's wife in the cottage for home consumption as when produced in a factory by a factory-girl who, in all probability, will never use a square inch of it herself. The commodity-character of the linen is discernible in *its social function only*. Only in the role a product plays socially can we see whether it is a commodity or not.

In capitalist society the products of labor take on more and more, the form of commodities. If there are, as yet, products which are not commodities, it is due to the fact that vestiges of former modes of production still survive in a few places. These instances, however, are so isolated and so unimportant that one is *justified in saying that today all products of labor* have taken on the form of *commodities*.

Since it is impossible to understand the present mode of production so long as we do not understand the character of a commodity, it will be necessary for us to begin with an analysis of commodities. Our subsequent task will then be much easier.

First of all, we think the subject can be better understood if we look at the characteristics peculiar to the production of commodities in contradistinction to other forms of production. In that way we will be able best to understand the point of view held by Marx in his analysis of commodities.

No matter how far we penetrate into the history of mankind, we always find that production has been invariably *social* in its character, that men in greater or lesser groups combined their efforts in securing for themselves the means of life.

Marx explained this *social* character of production as early as 1849 in his contributions to the "Rheinische Zeitung," entitled "Wage-labor and Capital." "The members of society," he says, "in order to produce, work together in a definite way. For the purpose of production they enter into certain relations with each other, and only within these social relations do they react upon their environment; only within these relations does production take place.

"The social relations of each individual producer, the part taken by each one in the social act of production, differs according to the character of the means of production. With the invention of a new instrument of war, firearms, for instance, there comes, as a result, a change of the whole inner organization of the army; there comes a change in the relation in which individuals *form* and *act* as an army. Changes occur also in the relation of different armies to each other.

"The social relations within which individuals produce, i. e., the social relations of production, change accordingly with the change and development of the means of production. The relations of production in their entirety form what we understand by social relations, i. e., society, the society of any given historic stage of development, the society with peculiar demarcating characteristics."

"A few illustrations will prove what has been said above. Let us take any primitive society, one which occupies a comparatively low stage of development, and in which hunting forms the means of securing the necessary food-supply: the Indians. Dodge in his book, "The Indians of the Far West," relates the following of their way of hunting:

"Since the head and the heart are in need of help *only* occasionally but the demands of the stomach are constant, the tribe is usually under the domination of the 'third estate.' This 'third estate' consists of all the hunters of the tribe. These hunters form a sort of guild, the decision of which is final, from which no appeal can be taken. The decision is binding, however, only within their own definite jurisdiction. Among the Cheyennes these men are called 'dog-soldiers.' The young and active chiefs are always members of this class. They do not, however, of necessity have command over the others. The 'soldiers' themselves in their councils dispose of common affairs or make plans for the future; the details of the plans are left to the most renowned and ablest hunters. These leaders are always chosen by the 'dog-soldiers' themselves. Among them are also the young boys of the tribe who have not as yet become full-fledged warriors. It can be said that the 'dog-soldiers' constitute the total of able-bodied men of the tribe; *the whole working force*. They are the power that protects the women and children and furnishes them with food.

"Great hunting expeditions take place in the fall of every year for the purpose of laying in the necessary meat supply for the winter. Then the 'dog-soldiers' are the lords of the day! Woe to the unfortunate who would dare to disregard their commands! Long before daybreak, when everything is ready, the best hunters depart from the wigwams. If more than one herd of buffalo is discovered, the one selected for the attack is always the one which is farthest away from the rest, against the wind, so that the noise accompanying 'the kill' is not so likely to scare away the rest of the herds. During this time the other hunters, trembling with suppressed excitement, are waiting silently upon their horses in a nearby ravine, concealed from the sight or keen smell of the buffalo. If the herd is in a favorable position for the attack the chief counts off one detachment of his hunters after the other, under the leadership of some one appointed by him, and despatches them to the places previously selected. When the leading chief sees that every man is at the place assigned to him, when everything is ready he then attempts, in company with a detachment of hunters, to surround the herd and cut off their retreat. At the proper time he gives the signal and with terrible warwhoops the hunters throw themselves into the fray from all sides. Few buffalo are able to break through the cordon; those that escape are not pursued for fear of frightening the herds grazing in the vicinity.

"As long as bow and arrow alone were used in the hunt it was easy for each hunter to positively determine which and how many buffalo he had killed, each arrow bearing its owner's mark. Whatever he killed was his, aside from a small share which he was compelled to give toward the support of the widows and the dependents of the tribe. If more than one arrow was found in a buffalo, the part in which the arrow was found belonged to the owner of it. If several arrows might have given the mortal wound according to their position, the animal was divided among the hunters, or at times given to the widows and other dependents of the tribe. If more than one the hunter in chief, but an appeal could be taken from his decision to the general judgment of the 'dog-soldiers.' The universal use of firearms has made the identification of the dead buffalo an impossibility and consequently the Indians have again become more communistic: the total amount of meat and skins are divided among the tribe according to rules agreed upon previously."

We see that among the Indians production is social; different forms of activity work together to produce the social aim.

Here already we discover the beginning of the division of labor and the planful working together of individuals (of co-operation). According to their different abilities the hunters perform different parts of the work, but they do this according to a common plan. The result of this co-operation (working-together.) of different kinds of labor, "the exchange of activities," as Marx calls it in his "Wage-Labor and Capital," the result of the hunt, is not *exchanged*, but *divided*.

Passing on, let us mark well the change wrought in the mode of division as the result in the change in the means of production: the displacement of the bow and arrow by firearms.

Let us now examine a higher form of social production, a form based on agriculture—the *village commune* of India. At present only few remains tell of the primitive communism which once existed in India. According to Strabo, XI, I, 66, Neaveh, the admiral of Alexander the Great, tells of parts of India where the land was common property, was tilled in common, and where, after the harvest, the result was divided among the members of the commune. Elphinstone states that such communes still existed in some parts of India at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In Java village-communism continues to exist to the extent that from time to time the farm land is divided again amongst the villagers who regard their share, not as private property, but merely as given to them for use for a stated period of time. In most parts of India, however, farm land has already become private property, only forests, grazing lands and uncultivated grounds still remaining the property of all, property to the use of which all members of the commune have a right.

The thing of interest to us, in our study in this instance, is the character of the division of labor. Already among the American Indians we have discovered a division of labor. It takes on a much higher form in our last illustration, the village commune of India.

There are in an Indian village-commune of this latter kind, besides what may be called the Mayor (Ind.: "Pateel"), many other officials: the "Karnam," or Matsaddi, acting as accountant, attending to the financial transactions between the com-

mune and its members; the 'Tallier,' acting as detective, policeman, etc.; it is his duty also to see that travelers can journey with safety through the territory of the commune; the "Toti," who is the surveyor of the commune; the overseer over the water supply, irrigating ditches, etc.; the Brahmin who attends to the worship of the gods; the teacher who instructs the children in reading and writing; the calendar-astrologer, who foretells the "lucky" and "unlucky" days for sowing, harvesting, threshing, etc.; then the blacksmith, carpenter, wheelwright, pottery worker, laundryman, barber, cow-herder, doctor, the "Devadaschi" (dancing girl) and probably even a "singer."

All of these are officials employed by the commune and have to work for its members. Their compensation consists either in land or in a share of the results of the harvest. Here, too, with this highly developed division of labor, we find *social production and division of the products*.

Now let us take another example, one which is probably familiar to everybody: a patriarchal farm household, itself supplying all its own wants. It is a social formation developed out of just such a mode of production as we have pictured in our Indian commune. And here we wish to say that it can be shown that this mode of production has existed at the beginning of the development of all known civilized peoples.

In such a family we find, not isolated human beings, but a social working-together, a union of different activities. These activities differ according to age, sex and season of the year. Here we have plowing, mowing, milking, tending cattle, gathering wood for fuel, spinning, weaving, sewing, knitting, pruning, etc.; the most diverse activities co-operate harmoniously, are interdependently related to each other; the products again, as in our other illustrations, are not *exchanged* by the individual workers, but are *divided* among them under certain conditions.

Now let us suppose that in such a community of patriarchal forms the means of production had developed to such an extent that less labor expended on the farms, on the land, than formerly, would produce enough or more than enough to supply all needs. This will set free a certain amount of working force, and the probabilities are that, should technical means be far enough advanced, this force will be set to work exploiting a nearby flint quarry, to making flint tools and flint weapons. But here, too, the productivity of labor is greater than the needs of the commune for tools and weapons, more of these articles have been made than can be consumed.

Suppose a tribe of nomadic herders should, in their wanderings, come in contact with our community. They, too, as the result of the increase in the productivity of labor, have more product (cattle) than they need. It is reasonable to suppose that one tribe will exchange its surplus with the other. The surplus cattle of the one tribe and the surplus tools and weapons of the others become, through this exchange, *commodities*.

The exchange of commodities is the natural sequence of the development of the means of production to a point where more is produced than the small needs of primitive society can consume.

(Continued next week.)

One Emperor—Not Two.

New York, July 24th.—The battle between the giants of finance, J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller, for the control of the great financial depositories of the country, has awakened keen interest, not only in Wall street, but throughout the entire country. On every side the question is heard: "What will be the outcome?"

Mr. Rockefeller is keenly watching every move of his rival, Morgan. If he knows what Morgan's purpose is, he is keeping the information to himself, for the general opinion in the street is that Rockefeller is puzzled by Morgan's recent actions.

From the moment that the Rockefeller interests raised the National City Bank to the \$10,000,000 grade and threw into it the power and patronage of the Standard Oil interests, it was evident to observers that the struggle now on was coming.

It was a natural outcome of the position which America only recently assumed—that of the lender of money to Europe and to the world's bankers. Before this time the great financial houses of Europe dominated America, and their representatives in New York were the controlling powers here in all large financial operations.

Gradually, as America advanced in prosperity and riches, there grew up here banking

houses with affiliations reaching all over the country, which dared to undertake to float the stock and bonds of great corporations without asking the consent of European representatives. This is the power that has grown until it not only does not have to ask Europe what it shall do, but can dictate its own terms.

This is the power that can lend Europe hundreds of millions of dollars, organize a billion-dollar trust, undertake to build railroads in London and buy up English steamships.

Now the giants that represent these powerful millions are locked in a desperate struggle for supremacy. Morgan and his allies control \$175,000,000 of bank capital, and Rockefeller and his allies \$170,000,000.

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 price, \$1 per year; six months, 50 cents; three months, 25 cents.

Comrades and friends who have received through the mails four each of the petitions for "Employment of Unemployed" and "Building a Palace of the People," please have them filled and returned to Advance office as soon as possible.

These few words are for avowed Socialists, especially members of the Social Democratic Party. We wish to inquire if you have done your duty during the past week? Have you gained one new member to the party? Have you made one new convert to Socialism? Have you gotten one new subscriber to "Advance"? Have you tried to do any of these things? Resolve that next week you will accomplish one.

Yale, Wisconsin, Chicago, Columbia and California. From each of these universities students have scabbed on men on strike for better conditions. Just what might be expected! These youths get a class education which teaches them that individual enterprise is the thing, encourages them to seek their own welfare regardless of their fellows, and holds out the hope of ultimately becoming great men, after the manner of the several kinds of plunderers of the public who have endowed these colleges. When they finally leave college these intellectual proletarians will learn a few different lessons in the school of life, chief among which will be the lesson of solidarity. Let us hope that they will have enough honesty to repent their present actions and use their ability to overthrow a system which seeks to enthrall science and violate truth for its own perpetuation.

The Teamsters have a chance to learn just how friendly the Democratic city government and the Republican national government are toward them. The city details fifty extra policemen to guard scabs, and the quartermaster, U. S. A., offers troops to escort the wagons of the Overland Freight Transfer in supplying the Department. Unfortunately for the bosses and their Republican and Democratic allies, there are not enough teamsters who will scab to do one hundredth part of the work. Nevertheless, the intent of the capitalist politicians is evident. They are only too glad to protect the bosses in their efforts to break the unions. They will use the powers of the government to provide protection for the property of the capitalists, the source of the capitalists' income; but they take no steps to ensure the laborer in a job, his source of income. On the contrary, they seek to aid the capitalist in depriving labor of the right to work except it works on the terms the bosses dictate. The SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, on the other hand, seeks to take away from the bosses their boss-ship and make work free for all. It seeks to ensure the workingman in the right to earn his living. Therefore it has

drafted a petition to the Board of Election Commissioners to have placed on the ballot next November a proposition for the employment of unemployed citizens. If fifteen per cent of the voters sign this petition the proposition must be submitted to a referendum vote. If carried, the workingmen of this city will have a weapon in their hands by means of which they can steadily improve their condition, and so strengthen their unions that the capitalist will be forced to submit.

The San Francisco "Call" is rapidly winning for itself the proud distinction of being the representative of capitalism *par excellence*. For unscrupulous falsification and contemptible, sneaking, underhanded methods of personal attack is gaining a record that will make the yellow sheets turn green with envy. When our Comrade George D. Herron was divorced and re-married the "Call" seized with ghoulish glee upon the misrepresentations of the news trust, the Associated Press, gave an extra twist to the already distorted facts, and indulged its hatred of Socialists in a fanatically venomous attack on Herron. Since its first outburst of rage upon a man who dared and dares to speak and live the truth, it has ceaselessly searched for facts and alleged facts to throw discredit on the Socialist movement. Its latest performance is an attack on our Comrade J. Stitt Wilson, in an article entitled "Herron's Successor." If the "Call" editor knew more he would have labeled his screed "Herron's Coadjutor." Comrade Herron has not laid down his arms nor been driven from the field of the social war, as the "Call" editor will shortly discover. After reasserting that Herron is a monster of immorality, the "Call" brings in Comrade Wilson and charitably "hopes (?) that Mr. Wilson will not handicap his cult by viewing marriage loosely, or attempting to cancel the line that divides honesty from dishonesty, and morality from immorality." Concurrent with this appears the old assertion that "Socialism would destroy the incentive of mankind." That the competitive system is necessary to stimulate invention, etc. One thing is sure: The editor of the "Call" needs no stimulus for his inventive powers, the present system certainly affords him much incentive in the art of lying. He has lied so often that he believes his own lies, and realizing the necessity of lying more to maintain capitalism he is resorting to such gross and cowardly misrepresentation that the people see through the fraud. Commodore "Spreck" should put a new puppy in the editorial chair of the "Call."

WORTH IMITATING.

If there is one man in the United States admirable and worthy of imitation above all others, that man is John Pierpont Morgan. In the first place, Mr. Morgan is an able man—a man of executive ability and great organizing capacity. He has brains and uses them for his own benefit. He is gradually acquiring possession of the industries. He is organizing and combining them so that they are becoming more and more efficient as wealth-producers. In the face of the most strenuous opposition he has conquered the industrial field for the cause of the trust. The wealth of Wall street he has whipped into line and the impotent rage of the petit bourgeoisie he has laughed to scorn. Now he is engaged in battle with the last foe, the organization of labor, which he hopes to smash and thus leave his trust complete master of the situation with

himself as the directing head. We have said he was a man admirable and worthy of imitation. We mean it. Let the workingmen develop the same executive ability and capacity for organization; let them acquire all the industries for their own; let them struggle and by virtue of the irresistible power that is theirs, let them conquer the powers of the world and become the rulers. Then indeed will the world be no longer a Vale of Tears and a Slough of Despond. With Labor's victory, the plundering of the poor will cease; the bitter battle of brothers for the crusts will cease; poverty and enforced idleness will no longer curse the world. On the contrary, Labor's victory will bring in its train peace on earth, fraternity and co-operation, plenty and happiness. When fear of poverty is supplemented by assurance of plenty, when worry over tomorrow's income is displaced by the certainty of useful, productive, remunerative employment, then will the human heart be free from despair and the torment of anxiety; then will it lift itself in joy, and, exhilarating in this new-found freedom—lost long centuries ago—it will blossom forth in such beauty of song and sentiment as never before was heard.

THE SAN FRANCISCO PLAN.

One of the main questions before the class-conscious Socialists is that of an unified national organization. A special committee was appointed by Local San Francisco to draft some plan which would be feasible and upon approval by the Local to instruct the delegate, Comrade Costley, to lay it before the convention. The plan was drawn accordingly and, as submitted, is as follows: The National Executive Committee shall be composed of the State Organizers of the several States, provided such are elected by a general vote of the membership; this committee to meet at least once a quarter and have charge of the general organizing work and the employment of a national secretary, who shall devote his whole time to party work.

The reasons which induced the Local so to instruct its delegate are these: A permanent national organization and national executive committee are most highly desirable. The organization of such a committee must be along such lines that it will be democratic, representative of the majority of Socialists, and not subject to clique domination. A national committee should not be elected from one local, for such a condition would make the policy of that local the policy of the national organization and subject the other locals to the authority of a faction or clique in control in one city. We have experienced the evil of this form and few desire to revive it. The proposition to elect the members of the national committee from two or three States is a compromise suggested by financial considerations. It admits the virtue of a widely distributed representation, but restricts it because of expense. But this restriction is unnecessary under the plan proposed by San Francisco, for it leaves the State Committees and State organizations the judges of their expenses and gives them always the privilege of representation if they think it important.

In the first place, every State which is energetic enough to have an organization and an Organizer is entitled to representation. This furnishes an incentive to the comrades of each state to build up powerful state organizations. This eliminates clique-rule, as the committee will be composed of men from different states elected by different constituencies. It is sure to bring the most energetic Socialists of each

State together and with their varied experience and different ideas, to secure the best counsel.

The State Organizer has been specified as the National committeeman for several reasons. In the first place, as an organizer he is likely to be salaried and thus have time to attend the committee meetings. Furthermore, being an organizer he will be acquainted with the practical work of agitation and organization. His experience and actual touch with the movement in his own state will teach him the things needed and advantageous to the organization. He forms not merely a connecting link between state and nation, but between nation and local as well. As a representative of the state organization, he comes to the committee the delegate direct from the State committee, with its reports and suggestions. Thus the organization is held well together and close relations maintained between all parts. Again, when the State Organizer goes to attend the committee meeting a tour can be easily arranged, and by making the occasion an agitation trip expenses can be reduced considerably, or at least the cost of the trip will be repaid by the propaganda along the way. While the city in which they meet will receive a most valuable stimulus from the presence of the best agitators in the active work of the cause. States that could not be represented every three months could make it every half-year and few states, indeed, would find it inexpedient and too expensive not to be represented at least once a year. Thus the National Committee would be really national; it would not be expensive; it would be efficient if experienced membership counts for aught; it would be always in close touch with the party and sensitive to its demands and needs.

There is also to be considered the stimulating effect of this on the State. It encourages each state to get an Organizer in the field and periodically gives this Organizer the benefit of conferring with his comrades who are engaged in the same work. When they meet in committee, not only do they arrange for national affairs, but each learns new methods and ideas for work in his own state.

A salaried National Secretary is suggested because the party work demands such a person. He should be elected by the National Executive, as they will be best able to pick a man whose peculiar qualifications fit him for such a position. He should be accountable to that committee, as they form the quickest and most direct means of correcting such errors as he may make.

Chicago is nominated as the place of headquarters as being near the geographical and population center. There are several healthy state organizations within close reach—Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio and Wisconsin, with New York and Pennsylvania not much farther away. So a quorum of seven could always be easily obtained. Moreover, apart from the facility of assembling the committee, the city of Chicago offers other advantages. It is the seat of a large, vigorous local and contains many active Socialists. The secretary should be situated in some such place. If he is in a small local he must depend more upon his own judgment and resources in matters which come before him. But put him in the midst of a lot of active comrades whose numbers and enthusiasm inspire him, whose numerous counsels and suggestions continually aid him, and he will be far more efficient and the national organization will be far more prosperous.

Several other suggestions are made: In regard to dispensing with national organizers, as their work can be done by the State organizers of neighboring states; also the abolition of the 10 cent quarterly subscription to party press by members, a compromise scheme which entails great expense on the papers and work on the party secretaries. A national system of due stamps is advocated as furnishing the best means of apportioning the party income among its three grades—national, state and local. In connection with this it may be mentioned that Comrade Harry Ryan of San Jose, delegate for Northern California, will present a plan for a uniform national account book system adapted from forms tried in the crucible of commercial and insurance companies. This we greet as an excellent measure; it will simplify accounts.

Delegates and comrades are requested to consider carefully the San Francisco plan and judge it on its merits. We hope that if it is not adopted something better will be.

THE VAIL MEETINGS.

Big and enthusiastic—that's the way to describe the crowds which have greeted our National Organizer, Chas. H. Vail, at each meeting held in San Francisco. There have been four meetings altogether; three at the Academy of Sciences and one at Odd Fellows' Hall. Comrade Vail arrived in San Francisco July 20th, Saturday. That evening and the next he spoke to an audience in the Academy of Sciences that filled the aisles, the platform, and all available space. Monday night Comrade Vail spoke in San Jose, and Tuesday night the big meeting in Odd Fellows' Hall was held. Fully eighteen hundred people crowded into the hall, and all staid until Comrade Vail finished his speech at ten o'clock. Comrade King, Jr., presided and the meeting opened with the singing of the Marseillaise. The chairman spoke for about ten minutes on the program and progress of the Social Democratic Party and then introduced Comrade Mrs. F. R. Whitney, who entertained the audience with a couple of songs rendered in her sweetest voice. The speaker of the evening was next called upon and introduced as "our National Organizer, the next governor of New Jersey, Chas. H. Vail." As Comrade Vail stepped to the front he was greeted by prolonged applause. Despite a slight hoarseness Comrade Vail spoke with a strong voice, and for over an hour held his audience in rapt attention, interrupted only by frequent applause at his clever epigrams and pointed summaries. "Poverty," declared he, "is a social crime," and he proceeded to show that with the enormous capacity for wealth production which is at the disposal of the people, an abundance of the necessities and comforts of life might be produced with only a few hours of labor on the part of the able-bodied citizens. Inquiring into the cause of poverty amidst abundance, he showed that it was due partly to the waste of the competitive system which demanded duplication of everything, setting two or three men to do one man's job, and partly to the necessity of supporting the idle, do-nothing capitalists and their host of useless servants and retainers. "Every man not usefully employed is a burden on those that are." Using familiar illustrations, Comrade Vail showed how organization and cooperation would eliminate the waste of the competitive system and stop the draught on the laborers that goes to the support of the

profit-leeches. Concluding, he defined the class-struggle and urged the working men to be true to their class interest and organize under the Social Democratic banner to conquer the political powers. He especially urged every Socialist to join the local and do his duty in the warfare against capitalism.

After the lecture Master Ruby Crosby played a cornet solo very excellently and the Socialist Maennerchor sang with true German melody and enthusiasm a couple of Socialist songs. The floor was then thrown open to questions to the speaker. Some of these questions were put in good taste and evidenced a sincere desire to get information. Others were asked by the fools and fanatics of the "professors" pestiferous, forlorn hope. These latter included the Haverhill Armory, the Albany militia, and capitalist indorsement. There was one question, however, which, although usually asked in other places, was neglected here; it was about the "capitalist job-chasers of San Francisco." They did not mention that. Social Democratic errors seem to be like capitalist prosperity—always in another part of the country, off where the people don't know the facts of the case. Despite this, however, everything went off successfully and the meeting only dispersed when, at eleven o'clock, the chairman stopped further questioning and disbursed the audience. The meeting was most satisfactory from every standpoint. The crowd was large and appreciative. Many strangers were present and gave close attention to the lucid, logical arguments of Comrade Vail; and the Socialists present were greatly enheartened by the great interest shown. It is intended to hold a big mass meeting about August 11th, when Comrade J. Stitt Wilson will return from the South, and make the occasion a rally of Social Democrats, previous to participating in the primaries on August 13th. Whether Odd Fellows' Hall or the Metropolitan Temple will be engaged for this purpose has not yet been decided upon. It will be widely advertised, and every Comrade is urged to spread the news. As a campaigner Comrade Wilson is hard to beat and he is sure to inspire just that enthusiasm and determination which a pre-election rally needs. If affairs continue as they have been doing for the past few months there will be five thousand Social Democratic votes next fall. Affairs will continue if the Comrades will buckle on their armor and join in the battle for the emancipation of labor, with that enthusiasm and energy which such a glorious cause should rouse.

The reception tendered Mrs. Vail by the ladies of the William Morris Club at Sherman & Clay's Hall was a most enjoyable affair. Miss Bloom acted as chairman. Miss Rosenthal's violin solos were rendered with an expression and technique that made them an inspiration, and the two songs by Miss Partridge lacked nothing in phrasing and delicacy, which is characteristic of her interpretations.

Mrs. Vail interested the ladies in her talk on "Socialism," as was evidenced by the many who expressed to her personally a desire to know more on the subject.

The reception was given, not only to honor Mrs. Vail, but as a special propaganda to women who will not usually attend our regular meetings. We believe it will bring good results.

Comrades and Readers: Patronize those business houses that advertise in ADVANCE. By doing so you will help your paper.

San Francisco Trades Union Directory

- BAKERS and Confectioners International Journeymen, No. 24. Meets 1st and 3d Saturdays, at 117 Turk street. Marcel Wille, Secretary.
- BAKERS and Confectioners International, Journeymen, No. 106. (Drivers). Meets every Wednesday, 6:30 p. m., at 117 Turk street. Herman Vogt, Secretary, with Liberty Bakery, cor. Jones and O'Farrell streets.
- BAKERS and Confectioners International, Journeymen, No. 117. (Italian), 117 Turk street. Marcel Wille, Secretary, 117 Turk street.
- BAKERS (Cracker) and Confectioners International, Journeymen, No. 125. Meets 1st and 3d Monday at Garibaldi Hall, 423 Broadway. C. E. Pursley, Secretary, 2109½ Mason St.
- BARBERS International Union, Journeymen, No. 148. Meets every Monday, 8:45 p. m., at 32 O'Farrell street. I. Less, Secretary, 927 Market street, room 207.
- BOOT and Shoe Repairers Union, Custom. Meets 2d Sunday, 2 p. m., at 909 Market street. G. W. Lewis, Secretary, 100 Olive avenue.
- BOOT and Shoe Workers Union International, No. 216. Meets every Monday at 909 Market St. F. Maysenhelder, Secretary, 522 Eighth St.
- BOOKBINDERS Protective and Beneficial Association. Meets 1st Friday at 102 O'Farrell street. L. G. Wolfe, Secretary, 765 Fifth St., Oakland.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of, No. 25. Meets 2d and 4th Thursdays, at 102 O'Farrell street. H. McNesby, Secretary, 320 Harriet street.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of, No. 205. Meets 1st and 3d Friday at Potrero Opera House, Tennessee St. John Honeyman, Secretary, 831 Texas St.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders' Helpers, No. 9052. Meets Wednesdays at 121 Eddy St. Walter J. Cullen, Secretary, 1320 Harrison St.
- BLACKSMITH Helpers (Machine), No. 8922. Meets Tuesdays at 102 O'Farrell St. John Quigley, Secretary, 142 Silver St.
- BLACKSMITHS, No. 168, Ship and Machine, International Brotherhood of. Meets Fridays at 102 O'Farrell St. G. Clarke, Secretary, 62 Rausch St.
- BREWERY Workers International Union of United, No. 7. Branch 1 meets 2d and 4th Saturday; Branch 2 meets 2d and 4th Thursday; at 1159 Mission St. Ludwig Berg, Secretary, 1159 Mission St.
- BREWERY Workers, International Union of United, No. 102. Bottlers. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday, 8:30 p. m., at 1159 Mission St. A. R. Andre, Secretary.
- BREWERY Workers, International Union of United, No. 227. Drivers. Meets 2d and 4th Monday, 8:30 p. m., at 1159 Mission St. A. R. Andre, Secretary.
- BROOMMAKERS International, No. 58. Meets 1st and 3d Thursday, at 1159 Mission St. Geo. F. Daley, Secretary, 3514 Twenty-sixth St.
- BLACKSMITHS International Brotherhood of, No. 99, Carriage and Wagon. Meets every Wednesday at 117 Turk St. W. W. Clarke, Secretary, 320 Lexington Ave.
- BLACKSMITH Helpers and Finishers, No. 9106. Meets Wednesday nights at 1159 Mission St. John B. McLennon, Secretary, 525 Connecticut St.
- CARRIAGE and Wagon Workers International, No. 66. Painters. Meets every Thursday at 1133 Mission St. T. J. Finn, Secretary, 1622 Mission St.
- CARRIAGE and Wagon Workers International, No. 69. Wood Workers. Meets every Tuesday at 117 Turk St. Fred Hoese, Secretary.
- CARPENTERS and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood, No. 483. Meets every Monday at 915½ Market St. A. E. Carlisle, Secretary.
- CIGARMAKERS International Union of America, No. 228. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday at 368 Jessie St. J. A. Ramon, Secretary, 368 Jessie St.
- CLERKS International Protective Association, Retail, No. 432. Meets every Tuesday at Pioneer Hall, 32 Fourth St. Leo. Kaufmann, Secretary, 1084 Golden Gate Ave.
- CLERKS International Protective Association, Retail, No. 410. Shoe Clerks. Meets every Wednesday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. E. Kelly, Secretary, 28 Kearny St.
- CLERKS Protective Association. Drug. No. 472. Meets Fridays at 909 Market St. H. Schwartz, Secretary, 1718 Geary St.
- CLERKS, Ship. No. 8947. Meets Thursdays at 5 Market St. Room 17. W. O. Ferrall, Secretary, 315½ Capp St.
- COOPERS' International Union of N. A., No. 65. Meets 2d and 4th Thursday at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St. Secretary, W. T. Colbert, 280 Lexington Ave.
- CORE Makers' International Union, No. 68. Meets at 1159 Mission St., Thursday. Secretary, Walter Green.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 85. Brotherhood of Teamsters. Meets every Thursday at Teutonia Hall, 1332 Howard St. John McLaughlin, Secretary, 210 Langton St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 228, Sand Teamsters. Meets every Wednesday, at 1159 Mission St. M. J. Dillon, Secretary, 5 Homer St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 224, Hackmen. Meets every Thursday at 102 O'Farrell St. John Dowling, Secretary, 27 Fifth St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 226, Milk Drivers. Meets every Wednesday at Mangel's Hall, 24th and Folsom St. A. Diejeau, Secretary, 935 Market St., Room 17.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 256. Meets at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St., Tuesdays. Secretary, James Jordan, 530 Castro St.
- ELECTRICAL Workers of America, National Brotherhood, No. 151, Linemen. Meets every Monday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. F. Leonard, Secretary, 1227 Filbert St.
- ENGINEERS, International Union of Steam, No. 64. Electrical and Steam Engineers. Meets Fridays at Odd Fellows' Hall. W. T. Ronney, Secretary.
- GARMENT Workers of America, United, No. 131. Meets every Thursday at 117 Turk St. Ed. Corpe, Secretary, 3382 20th St.
- GARMENT Workers Union, International, Ladies, No. 8. Cloakmakers. Meets every Tuesday at 915½ Market St. I. Jacoby, Secretary.
- GLASS Bottle Blowers Association of the U. S. and Can., No. 3. Meets 2d and 4th Tuesday at Eintracht Hall, Twelfth, nr. Folsom St. Phil. J. Dietz, Secretary, 1347 Eleventh St., Sunset District.
- GLASS Workers, American Flint Association of the U. S. and Can., No. 138. Meets 1st Tuesday at 121 Eddy St. H. Johnson, Secretary, 1017 Howard St.
- HATTERS of North America, United, S. F. District. Meets 2d Friday, January, April, July, Oct. C. H. Davis, secretary, 1458 Market St.
- HORSESHOERS of the U. S. and Canada, International Union, No. 25. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday at 909 Market St. John McCloskey, Secretary, 202 Oak St.
- HOTEL and Restaurant Employees, No. 30. (Cooks and Waiters Alliance). Meets every Wednesday, at 8:30 p. m., at 316 O'Farrell St. W. L. Caudle, Secretary, 12 Carlos Place.
- LAUNDRY Workers International Union (Shirts and Waists), No. 23. French. Meets every Wednesday at Universal Hall, 812 Pacific St. J. Dussere, Secretary, 12 Montgomery St., Room 12.
- LAUNDRY Workers International Union. Steam. No. 26. Branch No. 1 meets 1st and 3d Monday at 1159 Mission St. Branch No. 2 meets 2d and 4th Monday at 1749 Mission St. Secretary, 927 Market St., Room 302.
- LEATHERWORKERS on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood. Meets every Friday at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St. A. H. Kohler, Secretary, 1519 Polk St.
- LITHOGRAPHERS International Protective and Beneficial Association, No. 17. Meets 2d and 4th Wednesday, Alcazar Building. R. L. Olsen, Secretary 1007½ Lombard St.
- LABORERS' Protective Association, No. 8944. Meets Sundays at 2:00 p. m., 1159 Mission St. John P. Kelly, Secretary, 117 Gilbert St.
- LEAD Workers, Manufacturing, No. 9051. Meets at 117 Turk St., Tuesdays. Geo. A. Fricke, Secretary, 220 Ash Ave.
- MACHINISTS. International Association, No. 68. Meets every Wednesday at 32 O'Farrell St. R. I. Wisler, Secretary, 927 Market St.
- MEAT Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated. Meets Tuesday at 117 Turk St. Hermann May, Secretary, 10 Walnut Ave.
- METAL Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass Workers Union of North America, No. 128. 1st and 3d Monday at 1133 Mission St. J. J. O'Brien, Secretary, 749 Howard St.
- METAL Polishers, Buffers, Platers and General Brass Workers of North America, No. 158. Brass Finishers. Meets Thursday nights at 1133 Mission St. W. J. Ballard, Secretary.
- METAL Workers International Union, No. —. Coppersmiths. Meets 2d Saturdays at 117 Turk St. W. H. Pohlman, Secretary, 1128 Sacramento St., Vallejo, Cal.
- MILKERS Union, No. 8861. Meets 2d Sunday and 4th Tuesdays in March and June at 526 Montgomery St. A. Iten, Secretary, 526 Montgomery St.
- MOULDERS Union of North America, Iron, No. 164. Meets every Tuesday at 1133 Mission St. Martin G. Fallon, Secretary, 2429 Folsom St.
- MAILERS, Newspaper, No. 18. Meets 1st Thursday at 102 O'Farrell St. Alfred O'Neil, Secretary.
- METAL Workers United, No. 27 (Machine Hands). Meets 2d and 4th Tuesdays at 1159 Mission St. D. J. Murray, Secretary, 18½ Ringold St.
- METAL Workers International Association, Amalgamated Sheet No. 26. Meets Fridays at 121 Eddy St. L. F. Harris, Secretary.
- MUSICIANS' Mutual Protective Union (American Federation of Musicians), No. 6. Meets 2d Thursday, at 1:30 p. m. Board of Directors, every Tuesday, 1 p. m. at 421 Post St. S. Davis, Secretary, 421 Post St.
- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers, of America, Brotherhood of, No. 134. Varnishers and Polishers. Mondays at 117 Turk St. J. C. Patterson, 405 Thirteenth St.
- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, Brotherhood of, No. 136. Meets at 117 Turk St., Mondays. Carl Trost, Secretary, 806 Taylor St.
- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, Brotherhood of, No. 131. Paper Hangers. Meets every Friday at 915½ Market St. T. J. Crowley, Secretary.
- POULTRY and Game Dressers, No. 9050, A. F. of L. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesdays at California Hall, 620 Bush St. Thos. W. Collas, Secretary, 31 Essex St.
- PAVERS' Union, No. 8895. Meets 1st Monday at 120 Ninth St. M. Murphy, Secretary, 1510 Harrison St.
- PATTERN Makers meet at 55 Third St. E. A. Donahue, Secretary, 55 Third St.
- PRINTING Pressmen's Union, No. 4. Web Pressmen. 1st Monday at Becker's Hall, 14 Third St. A. J. Brainwell, Secretary, 1814B Mason Street.
- PRINTING Pressmen's Union, International, No. 24. 1st and 3d Monday at 32 O'Farrell St. W. Griswold, Secretary, 2927 Pierce St.
- PORTERS and Packers, No. 8885. Wednesday at 117 Turk St. Will T. Davenport, Secretary, 1811 O'Farrell St.
- PILE Drivers and Bridge Builders, No. 9078. Saturday at 26 Sacramento St. J. V. Beck, Secretary, 922 Natoma St.
- RAMMERMEN'S Union, No. 9120. 1st Thursday, 120 Ninth St. P. Geraghty, Secretary, 434 Hickory Ave.
- SEAMEN'S Union, International. Sailors' Union of the Pacific. Every Monday at 7:30 p. m., East and Mission Sts. A. Furuseth, Secretary, East and Mission Sts.
- STABLEMEN'S Union, No. 8760, A. F. of L. Every Monday at 102 O'Farrell St. Chas. P. White, Secretary, 405 Natoma St.
- SHIP and Steamboat Joiners Union, No. 8186. A. F. of L. 3d Wednesday at 20 Eddy St. Thos. Westoby, Secretary, 328½ Fremont St.
- SHIP Drillers' Union, No. 9037, A. F. of L., Thursday at 1159 Mission St. B. P. Byers, Secretary, 21 Valencia St.
- SHIPWRIGHTS and Caulkers, No. 9162, A. F. of L. Meets at 1320 Howard St., Monday. Secretary, G. W. Bishop, 59 Converse St.
- STREET Sweepers, No. 9029, A. F. of L. Meets every Wednesday evening and 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., at 376 Brannan St.; entrance on Third St. Wm. Coakley, Secretary, 1142 Mission Street.
- STAGE Employees National Alliance, Theatrical. (Theatrical Employees Protective Union). 1st and 3d Thursdays, 2 p. m., at Native Sons' Hall, 414 Mason St. Carl Taylor, Secretary, 414 Mason St.

STEAM Fitters and Helpers, No. 46: National Association of Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of America. Tuesdays at Pioneer Hall, 24 Fourth St. R. A. Koppen, Secretary, 50 Elliott Park.

TANNERS' Union, No. 9018. Meets Wednesdays at 8:00 p. m., at Twenty-fourth and Potrero Ave. R. H. Kreuz, Secretary, 42 Valley St.

TYPOGRAPHICAL Union, International, No. 21 (Compositors). Meets last Sunday, 2 p. m., at 32 O'Farrell St. H. L. White, Secretary, 533 Kearney St.

TYPOGRAPHICAL Union, International, No. 8 (Photo Engravers). Meets 1st Tuesday and 3d Sunday, at 14 Third St., Becker's Hall. Thomas Wall, Secretary, 14 Third St.

TYPOGRAPHICAL Union, International, No. 29 (Stenographers). Meets 3d Monday at Shields Building. H. D. Pohlmann, Secretary, care S. F. Chronicle.

UPHOLSTERERS' Union of North America. Carpet Mechanics. Meets every Thursday at 909 Market St. John J. Joell, Secretary, 910 Natoma St.

UPHOLSTERERS' Union of North America, No. 28. Every Tuesday at 1159 Mission St. F. A. Rice, Secretary, 127 Precita Ave.

UNDERTAKERS' Assistants, No. 9049. Meets 1st Wednesday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. W. Malady, Secretary, 2666 Mission St.

VINEGAR and Purveyors' Union, No. 8935. Mondays at 117 Turk St. Mary Campodonico, 29 1/2 Scott Place.

WOODWORKERS International Union of North America, No. 147. Picture Frame Workers. Every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 909 Market St. L. Cassel, 2901 Mission St.

WOODWORKERS (Box Makers) Amalgamated No. 152. Meets Mondays, 1159 Mission St. John Cornyn, Secretary, 836 Powell St.

WOOL Sorters and Graders' Union, No. 9025. Meets 1st and 3d Thursday at 117 Turk St. W. H. Shepherd, 1214 Larkin St.

San Francisco Labor Council.

SYNOPSIS OF MINUTES.

July 19, 1901.

The meeting was called to order at 8p. m., President W. H. Goff in the chair. Minutes of previous meeting approved.

CREDENTIALS—Leather Workers, J. Andrews; Garment Workers, Ed. McCormick, L. Travares, A. L. Yeazell, Alice Brown, Minnie Carey; Stereotypers, J. P. Fitzsimmons; Bakery Drivers, J. Hohl and S. Evans; Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, J. Gallagher; delegates seated.

APPLICATION FOR AFFILIATION—Pile Drivers and Bridge Builders' Union, No. 9078 A. F. of L., delegates D. McEachen, E. A. Painter, and F. T. Peterson; Tanners' Protective Union, No. 9119 A. F. of L., Redwood City, delegate Chas. Hextrum; Baggage Solicitors' Union, delegate S. A. Hussey; the first two unions admitted and delegates seated and the third laid over until constitution is presented.

Communications.—The Rammermen's Union requesting assistance; referred to the Executive Committee. Carpet Mechanics, giving notice of withdrawal from Council; referred to Executive Committee. A. F. of L., requesting list of local or national and international organizations of the A. F. of L. not represented in the Labor Council; Secretary instructed to give information. A. F. of L. notice of per capita, \$5.00, was ordered sent. National Boot and Shoe Workers state Friedman & Rodgers, No. 1 Battery street, were jobbers for Rice & Huchens' scab shoes; referred to Executive Committee. Stockton Council, asking certain information; complied with. Portland Council minutes filed. Vallejo Council, sending donation, and stating how to be distributed; filed.

REPORTS OF UNIONS—Iron Molders still on strike; all iron trades standing firm; in behalf of the Iron Trades Council, delegate thanks sister unions for liberal donations given to the unions on strike. Upholsterers—Levied assessment for unions on strike of 25 cents per week per member. Ship Joiners—Favor issuance of paper by the Labor Council; paid general strike assessment to A. F. of L. Brotherhood of Teamsters—Difficulty with the Morton Special Delivery has spread to the Morton Drayage Company, and might involve other firms. Bartenders—Urge union men to ask for the Bartenders Union card. Picture Frame Workers—Favor labor paper to be issued by the Council; effective assistance given to the union by Paper Hangers, who insisted that Picture Frame Worker on a certain job show his union card before they would work with him; hereby thank this union for such assist-

ance. Garment Workers—Favor labor paper by Council; are giving weekly donations to the Iron Trades on strike. Shoe Clerks—Urge union men to demand of Clerks the July working card—pale green with white border. Theatrical Employees—Donated \$150 to the strike fund and assessed members 50 cents per week. Retail Clerks—Difficulty with Schmilian next to Columbia Theatre, keeps open nights; urge union men who still hold tickets for the baseball game tendered by Clerks and Glass Blowers for the strike fund should turn them in as soon as possible; can be turned in to Business Agent, No. 222 Sansome street, Tuesday nights at meeting of union, Pioneer Hall, also on Friday nights at Labor Council meeting. Wool Sorters and Graders—Levied 50 cents per week per member assessment to help strike fund; would increase assessment if required. Cigarmakers—Assessment to general A. F. and L. strike fund paid, continue special donation of \$50 per week, also regular assessment to strike fund. Bakers—Co-operative Bakery making good progress; ten bakeries now place union label on bread; Ruediger & Loesch, Vienna Bakery, No. 111-113 Larkin street, is especially antagonistic to the Bakers' Union; urge union men to take note of this; French Bakers succeed in getting one day's rest in seven. Brewers—Agreement securing the eight-hour day and raise of wages signed with Brewers. Prot. Ass'n; this affects 35 breweries and assures permanency of the eight-hour day in the breweries of the Pacific Coast; now pay 50 cents per member per week to the strike fund; will no doubt increase it. Laundry Drivers—Pay \$25 per week to the strike fund. Beer Drivers—Agreements with employers will be signed tomorrow; pay 50 cents per week to the strike fund; Cooks and Waiters—Strike in very good shape; Union needs no outside financial assistance to carry on this fight; thank delegates and union men for assistance rendered. Stablemen—Gave \$100 to the strike fund; also levied assessment; difficulty in Nolan's Stable adjusted. Horseshoers—Gave \$250 to strike fund. Cloak Makers—Difficulty in Siminoff factory in a fair way of being amicably adjusted. Milk Drivers—Urge union men to demand the working card of drivers. Barbers—Difficulty with Goldstein's shop on Fourth street still unsettled; delegates request that boycott on this place be laid over; granted. Steam Laundry Workers—Sent \$250 to the Los Angeles Laundry Workers now on strike. Carpenters—Increased special donation to strike fund to \$100 per week.

REPORT OF COMMITTEES—Executive Committee: 1. Committee sent address on Chinese Exclusion to Epworth League. 2. Sec'y instructed to distribute circulars against unfair butchers. 3. Attorney H. W. Hutton employed to take necessary steps toward the removal of Butcher-town outside the city and county limits; action endorsed.

Organizing Committee—Again call attention to the unionizing of the Tobacco Factory of H. Bohls & Co., manufacturers of the "White Navy" and other brands of tobacco. Organization of Stationary Firemen progressing; meet every Thursday night at 1159 Mission street; committee asks delegates to assist this Union in making known this fact to firemen.

Law and Legislative Committee—Presented to the Board of Supervisors Council's protest against the acceptance of the Carnegie gift; protest not heeded; the Board held its nose with one hand and pocketed the money with the other.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS.—Council declared boycott on the California Lounge & Mattress Company (W. A. Schrock & Co.) and against the Morton Special Delivery.

The Executive Committee was instructed to take the necessary steps to issue a weekly labor paper as per report submitted three weeks ago.

Secretary was instructed to send communications to the unions of the State calling their attention to the crowding out of the union broom makers by Chinese.

NOMINATION FOR OFFICERS—Additional nominations for offices made and several prior nominees declining, the list of nominees stands as follows: Pres., W. H. Goff; vice-pres., M. Casey; rec. and corresponding secretary and business agent Ed. Rosenberg; assistant secretary, H. Gallagher; financial secretary, P. H. Coyle and I. Jacoby; treasurer, W. E. Walker; Sergeant-at-arms, F. Johnson; Executive Committee, L. Wallenstein, R. Speck, M. Willie, M. W. Coffey, W. McCabe, J. C. Lane, I. Less, J. W. McAdam, Thos. Wright, M. Casey, T. E. Zant, A. Iten, V. S. Shaw. Organizing Committee: T. E. Zant, A. Dijean, G. F. Aubertine, I. Less, G. Gallagher, M. Wille, J. J. Calish, D. McLennon, J. Gallagher, W. Cohen, G. F. Poulson, C. D. Laughlin, J. J. Cornyn, A. Gill, W. R. Noonan, J. P. Fitzsimmons, Lizzie Ryan, J. J. Fogarty, Thos. Westoby, Miss A. Pallesan. Law and Legislative Committee: W. Macarthur, J. K. Jones, Thos. Wright, Jas. Bowlan, R. I. Wisler. Trustees: Chas.

Schuppert, L. Berg, I. Less, Schroder, M. Wille, J. Gallagher.

NEW BUSINESS—Motion that the Labor Council does not allow its name to be used as authorizing the formation or endorsement of any political party was laid on the table, 38 ayes, 28 noes. Petition from the Team Drivers' Union No. 228 (sand teamsters) protesting against the violation by the Market Street Railroad Company of its franchise in carrying rock and gravel on the Sansome St. line was referred to the Law and Legislative Committee.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES—Receipts: Bookbinders, \$6; Cracker Bakers, \$4; Bakery Drivers, \$4; Stereotypers, \$2; Bakers & Confectioners, \$28; Laborers, \$2; Tanners, \$12; Ship & Steamboat Joiners, \$6; Picture Frame Workers, \$4; Pile Drivers & Bridge Builders, No. 9078, Init. fees and dues, \$11; Boot & Shoe Workers, \$8; Hackmen, \$10; Rammermen, \$4; Tanners, No. 9119, Redwood City, Init. fees, \$5; Steam Laundry Workers, \$16; July 11th, Cooks and Waiters, \$74; Core Makers, \$4; T. D. I. U. Org, fee, \$10; Total, \$210.

EXPENSES—Secretary, \$20; Assist, Sec'y, \$15; stenographer, \$10; postage, telephone, car fare and Committee expenses, \$11.25; Towel Co., 50 cents; "Examiner," 65 cents; Total, \$57.40.

STRIKE FUND—Carpenters, No. 483, \$100; Stablemen, San Jose, \$16; Journeymen Horseshoers, \$250; Stablemen, No. 8760, \$100; Los Angeles Labor Council, \$25; Upholsterers, \$50; Cloakmakers, No. 8, \$11.50; Pile Drivers & Bridge Builders, \$10; Teamsters, No. 228, \$100; Steam Engineers, \$30; Shoe Clerks, No. 410, \$10; San Jose Cigarmakers, \$20; Los Angeles Electrical Workers, \$5; Vallejo Trades & Labor Council, \$109.60; Theatrical Employees, \$150; Kern Co. Labor Council and Retail Clerks, \$9.45; Ship Clerks, \$5; Milk Drivers, 11.35; Typographical No. 21, \$125; Electrical Workers, No. 151, \$10; Coopers, \$50; Carriage Workers, No. 66, \$20; Tanners, No. 9018, \$20; Laundry Drivers, \$20; Wool Sorters and Graders, \$26.05; Painters, No. 136, \$4.50; Brewers, No. 7, \$100; Cigarmakers, \$50; Printing Pressmen, No. 24, \$46; Blacksmiths, No. 99, \$5; Amal. Wood Workers \$17.45; Tanners of Redwood City, \$25; Cigarmakers, \$10.50. Total, \$1,545.50.

Paid out to Iron Trades for week ending July 20th, \$1,395. Balance on hand July 13th, \$22.20; receipts for week ending July 20th, \$1,545.50; Total, \$1,567.70. Paid out for week ending July 20th, \$1,395; balance on hand, \$172.70.

Council adjourned at 11:30 p. m. Respectfully submitted, ED. ROSENBERG, Sec'y.

DONATIONS TO "ADVANCE": Messrs. Moller & Sass, \$2.50.

"PROGRESSIVE ECIECTICISM."

A System of Natural Development; An American Ideal. By D. G. Crow. 60 pages. Price: paper, 15 cents. Gilt, 25 cents. Address orders to: Cosmian Circle, P. O. Box, 434, San Jose, Cal.

WANTED—A steady, reliable man to take care of chickens and able to milk 2 or 3 cows. H. Jantzen, 1612 Webster St., Alameda, Cal.

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PLAIN TALK AND A PLAIN PROPOSITION.

BY W. E. FARMER.

The organization of the trusts goes merrily on, and the Morgan-Rockefeller combine is the leading combine in the universal concentration of capital. This combine has invaded England and now possesses a railway system and ship lines that ply around the planet. This is the most monstrous combine the world has ever known, representing at least three billions of capital and the combine is gaining strength every day.

The governments of the world are the pliant tools of this combine. Its influence upon the commerce and industries of the world is more powerful than all the governments combined. Its will is law and the people are the serfs of its power. Its taxing power is without limit and the income of the owners and managers is beyond the dream of monarchs, czars and potentates.

It is conceded by all intelligent people that the universal trust will be the end of the Morgan-Rockefeller combine, but the people are slow to learn the remedy for the trust, and the means by which the working class can be freed from the despotism of capitalism.

What is called the business element have begun to realize that the days of the small business men are numbered; that the small dealer can no more compete with the great trust than the ox-wagon or stage coach can compete with the trunk lines of railroads, but they are so busy in an effort to escape bankruptcy that they do not take time to think about remedying the conditions. These people will not think seriously over the matter until they are run through the capitalist mill and the grist falls into the proletarian army. When their business is gone and they are forced to hunt jobs they will have time to think and most of them will realize their condition.

While all these things are going on the pig-headed economic idiots are contending against the expropriation of the property of the trusts for the benefit of the people while they are railing against the expropriation of the wealth of the middle class for the benefit of the Morgans and Rockefellers. The trusts are doing for the small capitalists just what their class objects to doing with the trusts. The small capitalists are so muddled over the matter that the movement that is supported by that class has about landed in chaos, and even Mr. Bryan and the Populist leaders have ceased to try to explain the way out, and are merely devoting their time to criticism of the men in power and merely calling attention to the growth of the trusts.

The field is now clear for Socialist propaganda among the disinherited class. The time has come that no argument can stand against the doctrines of the Socialists. All the laws passed to curtail the progress of capitalism have failed. The capitalists courts have proven to be the mere agents of capitalism and the middle class have seen its efforts dissipated, while the universal concentration of capitalism is going forward at a more rapid rate than ever before.

Now, the Socialists hold that there is no solution of the trust question but the collective ownership. This is the only feasible proposition presented to the world as a solution of the capitalist question. The propositions now offered by those who perceive the coming of Socialism, for a system of State Socialism, is only an effort to unload upon the government the things that properly belong to

the people and load society with a burden of debt which will enslave the working class for generations to pay the interest. This is a shrewd scheme of the capitalists to head off the organization of the co-operative commonwealth and the freeing of the working-class from interest, profit and rent.

But as Socialists, we propose to make all these tricks of the capitalist class plain to the working class. We propose to show the people that State Socialism is not the means by which the working-class can be liberated from the thralldom of capitalism, but we must have Social Democracy—the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. We don't propose to burden the people with a debt for the wealth which the capitalist class has stolen from labor. We know that labor cannot be free as long as debts exist, and it is the mission of the working class to free itself from all the abuses of capitalism by taking possession of the means of existence. We have no patience with that element who wants to compromise with the capitalist system and still leave the working class in bondage.

The wealth of the trusts only represent the expropriation of labor. This wealth was never earned by the capitalists. It merely represents unpaid labor. The crimes against the working class have been accomplished through the seizure of the State by the capitalist class and appropriating to themselves the means of production and distribution through which labor has been robbed.

Socialists are not such consummate idiots as to want a parasitical class who never produce anything—except misery—better off than those who produce the wealth. We want no compromise to make with such a class, and those who would compromise are no better and no more believe in economic freedom than the plutocrats.

This is plain talk and a plain proposition, but this is precisely what all true Socialists believe and what must come if industrial slavery is to be abolished. If you can take this medicine you are a Socialist. If it is not palatable to you, you are not a Socialist. Anyway this is what the working class must come to before it will be able to free itself from economic servitude to capitalism.

“I think that shops should be so equipped as to make them centers of vital interest and of sociological importance. Much of the wealth made from factory employes who work in uninviting places is bestowed upon colleges and city libraries with disproportionate prodigality. It might, with good advantage, be turned back to its source to pay the debt it owes there.”—Charles H. Fitch in “Iron Molders Journal.”

The “Iron Molders’ Journal” produces some interesting statistics in regard to the average duration of life in stove-plate foundries. The figures show that the average age in Detroit was thirty-four and one-half years; in Philadelphia, thirty-nine and one-half years; in Louisville, thirty-five and one-sixth; in Quincy, Ill., thirty-seven years; in Reading and Columbia, Pa., and Fort Payne, Ala., thirty-three years. The number who reach the half-century mark and continue to follow stove-plate molding is surprisingly small.” It estimates that twenty years of life for a molder is a very liberal figure.

When you buy goods always see that they bear the Union Label or are produced and distributed by Union Labor.

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ROCHDALE CO-OPERATIVE STORE.

If You Wish Dividends on Your Household Expenses Co operate on the Following Principles.

1. Application for membership is open to all.
2. An admission fee of one dollar and a payment of five dollars upon a share constitutes a membership.
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.

Self-Sacrifice vs. Self-Assertion.

The question is frequently raised as to whether or not the principles of Socialism are identical with those of Christianity.

Now, while it is possible that the end sought by the Socialist approaches pretty nearly the ideal that some Christians have in view, yet the methods by which the practical, working Socialist of to-day expects to attain that end is directly contrary to the teaching of the great pattern of the Christian religion.

Jesus taught self-sacrifice, and it is by this road that the Christian professes to expect to arrive at all good things. The ordinary Socialist of to-day enjoins the direct contrary; namely, self-assertion. The Christian says: "Sacrifice your desires and endeavor to do good to your fellows." The every-day Socialist says: "Exert yourself to obtain those things which are desirable for yourself and your fellow-beings."

Self-sacrifice—Self-assertion! The negative and the positive! By the former evil is frequently avoided; the latter is usually necessary to the accomplishment of good.

"But if you preach the doctrine of self-assertion," was said to me not long ago, "it will surely have bad results. If I should preach self-assertion to my boys, I would train up a family of headstrong children. Take another illustration. When a soldier enters the army the first thing he must learn is to sacrifice his own will and to obey orders."

I would remind those who reason in this way that it is very undesirable that the citizens of a democracy should develop those traits which are considered admirable in children or soldiers. The child is expected to distrust his own judgment and to defer to that of others. The soldier is expected to have no will but that of his superiors. These qualities must be consistently inculcated in the subjects of a monarchy, where the ordinary man is not supposed to have a voice in the regulation of affairs, but the qualifications necessary for the citizen of a democracy are self-reliance and self-respect. The voter in a democracy should be accustomed to exercise his own judgment and to rely upon it. He should exert his own will and depend upon it to obtain for him what he needs or desires. We are not training up a nation of soldiers or children. What we need is a nation of independent, fearless, thinking men.

It is the great weakness of our democracy that its citizens are too much like children, too much like soldiers; altogether too much accustomed to rely upon the judgment of others and to submit to domination by those above them in point of material wealth. These are the characteristics of good children, good soldiers, good slaves, never of intelligent, self-governing men.

J. R. COLE.

Funds for Circuit Speakers.

Los Angeles, July 21, 1901.

Editor ADVANCE—

Comrade: Local Los Angeles has been appointed by Circuit Speakers Roche and Murray as a committee to raise funds to keep them in the field.

Comrade Murray has furnished team, wagon and everything necessary for an extended propaganda trip through Southern California, and will for a time pay his own expenses. They are willing to give all of their time free, and all that we are asked to do is to pay for Comrade Roche's actual living expenses.

As both of these Comrades are among the best propagandists that we have, we are asking the Locals and Comrades of this part of the State to assist us in helping them out, and

to not allow such a valuable chance for propaganda slip by.

For the month of June we report the following contributions, which have been forwarded to the Comrades: P. K. Wood, \$1; F. B. Earnshaw, \$1; P. D. N., \$2; R. W. Bowes, 25 cents; H. G. Watkins, 50 cents; J. Q. Henck, 50 cents; A. F. Suell, 50 cents; Local Los Angeles, \$4.25. Total, \$10.

We hope to make a much better showing for July. Fraternally,

Circuit Speakers' Committee,
Local Los Angeles, per P. D. N.

Labor Leader Declares for Political Action

Labor Organizer Simonton in a recent letter to "The Galesburg Labor News," says: "The methods which I have pursued unswervingly for four years will continue. Wherever a trades union can be organized, I shall organize it, but to hold trades unions to be, independent of political action, the chief emancipating factor of the working class, I cannot so deceive them or cheat my own soul." Noble words, Comrade Simonton! And such is getting to be the views of many other honest, well-informed trades unionists, who have not yet had the courage to voice their convictions, being held in check by "bosses" and conservative and perhaps not overly honest labor leaders, entrenched behind the arguments of a, most likely, subsidized trades union press—arguments, at any rate, in favor of and bearing the "trademark" of capitalism, but thinly-veiled. It only wants a few more honest, outspoken agitators, like Simonton, to take the lead, to create a revolution—and that is needed—in favor of united political action in the trades union movement. Comrade H. E. Allen of Berwick, Ill., is another trades unionist of the same stripe, and just as honest and outspoken as the one here quoted from. See his communication in "Galesburg Labor News" of June 22d. Continuing, the writer (Simonton) adds: "Not that I wish to pledge any union to Socialism, but to be free to announce to the world of labor the new evangel of love, fraternity and equality; to be free to ring out the slogan of all Socialists, 'Workingmen, unite, you have nothing to lose, but your chains; you have a world to gain!'" The writer closes this manly letter with the exhortation: "Seize your ballot and redeem your class from the thralldom of wage-slavery. We must go the whole length of liberty or at last lose all liberty."—People's Press, Chicago.

The City Central Committee.

At the meeting on July 15th, at Labor Bureau Hall, 915 1/2 Market street, four new members were admitted.

One hundred posters, to advertise the Vail meeting, are to be sent to Oakland, at no cost to Oakland Local.

A motion to strike Mr. Andre's name from all contributions to ADVANCE was carried unanimously.

The Organizer was instructed to hold street meetings Friday and Saturday evenings to advertise Comrade Vail.

Municipal committee are to draft an address to the workers of the city, and present it at the Primary Convention, and also to publish the same in ADVANCE.

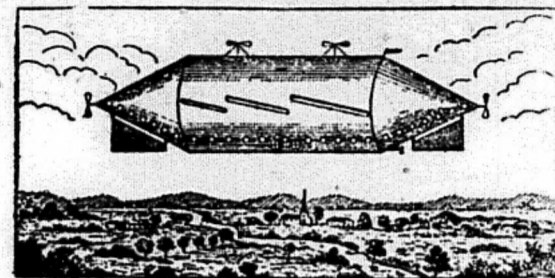
All five-minute speeches are to be cut out during the Vail meetings.

Cameron King, Jr., was elected chairman of Odd Fellows' Hall meeting.

Maennerchor is to be invited to sing at Odd Fellows' Hall meeting; also Miss Verner.

Comrade Noel was elected chairman of the Thursday night meeting.

One hundred and fifty copies of ADVANCE are to be sent to Comrade Costley for distribution at the Unity Convention. Joseph J. Noel, Sec.



Fred W. Klotz

1241 Market

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The best Lunch House in San Francisco. Dinner from 11 A. M. to 2 P. M. Supper from 5 to 7 P. M. Regular Meal, including coffee, tea, wine or beer, 15 cents. Nothing but union Goods Sold.

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Of the United States of America Branch 102

Meeting every Last Monday of the Month, 8 p. m.

The Temple, 117 Turk St.

Secretary: Ernst Poetsch, 3300 25th. Physician: Dr Fred'k A Rinne, Rooms 3-4, 46 O'Farrell St. Hours, 3-5 and 7-8 P. M. Sundays 4-5 P. M. Dr's Residence: 2901 Folsom, Cor. 25th st. Hours: Before 9 A. M., 1-2, 5:30-6:30 P.M.

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Labor's Political Struggle

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

Austria

For the first time a Socialist takes his seat in the Parliament of Lower Austria. In the election held on July, 2d, Dr. Victor Adler, candidate of the Social Democratic Party, was elected in the Tenth district of Vienna. He received 4,298 votes. The victory is the more striking because the Austrian electoral system is a very complicated one, devised for the purpose of giving greater weight to the votes of the land-owners, and other men of wealth. Dr. Adler is the best known and perhaps the ablest member of the Austrian Social Democracy.

Belgium

The Social Democrats of Belgium have issued a manifesto declaring that the government must grant universal suffrage or face a revolution. Great demonstrations are taking place.

The Belgian chamber rejected by 85 votes to 50 the Socialist proposition to organize a national referendum on the subject of universal suffrage. The Socialists declare their intention to obtain their end by revolutionary means, and they have convoked an urgent meeting of the general council of the Labor Party. The Radicals refuse to commit themselves to a violent agitation. The Liberals voted with the government on the subject of the referendum.

Italy

The harvest laborers near Ferrara have been out on strike, and several hundreds of workmen from Piedmont were hired to take their places. In consequence of the objections made by the strikers to this, strong contingents of troops were sent down and fired upon 500 of the men, two of whom were killed, the wounded numbering 35. Owing to the efforts of the Socialist deputies and government officials sent down to Ferrara, a settlement was arrived at later, the men being allowed an increase of wages from 10 to 11 1-2 per cent., while the Piedmontese workmen refused to take the places of the strikers. On June 29 the Chamber was prorogued until November. At the final sitting there was a fierce discussion provoked by the Socialists over the troubles at Ferrara. They charged the government with having sent orders that the troops should fire upon the strikers, and the discussion became so fierce that the president closed the sitting. The minister of war on Sunday last sent a formal challenge to the Socialist deputy Ferri for the accusations brought by the latter against the minister.

New Zealand

New Zealand is taking over coal mines, which, Premier Seddon says, will supply fuel for the State-owned railroads and to consumers who care to purchase. The profits of the industry will go partly toward increasing wages, cheapening coal and adding to the public revenues.

Australia

The Australian Socialist League has issued a manifesto in which it says: "In order to give practical effect to the principles of Socialism through the ballot-box, the members of the Australian Socialist League have decided to enter the political field, recognizing that only by these means can the working-class obtain

control of the governmental machinery and the aims of Socialism be realized."

Japan

Five of the leading dailies in Japan were suppressed for giving accounts of the organization of the Social Democratic party in that country. What's the difference between a Czar and Mikado?

United States

Social Democrats of Washington held an enthusiastic State convention.

Socialists of Vancouver, B.C., own a Socialist Hall, built by themselves.

Next Monday the big unity convention of the Socialists will convene in Indianapolis.

New Decatur, Ala., Social Democrats elected the Mayor and a majority of the Board of Aldermen.

There are forty locals in Washington State, whereas there was only a dozen a year ago. The Washington comrades are hustlers.

Reports from every section of the country indicate that the convention at Indianapolis will be the largest and most representative third party gathering since the Populists switched to the doomed road of fusion in St. Louis just five years ago.

Comrade Wm. Costley, who is on the way to the Indianapolis Convention as a delegate from San Francisco, writes us from Chicago that he has been actively engaged in agitating among the colored people, and has every reason to believe that he can start a good movement among them. He has several good men to assist him in his work.

Debs has just closed a successful lecturing tour in South Dakota for the S. D. P. Vail reports good meetings in Washington State, and J. Stitt Wilson has the same to say regarding California. Strickland and Bigelow are speaking in Illinois towns almost nightly; Greenbaum is in Missouri, and Origo in Ohio. Geiger has been sent into Connecticut, and Herron is also still in the East. Spargo is in New York, and Comrade Leon Greenbaum's agitation tour through Illinois has been very successful, and judging by the reports given his meetings in the daily press, he has stirred up considerable interest in Socialism.

Labor's Economic Struggle

Notes Showing the Strife Between Organized Labor and Capitalism.

Germany

Worsted mills in Saxony are reported to be closing down. "Overproduction" is given as the cause. The increasing number of unemployed is causing alarm.

Austria

Labor riots are reported from the Austrian province of Galicia. More than one hundred persons on both sides are said to have been wounded in an encounter at Lemberg, growing out of an attempt by the police to stop street parades held in demonstration on behalf of the unemployed. The workers threw up barricades and defied the police. The troops were called in, and charged again and again, using bayonets and bullets. Ultimately the demonstrators were dislodged. Lemberg is strongly guarded by troops, but further demonstrations are expected.

France

A Paris dispatch of July 10th says: "A meeting today of delegates from the various labor corporations, summoned by the Federal Committee of Miners, to discuss the advisability of a strike of all the miners of France, adopted a resolution expressing complete agreement in regard to the useful effects of such a strike."

A. Dewinne, in "Le Peuple," gives a terrible picture of the workmen and working women who go from Belgium to France every day to work. They have some of them to take a train at 4 a. m. and do not get home until 9:15 p. m. They work in the factories of Roubaix and other towns, and the worst of it is that though they earn more than they would in Belgium, yet they keep down the rate of wages in these French towns. It is not, therefore, strange that there should be a growing feeling in these French towns against the employment of foreign women.

Great Britain

Official reports from Great Britain state that industrial conditions are going from bad to worse, the latest figures showing that 3½ per cent of the organized workers are unemployed, with every indication that the number will be increased. This fact is encouraging American manufacturers to antagonize unions, and it is charged that several press bureaus are supplying employers with literature purporting to show that the growth of unions in this country are a "menace to prosperity" and will tend to destroy the present brilliant opportunities of the American capitalists to seize the markets of the world. This kind of propaganda is being especially agitated among the metal industries. In other words, the American workers are to be driven lower than the "pauper laborers" of Europe, and unions are to be destroyed in accomplishing this object.

South America.

In the Argentine Republic, South America, a correspondent writes that Socialism is making splendid progress among the working people. The movement appears to be sprouting in the most unheard of places.

Three papers are published in the Argentine Republic in favor of the trade union movement. Two have strong anarchistic tendencies, and the third advocates Socialism. In two towns only, Buenos Ayres and Rosario, industrial development is apparent, the country being almost exclusively engaged in agricultural pursuits and stock raising.

United States

All the textile workers' unions of Philadelphia voted that no militiamen could remain in their organizations.

Machinists of Kansas City have been injunctioned from speaking to scabs or in any way interfering with them.

Miners employed by the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company Company in Tennessee will not get advanced in wages this month because "rise in the price of iron was not sufficient to warrant it."

The New York Central Federated Union unanimously voted to endorse Job Harriman, late Social Democratic candidate for Vice-President, as labor secretary, to attend to all legal matters in which unions or members thereof may be interested.

The longshoremen have given "trade autonomy" a knockout blow. In their national convention at Toledo they resolved to bring

into their organization every worker along or on the lakes, including seamen, marine engineers and firemen, tugmen, cooks, etc.

For six weeks the Shirt-waist Makers of New York have been on strike. Comrade Lee, editor of the "Worker," is helping to hold them in line, and incidentally is teaching them what Socialism means.

A judge at Derby, Conn., has gone to the limit. He issued an injunction restraining machinists from doing anything but breathing, and issued an attachment against the strikers, individually and collectively, for \$25,000, and a fine of \$5,000 or jail hangs over them for violating the order. Machinists still have a chance to vote.

Delegates representing more than 8,000 men in all branches of the leather trade met in Philadelphia recently and organized the Amalgamated Leather Workers' Association of America. The body will affiliate with the A. F. of L. Twenty-six unions now chartered by the Federation will be enrolled in the new organization.

The Water Works Board of Cincinnati awarded big pumping machinery contract to Eastern scab firm, and now striking machinists are mad. They say "it's a slap in the face of organized labor." Organized labor seems to like being slapped, for union men continue to vote for just such people as make up this Water Board.

By a recent decision the Supreme Court of Ohio practically killed the law compelling convict-made goods to be marked as such. It cost Ohio unions a good-sized bunch of money to get the law through. The capitalist contractors did a song and dance when they heard the news. There are now few "labor laws" left on Ohio's statute books.

Brewery drivers in Washington, D.C., won the strike on July 4th for higher wages and shorter hours, getting two years' contract signed. In St. Louis, brewery workers in nearly all branches have secured yearly contracts signed for eight hours a day. Brewery workers throughout the country are, as usual, contributing liberally to striking machinists.

A big cigar factory at New Orleans, which formerly employed 250 cigar-makers, was recently absorbed by the American Tobacco Trust. The 250 men were discharged and girls put in their places. These girls operate machines—the product of which is placed on the market as hand-made goods. The only guarantee against being cheated is to see that the union label is on the box when purchasing cigars.

The Minnesota attorney-general has decided that the eight-hour law does not apply to many State-employees, but merely to mechanics and labor engaged in constructing or repairing buildings, etc., working under contract. This will be a splendid loop-hole for the courts, when they begin to look wise and kill the law altogether by mumbling something about the "freedom of contract." It's an old gag.

A report from Chicago states that servant girls in that city have at last taken preliminary steps toward the formation of a union, which has been called the Working Women's Union of America and organized under the direction of the Women's International Union Labor League. Mrs. J. Louchridge, President of the last named organization, is reported as saying: "One of our prime objects will be to gain set hours for household servants. Girls should not be compelled to work from sixteen to twenty hours a day, but should have regular hours and times off for amusement and recreation, just as women employed in other occupations. We intend to show housewives that the quality of their service will be improved by giving their help more time for rest."—Worker.

A Board of Incompetents.

San Francisco is at present cursed with a school board that only knows how to blunder and give a chance for graft. Witness:

"Free vaccination of school children will hereafter be confined to the children of indigent parents, and it will be necessary for these to obtain from the principals of schools certificates entitling them to such vaccination.

"MARY W. KINCAID,
"President of the Board of Education."

"This notice is to be issued in the School Department. The free vaccination of public school children has been discontinued by the Board of Health, owing to the failures of the Board of Education to defray the expense, as provided by law. Yet it seems that the School Directors are anxious to enforce the rules relating to vaccination, and will be pleased to receive competitive bids from the members of the medical profession."

Composed of two Republicans and two Democrats, the intelligent Board orders that no children shall attend school unless vaccinated, and then fails to provide for their vaccination unless they duly humiliate themselves by pleading pauperism to secure free vaccination. Otherwise they must pay the doctors for this service.

After the child has been vaccinated the Board may or may not educate it, as the following clipping shows:

"Agents of the Board of Education were busy yesterday in various parts of the city trying to find vacant rooms in which to accommodate overflow classes from the public schools. The existing condition is so perplexing and complicated that there is little hope of a satisfactory straightening out before Christmas.

"Nearly all the schools are overcrowded, and large numbers of children have been turned away. As a result, many parents called yesterday at the office of the Board of Education in the City Hall to demand that rooms be rented in the neighborhood of the schools in their vicinity to receive their children. So numerous were these complaints that it was found impossible to give them separate attention. Parents were told that conditions at the schools were at present in a confused state, but in the course of a week some steps would be taken to provide room for all the children desiring to attend."

We see how little attention is thus paid to the children of the poor. The fact is, the capitalists would be only too glad to destroy the schools if by that means they could prevent the workers from becoming dangerously literate and intelligent.

Oppose the Name "Social Democratic."

RESOLUTION.

Adopted by Local Sacramento, S. D. P., on June 30th, 1901.

Resolved, That it is the sentiment and firm belief of Local Sacramento of the Social Democratic Party that the name Social Democratic Party is inimical to the well being and advancement of the revolutionary cause of the working class of this country under that name; be it further

Resolved, That on account of the general and indefinite meaning of the word "Social" and the little-understood meaning of the word "Democratic" in this country, on account of the long and well-known existence of a political party by the name of "Democratic," which has stood and now does stand for the direct opposite of the meaning of the name;

Resolved, That we, for that reason, do object to the word "Democratic" in connection with our party name. Because we are Socialists, we do object to giving any excuse or pretext at all, whatsoever, to any one for calling us "Social Democrats." Therefore, we most strenuously oppose the name, and furthermore, we are opposed to any name that has not the complete word "Socialist" in it, for we love the name "Socialist" and are proud of it, and would be ashamed to hide or skulk behind any other name, even though it be that of "Social Democrat."

We therefore recommend to our Comrades throughout this country, and more especially to our Comrades who will soon be assembled in Convention, that they adopt the name "Socialist Party."

Resolved, That a copy of these presents be sent to the State Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party, and a copy each to the "Worker," the "Worker's Call," and the ADVANCE.

(Signed.) W. F. Lockwood, Organizer.
S. Edgar Alderman, Rec. Sec.
Randsburg, Cal, July 8, 1901.

Do You wish to be an Orator?

Socialists who wish to do something for Socialism should learn how to speak in public. A class to learn this necessary part of a propagandist's education is being formed and the best teacher in the city is already engaged. Those wishing to join should address at once, H. H. Lilienthal, 510 Shrader street, City.

Advance Co-operative Bakery.

All our readers, comrades and sympathizers with the cause of organized labor should deem it their duty to help to make the "Advance Co-operative Bakery" a great success. You can do so by asking for bread only that bears the Union Label. The "Advance Co-operative Bakery" is the only bakery in the city that is owned and conducted by class-conscious trades union men, the only bakery whose bread bears the Union Label.

Every working-class family in the city needs at least one loaf of bread each day. If every reader of ADVANCE would see to it that his wife or housekeeper asks for "Advance" Union Label bread, the success of our Comrades of the Co-operative Bakery will be assured. The bakery, whose advertisement you find on our last page, is now prepared to fill orders from all over the Mission, and within a few days will be able to take in orders from all parts of the city.

Drop a line, or telephone, to "Advance Co-operative Bakery and Confectionery," 1527 Mission street (Telephone, Jessie 2311), so that the management can map out the different delivery routes for the city.

GRAND PICNIC.

The S. D. P. sections of Oakland and Alameda will have a picnic at Leona Heights, Sunday, July 28th. Comrades from all around the Bay are invited. San Francisco comrades will take the Alameda broad gauge, get off at Park street, and from there it is five minutes' walk to Leona Heights cars. Entrance to the grounds free. Come one and all and bring your lunch baskets well filled, and let us have a good Social-ist time.

Comrades and Readers: Patronize those business houses that advertise in ADVANCE. By doing so you will help your paper.

"THE COMRADE."

To Friends of Organized Labor !

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Remember our address:

1527 Mission St. Phone Jessie 2311

RETAIL TRADES COUNCIL.

At the regular meeting on July 23, 1901, President A. R. Andre being absent, the meeting was opened at 8:30 p. m. by I. Less.

The minutes of previous meeting were read and approved. Bills were ordered paid.

Reports of Unions:

Bakers: The Co-operative Bakery is in a flourishing condition; it is doing a very good business; and the demand for the Union Label is on the increase. Twelve Bakeries have adopted the Union Label. Ruediger & Loesch, 111 Larkin street, are not adhering to the Union principles; Union men are requested not to patronize it.

Bottlers: Progressing nicely; business is very good.

Shoe Clerks: Nearly all the Shoe Stores in the city are closed at six o'clock. Union men are doing their duty in not buying after six.

Shoe Workers: Business good. Still ask union men to remember that Stamp No. 60 is the Union Stamp of San Francisco made shoes.

Steam Laundry Workers: Progressing nicely.

Milk Drivers: Everything is in a flourishing condition. Request Union men to ask for the green Union Working Card of the Milk Driver.

No delegates were present from the French Laundry Workers, Milkers, Retail Clerks, Broommakers, Cooks and Waiters, Brewers and Wine Bottlers and Cellarmen.

The following were elected officers of the Retail Trades Council by acclamation: President, I. Less; Vice-President, M. Wille; Recording Secretary, A. R. Andre; Sergeant-at-Arms, G. Gallagher; Trustees, W. E. Walker, Miss L. Ryan and J. C. Lane; Executive Committee, M. Wille, J. C. Lane, I. Less, R. Speck, L. Berg, A. R. Andre, P. Shanzer, G. Gallagher and M. Fogarty. Ph. Shanzer declined the office of Financial Secretary, and his resignation was accepted. Unions are requested to see that their delegates attend the next meeting of the Council, or send substitutes in their stead.

Meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

A. Dijeu, Sec.

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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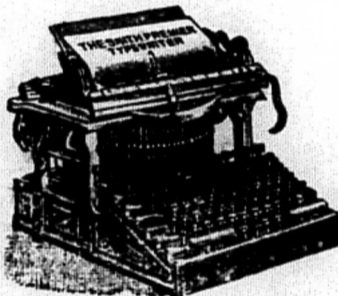
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