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❁ ❁ WHY ARE WE SLAVES ? ❁ ❁

BY JOHN A. MORRIS.



Why are we slaves ? is the question often asked the thinker. I answer: We are slaves to our superstitions and party prejudices, governed by passion and partisanship instead of reason. Hence, the fundamental basis of civilization is wrong. Passion vs. reason, cut-throat competition instead of organic unity, commercial cannibalism instead of a co-operative commonwealth; parasites, poverty and plunder, instead of prosperity, progress and plenty.

Why is all this ? Simply because of the folly of blindly following custom has not become extinct, and money, land and property are worshipped instead of man studying and reasoning concerning the facts of life.

As Lowell rightly says: "It is man who is sacred," but the "miserable modern mob" of demagogues in pulpit, press and legislature indoctrinate into the minds of the people that brutal superstition of the age, the sacred rights of property. Hence, we worship the Beast of Property instead of considering the sacred rights of man; and that beast is several billion dollars strong.

Now, who's got all that wealth ? I haven't any of it; and don't think the majority of my readers have much ! Would I be correct if I should say "a few of the robbers?"

OUR ROBBER CIVILIZATION.

Robbers ? How robbers ? Well, my intelligent reader, facts prove the correctness of Jay Gould's principle of life, "that the world is divided into to great classes; the robber and the robbed, the plunderer and the plundered." Or as John Ruskin says: "Every man belongs to one of two categories—he is either a laborer, that is, a worker in some way, or he is an assassin." Or as Thomas Carlyle more mildly puts it: "Whenever you find a hand that is not busy working you will find a hand that is busy picking and stealing."

In our robber civilization of "law and order," in which corporate monopoly has all the law and the "poor damned public," that "miserable modern mob" of malcontents, have all the order—which must be kept inviolate to preserve the vested rights of monopoly—"might is right."

HOW THE ROBBERY OCCURS.

But the questions are asked: "How are we robbed ? And who are the robbers ?"

The above questions I shall answer by the following catechism:

What is the trinity upon which is based the rights of property ? Rent, interest and profit.

What is rent ? The taking of interest for the use of land.

What is interest ? The taking of rent for the use of money.

What is profit ? Interest (three-fourths of the product) which the majority (95 per cent) of the people pay to trusts and combines for the privilege of living, eating, drinking, sleeping, dressing and working.

What are wages ? The amount of product remaining after the duty paid to the capitalist landlords, landlords and profit-mongers in the shape of rent, interest and profit.

How the robbery occurs may be seen by the following illustration: A man working six days a week produces \$10 worth of material per day or \$60 worth per week, receives as wages \$3 a day or \$18 a week, pays \$10 rent a week for house for self and wife and family and has \$8 left. He pays a man \$7 a day or \$42 a week to employ him. He pays another \$10 a week for shelter, and the remaining \$8 goes to buying food and clothing products for self, wife and family, and goes indirectly, but inevitably, to the sugar-king, to the flour-king, to the coffee-king, to the capitalist landlord, to the cotton-king, to the finance-king, etc. and goes to swell the wealth of food and clothing syndicates, composed of a few individuals, who charge "all the traffic will bear."

On \$8 a week nothing can be saved, and when industry is paralyzed through an industrial panic or through the displacement of human labor by new and improved methods of machinery, the origin of paupers, prostitutes, criminals and tramps is plainly understood.

THE ROBBERS—PRINCIPAL AND ACCESSORY.

Again, the robbers who profit by this system of capitalism and commercial competition, either in rent or interest or profit, or all of these, may be divided, taking the rule of common law, into two classes: Principal and accessory after the fact.

In the religious world dwell the priests and theologians, and those who by the common courtesy of cusotm are called ministers of the gospel. The preacher person-

(Continued on 4th Page.)

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON AND AN UNEARNED HALO.

W. E. Henley, the poet, has taken occasion to protest with all his might against the attempt to exalt Robert Louis Stevenson into the greatest writer and the greatest martyr in the world. Mr. Henley says in part:

"I have everywhere read that we must praise him (Robert Louis Stevenson) now and always for that, being a stricken man, he would live out his life. Are we not all stricken men, and do we not all do that? And why, because he wrote better than any one, should he have praise and fame for doing that which many a poor, consumptive seamstress does: cheerfully, faithfully, with no eloquent appeals to God, nor so much as a paragraph in the evening papers? That a man writes well at death's door is sure no reason for making him a hero; for, after all, there is as much virtue in making a shirt, or finishing a gross of match-boxes, in the very act of morality, as there is in polishing a verse, or completing a chapter in a novel. As much, I say; but is there not an immense deal more? In the one case, the sufferer does the thing he loves the best in life. In the other, well—who that has not made shirts, or finished match-boxes, shall speak? Stevenson, for all his vocalizings, was a brave man, with a fine, buoyant spirit; and he took the mystery of life and time and death as seemed best to him. But we are mortals all; and, so far as I have seen, there are few of us but strive to keep a decent face for the Arch-Discomforter. There is no doubt that Stevenson wrote his best in the shadow of the Shade; for writing his best was very life to him. Why, then, all this crawling astonishment—this voluble admiration? If it meant anything it would mean that we have forgotten how to live, and that none of us is prepared to die; and that were an outrage on the innumerable unstoried martyrdoms of humanity."

This is good and true. Robert Louis Stevenson was a writer considerably above the average. He wrote entertainingly, if he was a stylist and had just a suspicion of affectation. But because he was ill and still content to drag out his life, doing the work that suited him, some of those gushing creatures who abound in every community, who are all made to believe in literary perception as in everything else, have seen fit to exalt him into something akin to a God.

Hero worshiping is one of the most vicious traits in the human family. The person possessing it makes an angel or a devil of everyone he meets. Stevenson is an angel to these emotional women of both sexes, because some well favored critics praised, and deservedly so, his essays. They think the praise extends to everything written by Stevenson, including his poetry, which, by the way, is no more poetry than the strumming of Mr. Kipling is poetry.

The healthy rebuke offered by Henley will help to bring them to their senses. The seamstress sewing in her garret with the demon of hunger gnawing at her vitals, is just as worthy of respect, considered as a martyr, as the successful writer Stevenson, if not more so. For, with his ability to reach an audience and his knowledge of human suffering, he did not give expression to the highest thought of his own age and time.

For this alone he should be held in disesteem. A man who knows the needs of the world, if he is a man, should speak. But, aside from this, the attempt to fasten a halo where it does not belong—to make a man a great artist because he suffered a few twinges of pain—is absurd. Shakespeare held horses outside a tavern door; he also had to leave Stratford-on-Avon for stealing sheep. Some people who think it more respectable to steal deer than sheep, insist that it was deer the poet stole. However, he stole and he suffered banishment from his home and Anna Hathaway, because he stole, and he suffered when he held the horses of the noisy Elizabethian swash-bucklers, and he suffered "when he was a poor player strutting and fretting his hour upon the stage," daubed a liveried servant of some lord or other, who could have no sympathy with him or his thought, and yet, if Shakespeare had not given "King Lear" and "Macbeth" to the world his heart aches would have gone unchronicled.

It is not the suffering a man endures that makes him worthy of artistic saintship, it is the work he does in his chosen field. And when one turns from the cries of distress, when one who has felt the pain of life spends his time tinkering with the artificial graces of the language after he has conquered the world instead of helping forward that world's work, he is not worthy a saintship of any kind. At any rate we decline with Mr. Henley, to allow every bit of mediocrity, possibly more anxious to vindicate an investment in sundry volumes of Stevenson's works than to arrive at a satisfactory criterion for art, to pin the halo of artistic accomplishment on the dead author's head with a few commonplace pains. These same people would turn in disgust from the actual sufferings of a starving family and would waste good honest money earned by somebody else on a wreath or a stone monument for Stevenson rather than feed hungry children or buy soap for them, that they might be clean. A dead author is more to them than a living, breathing world filled with unwritten martyrdoms.

If we must coax the working class to vote the Socialist ticket, they can be coaxed to vote other tickets; and any political organization of the working class on this basis will not, nor cannot be, revolutionary; but can, and will be emotional. Such organization does not contain the essence of self-reliance necessary for the emancipation of the working class from its rulers, and will go to pieces as soon as its effervescent enthusiasm meets the disapproval of the ruling class.—Wage Worker.

Santiago Iglesias, the Socialist has been sentenced to three years four months and eight days imprisonment for conspiring to raise the price of labor in Porto Rico.

LABOR AND CAPITAL'S LOVE FEAST.



Labor and Capital and Senator Hanna have been enjoying a good time together. The president maker, Mr. Hanna, gets up and claims fealty to the trades union. He loves the union, he fights for the union, he is a union man himself, only he forgot his card. This is the first day of the feast. The second day brings Mr. Schwab, general manager of the steel trust, at a million dollars a year; and Mr. Schwab proceeds to say hard things about the trades union. He objects to the present organization for various reasons, the chief of which, are the tendency to put a limit on the output by the union men and imitation of trust methods. When he sat down, Senator Hanna, the lover of the trades unions, the defender of the trades unions, put his hand up to his face, so the reporters should not see him, and he winked a generous appreciative wink at Mr. Schwab, general manager of the steel trust. Mr. Schwab could speak what is on his mind because he is not in politics. He could point out the weakness of the unions and the vices of the union men, secure in the friendship and encouragement of Mr. Hanna, because he is not looking for office. Mr. Hanna himself is one of the worst labor skimmers in the state of Ohio. He endorsed all that Schwab said and a great deal more, but only on the quiet. Who knows. He may be running for president some day. A little convenient slobbering on the neck of labor while he has the center of the stage and a large sized and convincing wink while he is behind the scenes may mean the opportunity of running the affairs of the country.

The third day brought more of the "worthy bidden guests" to the "feast of reason and the flow of soul." And something else besides reason appeared at the feast, and the flow of soul could have conveniently lodged in a tea spoon.

One little capitalist who insisted on his men joining the union, said that the great industrial and commercial development of the United States during the last twenty years had been brought about by the fact that employers in this country work with the men who work for them.

This puts an effectual quietus on the claim of John P. Irish, that all progress in the country is traceable to his presence in it. When this small producer, whose name has slipped our memory, sat down, there was a suspension of the snow storm and the great labor leaders of the country were placed where the calcium light would be most effective. This was a signal for more slobbering. The community of interests and the fraternal relations between the capitalists and the workers were advantageously introduced by every speaker. There was no antagonism, there was no memory of Homestead, Latimer, the Bull Pen, Lebanon or any of the other places where the genuine fraternal relations between the capitalist class and the working class were especially emphasized. The whole thing went off with fine eclat. A court or committee of arbitration was established with some of the firmist friends of labor on it, including Grover Cleveland. No hint was given of Mr. Cleveland's fitness for the office as arbitrator between the workers and their exploiters as evidenced by his attitude during the A. R. U. strike. All harmful discussion and personal reflection and injurious

conjuring up of past misdeeds were quietly, but emphatically forgotten. It was a love feast.

An American spirit, as one of the labor leaders judicially called it, was to be injected into the trades unions. The employers were to be invited to join the unions. The economic necessity for struggle between the capitalists and the workers was ignored. The fact that every thing the working class had received in the way of better pay or shorter hours was the result of the struggle, made no difference to the discussion. The fact the unions are in existence to resist the encroachment of the capitalist class and hold that class from taking ALL which is produced was overlooked. The delegates to the love feast looked kindly on one another and Bishop Henry Codman Potter, who was recently on this coast with J. P. Morgan and was a party to the dumping of a \$200-breakfast on the ash heap, had a benign expression on his cherubic countenance for at last "labor and capital had been reconciled."

And Mr. Hanna, dear Mr. Hanna, the profound lover of all the workingmen, and especially organized workingmen, who was never known to wink, only behind his hand at all this slobbering of these people over each other, he will go out into the world and buy his senatorship with the same happy careless air that characterizes him and feel that he has done his duty to his class, the capitalist class, by contributing not a little to the hoodwinking of the working class for another brief season.



THE PORTION OF LABOR.

A New England writer of some strength has taken the thought current among our "cultured classes" that the struggles of the working class are necessary to the upbuilding of character in the working class, for her theme and woven a novel, drab in color, around it. She says toward the end of the book:

"Andrew quoted again from the old King of Wisdom. 'I withheld not my hand from any joy, for my heart rejoiced in all my labor.' Then Andrew thought of the hard winter which had passed, as all hard things must pass, of the toilsome lives of those beside him, of all the work they had done with their poor knotty hands, of the tracks which they had worn on the earth toward their graves, with their weary feet, and suddenly he seemed to grasp a new and further meaning for that verse of Ecclesiastes.

"He seemed to see that labor is not alone for itself, not for what it accomplishes for the task of the world, not for its equivalent in silver or gold, not even for the end of human happiness and love, but for the growth of character in the laborer.

"That is the portion of labor," he said.

And it is to develop character in laborers that they are herded into factories, that they are paid insufficient wages, that they cannot remain one week idle without feeling the bitter pain which comes from seeing their wives and children suffer from hunger. It is to develop character in laborers that they must watch their loved one troop through the winter's snow to mill and sweat shop.

This is the apology that is offered for the capitalist system. The offering of it by one capable of thinking and knowing is no more than a sign of intellectual prostitution.

ally is not a capitalist, nor does he directly or indirectly through the preaching of the "world over there," rob the laborer of his wealth.

But who pays the preacher's salary? How is it that the various denominations, both Protestant and Catholic, in our "grand and glorious" republic, can send millions of dollars out of the country every year to save the souls of the heathen cannibals, while the commercial cannibals of the twentieth century (age of Christian civilization and scientific enlightenment, seated in church and state, male and female, clothed in silks and satins, broadcloth and fine linen, and faring sumptuously every day, live and fatten off the life-blood of the people; devouring the very soul and substance of the nation; eating into the vitals of mankind, into the very heart of humanity? They are like the "lilies of the field," they "toil not, neither do they spin," but the creator of all wealth (Labor) provideth for them all.

But the preacher? He is not a bloated bond-holder, not a coupon-clipper, not a capitalist in the sense in which the term would be applied to a millionaire railroad magnate.. He is just as bad—he is a receiver of stolen goods. He is not a principal in the crime of robbery, but he is an accessory after the fact.

Who pays the preacher's salary? From whom does the church obtain her millions? From the people who have robbed you and me of the product of our toil by rent, interest and profit, through flour syndicates and corn trusts, coal and clothing combines and corporation monopolies. And the preacher in accepting that part of the product as his salary for services rendered in the cause of capitalistic superstition proves himself both a hireling and a slave, a receiver of stolen goods and a criminal. He has received part of the "swag", and stands related to the capitalist in the theory of social economics as does the receiver of stolen goods to the burglar who has stolen those goods, for the capitalist is the burglar of society!

And the church? "How shall we reach the masses?" The church will never again under this system reach the masses, for its very life and existence depends upon the sustenance of that old hoary-headed lie and superstition, the sacred rights of private property—of which there is none of more harm to the human race, excepting perhaps, the doctrine of the divine right of kings—and which is antagonistic and against the more holy, more noble and more sacred rights of man. The doctrine of property rights is the corner-stone and foundation principle of the Church of the Golden Calf, falsely called the Church of Christ. The church can never again reach the masses; and I, as a scientific Socialist am glad of it. For if the philosophy of Patrick Henry be true then we can only judge the future by the history of the past; and I, looking back at the history of the church, see that when she had her clutches on the masses she only degraded them.

Again, in ancient times it was stated as a prophecy that the day would come when the lion and lambs would lie down together. Pshaw! That's what they've been doing for the last 1900 years or so, but the lamb has always been on the inside of the lion. Yet it is no more foolish to suppose that the lion and the lamb can lie together in any other ways than for the people to consider that the capitalists will love their victims. Our Vander-

bilts, our Goulds, our Morgans, our Astors, our Carnegies and others of their ilk are the wolves of the world who take the meat of wealth from the bones of labor. Our Breckenridges and Congressional libertines are the jackals of society who make our mothers, our daughters, our sisters, our wives, our sweethearts, their mistresses by night, and our fathers, our sons, our brothers and ourselves their slaves by day. Abolish a condition of things which breed the millionaire-master on the one hand, and the pauper-slave on the other. Deprive the wolves of the world of any further power. Compel the jackals of society to step down and out.

When the competitive system of civilization shall have been abolished the church of to-day, the religious tools of capitalism and the state of to-day, the political tool of capitalism, will enter into the history of the past, to be considered as two horrible superstitions unworthy the respect of any honest and sensible person. And there will be no religion outside of man; no philosophy except it can be demonstrated by scientific analysis and rigid investigation; no wealth except that of labor, and every man shall have that which is his own; and if any man and woman desires to obtain wealth for himself or herself through profit by the hire of another instead of being willing to work as a happy and contented employee of the state, we will put him or her into an institution for the feeble-minded.

OUR POLITICAL ROBBERS.

Our political robbers are those who, making a business of politics, look well to it that their services, their influence, their vote receives high remuneration from the principals in the game of organized robbery. Why, it has even been known that some of our grave and revered-looking senators, sugar-stock dabblers, largely, had a hand in shaping legislation so that our sweetly-inclined legislators could get a portion of the plunder thereby.

But what is the peculiar position which the legislator of to-day occupies? Be he ever so honest, be he ever so true and just, he becomes an instrument in the hands of the capitalist to make and manufacture the tools by means of which said capitalist can rob the wealth-producers of the fruits of their toil. The honest legislator (if he exist) stands related to the capitalist, as does the honest mechanic who makes the jimmies, the slungshots, the drills and other tools of the burglar's trade, to the said burglar. For the jimmies, the slungshots, and the drills of capitalism are your Wilson bills, your McKinley bills, your Sherman bills, the land laws, the railroad grants, all the corporation and special privilege laws. The Congress of the United States, the members of the House of Representatives, and senators are the manufacturers of these burglars' tools, and receive a part of the booty. The Rothschilds of Germany; the Carnegies of Scotland; the Astors, the Vnderbilts, the Goulds, the Crocker, the Rockefellers, the Armours, the princes, kings and queens of the old world, the bankers and financiers, the railroad kings, the landlords, lendlords, profit-mongers and the corporations of every stripe, variety and breed are the thieves who rob the commonwealth of humanity of its treasure, and like tigers thirsting for your blood they tear the roof from over your head, the clothing from off your back and the bread and butter from between your teeth;

and cannibals as they are they devour you by large mouthfuls of rent, interest and profit. Down with landlordism, political robbery, and rent, interest and profit. and up with truth, honesty and justice. Down with the princes, kings and queens of the world with all their tinsel and show, their gaudiness and sham, and up with the dignity of Labor, the reign of muscle and the rule of mind. Down with the "sacred rights of property," and up with the still more sacred rights of man. Down with this system of cut-throat competition and individual enterprise, and up with the co-operative commonwealth.

BEBEL'S SPEECH IN THE REICHSTAG.

Comrade Bebel made a great speech on Dec. 4th in the Reichstag against the "hunger duties" as he calls the tariff on grain. He said in part:

"There are two nations in the German state "the plunderers and the plundered."

"The Imperial Chancellor, Count von Buelow, spoke for the former; I am speaking for the latter. Fifteen per cent of the German people are engaged in agriculture. The Chancellor said the remaining 85 per cent were engaged in other occupations, and that 72 per cent of these latter were industrialists. Only one-ninth of the grain is imported.

"Agriculture in Germany might be called prosperous. The late Dr. von Miquel, former Minister of Finance, in an official declaration three years ago, said German agriculture was prosperous. The Prussian crown knows it is prosperous, because it is now investing 3,000,000 marks in new agricultural holdings. The reduction of farm mortgage foreclosures of recent years showed that agriculture was better off than previously and the value of lands has increased during the last century.

"This bill is intended, not for the betterment of the farm laborer, but for the betterment of the landlord. If any landlord is not getting on well now, it is because of large hunting parties gambling, well-filled wine cellars, sons in crack cavalry regiments and town houses in Berlin."

At this point in Herr Bebel's speech, Graf von Kardorff, one of the greatest land magnates, laughed jeeringly.

"Yes," continued Herr Bebel, "that is the way with you fellows. You lay taxes upon the poor and when it is proven to you that they are unnecessary, you laugh. But the world's history rolls on over you regardlessly."

Later Graf von Arnim, another great agrarian leader, scornfully interrupted Herr Bebel while the latter was relating an incident of a Prussian school girl who wanted to go to heaven because there was no hunger there. Upon this occurrence the Socialist members of the Reichstag rushed in a body toward the Conservative side of the chamber, shouting "Order!" Interruptions of all sorts were then made. These showed the rising temper of the house. The President of the Reichstag frequently rang his bell or called Herr Bebel and the other members of all the political groups to order. Herr Bebel inspired by the temper of the house, exclaimed:

"This bill foments insurrection. The Chancellor aims to overturn social order; we shall do our utmost to send this bill to Hades and we only regret we cannot send its authors and abettors there also."

Baron von Rheinbaben, the Prussian Minister of Finance, advised Herr Bebel that if the Social Democrats stirred up rebellion the Government assured them they would reap a harvest of broken heads. This was greeted with cheers on the Right and laughter on the Left.

A BOYCOTT ON ENGLISH SHIPPING.

We are in receipt of a circular from Holland in support of a boycott against English commerce, designed to stop the present war of extermination England is waging against the Boers. We are heartily in favor of the desire to stop the war. We think with the writers of the circular that war is a scourge on mankind, that this especial war is a shame to civilization and much more that is not contained in the brief. But we doubt the wisdom of pitting English workingmen against continental workingmen and at the same time putting money in the continental capitalist purse.

If Socialists endorsed this boycott they would be playing into the hands of the capitalist class. All the capitalists wish is to see us at each others throats. They fear the growing sentiment of solidarity more than they fear Socialism itself. This solidarity contains an immediate menace; Socialism can be delayed by one subterfuge or another for years.

And with the means they have at hand for disseminating untruths, the capitalist class would not be slow in pointing out where the boycott was levied by the Dutch Socialists against English workingmen and every idle hour and hungry day would be attributed by the English workingmen to that boycott with the usual evil result to Socialist propaganda.

The folly of appealing to English workingmen to join the boycott against themselves must be apparent.

If the English workingmen desired to stop the war they could do so of themselves in two weeks. There is no use beating around the bush in a case like this. On the shoulders of the English workingmen rests the burden of Empire. If they refused to bear the burden, if they arose in protest against the concentration camps, Chamberlain and his gang would rush to accept any terms of peace. It is because they feel the workers are with them that they venture on the murder of women and children in these disease camps in the veldt. It is because they feel secure in the affections of the workers that they have determined on wiping two republics from the earth.

There is absolutely nothing to be gained for Socialism by indorsing this boycott, there is no possibility of gain for the Boers. Only a few more continental merchants and manufacturers would pile up fortune with which to fight the working class or establish plants in South Africa where the last remnants of the Boer people could be exploited to the limit.

Maitre Labori, the famous lawyer who defended Dreyfus, has been nominated for the Chamber of Deputies in the historic district of Fontainebleu. Labori is a Socialist and will probably be elected. He is regarded as the leading lawyer of France, and his entry into politics and open espousal of Socialism has been one of the sensations of Europe this week. A cable to a New York paper says the Socialists are jubilant and the politicians of the old parties are correspondingly depressed, as they realize that M. Labori's stand will wield a powerful influence in harmonizing factional differences among the Socialists and in attracting new supporters to their cause.

Canton Township McPherson County, Kansas, elected a full Socialist ticket. Northport, Wash., did the same except the attorney and one councilman.

ADVANCE

KARL MARX' ECONOMIC TEACHINGS.

BY KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated for "Advance" by Kasper Bauer.

(Continued from last week.)

We have had a capital of \$200,000, \$100,000 of which was variable capital used to employ 500 workers. The introduction of a new machine increases the amount of constant capital to \$158,000, decreases the amount of variable capital to \$42,000, and the number of workers employed to 210. But let us suppose that \$400,000 new capital is added to the undertaking; that the establishment is being correspondingly enlarged; the number of workers employed rises to 630, or 130 more than formerly. We see that, had the machine not been introduced the trebling of the capital would have meant a trebling in the number of workers, from 500 to 1500, which it did not with the machine.

But though machinery always causes a relative, and at times also a positive reduction in the number of workers in the particular branch of industry in which it is introduced, it can also at the same time cause an increase in the number of employees in another branch of industry.

Machinery necessitates a new form of labor namely the maker of the machine.

The introduction of machinery in a certain branch of industry means the increase of the total mass of product turned out by that particular industry. This in turn calls for a corresponding increase of new material and also, under otherwise equal circumstances, an increase in the number of workers producing this raw material. If a machine is introduced which spins 1000 yards of yarn with less workers to tend to it than formerly 100 yards could be spun the result will probably be that the numbers of spinners will decrease but that the number of people employed on cotton plantations will increase. The development of the spinning-machines in England was the main cause of the increase of the number of slaves in the United States. If the yarn becomes cheaper, the weaver can without increased expenditure for raw-material, produce more, he will earn more, and thereby the number of weavers is increased. When machinery is applied to any of the preliminary or intermediate stages through which the subject of labor has to pass on its way to completion, there is an increased yield of material in those stages and at the same time an increased demand for labor in the handicrafts or manufactures supplied by the produce of the machines.

With the development of machinery grows the amount of surplus-value and the mass of products which represents it. This in turn increases the luxuries of the capitalist class and its supporters. The demand for producers of luxury, servants, lackeys, etc., increases correspondingly. In 1861, in England the whole textile industry employed but 642,607 persons while 1,208,648 persons belonged to the class of servants. Besides these factors causing an increase in the demand for laborers even though new machinery be introduced, Marx cites one more: the coming into existence of new fields of production, such as gas and electric light-works, railways, etc., etc. Compare this with what Prof. Lehr imputes to Marx and what he gives to an astonished world as his own wisdom.

It is certain, that when Marx examined in what way the introduction of machinery can result in an additional demand for labor, he did not attempt to white-wash the capitalist system, and to minimize the misery into which the working population is thrown as the result of machinery. The factory destroys the workers family, robs him of his youth, increases his labors while taking from it all attraction, ruins him physically and mentally and turns him into a helpless tool of the capitalist—and bourgeoisie economists believe that they have immortalized the capitalist use of machinery when they have shown that with the growth of machinery there is also a growth in the number of wage-laborers in the factory. As though that growth was not a growth of misery! And side by side with the misery of the worker, grows the misery of those out of work.

The amount of variable capital may grow absolutely with the progress of machine system, not necessarily however. In many branches of modern industry an absolute decrease in the amount of variable capital has been ob-

(To be Continued.)

Party Meeting.

At the regular party meeting held Dec. 18th with Comrade Bersford in the chair. The following business was transacted:

Bills to the amount of \$12.95 were ordered paid.

Comrades Noel and Culman will be respectively chairman and reader of the next propaganda meeting.

An unofficial communication was received in a circular signed by James Andrew, Scott Anderson, G. B. Benham and J. Geo. Smith.

The secretary is ordered to answer the communication of J. Geo. Smith, dated Dec. 7th.

Local San Francisco censures two members of the Local, Scott Anderson and G. B. Benham, for signing circular protesting against the state convention, and ordered a protest sent to the State Committee against members of said committee offending not only against good taste, but against the unwritten code of honor in the Socialist movement by such a display of officialism in attempting to sidetrack a convention that might remove them from office.

The committee appointed to audit the State Committee's books, report as follows: Cash received since last auditing, Jan. 1st to Dec. 13th, \$569.23. Cash expended, \$567.86. Cash on hand Dec. 13th, \$1.37.

Regular party meeting will be held on Wednesday despite the fact that it will be Christmas.

The following sections of instructions to delegates presented by the committee, were adopted:

Section 1.—That the seat of the State Committee shall be San Francisco.

Section 2.—That the State Secretary shall receive a salary of not less than \$5 per month.

Section 3.—That the State Treasurer shall receive a salary of not less than \$1 per annum.

Section 4.—Whereas the Socialist movement represents the whole and not a faction of the working class. Resolved, that the Socialist Party is distinct from and entirely independent of the trade union movement.

B. P. OBER, Sec'y.

ON ALLIANCES.

We may not do as other parties, because we are not like the others. We are—and this cannot be too often repeated—separated from all other parties by an unsurmountable barrier, a barrier that any individual can easily surmount; but once on the other side of it and HE IS NO SOCIAL DEMOCRAT.

We are different from the others; "we are other than the others." What for the others are necessities and conditions of life are death to us. What is it that has made of us in Germany the pivotal party, which according to the significant testimony of Caprivi and the teaching of daily experience makes us the axle around which governmental politics turn? Most assuredly not our representatives in the Reichstag. We might have three times as many representatives, and the allied bourgeois parties would have nothing to fear from us. No, it is the avalanche-like increase of our supporters that gradually, with the certainty of natural law, or more correctly of a natural force, grows from tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands, and from hundreds of thousands to millions, and is daily increasing, bidding defiance to our opponents and driving them into impotent rage. And this avalanche-like increase has come, and is coming as a consequence of our opposition to and struggle with all other parties.

All who are weary and heavy laden; who suffer under injustice; all who suffer from the outrages of the existing bourgeois society; all who have in them the feeling of the worth of humanity, look to us, turn hopefully to us, as the only party, that can bring rescue and deliverance. And if we, the opponents of this unjust world of violence, suddenly reach out the hand of brotherhood to it, conclude alliances with its representatives, invite our comrades to go hand in hand with the enemy whose misdeeds have driven the masses into our camp, what confusion must result in our minds? How can the masses believe in us? If the men of the clerical party, of the progressive party, and the other boodle parties are our comrades, wherefore then the struggle against capitalist society, whose representatives all of these are? What reason then have we for existence? It must be that for the hundreds and thousands, for the millions that have sought salvation under our banner it was all a colossal mistake for them to come to us. If we are not different from the others, then we are not the right ones—the Saviour is yet to come; and the Social Democracy was a false Messiah, no better than the other false ones!

Just in this fact lies our strength, that we are not like the others, and that we are not simply different from the others, but that we are their deadly enemy, who have sworn to storm and demolish the Bastille of Capitalism, whose defenders all those others are. Therefore, we are only strong when we are alone.—LIEBKNECHT, in "No Compromise" pamphlet, Berlin.

The convention of the American Federation of Labor brought its work to a close in Scranton by voting for the discussion of political economy in the affiliated unions. This is a step in the right direction. In a very few years the unions in the Federation will be discussing Socialism freely, for all discussions of political economy will eventually lead to this. Socialism MUST be considered by the workers, it is their only salvation.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES LECTURE COURSE.

Sunday, Dec. 22nd Leo Gasser lectures. subject: "The Common Man".

Sunday, December 29th, William E. Costley, subject: "Workers and Masters".

The entire list for four months is ready. It will appear in next weeks issue. Some of the best known speakers in the state are engaged. Every comrade should make it his duty to attend these Sunday evening meetings at Academy of Sciences Hall. Now is the time to prove your loyalty to your organization.

NEWS ITEMS.

Robert Bandlow is nominated for international delegate to the Socialist Bureau by local Cleveland.

A. B. Edler of Salt Lake City has been elected National Committeeman from Utah,

Montana Socialists will hold state convention at Helena on New Years day,

Upon request of the District Council United Garment Workers, St. Louis, the National Secretary has consented to act as arbitrator in a dispute between that organization and the Schmitz and Schroeder Clothing Co.

The teachers of New York objected to an adherent of the Socialist Party wearing the party button. The student ignored the objection and was haled before the president of the school. After listening to a lecture against anarchism and Socialism, the student left the august presence of the lecturer—still wearing the button and he continues to still wear the button.

The annual congress of the Socialists of Bulgaria was held at Pleven in August last. It appears there are 68 organizations having 2,213 members paying subscriptions, which came to about £230 a year. There is one paper having 2,400 subscribers, and an almanack is published which has a circulation of 25,000 copies. At the last election 15,000 votes were received. There are Socialist deputies in the Sobranje, but the number is not given. A large number of meetings were held during the year.

The Socialist Party of New Hampshire has sent the referendum vote to all the members of the State Committee, and to the members-elect thereof nominated at Dover July 4th, 1901, to state what City or town, day and hour of the first week in January 1902 to call the Committee to hear reports and to have the incoming Committee enter on its work for 1902. Here are the names of the incoming Committee Edward Cole, Dover; Frank W. Tucker, Portsmouth; Michael H. O'Neil, Nashua; George Howie, Manchester; James S. Murray, Concord. To succeed George Howie as State Secretary, Louis Arnstein of Dover.

"AROUND THE PAN"

The most profusely illustrated book of this kind ever published, is a lasting souvenir for those who did, and a splendid description for those who did not visit the Pan. American Exposition, the latter class will find it a most reliable substitute for the trip. It is as amusing to the young as it is intensely interesting to the adult, and should be readily accepted into every household for the edification of young and old. Agents outfit free upon receipt of fifteen (15c.) sent in postage. THE NUT SHELL PUB. CO., New York. Agents wanted; large salaries. Address, with stamps, Prof. J. C. Steiner, Lexington, Ky. ad

ADVANCE



Organ of the Socialist Party of California.

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In bundles of not less than five copies, per week, 1 cent
per copy.

THE NAVAL COURT OF INQUIRY.

The naval court of inquiry will go down in history as a substitute for the naval hero. This is as it should be. The naval hero and the military hero and all cut-throat heroes are a bore, and is it not sufficient to make one desperate, when considering the amount of eternal and inconsiderate gush that is wasted on the fellow with the shoulder straps. He is the lord of creation, he is the God of the exceptionally stupid. The business of murdering for one's country commands not only respect, but considerable money and a monument.

But a year or so ago a little fat man crossed the seas from England to South Africa and chased a handful of Boers over the veldt, till he, the little fat man, was red of face and out of breath, then he went home and received an earldom and about a half million dollars. His name was General Roberts, and the men who kept up with him in the foot race, in fact out-stripped him because they were not so fat, they received—well, what did they receive?

And the men behind the guns at the battle of Santiago and the men down in the stoke holes, the place that is hot enough to make the devil blush through inability to compete with it—these men what did they get? They were even denied the honor of a court of inquiry. Thousands of dollars are always at hand for any trivial undertaking of the fellow with the shoulder straps, but not one penny for an actual necessity of the man in the stoke hole.

We know a man that endured the infernal heat with Schley at Santiago, only Schley was up where the breezes blow, the man was down in the region that is reserved for the damned and other members of the working class. When the smoke of the battle cleared away the man was a howling maniac. The heat was too much for him. He kept crying that he wanted to go hell to cool himself—they did the best they could, they took him to an asylum for the insane.

In the intervals of his ravings this maniac struts like a veritable peacock and claims that HE won the battle of Santiago. He is proud of his laurels and puts bits of straw on his arm in imitation of the officers gold lace. There is no attention paid to his claim, for any one can see he is only an imitation officer. His intimate relations with the superior class, the class that paces the quarter

deck and draws a large salary—his intimate relations with these people is only the excrescence of a mind diseased. But in consideration of his arduous labors his claim is worthy greater respect than may be discovered in a padded cell. Courts of inquiry are the fashion this winter, why should not this man wear one. What if his shoulder straps are manufactured from the leavings of an old mattress. He was once a man, he did his duty, his claim is as valid as Sampson's

Is not this old "tea" dog a victim of paresis. And was it not through him that all this fuss and suspension of breath and dread of the verdict was engendered. If he may make a claim for this honor of killing his fellow men according to the latest rules of warfare why may not any other lunatic. The difference in the various lunacies, if one may so write, is merely a difference of station. The quarter deck lunatic is a hero and gets a court of inquiry, the stoke hole lunatic is several kinds of a thing that is represented in polite literature by a dash and gets a padded cell. Both are absolutely unnecessary to the scheme of things. So are the lunatics who uphold this entire business of cutting foreign throats.

Honor is given to the destroyer, only contempt to the man that constructs. The shoulder straps convert more than fifty per cent of the people of America into lackeys. These same people would shut their doors in the face of an honest workingman who would ask them for a drink of water. And like the padded cell lunatic and the lunatics of the quarter deck their lunacies are merely unrecognized till they become violent.

It could not be possible in this age of savagery to imagine a man patriotic over baking bread for his country or making shoes to the honor and the flag. It is only the cutting of throats that wins applause and courts of enquiry and epaulettes. And this convinces us that our civilization is sadly in need of civilizing.

KARL MARX DEMOLISHED.

"The Bulletin" of this city has entered into a strange field. A few days ago an editorial announced that Socialism would receive its quietus and last Monday it did. We wish space permitted a full reprint of the editorial which robbed Karl Marx of all his glory. A few sections will do however, to show the spirit of "The Bulletin" editor. Here is the first:

"It matters little to capital or labor what wages is paid, provided all competitors pay according to the same scale, for the increased cost of labor is added to the cost of production, and the consumer foots the bill,"

Here the joke is evidently on the consumer. It is time for him to protest, poor abused citizen. He is fearfully maltreated between these two demons of the industrial world, the exploiter and the exploited. Who is he? Where is he? "The Bulletin" fails to tell, but nevertheless it says he exists and that he is a creature out from and apart from either exploiter or exploited and is a person not to be considered in the contract only to be gouged.

Section number two is charming. It is so simple. Here it is:

"But many will object that the division of profits is not fair, and that the man should get more and the master less. It is unjust, they say, that the employer, who sits in an easy chair in his office, should derive large profits from the business while the em-

ploye, sweating and moiling in the furnace room or the puddling shop, should receive, comparatively, so little. This is an argument made frequently by these Socialists that advocate the abolition of capital and private enterprise. It is based on Karl Marx' theory of value, which is an erroneous theory. Karl Marx' thesis is that the value of a commodity is the value of the human labor spent on it. In the case of a shoe, for example, there was a calf to commence with, but the herder labored to feed the calf, it was slaughtered and skinned, tanned, fashioned, transported to market and sold. All these processes involved labor, and the value of the shoe, said Marx, is the sum of all the labor devoted to place that shoe on the foot of the man that wears it. Moreover, Marx reasoned, the value of labor is the time necessary to perform it. To the obvious objection that this theory makes a slow workman more valuable than a rapid workman, the reply made by Marx is that by time he means the time which an average workman would take at the task.

Now, argues Marx, what is the value of a carload of shoes? The value of all the labor—that is, of all the time—put into the shoes. Who created that value? The operatives to be sure; certainly not the rich owner of the factory who may have been idling in Paris when the shoes were made. But who will pocket the price of that carload of shoes? Some of it will go to the workmen, but a very large portion of it will go to the idle employer in Paris. That portion Karl Marx calls "surplus value," and he proposes to divide that surplus value among the workmen and eliminate the absentee capitalist.

"This is a plausible theory, but Karl Marx overlooks an essential ingredient of value, to wit, social usefulness. Let a thousand workmen manufacture shoes that will be too large for any human foot, and then try to sell them. They may tell the public eloquently how much time and labor were put into the shoes, but nobody will buy because the shoes are not useful. Furthermore, all labor is not useful to the same degree. Quality as well as quantity, of labor must be taken into account. Shakespeare may have written "Hamlet" in three months. How long would it have taken an ordinary newspaper reporter, who may have a better education than Shakespeare had, to write the tragedy of the Dane? We must come back to the fact that nature, by giving one man greater talents than another, has created an aristocracy. All men are not born equal. The value of a product cannot be measured merely by the quantity of labor bestowed on it. Quality and usefulness enter into the price.

"The capitalist gives the social value to the product of labor."

We print the above gladly because it is excellent for propaganda purposes. The climax "The capitalist gives the social value to the product of labor" is well worked up, but, it falls rather flat nevertheless, especially since it interferes with truth. The "social value" in a given commodity depends upon society, for society creates the social demand, that is if we follow the lead of the "Bulletin" and stand the proposition on its head. The capitalist enjoying the gay life of Paris has no concern about such trifles, even if they exist outside the editorial sanctum of "The Bulletin." The editor says Marx overlooked the use value in the product. This is gratuitous. If we remember "Capital" right, Marx devoted considerable space to the discussion of use-values. Certainly, he did not confound use value with exchange value—he pointed out very clearly that the modern scheme of production is for exchange and not for use—and therein he showed a criminal disregard for the feelings of our modern servants of the capitalist class who sit in editorial chairs.

Concerning that portion of the editorial referring to the rapidity of one man and the slowness of another, there is a law in dialectics where it is clearly demonstrated that quantity becomes a quality. Marx used this law when demonstrating that an aggregate can perform a given amount of labor in the same time as an aggregate of like proportions. Considering it individually and taking

the year through, men working at machines produce about the same amount. This is the machine age. And even if a slight difference did exist in the abilities of men that is no excuse for an aristocracy of millionaires.

Think of the calm superiority in this phrase: "It—the abolition of private enterprise—is based on Marx' theory of value, which is an erroneous theory. There is no argument here, no heat, no excitement, just a plain and emphatic denial of Marx' thesis.

And think, too, of Karl Marx starting out with a calf to make a pair of shoes. The proposition is absurd. He would have taken a capitalist editor; and, having tanned his hide and otherwise reduced him to a marketable commodity, he would have discovered that at last a use value and an exchange value and a "social value" had been found for one of his ilk.

Think, too, of this editor saying that the Socialists, the Marxian Socialists, are desirous of abolishing capital. We display more anxiety in the matter of the abolition of capitalists and their hangers on, especially the latter when they are editors. There is absolutely no answer to such an article unless one should take it as the Chicago comrades have taken the Rev. Joseph Rickaby's phillipic against (?) Socialism, and print it entirely for propaganda purposes.



THE POSITION OF THE SOCIALIST PRESS.

This is becoming a vital question among Socialists. The success of such papers as the "Appeal to Reason" in the matter of securing subscribers, points the way, many people think the Socialist paper must travel to gain success. This is childish. In the first place the "Appeal" holds a unique position in the country and to the Socialist to whom Socialism is a trifle more than the government ownership of the railroads, an unenviable one. The business department of a Socialist paper should not become the dominant factor of the paper, in fact, it should be kept entirely in the back ground. The financial success of the paper is of little concern to genuine Socialists. The chief consideration should be to teach the truth, and only the truth.

There are men working on the genuine Socialist press to-day, who, if they went in for half done populism and had for their platform government ownership of the utilities they could run their subscription list into the hundreds of thousands. Of course this would entail the giving away as premiums farm lands that would have to be searched for with a fishing net. It would entail resorting to every catch penny device that makes the world of capitalism so disgusting to the judicious.

The chief object of a Socialist paper is to teach Socialism—genuine, straight, class conscious Socialism. The catch penny device and the populist platform are of little use to the social revolution. The unlearning of the stuff one gets in such papers usually takes up more time than the learning of what genuine Socialism really is. In fact, and this is the regrettable part, the men who come into Socialism by these back stairs methods are the living, breathing examples of the fallacy of such methods. We know—but that's another story.

It is not mere numbers that count in this fight. It is the intelligence possessed by the fighters. Gathering a

mob of ethical, brotherly love, government ownership, step-at-a-time people into a Socialist organization by the means of a back woods paper or any other method and leave them uninformed as to the true basis of our movement and they are still a mob. A collection of people filled to the neck with contrary and antagonistic ideas cannot be expected to live in harmony. Every freak calling himself a Socialist is by no means a Socialist, and though joining an organization is usually a pretty fair evidence of a man's good intentions, it is by no means a measure of his intelligence or his power to assimilate scientific truth. Taking every supposed convert to Socialism into the organization is like swallowing an unlimited quantity of half baked dough. The dough clogs up the alimentary canal and forbids digestion. It refuses to be assimilated by the system. It keeps other food from being assimilated. So with the government ownership of the railroads platform man. He will not learn and he keeps others from learning. He thinks the Socialist who has been in the movement for years and who knows the needs and the mission of the working class, an intolerant bigot. He fights him. He measures success by the numbers of his own kind that come into the organization to fight this "intolerant bigot"; and a glorious victory is won when the "intolerant bigot" is downed or a division is brought into the organization. All this comes from not having men grounded in the fundamentals of Socialism. It is the duty of the Socialist press to teach truth all the time, whether success from a counting room standard comes or not. The Socialist movement rests upon the economic need of a great class. No emotional, sentimental or financial consideration should keep that truth from the men who require it most. If our movement is to amount to anything more than the populist or greenback or similar reform movements, it is the duty of the Socialist press to lay a strong and enduring foundation. Within a very few years there will be an industrial crash in this country that will awaken many people to their sense of danger. Already Germany and England are having a taste of its power. When it arrives in this country and finds our organization made up of a mob of various circumstanced, visionary Socialists, it will throw us completely off our feet. We must build well now. The Socialist press must build well that this wave of industrial depression may come and go and still find the Socialist party fighting the battle of the working class.

"KARL MARX' GRANDSON AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

London JUSTICE recently printed an article with the above heading in which the grandson of Karl Marx was censured for trimming and leaning towards compromise tactics. The editor received the following protest from the descendant of the old warrior,

I have never written a single line in favor of Bernstein's tactics and I read with stupefaction in JUSTICE that "from no one in Europe did Bernstein obtain such hearty support as from Jean Longuet....."

I am a clear-cut class-conscious revolutionary Socialist, and always have been since my entrance into the movement.

In the international movement I have always been with the "left wing" of Social Democracy; I mean with

Kautsky, Vandervelde, Enrico Ferri and Hyndman, and I am as much opposed to Bernstein's South African and Indian policy as I am to his possibilist tactics in Socialism. You know the sympathy I have always shown to our friends of the English Social Democratic Federation, and in many articles I have told the French comrades why I thought they were the best Socialists in England.

For 15 months (if not more) I have been every day more and more opposed to the Millerandism of the "Ministerialist" wing of our party in France. All my fellow-contributors on the "Petit Republique", where I am, beside my friend Urbach, the only anti-Ministerialist, know it, and in the General Committee of the French Socialist Party I am, with comrades Renaudel, Cipriani, Wilm, Morizet, and some others, the strongest opponent to the tactics of our "Ministerialist" friends Jaures, Gerault-Richard and others. Only three weeks ago I translated Hyndman's strong article against Millerand, Turati and Bernstein for our magazine, "Le Mouvement Socialiste."

I beg you to publish this letter in JUSTICE, so that our English comrades may know that Karl Marx' grandson has nothing to do with "Socialist trimming" and that he is a thorough-going, irreconcilable Socialist,

Paris, November 26th.

JEAN LONGUET.

—o—

THE WORDS OF MARX.

The master said: "Trade unions work well as centers of resistance against encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power, generally from limiting themselves to guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, by using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say the ultimate abolition of the wage system."

This is the lesson the Socialists would teach.

The ultimate aim of all working men must be the abolition of the wages system. That is why the Socialist Party protested against the new labor party candidates and platform. There was really no difference between the democratic, republican or labor parties. The object of each was the same: to continue the present social and economic conditions. A labor party MUST be different in fundamentals from a capitalist party. The capitalist party can with good reason indorse this present system of production, a real labor party, never.

Some time ago the Prussian legislature enacted a law prohibiting picketing on the part of strikers. Trouble occurred in Lubeck and a local court hurled an injunction, just as our American judges are in the habit of doing. The matter was carried up and the supreme court of Germany has just declared that the Prussian law is unconstitutional and injunctions are illegal. The reason for this action is apparent: In Germany the workingmen have a voice in parliament as other bodies and are a political power. In "free" America the voice of labor is practically unknown in legislative halls and the workers possess no political power. Consequently, in the monarchial fatherland the politicians are careful to not arouse the animosity of the working class while here the politicians have such utter contempt for labor that they don't hesitate to heap whatever hurdens and insults they please upon the wealth-producers.

Constitution of the Socialist Party

"The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in State where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

"There shall be a national committee, composed of one member from each organized State or Territory, and a quorum or five to be elected from the membership of the locality of the seat of the committee.

"The members of this committee shall be elected by and from the membership of the States or Territories which they respectively represent by referendum vote. Their term of office shall not be more than two years, and they shall take their seats in the month of January.

DUTIES AND POWERS.

"The duties of this committee shall be to supervise and direct the work of the National Secretary, to represent the party in all national and international affairs to organize unorganized States and Territories, to call national nominating conventions and special conventions called by referendum of the party and to submit questions to referendum, to receive semi-annual reports from the State committees and to make reports to national conventions. Any member of the National committee not a member of the local quorum may require the Secretary to submit to a vote of the whole National committee questions as to the removal of the local committee or the secretary; also for its consideration of any part of the work of the secretary or of the local committee, or any business belonging to the National committee.

"The National committee shall elect a committee of five from the party membership of the locality selected for the party headquarters, to supervise and assist the secretary as the National committee shall require and direct. Said committee of five shall form part of and be a quorum of the National committee, but shall be subject to removal at any time by the National committee. On the question of removal the said local quorum shall have no vote. This committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ.

"The National Secretary shall be elected by the National committee, his term of office to be for the period of one year, beginning February 1, 1902, and be subject to removal at its discretion.

"In States and Territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party and representing at least ten local organizations in different parts of such State or Territory, respectively, the State or Territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the number residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such State or Territory, and the National Executive Committee and sub-committee or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective State or Territorial organizations.

"Expenses of the National committeemen in attending meetings shall be paid from the National treasury.

"The National Secretary shall be in communication with the members of the National committee, the officers of the organized States and Territories, and with members in unorganized States and Territories. The secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of \$1,000 annually.

HEADQUARTERS.

The headquarters shall be located at St. Louis. But said headquarters may be changed by the National committee, subject to a referendum of the party.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

"Each State or Territory may organize in such a way or manner, and under such rules and regulations, as it may determine, but not in conflict with the provisions with this constitution.

"A State or Territory shall be deemed organized and shall have a right to affiliate upon the organization of not less than four branches, and each branch to consist of not less than five members. Each State and Territory so organized shall receive a charter.

"The platform of the Socialist Party adopted in convention, or by referendum vote, shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all State and municipal organizations shall, in the adoption of their platforms, conform thereto.

DUES.

"The State committees shall pay to the National committee every month a sum equal to five cents for every member in good standing within their respective territories.

REPORTS.

"The Secretary shall prepare a monthly statement of the financial and other business of his office, and when approved by the local quorum of five shall issue the same way as the National committee shall direct.

"The National committee shall prepare a semi-annual report of all the financial and other business of the party and issue the same to all State and Territorial organizations.

"The State committees shall make semi-annual reports to the National committee concerning their membership, financial condition and general standing of the party.

"The National committee shall also arrange a system of financial secretaries' and treasurers' books for locals, the same to be furnished at cost to locals upon application.

AMENDMENTS.

"This constitution may be amended by a National convention, subject to a majority referendum vote of the party or by a referendum without the action of such a convention, and it shall be the duty of the National committee to submit such amendment to a referendum vote within thirty days after being requested to do so by five locals in three different States.

REFERENDUM.

"All acts of the National committee shall be subject to referendum vote after the same manner as provided in the preceding section.

"All propositions or other matter submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without comment.

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

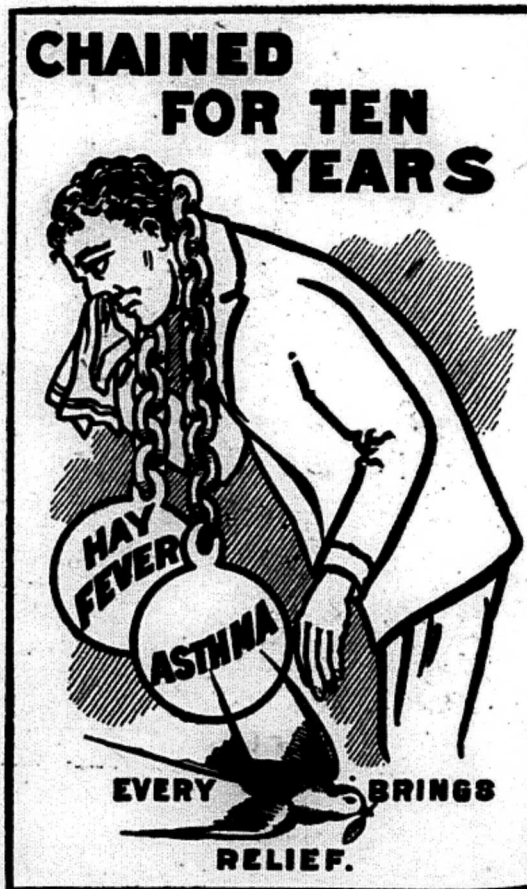
"The basis of representation in any National convention shall be by States, each State being entitled to one delegate at large and one additional delegate for every hundred members in good standing."

ASTHMA CURE FREE!

Asthmalene Brings Instant Relief and Permanent Cure in All Cases.

SENT ABSOLUTELY FREE ON RECEIPT OF POSTAL.

Write Your Name and Address Plainly.



There is nothing like Asthmalene. It brings instant relief, even in the worst cases. It cures when all else fails.

The REV. C. F. WELLS of Villa Ridge, Ill., says: "Your trial bottle of Asthmalene received in good condition. I cannot tell you how thankful I feel for the good derived from it. I was a slave, chained with putrid sore throat and Asthma for ten years. I despaired of ever being cured. I saw your advertisement for the cure of this dreadful and tormenting disease, Asthma, and thought you had overspoken yourselves, but resolved to give it a trial. To my astonishment, the trial acted like a charm. Send me a full-size bottle."

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER,
Rabbi of the Cong. Bnai Israel.

NEW YORK, Jan. 3, 1901.

DRS. TAFT BROS.' MEDICINE CO.,

Gentlemen: Your Asthmalene is an excellent remedy for Asthma and Hay Fever, and its composition alleviates all troubles which combine with Asthma. Its success is astonishing and wonderful.

After having it carefully analyzed, we can state that Asthmalene contains no opium, morphine, chloroform or ether.

Very truly yours,

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER.

AVON SPRINGS, N. Y., Feb., 1, 1901.

DR. TAFT BROS. MEDICINE CO.,

Gentlemen: I write this testimonial from a sense of duty, having tested the wonderful effect of your Asthmalene, for the cure of Asthma. My wife has been afflicted with spasmodic asthma for the past twelve years. Having exhausted my own skill, as well as many others, I chanced to see your sign upon your windows on 130th street, New York, I at once obtained a bottle of Asthmalene. My wife commenced taking it about the 1st of November. I very soon noticed a radical improvement. After using one bottle her Asthma has disappeared, and she is entirely free from all symptoms. I feel that I can consistently recommend the medicine to all who are afflicted with this distressing disease.

Yours respectfully,

O. D. PHELPS, M.D.

DR. TAFT BROS. MEDICINE CO.,

Gentlemen: I was troubled with Asthma or twenty-two years. I have tried numerous remedies, but they have all failed. I ran across your advertisement and started with a trial bottle. I found relief at once. I have since purchased your full-size bottle, and I am grateful. I have a family of four children, and for six years was unable to work. I am now in the best of health and am doing business every day. This testimony you can make such use of as you see fit.

Home address, 235 Rivington street.

S. RAPHAEL,
67 East 129 St., City.

Feb. 5, 1901.

TRIAL BOTTLE SENT ABSOLUTELY FREE ON RECEIPT OF POSTAL.

Do not delay. Write at once, addressing DR. TAFT BROS.' MEDICINE CO., 79 East 130th St., New York City.

Platform of the Socialist Party.

(Social Democrat.)

INDIANAPOLIS.

The Socialist Party of America in National Convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. Today the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalists to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever-increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working-class, and it divides society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage-workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

While we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of the transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We therefore consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employes, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people, in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness

and want in old age; the funds from this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, to be administered under the control of the working class.

5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and State and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we warn the movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

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The age to come is a coming order of things on earth, a new social order. As we speak of the Middle Ages and the present age, so the writer speaks of the age to come, the coming social state. We stand at the dawn of a new century and are looking forward. While the centuries are artificial divisions of time, yet the transition invites the prophetic outlook. The powers of the age to come are the human values of the age to come. Food will be a value. Men must have sustenance. This means sound economics—labor having its share of the product. The significance of it is that health and vigor is to be secured for all, and some leisure the satisfaction and enjoyments of life. Knowledge and culture will be increasing values. This means knowledge of the universe and its laws of the universe and its laws of the history of peoples, of the literature, of art, of religions. Always the man that knows is superior to the man that does not know. The coming age is an age of moral values, of the moral powers. The standing of personal morality will be high."

Students of social philosophy who are familiar with the fundamentals of Karl Marx will recognize here doctrines promulgated by Marx. His school has taught for years that the economics of a people or a period control the religion, morals and intellect for that people and time. The novelty is to see it put forth by other than a Socialist, or discussed except as a Socialistic tenet. The agitation of economic conditions is the beginning of the new order that President Harris predicts; the beginning of human life, as distinct from that of the animal, and this agitation has come, from their necessities, wholly according to nature, among the lowly first, and according to the old precedent of the great lift in the world's conditions dated from the fall of the Roman empire.—President of Amhurst College.

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- 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 1st Tuesday in each month at 102 O'Farrell street.
- 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.olph Speck, 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. Dijeau, 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 Employes**, 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. —. Copper Smiths. 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.

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SHIP and Steamboat Joiners Union, No. 8186. A. F. of L. 3d Wednesday at 20 Eddy St. Thos. Westoby, Secretary, 328 1/2 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.

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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.

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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.

WOODWORKERS International Union No. 15 (Cabinet Makers) Meets every Tuesday, 117 Turk St.

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