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SOCIALISM.

A Paper Read by Hyman Strunsky Before the Agora Club of this City

Every new idea has been misunderstood and misrepresented. Socialism is no exception to this rule. It is the more misunderstood because it is associated with all the other doctrines that are now current. Socialism, anarchism, nihilism, communism and atheism are very much talked of, and the average man is not only ignorant of the phrases that differentiate one from the other, but, indeed, he does not even know that any differences exist. One doctrine, therefore, becomes to him an embodiment of the others, and Socialism is conceived to be a many-faced monster that at once sanctions terrorism, defies authority, scoffs at religion, urges revolution and drags from the present state of contentment down to an uncertain and unholy future by way of battlefields and barricades. Indeed, so well has the ignorance about Socialism and the malicious misrepresentations of those who oppose it succeeded in prejudicing the minds of the people against it, that the Socialist speaker, before telling what Socialism is, is compelled to devote most of his time in telling his audience what it is not. I will, however, make an exception to the rule; for knowing my audience to be an intelligent one, I know they will not understand Socialism to mean a mere scheme of dividing up or a demagogic agitation for a bloody revolution.

Many are the things that Socialism is not. It is neither anarchy nor nihilism, just as it is not a plate of ice-cream or a pumpkin-pie. And since it is impossible for me to enumerate all that Socialism is not, I will confine myself to the more useful and more pleasant task of telling what it is.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? Socialism is that doctrine which advocates the collective ownership of all the tools of production and distribution.

In order to understand this more fully, it is necessary to explain what is meant by Collective Ownership, and also what is understood by private property in the means of production and distribution.

WHAT IS MEANT BY COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP? This term is very often misunderstood. The average man jumps at the conclusion that collective ownership is a divide-up system—a system under which all the wealth is divided into equal parts, a part of which will be given to each member of the community. This fallacy is obvious. The Golden Gate Park is owned by the people of San Francisco collectively. But it does not follow that the park is divided into lots, one of which is given to every member of the community. Indeed, a plan of that kind is the very opposite of Socialism. The minute a thing is divided up it becomes the property of

those to whom it was given and becomes subject to private ownership, while Socialism means public ownership. Collective ownership is therefore not a divide-up plan. It means that all the people own a certain institution or utility collectively—own it in the same manner as we own the postoffice, the library, the army, the school, etc., etc.

What do we mean by private property in the means of production and distribution?

Again the average man is scandalized! "What!" he exclaims. "Do you intend to abolish private property! Will my home, my coat, my watch and chain, my books, become common property? Will there be nothing that I could call my own?"

In order to pacify him it will be necessary to explain to him the difference between private property or personal effects and private property in the means of production and distribution.

When you have a million dollars locked up somewhere in a room you have wealth. You can exchange it for whatever you desire. You can exchange it for jewelry, for books, or for clothing. You can give it to your friend, you can travel with it, and you can do whatever you wish. But when you take the same money and invest it in a business, when you buy for it machinery and produce commodities, that money ceases to be wealth and becomes capital. Capital is money employed in the production of commodities; capital is money in operation. And this is the kind of private property the Socialist wishes to abolish. He opposes not private property, but private ownership in the means of production and distribution. He maintains that all implements of production ought to be owned, and all manufacturing ought to be done, by the people collectively.

AND WHY?

Why, indeed, do Socialists urge so radical a change in the mode of production and distribution of commodities? Allow me to give, in as brief a manner as I possibly can, the gist of the whole Socialist doctrine.

Even a bird's-eye view of our present economic condition strikes us with the following phenomenon: We see that in spite of the enormous amount of wealth that we produce, 60 per cent of the people live in abject poverty. Indeed, so poor are the people that a few weeks of compulsory idleness reduces them to pauperism. On closer examination, we find that those who are poor are the very ones who produce wealth; they who enter the bowels of the earth to search out her treasures, they who melt away their lives at the furnace, they who climb the scaffold, they who till the soil, they who direct the locomotive, they who

build the houses, they who construct and produce everything, are they who have nothing. Wealth is the result of labor; how, then, is it that labor does not own it all? Labor creates riches; how is it that Labor is poor? The answer is readily found.

Progress and civilization have made man interdependent. Man can no longer stand alone. He is part and parcel of a great organism and he must take his place as a member of the giant body. We have undergone industrial revolution that has done away with the old methods of manufacturing. The machine does the work, and man cannot hope to compete with it; those not owning machinery are forced to sell their labor-power to those who do own it. Labor, then, becomes a commodity—an article that is placed on the market and is governed by the law of supply and demand and subject to competition. Competition being fierce, the wage falls and labor-power is cheapened. Thus the workingman is employed to produce wealth and receives in return only a small part of what he produces, a part just large enough to maintain life in order that he may produce more wealth. According to Carroll D. Wright, the average workingman produces wealth valued at \$1,889.00 a year, for which he receives in wages \$347.00. Thus it is that the wealth the laboring classes produces goes to those men who employ them, and they themselves must endure privation and misery. And why? Because the workingman does not own the machinery, the tools of production and distribution. Therefore the Socialists suggest that the people, the whole people, should own the machinery, and the wealth of the world, instead of going into the coffers of private individuals, would go into the treasury of society.

Many are the reasons that compel so radical a change, but not being able in one paper to enumerate all of them, I will state a few which, were there no others, are in themselves strong enough to urge the substitution of the Socialistic system known as the Co-operative state of production for the present Competitive state of production.

SOME DEFECTS OF THE PRESENT ORDER.—Professor Powers, of Stanford University, in a lecture before the Liberty Branch of this city, stated that the annual amount which our business firms in the United States spend for advertising purposes reaches the grand total of 500 million. Now money represents wealth; wealth is defined as an accumulation of commodities; commodities are the result of labor, the result of human effort, of human energy. When we say a waste of money it implies, therefore, a waste of energy, a waste of human life.

Five hundred million a year for advertising! We have said before that the average wage of the workingman is \$347 a year, which means that one million and a half laborers are employed in the United States to defray that cost. Imagine for a minute our government employing a million and a half unnecessary officials, or an increase in our army to that number—what a howl the average man would raise! How our practical citizen would protest against so outrageous an expense! How unwilling the nation would be to keep up so great a number of men! And yet we are supporting that many, and pay them—for what? For helping to take away trade from one concern to give it to another. We pay them for convincing the people of the superiority of Ayer's Sarsaparilla over Hood's, or for proving the efficiency of Carter's Little Liver Pills, and for endangering the lives of the credulous by telling them that a physician can cure biliousness, consumption and ingrown nails simultaneously.

In an article of last November's "Cosmopolitan," written by Jack London, which article Prof. Muller of Chicago University endorses by recommending it to the students, the author says:

"Of the many items which at once present themselves, consider the simple one of fences.

"For the division of land, in the State of Indiana alone, the cost is computed at two hundred millions, and if placed in a single file at the equator, they would encircle the globe fourteen times."

Two hundred millions of dollars is spent for the sole purpose of partitioning off the land that belongs to Paul from the land that belongs to Peter! Looking at these thousands of fences which are dividing our Mother Earth into pieces, each of which is given to a single individual, it is hard to believe that one of the greatest objections to Socialism is that it is a "divide up" scheme.

Because of the disorganized method of production and distribution that prevails today, many are employed to do the work which one could accomplish with equal ease. Says Jack London in the same article: "On one street from two to a dozen milkmen deliver the wares, likewise bakers and grocers, yet one policeman patrols and one postman serves the whole district."

Not only are many employed in doing the work that one might do, but many are employed in doing work that ought not to be done at all; work for which a well regulated society could have no use.

A few figures taken from the latest "Statistician and Economist" will give us an idea of the number of people that we employ at unproductive labor: 69,000 saloon keepers, 74,000 detectives and policemen, 89,000 lawyers, 167,000 agents and collectors, 3,000 auctioneers, 29,000 bankers and brokers, 5,000 commercial brokers, 18,000 commercial travelers, 56,000 hucksters and peddlers, 719,000 merchants, 39,000 officials of insurance companies. These are people who work. I do not mention those who are rich enough to be idle, but I speak of those who do work, of those who are engaged in doing useless work. The loss to Society is double; for society loses the money that these get for which it receives no service in return, and it also loses the time of these men, for they might have been employed at doing socially useful labor.

When all this waste of energy is taken into consideration, we can then believe Prof. Herzog of Austria, who says that five million people employed at socially useful labor would be able to supply a population of 20,000,000 with

the necessities and luxuries of life by working one hour and a half a day.

In the face of these facts, is it well that 400,000 miners should spend all their lives in dark and dangerous mines, never seeing the light and the sunshine? Is it right that weak and feeble women should spend ten and twelve hours a day in airless and dirty factories? And is it just that small and helpless children should be forced into the industrial arena and there, with their childish might, be compelled to fight the storm of life?

"The happiest life," says Hammerton, "is that which constantly exercises and educates that which is best in us."

Today the education of all that is best in us is criminally neglected. Webster, President of our Board of Education, in his last annual report, informs us that in San Francisco 19,000 children of school age do not attend any school. The school population for 1899 in the United States was 21 millions; of these only 15 millions were enrolled and the daily attendance was reduced to 10 millions.

What further do you expect for children who get no education? The answer need not be imagined, but can be found in the already quoted "Statistician." Here is the story of those who were children twenty and fifteen years ago: 73,000 grew up to be paupers, 45,000 penitentiary convicts, 19,000 county jailbirds, and the cities swarm with many more who are engaged in degrading and demoralizing occupations.

Poverty still exists! The same cruel, torturing, heartrending poverty still exists! Only that it springs from different reasons. In days gone by, man was poor because the gods were against him, because Nature had sent down the rain, or pestilence killed the man who was to gather in the harvest, or because the soil could not throw off her sterile curse. Man was poor because he was worsted by Nature in the great fight for life, in the bitter struggle for existence. But why poor today? The gods are in our favor and Nature has told us her secrets. We have riches, wealth, and luxuries, and yet some of us are poor, and yet the old song is sung, that—

"Men must work and women must weep
For there's little to earn and many to keep,
Though the harbor bar be moaning."

Not only is there poverty in the midst of plenty, but poverty exists because there is plenty. We are poor because we have too much. This sounds like a paradox and yet it is true, though it is much to the discredit of our present social order and economic system. Said Bige Eddy in the "Appeal to Reason": "My pants are getting baggy in the knees and fringing at the bottom; were it not for blamed over-production I might have had a new pair." Let me try to explain what we mean when we say that now poverty springs from plenty. A man was born about thirty years ago in that part of the city known as South of Market. His parents having been poor, he had to go to work when very young, and so he was one of those 19,000 who did not attend school. He has, however, succeeded in learning a trade, and now he is a tailor. When he works he eats and when he stops working he starves, and since he works nine months in the year it follows that he eats three parts of the year and starves a fourth. Let us visit him during that time of the year when he does not work. One day he comes home looking very gloomy and feeling very sad. By his looks his wife understands that he was "laid off," and she also feels very sad. An oppressing quietude reigns in the house and the children understand that something must be wrong. Father

does not laugh and mother does not talk, and they move away in the farthest corner, looking frightened and feeling like little birds who expect a storm.

Why was this man laid off? Because there was no work. Why was there no work? Because the "boss," the manufacturer, received no orders. Why did he receive no orders? Because his customers were supplied, because they have too much stock unsold, because they had too many coats on hand. Meanwhile the poor tailor goes looking for work without finding any. Weeks pass, his clothes are getting old and dilapidated. His coat is not only faded, but is actually green with wear. He needs a new coat but he cannot buy it. Why has he no coat? Because he has no money. Why has he no money? Because he does not work. Why does he not work? Because his boss receives no orders. Why does his boss receive no orders? Because his customers are supplied. Because they have too many coats on hand. The tailor has no coat because there are too many coats.

Many are the charges that can be arrayed against the present order. We can prove that it fosters ignorance, that it promotes vice, that it encourages corruption and that it sets one man against another. All of which would go to prove that the present system is no longer competent to govern society.

In contra distinction to the inconsistencies of capitalism stand all the advantages that Socialism offers. I wish to give you in a condensed form some of the arguments in favor of Socialism. Socialism being a co-operative system it would save waste and would make society richer; the tools of production and distribution belonging to the people, new discoveries and labor saving machinery would be a direct benefit to the community instead of enriching a few individuals at the expense of the community; every man being given the opportunity to work, there would be no paupers, idlers or criminals; labor being made easy, man would not shun it, but would gladly take his place in the ranks of useful workers. Commercialism would be abolished and man would learn to get along without lying and swindling. Equal opportunities would be offered to all, and talent, genius and intelligence would have larger scope for development; there would be no private concerns and no business interests to be favored by legislation, and therefore no bribery and no corruption. Man would not be set against his fellowman; the interest of one would not be against the interest of the other, and man would learn to love his brother, and fellowship would be promoted. When all the arguments in favor of Socialism present themselves to us we can then understand why the best of mankind was attracted to it, why the best and noblest human souls have sacrificed their lives to the cause, why they worked and toiled, and suffered and died. It was to bring about a better time for the human race, a time "when all will be better than well."

I see the average man wriggling in his chair and shrugging his shoulders with impatience. "My dear sir," he says, "all that you have said I know. I know that the present system is bad and I will grant that your system will be a better one. But what hopes have you that it will ever be realized? You know that brotherly love will not bring it about. Systems are result of certain underlying conditions. Self-interest is what moves the world, has done so in the past and will do so in the future, and unless you can prove that human nature is about to change you can not prove that Socialism will come."

My dear Mr. Average Man, I am glad you

asked that question, and am glad to inform you that I agree with all you said. No, it is not necessary for human nature to change in order that Socialism shall come about.

I believe with you that self-interest is the great power that moves the world. The Socialist argues that this law of self-interest will bring about the destruction of the present system. For as soon as we admit that people will always follow their interest, it stands to reason that when a system reaches that state of development when it gets to be against the interest of a part of the people, that part of the people, that class, will, in pursuance of their own interest, try to overthrow it.

The present system divides society into two distinct classes: the capitalistic class on the one side and the working class on the other. The interest of these two classes conflict, and no one will deny that a bitter war is being waged between them. As conditions develop, the line that divides these two classes becomes more obvious, the issues on which this war is conducted become more clearly defined, and the class consciousness on either side grows stronger. On one side stands capital, shrewd, cold-blooded, greedy Capital; on the other side stands Labor, well-trained, iron-muscled, all-powerful Labor. The signal is given, the battle begins, the fight is on. Who will win? There is but one answer to this question: the stronger! Who is the stronger?

One per cent of the population owns one-half of the wealth of this nation. The individual capitalist is disappearing and the corporation takes his place. On the other hand, the middle-man and the petty manufacturer is overpowered by the trust and department store, and is gradually forced into the ranks of the working class. A few more years—and the nation will be divided into two camps—organized capital on one side and organized labor on the other. The great power of the workingman lies in his political right. By his vote he can make and unmake laws. He can control legislation, which means that he has the power to legally abolish capitalism and establish Socialism. We have seen that the present system works against the interest of the majority of the people. The number that are affected by it grows larger every day; we have also laid down a rule that people will always follow their own interest. Does it not follow, therefore, that the present system is doomed and that Socialism is inevitable?

We said that the present system is doomed, and I wish to maintain what was said. It has been shown that the present system is incompetent. It is so because it has outlived its usefulness. "Everything in cosmos," says Huxley, "takes an upward and then a downward course." A man grows, develops to a certain state, and then declines. Every organism carries in itself the germs of its own destruction. I know that I will die; it is only a matter of time. They who are not born, at some time after birth also will die; so man is condemned to death even before he is born. It is natural for our present system to die. The systems that have preceded it have died and the development of new conditions have brought about their downfall. There are forces that are bringing about the downfall of the present system.

Every industrial revolution must be followed by a social revolution. When we say social revolution it may be thought we mean a bloody war that will some day take place, in which all the capitalists will be killed off in order to usher in the Socialistic State. But this is not so. Socialism is not a thing that will come, for it is coming now. It is being established by degrees. The Social revolution is

taking place right now. Every time a discovery is made, every time a combination is formed, every time a utility is socialized, we move nearer to Socialism. A social revolution means a change in social life, it means that society is adjusting her affairs to the newly developed conditions; this is inevitable; it is a law of life. An egg is hatched; it underwent a process of evolution, a development took place, a new life was formed. The shell, the surrounding environment, has now become inefficient; it can no more govern that new life, and it bursts—the revolution has taken place. Every child of life is subject to the same law; while in the prenatal state a certain development took place. With the growth of that life a change in conditions became necessary. Hence the birth, the entrance into a new environment.

The present system has undergone a development. An industrial revolution took place, the human race grew out of the old surroundings, and a change is now necessary; the Social Revolution must follow.

Why the disorder of the present life? Why the social disturbances? Why the conflicts of the different classes? Why the suffering of the poor and the anguish of the unhappy? Why does the human race reel with pain? Why the groans, the tears and the blood? These are the throes of travail; Society is suffering the pains of labor. A new child is about to be born—the Co-operative Commonwealth is to be brought to life!

THE CANDIDATES ON THE SOCIALIST TICKET

- Mayor,
CHARLES L. AMES,
 Member of Painters, Decorators and Paper-hangers' Brotherhood, No. 131.
- Auditor,
N. C. ANDERSON,
 Treasurer of Painters' Union.
- Treasurer,
OSWALD SEIFERT,
 Treasurer of Hotel and Restaurant Employees', No. 30 (Cooks and Waiters Alliance).
- Tax Collector,
LUDWIG BERG,
 Secretary Brewery Workers' International Union No. 7.
- Recorder,
EMIL ROUGK,
 National Organizer Bakers and Confectioners' International Union.
- Coroner,
N. J. B. SCULTZ,
 Doctor of Medicine, also member of Typographical Union No. 21.
- Public Administrator,
C. G. PERAULT,
 Member of Machinists' International Association, No. 68.
- County Clerk,
SCOTT ANDERSON,
 Sign Painters' Union.
- Sheriff,
JOHN MESSER,
 Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union, No. 30 (Cooks and Waiters' Alliance).
- Police Judges,
 1. **CAMERON H. KING**,
 Attorney-at-Law and Counsel for Garment Workers' Union, No. 8, other labor organizations and Attorney for Socialist Party.
2. **W. C. SHEPARD**,
 Attorney-at-Law and Counsel for Liberty Branch Socialist Party.

- Supervisors,
 1. **WALTER E. WALKER**,
 Past Vice President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, No. 216, and Delegate to Labor Council.
2. **NICHOLAS V. HANSEN**,
 Mill Wrights' Union, Local 766.
3. **I. ROSENBLATT**,
 International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, No. 8.
4. **JOHN CARTER**,
 Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders' Brotherhood.
5. **HENRY WARNECKE, JR.**,
 Cigarmakers' International Union, No. 228.
6. **LYMUS VAN ALSTINE**,
 Boot and Shoe Repairers' Union.
7. **WILLIAM COSTLEY**,
 Drivers' International Union (Hackmen), No. 224.
8. **HUGO LOTZIN**,
 Boot and Shoe Repairers' Union.
9. **FRANK H. CRANFORD**,
 Carpenters and Joiners' Union, Local 22.
10. **OLAUS GAFVERT**,
 Financial Secretary House Movers' Union, A. F. of L.
11. **LOUIS W. LINDGREN**,
 Barbers' International Union, No. 148.
12. **GEORGE GUTHRIE**,
 Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters' Union.
13. **EMIL SCHAEERER**,
 President of Bakers and Confectioners' Union, No. 24.
14. **LOUIS N. VEZINA**,
 Carpenters and Joiners' Union, No. 483.
15. **JACOB MAYBLUM**,
 Cabinet Makers' Union and Ship Joiners' Union.
16. **GEORGE STEIN**,
 Vice President of Bakers and Confectioners' International Union, No. 24.
17. **HENRY HILKER**,
 Barbers' International Union, No. 148.
18. **GEORGE NISBET**,
 Tailors' Union, G. W. A., No. 131.

Admits Part of the Truth.

The anarchist looks with pity and contempt upon Socialists and labor agitators. Naturally enough, for the aims of these are diametrically opposite to his own. The purpose of the labor organization, whether wisely pursued or not, is to better the condition of the working man by securing higher wages, shorter hours, and increased privileges. The Socialist dreams of a happier human society, to be created by the adoption of his nostrums. But both recognize the necessity of a government, of laws, of legislatures, of courts and juries. They would like to shape these organs of the civil system to their own liking, or to control them. The anarchist would destroy them utterly. Socialism and organized labor do not breed anarchists any more than thistles yield figs. The unlikelihood forbids that any relation should subsist.—New York Times.

Answers to Correspondents.

Anxious Enquirer.—The new Labor Party concerns us but little. It is an abortion. Many mistakes have been made, as you suggest. We are waiting till a few more are made, then we will say a few things about it. Political success, like all other success, belongs to the men who can wait.

ANARCHY IS THE MENACE TO CIVILIZATION: SOCIALISM IS ITS HOPE.

One Man in Japan Determines to Work.

Man's happiness, as far as this transient scene of existence is concerned, depends on the success with which he can apply himself to each accidental circumstance as it arises, and the skill with which he can adapt himself to the improvement of those circumstances. He generally is not offered ready means of indulgence, but is called upon to observe that by a moderate degree of mental as well as bodily exertion, he may supply himself with what will satisfy his wants and gratify his tastes. It is an established rule, therefore, that he must work that he may enjoy. But each man, in being placed upon the earth, has not been invested with equal power and ability. Each man's share of the gift of heaven differs in its quantity and quality. Even regarding mere bodily constitution, men appear to share unequally. There are the blind, the dumb, the deaf and various other sorts of deform. This is why philanthropic principles should be brought into consideration for the purpose of protecting those poor people who cannot support themselves.

If there be society in which each man, working for himself, under no yoke or ill-treatment of those, if any, who employ him, that society would be a better one. But if, in such society, were there philanthropic measures undertaken to the full for the protection of the weak, that society would be the best one.

Now, turning to our own society, with the view of composing it with our ideal one, we cannot help despairing to the utmost extent. Does man's happiness depend upon his own ability, skill and diligence? Does he who works enjoy? Are our brethren free from yoke and ill-treatment of others? Are there philanthropic measures undertaken on a large scale in our society? No! not the least!

Not only we are here obliged to give negative answer to these questions in that emphatic tone, but also the true state of affairs in the labor field of Japan is still more serious to describe.

It is now, however, not the time for us to despair or rest idle, our mouth taciturn, and our hands folded. However ignorant our officials be, or however indifferently the university men may speak of us, yet we are already at the point of departure for the great movement; nay, we are about to declare great war against all sorts of social evils now existing.

I am a student much interested in Socialism, the greatest problem of the new century, the problem unsolved as yet in Japan or in any foreign country. I sympathize with the poor laboring people. I dare confess that I am not quite contented with the Social system at present, and I have now resolved to devote myself to the study of Socialism and its application.

Insignificant as I am, the time will come when I shall face the public both by speeches and by means of the press.—Labor World (Japan.)

A Manifesto on the Assassination.

For propaganda in our municipal campaign and as a means of destroying the jingo sentiment developed by the plutocratic press since the assassination of the President, the Socialist party of San Francisco is flooding the city with the following self-explanatory circular: "SOCIALISTS AND ASSASSINATION."
"Whereas, On the 6th day of September, 1901, one Leon Czolgosz made a cowardly

and murderous attack on William McKinley, President of the United States, and

"Whereas, Certain capitalist daily newspapers, pulpit demagogues and bootlickers of capitalism continually slander the world-wide Socialist movement by insidiously implying that Socialists sympathize with violent and lawless deeds; and

"Whereas, Our fellow citizens of the working class are frequently imprisoned, maltreated and shot down by Pinkerton and sheriffs' officers; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, the County Central Committee of the Socialist party of San Francisco, Cal., condemn the substitution of private vengeance for public law, and place ourselves on record as being opposed to all deeds of violence and lawlessness, whether committed by insane persons called anarchists or by capitalist mercenaries; whether in the form of murdering a president or the clubbing and shooting of members of the working class who are on strike to resist the tyranny of the capitalists and to better the conditions under which they work and live; and

"Whereas, A certain class of serpentine agents of capitalism seek to brand every one as an anarchist who takes a class conscious stand against the capitalist class in its crimes committed daily on the working class, and who studiously attempt to confound anarchism with Socialism; therefore, be it further

"Resolved, That we desire it to be known that Socialist doctrines are diametrically opposed to that of anarchism, Socialists aiming at the destruction of government in all its forms. Socialists are not fighting individuals and do not think that the present murderous system can be overthrown or even modified by assassinating the representatives of capitalist government. While we aim at the overthrow of capitalist exploitation of the workers, our weapons are the peaceful and legal ones of wage workers, industrial and political education and a class conscious use of the Socialist ballot.

"County Central Committee Socialist Party of San Francisco, Cal.,

"B. P. OBER, Sec'y.

"On September 11, 1901, a copy of the above resolutions were furnished to each of the capitalist daily papers of our city but were refused publication. Was it because of the anti-jingoistic and plutocratic and anti-labor skinning spirit, and of the class conscious working class sentiment expressed in the resolutions?

"If you desire to know what Socialism is, read the municipal platform and manifesto of the Socialist party of San Francisco, Cal., including books and pamphlets on the subject, which may be obtained from the librarian at the party meetings.

"Socialist vote in the United States, 131,000.
Socialist vote of the world, 10,000,000."

The conditions are no different today from what they were in the ancient days of white slavery in Greece and Rome. This is indeed a beautiful, a grand country in many ways. It is rich with the spirit of progress and invention, rich by nature, but the poor man's condition is no better than if he were a slave. All this country has done for him has been to give him a little more elbow room. He has a great beautiful country to roam over, but he is no better off than—in fact, not as well as—the slaves of old.—William Dean Howells.

The shoe machinery trust, it is announced, now has practical control of machinery in its line, and it is proposed to squeeze those manufactures depending on it.

San Francisco Socialists, Attention!

Comrades, do not forget that you are each expected to do your share in the coming campaign. Your attendance is needed at the business meeting each Wednesday evening at the Labor Bureau hall, 915 1-2 Market street, top floor front.

Street meetings were resumed Sunday evening. Hereafter, at the corner of Grant avenue and Market street, every Sunday and every Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock will be held regular meetings. Arrangements are now being perfected for meetings in the Portrero, Mission, Hayes Valley and the Latin Quarter. All comrades who can spare one or more nights a week should communicate immediately with the organizer, 134 Murphy building. There is much work to do in the proper advertisement of meetings, the distribution of our platform, address and ticket.

J. Stitt Wilson will conduct a series of meetings in some large hall in the city in the next two or three weeks. Watch for announcements of this series and inform your friends.

The most pressing necessity just now, comrades, is money. The campaign committee has laid plans for extensive work, but it must have money to carry these plans out. This is the time for comrades to contribute and to contribute as liberally as possible. One dollar now is more effective than two or three dollars after election. Subscription lists have been issued by the party and are obtainable from the financial secretary or finance committee men. Each comrade should take one of these and not rest until he gets all his friends down for something. If you cannot get \$1 get 50 cents or a quarter. If you cannot get a quarter get 10 cents or a nickel. Every cent counts.

Understand thoroughly that the working class must pay for its own emancipation. The money of the capitalists is spent lavishly upon the republican and democratic parties. The working men must spend their funds upon the only party that stands unequivocally for the working man and against the capitalist—the Socialist party. Realize the importance of getting this money. Head your list with a liberal contribution yourself, and then go after all the sympathizers with our common cause and give them no peace until they have done their full duty in a financial way.

Take with you several copies of the address and platform and give these to your friends. Do not forget to mention to everyone and on all possible occasions that we are in the field with a full ticket. We have the party name of Socialist party. We occupy the third column on the official ballot and our nominees are all active trades union men. Tell everyone you know that the Socialist ticket is headed by Charles L. Ames of Paperhangers' union No. 131, and that it is the only ticket for working men to support.

There is only one month more now to the close of the campaign, comrades. To do the work before us we must work very hard. The soil is most fruitful. If we sow plentifully we will reap an abundant harvest. Then, to work!

THE ORGANIZER.

The New York Tribune says: "The capitalist and captain of industry in these latter days has set himself to demonstrate that the theories of the Socialist are sound."

The Boston Daily Pilot, after discussing the trust outlook, remarks: "What is to come of all this? It is one more long step towards Socialism."

In New Zealand.

Rongotea, N. Z., August 8th.—The prediction made in my recent letter to you that labor would soon be given the cold shoulder or "marble heart" by the Liberal or step-at-a-time "Socialist" ministry has been fulfilled much sooner than I anticipated, and, while I have no leisure for a long letter, I feel I must give you and the American comrades a summary of the situation.

The farmers, who are numerically and productively the most important class in the colony, have recently (within a few weeks) organized a Farmers' Union, which is organized avowedly on the basis of class interest. It is ostensibly non-partisan, but has a definite legislative program and insists that, no matter what party is in-power, its program must be carried out. It already has a membership of 8,000 in this, the North Island, and is growing rapidly. The South Island is to be organized soon. The program has two chief points: 1. The repeal of the labor legislation, on the ground that it has made wages artificially high and thus injured the farmers as employers of labor. 2. The repeal of the protective tariff duties in the interest of the farmers as consumers.

The trade unions here are not class-conscious, self-reliant bodies, but are largely the creation or outgrowth of the labor legislation, and they have made so much use of the arbitration act, keeping the conciliation boards and arbitration court constantly at work over petty disputes that they have alienated any sympathy they once had from other classes. The compulsory arbitration act has fostered a dependent spirit in the unions, and at the same time has undoubtedly created much friction by the facilities it has offered for airing petty grievances. It MAY have prevented strikes, but this is by no means certain. It is true no strikes have occurred, but it is quite possible five or six years might have rolled by without strikes without the act, for this is not an industrial country. There are half a dozen towns (of the second rate) in Ohio which are scarcely known outside the State, any of which is larger than Auckland, and I think I am well within the mark in saying Dayton has more manufacturing than all New Zealand put together. In view of this, a strike here is improbable under any laws. Indeed, so far as I can learn, there never was but one important strike in the colony.

This much will give an idea of the situation in general and show the forces that are at work to influence the Premier, Seddon, who rules as autocratically as Hanna, while talking with the facility of Bryan. Seddon, be it remembered, is the man upon whom the believers in the New Zealand Utopia pin their faith.

On the 5th instant, only three days ago, a deputation from several union (labor) called on the premier with proposals to increase the efficiency of the labor legislation. Among these was one that the representatives of the unions be given free railway passes to the place where the court sits. The press reports say:

"The premier, in his reply, made some general remarks as to the working of the system now in vogue. He had, he said, good reason for recently saying that if things went on as they were going there would be a breakdown. He had received a telegram from Auckland stating that four hundred people had been cited in one case there. That was riding the thing to death, and was unnecessary. Again, the same evidence was repeated in cases ad nauseum, and the business of the boards was clogged by unnecessary repetitions, which affected employers and employed; the result was

that both sides were getting sick of it all. He was sorry these things were happening, because they had a tendency to injure what he considered beneficent legislation. If the arbitration court did not get its work squared up they would have to appoint an additional judge. That was the plain English of the present position. AGAIN, EMPLOYERS DID NOT WANT TO BE EVERLASTINGLY IN TURMOIL. * * * He could not countenance the proposal to give unionist delegates free railway passages, AND THOUGHT UNIONISTS WOULD HAVE TO ACT WITH GREAT CIRCUMSPECTION, OR THEY WOULD HAVE PUBLIC OPINION AGAINST THEM."

Commenting on this the New York "Times" (Wellington) a staunch Seddon supporter, if not a mouthpiece, says: "If the labor unions do not take note of the signs of the times and mend their ways accordingly they must not complain if their best friends—including the premier—CUT THEM ADRIFT AND INSIST UPON THE REPEAL OF LAWS WHICH ARE BEING ABUSED."

It is scarcely too soon to chant a requiem over the corpse of the New Zealand Utopia. REQUIESCAT IN PACE.

Those reformers and "friends of labor" who are bent upon avoiding the ugly hurdle of the class struggle and finding some easy byepath to the Co-operative Commonwealth will soon have to look elsewhere for their illustrations.

To my mind the situation is most encouraging. It is a good thing for the New Zealand unionists to learn that they must cease relying on the favors of a middle class ministry, and must rely solely on themselves and the efficiency of their organizations—that, in a word, they must work out their own salvation. They will thus develop a militant, class-conscious spirit. Again, the farmers' unions and their many newspaper organs are drawing class lines so sharply and basing their program so openly on material class interests that they are doing more than half of our propaganda for us.

The lesson to the American semi-socialists of the Jones-Bliss type should be beneficial.

Some of the "Clarion" readers whom Ransstead brought out here have recently launched a New Zealand Socialist party. I hope to be able soon to send you fuller information about it and shall do what I can to push agitation, for conditions appear most favorable to me.

Seddon stated the other day he would ask this session for parliamentary authority to acquire and run a state coal mine. There is a crumb of comfort for Wayland, Lloyd and that ilk, but readers of *The Worker* will remember that wood is the poor man's fuel here, so that this is simply another middle class step, chiefly in the interest of the manufacturers.—Robert Rives Lamonte, in *The Worker*.

I sat down on the side of the railroad track the other day to talk to an old miner. "Mother Jones," said the poor fellow, "I have been working in this mine for thirty-three years. I came here when it first opened and have worked faithfully ever since. They have got every penny I ever made. There has never been a ray of sunshine in my life. It has all been shadow. Today I have not a penny in the world. I never drank. I have worked hard and steady." Just then he suddenly rose and walked away, saying, "Here comes the superintendent. If he saw me speak to you I would lose my job."—Mother Jones in Review.

A political patriot is a man who loves his country for what he can make out of it.

As to Personal Liberty.

The writers of editorial cant for the daily papers are working overtime in their efforts to impress on the public that the "personal liberty" of a scab is something sacred, such a holy of holies that no person must even whisper the tale of human rights and humanity's cause into his ears without being a traitor to the cause of freedom. * * *

It is passing strange that the slave pens in Kentucky and West Virginia, where men are kept prisoners at the point of the bayonet and forced to work against their will, receive no scathing denunciation from the same papers. Take the Tampa kidnaping case. The members of the Cigarmakers' union went on strike. That was not violating any law. They established houses where their needy could be fed. They put up such a vigorous and such an orderly fight that they paralyzed the cigarmaking business and did not violate any of the old common laws against labor demonstrations. Had they even committed the slightest infraction of the law they would have been railroaded to the jail. In order to break the strike some self-styled "leading and prominent citizens" of Tampa formed themselves into a "committee," kidnaped the leaders of the union and inaugurated a reign of terror in the name of "law and order." This outrageous violation of the "personal liberty" of orderly and well-behaved men receives no condemnation from the shriekers for "personal liberty" for the scab. It is conveniently overlooked. Yet there was never on American soil such an atrocious and flagrant crime against the written and unwritten human rights as this kidnaping case.

The kidnaping of the Cudahy child created a storm of indignation. Everything that a vigilant and sensational press could do was done to find the whereabouts of the boy. Reams of good paper were blackened in order to convey to the public the enormity of the crime of kidnaping—a millionaire's child. The clamors they made then and the silence they adopt now are grotesque in their difference. The "nervous prostration of the mother," the "harrowing sufferings of the father," were dilated upon, but what of the wives and families of the kidnaped Tampa men? Have they no feelings? They have not, if we judge from the studied silence from the shriekers for "personal liberty." Anarchists? If that Tampa case was not anarchy, then there is no such thing.—United Mine Workers' Journal.

-Cause of Prostitution.

Prostitution is the inevitable result of our present economic system which forces helpless women to earn their living in the factories, shops, and mines. Here they are taken advantage of and offered wages too light for their support, and then pointed to prostitution as a means of supplementing their incomes. The increase of female labor is everywhere accompanied by an increase of prostitution. Working women are paid so low that they are compelled to prostitute themselves or starve.

Prostitution and low wages go hand in hand. A large part of the working women in our cities do not receive sufficient wages to enable them to meet the urgent needs of life. They must seek supplementary assistance in prostitution or accept the consequences of physical and mental distress.—Seattle Socialist.

Karl Marx' Economic Teachings.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated for the "Advance" by Kaspar Bauer.

(Continued from last week.)

CHAPTER III.

The Degree of the Exploitation of Labor Power.

Let us suppose a capital of \$5,000. It is divided into two parts—one, a sum of money, which is expended in the purchase of means of production, i. e., constant capital; and another expended for the purchase of the necessary labor-power, i. e., variable capital. Let us suppose the constant capital is \$4,100, and the variable \$900. The constant capital is again divided into two parts—raw material, e. g., the whole value of which reappears in the product; and instruments of labor, i. e., which only give part of their value to the product during every process of production. This additional sub-division we will leave out of consideration for the sake of simplicity, and since it is of no importance. We will suppose here in our illustration that the total value of the capital reappears in the product.

The capitalist has brought means of production and labor-power, and makes use of them. At the end of the process of production the value of the invested capital has increased, let us say, \$900. This is surplus-value, or let us call it in our illustration S. He will now have c plus r plus S equals \$4,100 plus \$900 plus \$900 equals \$5,900. Out of that \$4,100 is transferred and \$900 plus \$900 newly created value. It is plain that the value of the constant capital does in no wise affect the amount of surplus-value produced. Without means of production production itself cannot be carried on and the longer the process of production is carried on the more means of production are required. Therefore, the production of a given amount of surplus-value necessitates the operation of a given amount of means of production; this amount depends upon the technical character of the process of production. The magnitude of the value of this amount, however, is without influence upon the magnitude of surplus-value.

If I employ 300 workers, if the labor-power of each per day amounts to \$3 and the value produced by each per day is \$6, then the total value produced by them per day will be \$1,800. Out of that \$900 is surplus-value, even should the value of the means of production which they consumed in production be \$2,000, or \$4,000, or \$8,000. The processes of creating value and that of changing value during production are not influenced by the magnitude of the value of the advanced constant capital. For this reason we may leave the constant capital out of consideration in an analysis of both processes.

The only part of the advanced capital of importance to us now is the variable—V—part, and of the value of the product, only that part of value which has been newly created by labor. This part of value is equal to the value of the variable capital in use plus the surplus-value, V plus S. The ratio of the surplus-value to the advanced variable capital in our illustration is 900 : 900 equals 100 per cent. This relative increase in the value of the value of the variable capital, or the relative magnitude of the surplus-value Marx calls the rate of surplus-value. This must not, as is often done, be confounded with the rate of profit.

Profit originates out of surplus-value, but is not surplus-value.

In order to produce during the workday a value equal to the value of his labor-power, V, the laborer must work a given length of time—let us say 6 hours. This labor-time is necessary for the maintenance of the worker. Marx calls it the necessary labor-time. That part of the work-day, however, during which the worker labors beyond the limits of necessary labor time, during which he produces surplus-value for the capitalist, Marx calls surplus-labor-time and labor expended during that time surplus-labor. Surplus labor stands in the same ratio to necessary labor as surplus-value does to variable capital; consequently, we can express the rate of surplus-value thus; S divided by V, or surplus-labor divided by necessary labor. Surplus value crystallizes in a mass of products, which Marx calls surplus-product, just as the rate of surplus-value is determined by its relation, not to the sum total of the capital, but to its variable parts; likewise, the relative quantity of surplus-product is determined by the ratio that this produce bears, not to the remaining part of the total product, but to that part of it in which is incorporated the necessary labor. In analyzing this ratio where we are not concerned with the newly created value, but with the finished product we cannot, as we did before, leave out of consideration the constant capital which forms a part of the value of the product.

Let us suppose that one worker produces 20 pounds of yarn, valued at \$30, during a work-day of twelve hours. The value of the cotton consumed in spinning is \$20 (20 lbs. at \$1), the value lost by the spindle and transferred to the product is \$4 and the value of the labor-power is \$3. The rate of surplus-value is, let us say, 10 per cent. We will then have yarn-value \$30 equals \$24 (C) plus \$3 (V) plus \$3 (S); this yarn-value exists in 20 lbs. of yarn and consequently the constant capital exists in 16 pounds, the variable in 2 lbs. and the surplus-value also in 2 lbs. of yarn.

The 20 lbs. of yarn are produced within 12 hours, or 1 2-3 lbs. of yarn in every hour. Sixteen lbs., the value of the constant capital, are produced in 9 hours and 36 min., the 2 lbs., representing the value of the variable capital in 1 hr., 12 min., as are the other 2 lbs., which is the embodiment of the surplus-value. If we figure like this, it will look as though the surplus-value had been produced in 1 hour and 12 minutes, and not, as we said at the outset, in 6 hours. And that is the way "our" manufacturers really do figure and they will prove to a nicety that their profit is produced within the last hour of labor, and that, if the labor-time is reduced by that one hour, every profit is impossible and industry will consequently go to smash. That is indeed the argument made by capitalists and their mouthpieces against every move by the worker for a shorter work-day. We will, later on, speak of this again. The whole argument is due to confounding use-value and value. The use-value of pounds of yarn is produced within the last hour, but not its value. Those 2 pounds of yarn were not spun out of air up in the sky. Those 2 pounds of yarn contain not only 1 hour and 12 minutes of the labor of the spinner, but

also the value of 2 pounds of raw cotton, and according to our illustration (1 lb. of cotton equals \$1 and \$1 equals 2 hrs. of labor) four hours of labor are embodied in the 2 pounds of cotton—besides that the value lost by the spindle, etc., and transferred to the product is equal to the value produced by 48 minutes of socially necessary labor. So we see that in reality 6 hours of labor were necessary for the production of the 2 pounds of yarn, which were turned out in 1 hr. 12 min. If it were true that the worker in our illustration produced the whole surplus-value, which represents product equal to the value of 6 hours, within 1 hour and 12 minutes, then he would have to be able to produce values equal to 60 hours of labor within a work-day of 12 hours! And such contentions have been credited by the law-makers of the nineteenth century!

Since there are people to this day who hold to this "argument," let us further elucidate upon it. Let us figure out how high the rate of surplus-value would be under a shortening of the work-day from 12 to 11 hours, other things in our illustration remaining equal. We have now no longer \$24 of constant capital, but only \$22, for production is shortened by 1 hour (18½ lbs. of cotton equals \$18 1-3; consumption of spindle, etc., only \$3 2-3) the variable capital is \$3, for we suppose that wages remain the same, and the surplus-value is \$2.50. The rate of surplus-value, it will be seen, is no longer 100 per cent, but 83 1-3 per cent. We have a total product of 18 1-3 lbs. of yarn, with a value of \$27.50. The constant capital is embodied in 14 2-3 lbs., the variable in 2 lbs., the surplus-value in 1 2-3 lbs.; the 14 2-3 lbs. are produced within 8 hrs., 48 min., yarn representing the surplus-value in 1 hr. What has happened? The shortening of the labor-time by 1 hour has reduced the time during which surplus-product is produced by only 12 minutes. The mathematical demonstration of the manufacturers rests upon the remarkable premise that the product turned out in 11 hours is 1-12 less than in 12 hours, but that the amount of raw materials consumed within 11 hours is just as much as in 12 hours.

(To be continued.)

Star-Eyed Truth.

The Singer and the Song die out forever;
But Star-eyed Truth (greater than Song or Singer)
Sweeps hurrying on; far off she sees a gleam
Upon a peak. She cried to man of old
To build the enduring, glad Fraternal State—
Cries yet through all the ruins of the world—
Through Karnack, through all the stones of
Babylon—
Cries for a moment through the fading songs
of the present.

On winged feet a form of fadeless youth,
She goes to meet the coming centuries,
And, hurrying, snatches up some human reed,
Blows through it once her terror-beating note,
And breaks and throws away. It is enough
If we can be a bugle at her lips,
To scatter her contagion on mankind.

—Edwin Markham.

A Mass Meeting and a Retreat.

It was with considerable pleasure we announced a few weeks ago that at last a preacher had come forward and said a word for the working class; a word of cheer, a word of hope, a word to be remembered and used for the upbuilding of the class and for its guidance. This week we are sorry to say the same preacher has ignominiously retreated from his position.

The Rev. Peter C. York is under the direct control of the bishop of San Francisco and his speech at Metropolitan Temple last Saturday shows it. Where he did not actually retract what he said a few weeks ago, he conveniently hedged and offered a substitute. We are considering Mr. York as a man now, not as a priest. We take him as he should be taken when he comes into the arena of labor and directs his blows for or against the workers. We were proud a few weeks ago to give him credit for everything he said that would be helpful to the working class. We devoted a full page to his speech and used it as propaganda. Now, when we say that the Rev. Mr. York is under the control of the bishop and that he must not utter a word which would give the bishop offence, we are saying what every one knows who knows anything of the internal government of the church. This explains the "hedging" at this later mass meeting of the strikers. The bishop knows that unionism is the prop of the competitive system. He therefore permits the Rev. Mr. York to be saucy to the Merchants' Association. He is clearer-sighted than the members of the Merchants' Association, and allows one of his priests to abuse them because he is their best friend. The time the members of the Merchants' Association have spent in gouging nickles out of their hired hands, the bishop has spent in studying the social and industrial conditions of Europe. He sees a recurrence of those conditions here, with the added horror, to him, that the workers have even larger possibilities. He notes the effect of the slight setback the workers have received in this city. He sees them rush into independent political action. He knows what this means; he knows where it will lead them and fears for the ultimate destruction of the Merchants' Association, and the private property in the means of production and distribution for which the Merchants' Association stands. Today matters nothing to the bishop. It is the years to come he is concerned about. Students of social conditions with a less firm grasp than he assert with confidence that the eventual supremacy of the working class means the destruction of the competitive system, for, as the principle of the capitalist class is competition, so the principle of the working class, when it comes into power, must be the opposite of this—co-operation. And co-operation means Socialism. This the bishop fears. He knows that independent political action by the working class will lead to this and to much more that is offensive to aristocracy. Now, the church stands for aristocracy. It stands for conservatism; it is conservatism. And the bishop sends his priest to retract. He orders him to unsay what he had said before, and the priest goes forthwith and does as he is told. Mr. Yorke said: "Does it make it a bit of difference to you in this fight who is President in Washington or who is Mayor in San Francisco? You are in the struggle for one thing, and that one thing is the principle of unionism. It is not to love any man, no matter who he is.

"Put not your trust in political parties. I do not care what the name of the party is;

I do not care who the man is—I implore you, my friends, do not put your trust in politicians or in any political party."

Can you not hear the despairing note in this? The bishop has opened the priests' eyes since the previous mass meeting, for here is what he said then:

"Unions exist of their own right, and no state has any right to prohibit them. To enter into a union of this kind is the natural right of men, and the state is bound to protect natural rights and not to destroy them. And if the state, which is you, the people of the country, attempts to prohibit a workingman's union, it does that which it has no right to do. More than that, having granted the right of unions to exist and to enforce their demands, a second step remains, namely, to put those demands into action by LAW. It is considered a mark of Socialism, if you please, or of anarchy, if a man proposes that the state has the right to regulate the hours of labor and the compensation for labor, and the settlement of disputes between the workingman and his employer by law. And you will find those men who wish to retain in their hands the reins of power, and to grind the faces of the poor, the loudest in their denunciation of such things as being inimical to the workingmen."

What is the logic of these remarks? What would they lead one to suppose? Surely, the good Mr. Yorke meant that the workers must take an interest in the government. And if he meant what he said in the first mass meeting, it is not to be wondered at when we suggest that he said what the bishop meant in the last mass meeting. The only effective weapon the strikers have is the ballot. Father Yorke knows this. He advised at the first mass meeting the workers to demand certain things by law; he advised an interest by the workers in government. He saw how important the unions are to deal with the question, and now he would undo all that and fight for unionism only. The defeat of the cooks and waiters, the butchers, the metal polishers, the great amalgamated steel workers' unions, and the present impact in San Francisco stare him in the face and still he would tell the workers not to use the only effective weapon they have. What must we think?

Circuit Speakers' Fund.

Los Angeles, Sept. 23, 1901.

Editor Advance:

Local Los Angeles herewith makes a final report on funds collected for Circuit Speakers Murray and Roche.

Receipts for September—Longuevan, 25 cents; Snell, 50 cents; Reynolds, \$1.00; P. D. N., \$.20; P. K. Wood, \$1.00; L. H. Edmiston, 50 cents; C. H. Edmiston, 50 cents; Local Long Beach, \$2.50; Local Los Angeles, \$1.75. Total, \$10.00.

The above amount was turned over to the comrades, but as they were out for only about half of this month, having now returned here, and Comrade Roche being sick a part of the time, they have donated back to this local for general propaganda purposes half of the amount, \$5.00.

We have notified all of the locals that have been contributing to this fund of the of the discontinuance of this work for the time being.

Circuit Speaker Committee,
Local Los Angeles,
Per N.

ANARCHY IS THE MENACE TO CIVILIZATION: SOCIALISM IS ITS HOPE.
—O. E.

Sees the Shadows Cast Before.

The Socialists cast about 5 per cent of the total vote of Massachusetts last week. In other states they broke all previous records easily, as far as national elections go. Here is an interesting and portentous fact in American politics.

If the anti-Bryan and conservative democrats, such as Whitney, Cleveland, Fairchild, Dickinson and Carlisle, could carry out their reported plans for a reorganization of the democratic party on the lines which they must insist upon if they are to take part in its management and support its candidates, the immediate outcome would probably be the transfer of a large radical element in the democratic organization to the Socialists. The Socialist vote would increase at once so fast that it might have to be reckoned with as great a force in politics.

The we should have exciting campaigns, indeed. If Bryan has hinted at grave charges in the structure of the government, the Socialists are frankly revolutionary. If Bryan has been guilty of inciting envy and class enmity, the Socialists openly advocate the virtual confiscation of a great share of the productive private property in the United States. It is often forgotten that the acquisition by the government of the railroads, telegraphs lines, telephone property, the mines and the municipal street railways, gas works, electric lighting plants, etc., all of which changes are urged by the Socialist platforms and leaders, would imply such a narrowing of the field for the employment of capital that the interest obtainable on money would be cut down far and fast, and many great investments would be wiped out.

Perhaps it will be just as well if the democrats go the road they have been following for the past five years. It does not lead to any important changes in practical conditions of government, and it keeps Socialism from coming to the front in American politics.—Editorial from the Cleveland Leader (Rep.).

The defeat of William Jennings Bryan and that wing of the democratic party portends the death of the democratic party in the United States. Four years from now a party will spring up that will unite all the farming and labor vote solidly, and that party will be the Socialist party. Socialism is gaining a wonderful foothold in this country. It is not, as many believe, akin to anarchy. There is a wide divergence. The Socialist party stands for the masses. It is the only way to equalize business between the laboring classes and the wealthy classes. It means the government ownership of all corporations that furnish power and light to cities. It is the only method that will harmonize the conflicting interests between capital and labor and promote general prosperity in this country. Four years from now the contest will be between the Socialist and republican parties, with chances in favor of the Socialists.—From the Astoria, Ore., Herald (Rep.).

The William Morris Club has become a permanent organization, and its regular monthly meeting will be held Thursday, October 2, at 2 p. m. at 1213 Laguna street.

A literary and musical programme has been arranged. Socialist women are invited to attend and to become members. It is desired to devise ways and means for assisting the propaganda of Socialism. This should not be left entirely to men, and it is hoped as many of the women comrades as possible will respond.

ADVANCE



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FOR MAYOR—Charles L. Ames.

Our official name in San Francisco is Socialist Party.

The St. Louis Globe-Democrat says: "Socialism promises to be a force with which American statesmen may have to reckon."

Socialists of Oregon are arranging for a convention to consider the action taken by the Indianapolis Unity Convention.

The New York comrades have a ticket in the field headed by Ben Hanford. A large vote is expected for the enthusiasm is great.

Our S. L. P. friends in this city have an opportunity such as Kitchener has these days in South Africa, to write to the war office and "regret to state," etc.

The Emporium has been declared unfair. The Labor Council placed a boycott on this house because it was active in the Merchants' Association, an organization designed to disrupt the unions.

There is a rule of one moral platitude to one labor leader. Mr. Andrew Furuseth again mouthed the phrase, "Bear ye one another's burdens" at the mass meeting. Some one should suggest to him that there is more than one page in the Bible.

Alfred Austin, England's poet laureate, has been at it again. In his latest he says that God has given the world's welfare in trust to the English. Perhaps this is true, but if it is and the telegraphic reports are to be relied upon, they are making quite a mess of their trust in South Africa.

The German organ of Socialism, "Vorwärts," has a surplus of \$20,000 for the current year. It is only a few years more in our own country till the Socialist papers of the large centers will have an approximate surplus above all expenses, to devote to the welfare of the movement.

With all due respect to Professor Hadley, we think he will have to guess again. Public sentiment has, it is true, some effect on the trust magnates. It induces profanity. Did not Vanderbilt say, "the public be d—d?" and if the balance of the railroad combination did not echo "amen" aloud, it did so under its breath.

It must have been a charming combination of sounds when the orchestra intoned the "Marseillaise" and the Russian hymn at the recent reception of the Czar in France. The song of liberty and life, and the hymn of slavery and death. Freedom and an emperor walking arm in arm and smiling on each other! To what base uses may not the work of a revolutionary genius be put, Horatio!

Because a malicious person played the cowardly part of a key-hole listener, one of our very best comrades, and the kindest and gentlest, was put to considerable inconvenience. He was arrested by the secret service men for complicity in the plot to remove Mr. McKinley, because he expressed, in the privacy of his own house, the opinion that the President was in a measure responsible for his own death. It shows to what low level our liberty of speech and action is reduced in this glorious country of the free.

Comrade Culman will live to usher in a better system where murder and the things that cause it will be of the past. They will be looked upon as belonging to the worst form of barbarism that ever inflicted itself on the earth in the guise of civilization.

The Yellow Papers and their Yellow Owners.

An interesting feature of the "Call's" abuse of the "Examiner" was exhibited last Monday. On one page the "Anarch of the Dailies" was held up as an example of lawlessness and a hater of order. On the next page was an endorsement of the Merchants' Association's determination to take the law into its own hands and break the strike without the aid of mayor or council. These capitalists are the real anarchists. When the course of the law is too slow for them they break the law. The reptilian press fights for these law-breakers and accuses every one not on their side, not endorsing their position, not quiescent, of being an enemy of law and order. That is how public sentiment is made. A third-rate rascal like this person Spreckles, without brains enough to know what a mouse-colored ass he makes of himself in the newspaper world, is able to purchase so many "hacks". The hacks write as they are ordered by a superior hack. The papers are sold, or if people refuse to buy them, they are distributed free. Anything to have the capitalistic position considered. And what is the result? A vicious and mean bias against the working class and its efforts to get just a little more of what it produces, is engendered in the minds of every one, including the very members of the working class. We have absolutely no use for Mr. Hearst. Since he has become a syndicate he has lost the little soul he was born with. His papers pander to the low appetites of the mob. He seldom ventures beyond the narrow confines of capitalist class prejudice. He is a bit vulgar and always noisy. He attunes his every utterance to catch the ear of the discontented with the hope of making them satisfied with middle class ideals. He aspires to be a political boss, forgetting that the poorest boss must be; to a greater or less extent, a leader, and he has worn out his initiative in that respect by being content to follow. He is unstable and insincere. He is as garrulous as an old woman and occasionally as stupid. He cannot always be bought, though he is for sale. The columns of his paper are open to the reactionary and he himself is backward and mediocre. Yet, compared with John D. Spreckles, he is a gentleman and a scholar.

The unfortunate part of the newspaper busi-

ness is that every clown with sufficient money to buy presses and literary hacks can break into it. The force the clown then becomes for evil can be measured only by the ignorance of those who read his paper. The mere fact that he has money gives him a capitalistic bias. His hatred for the working class increases every day, for no matter how dull-witted he may be, because of his position he must, to a certain extent, keep his fingers on the public pulse; in doing so he learns, as the days go by, that the working class is growing in power; that it is becoming a factor in the politics of the country; that through the bitter experience of the past it is learning how to use its strength. To offset this growing power Spreckles is laying down a line of action. Everything that opposes the capitalists, however slight the opposition or for what purpose, is condemned. Hence the hounding of "The Examiner." And anticipating the eventual supremacy of the Socialist party in the affairs of government, the line of action embraces that event. The capitalist anarchists will become a law unto themselves. The action of the Merchants' Association shows it. The endorsement of that action by the "Call" shows it still more. And the Socialists will deal just as severely with these capitalist law-breakers as the capitalist government deals with the members of the working class that break the law. We are the law-abiding class. We go peaceably to work to convert the majority. We obtain control of the government. We make laws for the benefit of the working class. We pass such measures as will throw the capitalist from the back of the man who works for him. Every man will be secure of his life, not only against robbers and murderers, but against those who would keep him from working to earn a living. The wage system will become a thing of the past. No man will have to sell himself into bondage for his board and clothes. The special privilege will pass away and the capitalist system. So will all the horrors and the misery and the crime. By legal and peaceful means this shall be done. Those who would oppose us, those who would hinder our progress, those who would have anarchy, will be dealt with as the capitalist class deals with the poor fools who steep their hands in human blood. There will be freedom of action and freedom of thought and speech under Socialism and every party will have the right to educate the people, and constitute itself the government, and in turn make laws for its own class, though such a thing is impossible to conceive, as classes; economic classes will not exist when we have the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The Jealousy of the Labor Leaders and the Result.

The steel strike is lost. The man responsible for it is the president of the American Federation of Labor. He promised the financial and moral support of his organization to the strikers before the strike was declared. The moral support was forthcoming, but as usual the money was held back. This is a repetition of the farce of the coal miners' strike. Again Mr. Samuel Gompers filled his mouth with hot words of promise, and again he allowed the men to face their difficulties alone. Without this promise of financial aid from their fellow-trade unionists the steel workers' would never have ventured into dispute with the trust at this time. They were lured on to defeat by a pretended friend.

In San Francisco there is almost a parallel case. That unnecessary creature, P. H. Mc-

Carthy, turned against his brother trades unionists of the Labor Council, and like a collection of unthinking cowards, the various members of unions affiliated with the Building Trades Council endorsed his action. We ask this McCarthy if the first break in the Cooks' and Waiters' Union did not come after he had had a talk with Mr. Bush, owner of one of the most prominent restaurants in town. We ask McCarthy if he did not say the Cooks' and Waiters' Union was defeated, and to make no offer of terms, and that Bush listened to the president of the Building Trades Council and hired scabs.

We ask this same McCarthy if he did not appear before the central body of the Metal Trades' Association and tell this body not to make terms, not to concede to the demands of the striking brass polishers. We ask him if the arguments he used to convince this association that high wages and short hours for its employes do not show considerable ability as a prig and boot-licker of the capitalist class. We ask him if he did not say:

"Wages can be high in the building trades, for houses and factories cannot be imported, but polished brass and such things can be imported. As a result of these importations, business on the Coast would be at a standstill unless wages in the metal trades and other kindred trades were reduced to such level that the employers could compete with the Eastern product," etc.

Now, what does this all mean? Are the members of the Federation of Labor such pitiful citizens as to allow the trust to beat their comrades into submission? Can it be supposed that the individual members of the various unions affiliated with the Building Trades Council have no sympathy with the unions that are fighting a life and death struggle in this city? Not at all. But because Samuel Gompers is jealous of Shaffer and afraid that the Amalgamated Steel Workers' president would be a bigger man in the labor world than the President of the Federation if that union won the fight against the steel trust, he withheld the funds, he made no effort to put his promise into effect. He watched, day by day, the steel trust push back, step by step, the union he had promised to assist, and which it was his duty as a man and a trades unionist to assist; then he saw the uplifted club—he saw it sweep through the air and crush the skull of the Amalgamated. Did it concern him? Not at all; only to the extent of removing a possible rival from his path. In this city it is a fight between McCarthy and Rosenberg. There is a fear in the breast of each that the other will come to the top. The petty jealousy of these two men makes trades unionism a by-word and a jest. It is time for the rank and file to wake up. Ward heelers and men without principle should be thrown out of the unions.

The Local Strike Situation.

There is nothing new in the local strike situation, only they are arresting every picket in sight. Sixty-nine men were arrested on Saturday night along the water front by a posse of police under the direction of Lieutenant Price, and all of them were charged with drunkenness. Most of them were members of the unions that are now on strike, and thirty-five of those arrested claimed when brought before Police Judge Fritz yesterday morning that they were on picket duty near the wharves when they were arrested. They all declared that they were not intoxicated and they believed that the police had arrested them to intimidate them from doing picket duty.

Last Monday about ten pickets went to interview some non-union men who were unloading a lumber vessel. When they were well on the wharf a squad of policemen sprang out of a hiding place and began clubbing them. One after another they fell and their heads were smashed into jelly. After the police had sufficiently exercised themselves, the pickets were thrown into an ambulance and whisked off to the hospital.

Mayor Phelan has given the police a free hand. There will be no prosecutions for killing strikers. He told the labor leaders who helped to elect him to office that his duty demanded this treatment of the strikers. Of course, he meant his duty to the capitalist class.

Something that is bound to have some effect on the strike happened yesterday. Captain Crowley and several other members of the State police arrived in Sacramento and will act as escorts for arriving Eastern laborers, who are en route to San Francisco. This will put an effective quietus on the pickets turning back non-union men. Sacramento is crowded with white men who have been kept from taking the strikers' places.

An Attempt and a Failure.

As predicted last week, the attempt by the Socialist Labor party to do politics in this city resulted in failure. The petition presented to the board of election commissioners was over six hundred names short—that is, names of registered voters. This alone was sufficient to keep the organization off the ballot. But there is another reason why the election commissioners refused the petition. The name "Socialist Labor Party" sounds too much like "Socialist Party," our name. This bars the Socialist Labor party from official recognition in San Francisco for all time.

Socialists of California may congratulate themselves on the result of this decision of the board of election commissioners.

The Socialist party is the only political party in the state with Socialist principles now asking for the suffrages of the citizens. There is no factional strife to discourage the timid voter. There is no possibility of the facetious individual desirous of embarrassing the propagandist asking which socialist party he shall vote for. There is only one Socialist party. The Indianapolis convention proved that the rank and file is tired of Socialist fighting Socialist. By a few concessions on both sides the two factions of the Social Democratic party were brought into harmony. They united under the banner of the Socialist party. **There are, however, a few protesters, as there will always be in every movement, who would be dignified by being termed a faction, that refuse to unite.** Theoretically they are fighting for a greater democracy; actually they are the worst enemies of the democratic spirit. They refuse to obey the wishes of the majority and bolt when they cannot control. Their strength lies in the noise they make. Like the Chinese of old, they think they can frighten people by beating on instruments that emit great sound. In a real fight this element has proven itself incapable, as shown by the rejected petition in this city, and in every contest in which it has engaged the Socialist party, including the last presidential election.

Every Socialist should feel encouraged to work harder than ever before in his life to make the coming election in this city a memorable one. Our vote should double at least. We are the only organized enemies of the capitalist class. We shall never rest till that

vile thing called the capitalist system, which degrades so many to the level of beasts, is wiped off the face of the earth. Our aim is a worthy social life for all men. We are united. We are one party, the Socialist party.

Is Our Civilization Civilized?

We pride ourselves on our refinement, but we are not nearly reclaimed from barbarism. A hundred years hence our descendants will consider us and our institutions with the same contempt we vouchsafe upon the people of the middle ages or upon the refractory Chinese of to-day. This is not a paradox; I am just juggling for an audience.

Despite our self-satisfied bumptiousness, mankind is still piteously groping after real civilization, like a tangled mass of larvae tumbling and crawling out of some dark, slimy cavern toward the light that will give them wings.

Only few men have forged ahead and stand in the full sunshine of truth. The progress of the mass is slow enough to strike with despair those of us who are past mid-life; for we must now admit to ourselves that we will see but a few of the changes we have hoped and worked for.

An undeniable increase in material comfort and equipment must be credited to the nineteenth century; but that alone does not constitute civilization. Better food, fast steamers, telephone and electric lights—all that is only the accessory part of human development, a means to happiness, certainly; but not happiness. Has the telephone diminished the hungry?

Our brains are still befogged; our private and public life is still based upon vile, exasperating ignorance. Reason, now proclaimed by a hundred prophets in every country, has everywhere the greatest trouble to penetrate through the thick folds of insane prejudice that enwrap individuals and institutions.

The evils we suffer from, and the evils each of us perpetrates, have no doubt been lessened in a measure. But it seems to me that they have for the most part merely changed their aspects and their names.

There were times—not so many generations ago—when in every country men and women were tortured by inquisitors—religious or not. Now most countries, we think, have grown beyond that. But are not the newspapers filled with revolting cases of children tortured by their parents, of wives who are long-suffering martyrs, of students who find cruel delight in bullying some poor ill-gifted companion? And do you know what frightful things take place—I will not say in Turkey or Siberia—but in the penitentiaries and insane asylums of the most advanced nations?

There were times, to be sure, when political and religious fanaticism fettered all development, sought to extinguish science and burned the scientists at the stake. We are certainly past that stage. Yet to-day Tolstoi is excommunicated by Rome. I was before him, and so were Catholics and Protestants, Darwin, Huxley, Renan and most of the hurrubingers to to-morrow's truth. Why, I have it direct from eminent American professors that in most of the universities of the United States they would not dare express their real convictions on religious, political or economical questions because their resignations would surely be demanded at once. It is the same thing in England and Germany. And in France Jean Jaures, one of the geniuses of the age, was recently refused a chair in the College de France to lecture upon Socialism. —Emile Zola.

The Real Anarchists.

When you hear the apologists for capitalism raise their voices and affront high heaven over the lawlessness of the unions, the anarchists and others, just ask them to consider this: A few weeks ago lovers of law and order kidnaped thirteen leaders of striking cigarmakers and no trace of them could be found. These men had dared to organize their fellow workers for the purpose of demanding more of the product of their own toil, and this was infringing on the business interests of the capitalistic classes of Tampa, and they for once set aside their usual cry of "law and order" and resorted to drastic measures to prevent these wage-earners from organizing. The capitalistic press said nothing about the affair only as an item of news, and it was usually stuck off in a corner near the advertisements. The return of the men, while attracting a little more attention, has been conveniently ignored editorially by the capitalistic press: The Associated Press bureau announced their return in the following:

"The thirteen abducted leaders of the striking cigarmakers of Tampa, Fla., have returned from exile. The men who composed the central committee of Resistencia union of Tampa arrived here on a small fruit schooner, the Gertrude of this port. Marooned on a barren, uninhabited isle off the coast of Honduras, they had, by an unexpected turn of fortune, escaped death from exposure and starvation and made their way to civilization and safety. They believe it was the intention of their captors that they should never return from exile. The authorities of Washington have instructed the United States district attorney at Jacksonville, Fla., to make an investigation of the matter. Sworn depositions of the men taken before federal officials have been mailed to Washington.

The party consisted of six Spaniards, six Cubans and one Englishman. The Cubans and the Englishmen, however, are naturalized American citizens. The men, whose names are Francisco Rodriguez, Ramon Pignero, Luis Barcia, Reina Prieto, Jose Fugero, Pedro Carrellas, Estanislau Langa, Eustacio Valdaz, Badillo Farena, Jose Belen Valdez, Crencio Gonzales and Charles Kelly, all bear evidence of the hardships encountered during their forced exile and present a pitiful appearance. The stories they tell are substantially the same, differing only in minor details as to the violence resorted to by their abductors.

"Luis Barcia, who was taken at midnight from the bedside of his wife, whose accouchement had taken place three days before, and whose death has since been reported as a result of the shock incident to her husband's disappearance, says he was forced into a closed carriage and taken to the railroad station, where he was put into an electric car, of which the lights were out, the current having been shut off. Eight of his comrades, who had been similarly captured, had been put with himself into the rear compartment of the car and taken to Ballast Point, a few miles west of Tampa, on Hillsborough Bay. Four other members of Resistencia union had previously been taken through the woods in a wagon to the same place, where a tug, with steam up, awaited them.

"After a brief conference at Ballast Point, the thirteen men were dragged aboard the tug and the start was made amid derisive farewells from the abductors on the dock. The tug headed for the schooner Marie Cooper, which was riding at anchor in the stream with all sails set. The men were transferred to the

schooner under a heavy guard. This was on Tuesday night, August 6.

"A stiff breeze soon carried them down the bay and out to sea.

"As day followed day in dull monotony, without any indications that a landing was contemplated, the kidnaped men, who had been kept in ignorance not only of their fate, but of their probable destination, became uneasy and requested to know where they were being taken. They were told they would be landed on English soil, far enough away to prevent a return to the United States for a long time.

"On the seventh day land was sighted and the captives were informed that their destination had been reached. Nearer approach revealed a long, low stretch of sand beach without sign of human habitation. The men were landed at night, each one receiving \$5.

"A box of soda crackers, two small hams, three cans of beef and about a gallon of water were placed on the beach. The boats then returned to the schooner, which immediately

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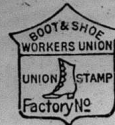
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set sail and disappeared in the distance.

For days they wandered along the beach, husbanding their meagre supplies and without encountering a human being or sighting a sail. Their small stock of provisions finally gave out, the water supply was exhausted, their hands and faces were burned by the tropical sun and their feet blistered by long marches. They began to despair of ever reaching home, and had almost given up the fight, when they were discovered by an Indian. He brought aid, took them to the mainland and guided them to the plantation of a Mr. Bruno, where they were well received. Their immediate wants were supplied, and they procured a small boat to take them to Truxillo.

"They were told by Mr. Bruno that from the description they gave of the island they had evidently been landed near the mouth of Plantation river.

"At Truxillo they had the good fortune to meet two Cubans, formerly residents of Florida, and now engaged in fruit culture there, who supplied funds and hired a schooner to take them to Bonacco, where they were equally fortunate to find the schooner Gertrude seeking a cargo of fruit for this market. They chartered her and sailed for Key West."

These are facts that cannot be denied. When a capitalistic anarchist prates of reverence for the law you can be sure he means let the lower orders have the reverence.

Suppression of the Press in Redlands.

There is great excitement in the town of Redlands. All our puritanical capitalists are foaming with rage. That very respectable bourgeois body, the board of trade, have spasms of indignation vibrating from the crown of their heads to the very soles of their plutocratic shoes. And all because of one little Socialist paper. Local Redlands started the Under-Current because they could see the necessity for a straight Socialist paper in the county, a paper that should teach the revolutionary principle of the class struggle so necessary to a movement like ours. And still more for the purpose of clearing the minds of people on the outside who have been infected with the New Zealand municipal ownership step-at-a-time, I-am-as-good-as-you, me-too ideas. As to the fitness of the paper, the comrades who have received it are the best judges. The Under-Current started under difficulties. Local Redlands membership is working men who had not the means to buy a press of their own. Consequently, through financial disability, we were compelled to get the paper printed by the Review, a weekly capitalistic sheet, that is issued here. From the very inception of the Under-Current our local capitalists have used all the economic power at their command to crush it. They have forced some people to withdraw their ads under threats of destroying their business. One real estate man wrote us saying he had nothing personally against the paper, but his customers, some of the best (?) people, had threatened to leave, and, as he could not afford to have his business ruined, he was compelled to withdraw. Not satisfied with this, a deputation from the board of trade waited on the Review and forced them under threats of boycott to give up our printing, thinking, no doubt, that we were dead and done for. But the class-conscious proletarians of Redlands are made of different stuff. We will get it printed in San Bernardino. Our colors are nailed to the masthead and the paper will appear as usual. Working men all over the state, we ask you

to help us, not with donations—local Redlands is responsible for the paper, and will bear the brunt of the fight—but you can help us with subscriptions. The paper will be strictly revolutionary and will be enlarged as we get more subscribers. Our comrades are not of the weak-kneed. They stand solid as the rock of Gibraltar and will not yield one inch. At the largest business meeting ever held in Redlands spirited speeches were made, and, amidst great enthusiasm, it was unanimously resolved that the local endorse the Under-Current and stand by it morally and financially. Comrades, do not think if you subscribe the money will be lost or the paper go out of existence. The Socialist workmen of Redlands are behind it. We have all lived the class struggle, and in our daily life have suffered from the beast of capitalism, and, come rain, sunshine or snow, the Under-Current will appear as a beacon light blazing the road to progress—the road to the Socialist Republic.

GEORGE S. HOLMES.

ANARCHY IS THE MENACE TO CIVILIZATION: SOCIALISM IS ITS HOPE.
—O. E.

Comrade Oscar Johnson has the "Advance" on sale at his store, 49 Sacramento street, where subscriptions to the paper are taken. Party members may also pay their dues there and receive stamps, as Comrade Johnson is also financial secretary of Local San Francisco.

The subject of Socialism is not one to be ignored or to be sneered out of discussion by the beneficiaries of the oligarchy of wealth. It is receiving the best thoughts of the best minds of the most enlightened nations of the earth.—Editorial in Seattle Daily Times.

The Boston Post says: "The immense consolidations that have marked the opening of the century point unmistakably to the strengthening of the Socialist idea."

The St. Louis Mirror says: "The development of the consolidation idea renders all protest against ultimate Socialism futile and foolish."

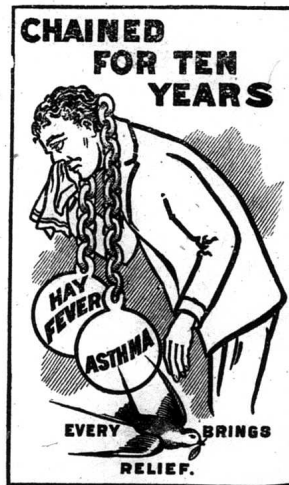
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Gentlemen: I write this testimonial from a sense of duty, having tested the wonderful effect of your Asthmalene, for the cure of Asthma. My wife has been afflicted with spasmodic asthma for the past twelve years. Having exhausted my own skill, as well 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.

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The Class Struggle.

"I will dwell in solitude amidst the ruins of cities; I will inquire of the monuments of antiquity, what was the wisdom of former ages; I will ask the ashes of past legislators what causes have erected and overthrown empires, what are the principles of national prosperity and misfortune; what the maxims upon which the peace of society and the happiness of man ought to be founded."

—Volney.

The above, taken from Volney's "Ruins of Empires," struck me rather forcibly some fifteen years ago during the great McCormick reaper strike in Chicago; and, though I dwell not in the ruins of cities, but amidst the ruins of trades unions, and I asked not the monuments of antiquity, but the history of dead and obliterated trades unions of the past, the answer invariably came back after deep thought and study that, although the true basis of trades unionism is the class struggle we have ignored that fact and sent our economic masters or their representative to legislate for us, we have given them the political power to create laws for their own class interest, to weld the chains of wage slavery tighter upon us, to make Roosevelt spiked clubs to beat our brains out, and to shoot and bayonet us when we asked for more wages or better conditions. Such were the forcible answers to study and research along those lines, but times and men change. We find to-day many men who have struck the key to the situation, men who have read and thought and at last awakened.

The International Association of Machinists now have many men in its ranks who realize that the cause and also the keynote to true trades unionism is the class struggle. That continued class war for economic mastery which will continue as long as capitalistic society is allowed to exist, which will be but a short time once labor is awakened to the true facts which was the cause of labor organization the world over, or where capitalism is in power.

Karl Marx, in his book called "Capital," shows the true basis of capitalism to be the appropriation from the producer, the worker, by the non-producer, the so-called capitalist, of a large share of the products of his toil, leaving a bare existence to the producer as his share, or, in plain words, robbery according to law is the occupation of the modern feudal lord of capitalistic society, hence the class struggle.

The struggle of the masses on one hand to retain as much as possible of the value produced, and on the other hand the capitalist class are strenuously endeavoring to get more and more out of the worker, the result of which is the organization of the worker into a trade union. And we find, no matter how we look at it, the class struggle looming up before us, notwithstanding the arguments of the paid tools of capitalism, republican and democratic alike, during the last campaign, it still stands as the basis of true trade unionism.

Another view of matters is given in the materialistic conception of history which proceeds upon the principle that production and next to production, the exchange of its products, is the groundwork of every social order, and that in every social system that has arisen historically, the distribution of the products, together with the social divisions, into classes and orders, depends upon that which is produced and the manner in which it is produced, and also upon the manner in which the articles produced are exchanged.

Here we find the same old thing over again:

The manner of production and exchange. The economics of the times is fairly flung in our teeth every time we read true history.

This again points out, if you study closely, that our present system, the capitalistic system of production, is at fault and must give place to the new, the law of surplus value, the groundwork of capitalism, or, in other words, the legal robbery of the producer once more confronts you. The class struggle again looms up when viewed from the materialistic conception of modern society. Again you are confronted by the fact that you have to organize into trade unions to protect yourself industrially; again you are confronted with the undeniable fact that you must organize also on the political field; you must wrest the powers of government out of the hands of the capitalist class and run it for your own material interest. You must wipe out this present system of wage slavery, with all its crime, misery and suffering. The tools of production, land and what it contains, the means of distribution on land and water should be public property. They were produced socially, therefore should be owned socially, to be used by and for the benefit of all co-operatively, and not used as now, in most cases, for the benefit of the few, so that they can buy withered dukes and senile counts for their daughters to hobnob with in those dens of iniquity called the royal courts of Europe.

This scattering of political power by trade unionists among the capitalist parties and other parties not pledged to trade unionism is, and has been, the stumbling block that unionism has fallen over and broke its neck. Give the political power to your enemy, the capitalist, or his representative, and he will render the combined efforts of all your organizations ineffectual, as has been done often before. Kill them altogether. This explains why trade unions have not been as successful as they should be and would be if the brothers would stop chasing rainbows in the shape of "this good man, that good man, this friend of labor, that friend of labor," and remember the one great fact, which is an undeniable one, that labor needs no friends. It being the majority in this country, can control, if it will, all offices from the lowest to the highest, and tell the boss to "get off the perch, I'll boss myself awhile and see how it feels; you go to work and see how it feels for once in your life!"—Machinist's Journal.

The Power of the Trusts.

The trusts are so powerful that they can make or break the fortunes of any man; but not only that, they can found cities and likewise destroy them or denude them of prosperity. A writer in the *Scranton Truth*, under the caption of a "Ramble Through the Forsaken Workings of what was the Industrial Pride of Scranton," says: "It was once the scene of the very greatest activity. Its massive machinery, in its majestic revolutions, shook the earth, and its fiery furnaces illuminated the city and hailed the midnight visitors when the trains that were speeding toward us were yet many miles away. It is now idle, to roll rails no more. Where once the thunders of industry were heard now a painful solitude and silence prevail. Where brawny men of muscle labored by the hundred now a lonely watchman, with a clock on his back, which must be wound up hourly to show he did not sleep, plods his weary way. The one-time mammoth will soon be but a memory. Its equipment is being fast taken apart and shipped to Lake Erie's distant shore."

This scene is being repeated in many places. Citizens by the tens of thousands are being ruined by the loss of value which the

dismantling of their industries causes to their property and business. The giant steel and other trust tear down the values in many places where they and their friends have previously bought the real estate. It is confiscation by indirection, but none the less confiscation. Gloom pervades what were once a thousand happy homes. The workmen will have to leave, and the cottages they have built with their savings will be unsalable and worthless. And yet Hanna and the republican leaders are hand and glove with the trust and will not aid in legislation to deprive them of their monopolies.—Saunders County (Neb.) Journal.

Mrs. Roosevelt Attends Services.

New York, September 19th.—Mrs. Roosevelt and two of her children, Archibald and Ethel, attended the memorial services in honor of our dead President held in the Episcopal church at Oyster Bay today. Mrs. Roosevelt was dressed in deep mourning. The little church was filled with society women, all of whom were dressed in black.

During the services the congregation sang Mr. McKinley's favorite hymns, "Lead, Kindly Light," and "Nearer, My God to Thee." The Rev. Dr. Washburn, pastor of the church, spoke with extreme feeling.

"Our President lies dead," he said. "A nation mourns. And, unbidden, a world mourns. The cause of this mourning may be anarchy. It is the duty of every citizen in this broad land to put down anarchy."

"A free press has nothing in common with anarchy, nor is anarchy in any way led by it. Anarchy is the offspring of poverty and ignorance. Education is the remedy. It is sad to contemplate 50,000 children in New York unable to attend school."

"It is wrong to class the workingman with anarchists. They are far apart. There is as much difference between Socialism and anarchy as there is between good and bad. Socialism is the theme of the poet and the philosopher."—Examiner.

Party Meeting.

September 25, 1901.

At a regular party meeting, this date, with Comrade Whitney in the chair, the following business was transacted:

1. Comrade Culman will be Chairman of next propaganda meeting.
 2. The polls in Los Angeles referendum to be left open until September 28th, when the Campaign Committee will canvass the votes, and report to party.
 3. That the Campaign Committee send postals to all those who have neglected to vote on the Los Angeles Convention question.
 4. We regret to inform our comrades that Emil Leiss has resigned his position as manager of the *ADVANCE*, which we were reluctantly compelled to accept. The editor, Comrade Noel, was elected to act as manager.
 5. That 200 copies of next edition of "Advance" be issued for free distribution.
 6. The Unity Conference between the S. F. Locals has been postponed until after the State Convention meets.
 7. That the "Advance" reciprocate the favor of any advertising it may receive from any Socialist papers.
 8. Two new applications for membership received.
 9. Receipts, evening, \$12.70.
- Fraternally yours, for the Local S. F. Socialist Party,

B. P. OBER, Secretary.

Injunctions.

Injunctions, nothing but injunctions! They come from all directions; from the east, from the west, from everywhere. Never in the whole course of our original existence have we had so much legal attention paid us, such a plethora of foolscap and parchment, such a maze of red-tape entanglement. In our case judges seem to vie with each other as to which will dare trespass furthest in curtailing the liberties of the people; which will filch the greater amount of authority and assume powers not vested in them by law. It would almost seem that the men honored by being placed in judicial authority have become predated with the madness that presages destruction. "Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad," and decisions lately rendered by men who—if they are worthy and qualified for the positions they occupy—must know that all ideas of freedom and justice are sacrificed by these decisions, and that they can only end in their own disgrace and undoing. Judges have been looked up to with respect and honor—and ought to be—but if the injunction mill keeps on grinding out unholy instruments of enthrallment the time has come when none will be "so poor as to do them reverence." The terrible awe and majesty of the law is likely to suffer in reputation if judges show no more honor to their own dignity than they are now doing, and those who look upon them with reverence as a something sacred, will change their mind and treat them with levity and disrespect. And if the great mass of our citizens lose respect for law and order, the judges into whose keeping its purity was entrusted will be responsible. The higher the respect for the law the greater the disrespect should there be a reaction.—Machinists' Journal.

An Extract from a Novel.

"Work—is not everything for a man * * *" he said, more to himself than to those people who did not believe in the sincerity of his speech—it is not true that justification lies in work. * * * Some people never do any work at all their lives long—and yet they live better than the toilers * * * Why is that? But as for the toilers—they are simply wretched horses. People ride on them—they endure it * * * and that's all. But they have their justification before God. * * * They will be asked 'For what did you live, hey?' Then they will say 'We toiled all our lives * * *' And what justification have I? And how will all the people who give the orders justify themselves? What have they lived for? But my idea is that everybody ought, without fail, to know solidly—what he is living for."

He stopped, and, throwing back his head, he exclaimed in dull voice:

"Is it possible that a man is born to toil, accumulate money, build a house, beget children, and—die? No; life means something in itself. * * * A man has been born, has lived, has died * * * why? All of us must consider why we are living, by God we must. There's no sense in our life * * * there's no sense at all in it! And then—things are not equal * * * that is immediately visible. Some are rich * * * they have money enough for a thousand men all to themselves * * * and they live without occupation * * * others bow their backs in toil all their life, and they haven't a penny. Yet the difference in people is small. The one without trousers lives and thinks exactly like the one clad in silk."—From "Foma Gordyeff," by Gorky.

Previously reported, \$36.70; Mrs. R., 50 cts.; John Doe, 60 cts. Total, \$37.70.

Secretaries of Locals in California.

- Benicia, good standing, Wm. Gnauk.
- Riverside, good standing, A. B. Lee.
- Colusa, good standing, Frank Wulff.
- Redlands, good standing, D. H. York.
- San Bernardino, good standing, N. A. Richardson.
- Long Beach, good standing, George Steen.
- Tulare, good standing, Wm. Carpenter.
- Vallejo, good standing, R. A. Patterson.
- Santa Ana, good standing, E. S. Nash.
- Los Angeles, good standing, A. F. Snell.
- Alameda, good standing, J. C. Stamer.
- San Francisco, good standing, B. P. Ober.
- San Diego, good standing, E. B. Helpingstine, care of Chieftain.
- Alhambra, good standing, S. Wallace Niman.
- San Jose, good standing, Karl Bracher, Santa Clara.
- Dixon, good standing, C. C. Donoho.
- Sacramento, good standing, S. Edgar Alderman, 1421 Q street.
- Watsonville, good standing, F. R. Bradbury.
- Oakland, good standing, O. H. Philbrick, 1841 Myrtle street.
- Merced, good standing, James Hegessy.
- Sawtelle, application filed, Corwin Phelps.
- Escondido, prospective, J. B. Hoover, Rich-

Wanted.

From our readers the following back numbers of ADVANCE: 363, 364, 365 and 368. By sending them to our office you would greatly oblige the Manager of ADVANCE.

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.

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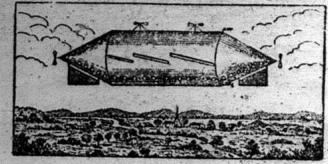
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San Francisco Trades Union Directory

- 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.
- FARBERS 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. Rudolph 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, 207 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 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, 1510 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. Pohlmam, Secretary, 1128 Sacramento St., Vallejo, Cal.
- MILKERS Union, No. 886r.** 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 Frost, 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 3:00 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 (Stereotypers). 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. Evey Tuesday at 7 City Hall square. 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 Campodonic, 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.

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Versus a Boy.

The following incident came under my observation recently. While making some purchases in a store my attention was attracted to a small boy chatting with a saleslady. He being a bright lad, my curiosity was aroused, and, in consequence, did some eavesdropping. The boy stated that he was 11 years old, and was proud that he was able to go to work and earn some money to help support his parents. He was asked who would dare employ him, being so young and tender. "I am working for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and work every day," he answered, and at the same time he handed the lady a card of the society.

Just imagine, you upholders of the present system, what a disgrace it is for the authorities to permit a child to work at 11 years of age instead of attending school, and think how a society formed for the protection of animals could have the lack of decency to employ one so young. Perhaps it would be best to inform the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children to look the matter up.

A. J. MORRIS.

Socialist Party Campaign Fund.

Previously acknowledged, \$10.00; A. B., \$2.50; Alfred Hausle, \$1.00; Joseph Herzog, 50 cents; Ch. J. Hamilton, \$1.00; A friend, 50 cents; B. F. Mackley, 50 cents; a friend, 50 cents. Total, \$16.50.

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