

ADVANCE

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Professor Ely on the Steel Trusts.

(COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE.)

"One of the first things revealed to us by analysis is that in the steel trust we do not encounter something new in kind. The forces at work in this combination are old and familiar, and it is simply the degree in which they manifest themselves that is new."

Prof. Ely here explains how every provision in the charter of the billion-and-a-half-dollar steel trust makes for monopoly—for demanding the monopoly price for its products. These are the objects for which the giant corporation was formed.

"To apply for, obtain, register, purchase, lease, or otherwise to acquire, and to hold, use, operate and introduce, and to sell, assign or otherwise to dispose of, any trade marks, trade names, patents inventions, improvements and processes." "Our analysis here reveals again the presence of monopoly, and monopoly established of design by public authority in order to promote inventions and industrial improvements. We have here to do with a union in one concern of the more important protected processes in great classes of industries, and, so far as these are concerned, we have clear-cut monopoly." After showing how the steel trust has branched out and captured, not only the source of raw materials of its products, but the means of transportation of the same to the consumers, i. e., the railroads, the Wisconsin professor says: "Unless in all particulars named the trust maintains rigid impartiality like that of the clerk at the stamp-window of the postoffice in selling stamps, it is hard to say where we shall find the limits of monopoly fifty years from now."

"Is it conceivable that even excellent men, even those who show marked philanthropic traits and tendencies, will of their own motion endeavor to maintain competitive equality of opportunity for themselves and for others. We have a rapidly-growing unification of coal-carrying and coal-mining interests. May we expect that the coal-carriers will in every respect treat independent producers as well as they do themselves in their capacity of coal producers. Was it one of the purposes of this consolidation to maintain rigid impartiality, and thus competitive equality of opportunity? If not, what then?"

In casting about for an answer to these questions our attention is attracted by a certain general restlessness on the part of the public which has invaded even Wall street. The consumers of the country believe that monopoly exists and is expanding rapidly, and it is their conviction as well as that of our courts that monopoly price means high price; that if low in some cases it means low price, this is mere temporary arrangement. Other producers tremble when they contemplate a billion-dollar trust with which they must have relations. The wage-earner feels that, isolated and alone, he is a pigmy, a nothing, when his individual interests are pitted against amalgamated hundreds of millions, and he is zealous in the

formation of labor unions to prepare for conflict. When the citizen reflects on what is readily observable at our various seats of government he feels that the potentialities of political power residing in a billion-dollar trust are vague, but certainly vast, perhaps illimitable.

We then have to do with a union of men, of very exceptional but probably not unique ability, who give economic direction to a considerable percentage of the productive forces—including labor and capital—of the entire United States. Property in its nature means exclusive rights of control, and these men have in their hands these exclusive rights. But our bread, our subsistence, comes from the operation of productive economic forces. Have those who draw this bread from these unified productive forces a power which brings about that equilibrium which maintains interdependence and independence? We remember what Shakespeare said about economic control:—

"You take my house when you take the prop
That doth sustain my house; you take my life
When you take the means whereby I live."

While the fact of unprecedented power is admitted by our editorial writers, the hope is generally expressed that it will be used wisely, and sometimes dark hints are given as to what may follow if this power is misused. Our magnates have again and again been impressively told that the tremendousness of their power is almost appalling, and we are then reassured by grave utterances concerning the sobering effect of power. At bottom, protection is sought in the appeal to good will—to the benevolence of our industrial conquerors, our economic Alexanders and Caesars. What are the lessons of history? Does past experience teach us that we may place our hope for economic well-being wholly or in part in the benevolence of any class of men, even the most estimable? Or, turning to the industrial argument, does our observation of human nature, even at the best, lead us to think this a safe procedure? When we question ourselves, do we think we could stand such a test? Noteworthy and impressive in this connection is the following utterance of the late Benjamin Harrison: "The man whose protection from wrong rests wholly upon the benevolence of another man or of a congress is a slave—a man without rights."

If we are not quite satisfied with appeals to benevolence or even to enlightened self-interest looking ahead and endeavoring to avoid remote and long-delayed evils to our industrial magnates or their children, we must pursue our quest for remedies further.

One of the first things to be asked is this: Admitting that appeals to individuals and exhortation addressed to the great ones of the industrial world may produce gratifying individual action, is it possible that such individual action can produce a social system? There

seems to be a growing conviction on the part of the general public that such is not the case; and in this growing conviction is to be found the explanation of the gratifying fact that we are able to find no general inclination to blame the men who have played a leading role in the vast industrial combinations of the present time. The general public is awed, almost dazed, by the stupendousness of industrial events, but reproaches are not hurled against our economic kings. Mr. Tom L. Johnson, Mayor of Cleveland, is reported to have said in Congress that as a private citizen he would take advantage of conditions favorable to monopoly, he would do all in his power to defeat any proposals for new laws of this character, and would likewise exert himself to secure the repeal of existing law calculated to promote monopoly. There is a general inclination to believe that this is a sound and thoroughly ethical course of action; and one finds oneself wondering at times how many of our magnates are Socialists at heart, working out as best they can their theories."

Professor Ely delves into the heart of competition and shows the absurdity of attempting the preservation of this ideal so dear to the heart of the trust magnates and others who have no fear of its consequences, without at least making of the state a step-father. He in a measure places himself in a ridiculous position by the advocacy of laws to regulate the trust, knowing that laws have been passed in twenty-seven states and have been found of no avail. But in his conclusion he shows where his hopes are. To those who have read much of Professor Ely's work he is known as one desirous of the old order giving way to Socialism. He says: "We have among us those who desire to see the old order give way to Socialism, and these have no patience with the painstaking analysts. They look upon industrial evolution as moving in one straight line to the goal of Socialism, by the way of private monopoly, and talk about those who endeavor to discriminate between monopolistic and competitive pursuits as "prating" about two fields of business, et cetera. It is possible to allow things to drift on as they are going, and what the result will be no one is wise enough to foresee. It is alleged that one prominent economist has in such an event prophesied an empire within twenty-five years. While most of us think this is an extreme statement, no one would like to say that we have as yet reached a period of comparative rest in our industrial evolution. The present writer does not feel like indulging in any dogmatism. This is a time for review and consideration, and it has seemed to him, in the present article, wise to throw out and suggest questions rather than to answer them. Certain it is that we need all the help which it is possible for us to receive from free and untrammelled scholarship and wise statesmanship."

The Reform of a Revolutionist.

Herr Eduard Bernstein, the well-known Socialist writer, who recently returned to Germany after many years of banishment, the greater part of which he passed in London, recently addressed the Social Science Society of the University of Berlin. Discussing scientific Socialism he said that the principles of Karl Marx were not convincing. The Socialist creed, he declared, had hitherto rested upon half truths, truths partly contradicting science, and being, therefore, Utopian. He denied that there could be scientific Socialism. His address attracts much attention and, as Herr Bernstein is an acknowledged leader in the Socialist ranks, his utterances will probably cause a split in the Social Democratic party."

The Associated Press does not waste cable tolls in telegraphing foreign matter of purely local interest to the United States, and it is clear that the Bernstein revival is intended to sow seeds of discord not alone among the Socialists of Germany, but of the United States as well.

This anti-Socialist tone in the foreign dispatches may naturally be expected to characterize more and more the press utterances in the United States as the evidences of the Socialist movement's growth become more apparent. Bearing in mind the intimate relation between newsgatherer and official and the fact that the official is a part of that state which is the instrument of the capitalist class, it is not difficult to see how the alarm of the capitalists will be communicated to the press. Socialists cannot too soon realize that they will not receive any aid from the press, as it exists at present, and this fact cannot be too strongly emphasized. In some Socialist quarters there has been a disposition to put some store by "Socialistic" utterances in certain papers, but it is worse than folly to expect any permanent and unequivocal championship of the press which entices the workers only to betray them. The newspapers are mere parasites of the capitalist order, strong as the capitalist order is strong and weak as that order is weak, and they may be depended on not to assist in killing the goose which lays for them the golden egg. While editorial writers are allowed wide discretion in their discussions, the counting room idea of "a free press" is the idea that prevails when there is a conflict between counting room and editorial room. Let the counting room see the revenue decreasing as a result of editorial assaults on "business interests" and those assaults will cease at once. If the editorial writers cannot harmonize their opinions with counting room opinions other editorial writers not so stiff necked will be found. The only hope of the Socialist movement in the field of journalism is the establishment of a Socialist press, frankly revolutionary, giving daily the news of the working-class movement in all its phases, exposing the shams and stratagems of the enemy, exchanging blow for blow and standing ever as the unpurchasable and unterrified champion of an Industrial Democracy, the Co-operative Commonwealth. —Missouri Socialist.

Mackail's Biography of William Morris.

John Spargo in New York Times:

I have read your notice of Mr. Mackail's latest volume with a great deal of interest, having had the privilege of being personally acquainted with William Morris in the closing years of his life. I have not read Mr. Mackail's lecture except such fragmentary portions of it as were published in the English Socialist press at the time. But I have read his two volumes, "Life of Morris," and am

convinced that, as in the case of Collingwood's "Life of Ruskin" and in the "Life of Alfred Lord Tennyson," by his son, the author has only succeeded in gathering the principal materials necessary for such a work, and that the true life of the man as he was has yet to be written.

Allowing his personal prejudices to color the book, Mr. Mackail has done a great injustice to Morris's memory. In the section of the book which deals with the Socialist work of Morris, he rightly devotes a good deal of space to his bitter quarrel with Mr. H. M. Hyndman, the distinguished and scholarly founder of the English movement, which led to his withdrawal from the Social Democratic Federation, and the establishment of the Socialist League. But whilst he dwells much on the quarrel he does not—although perfectly aware of the fact—inform his readers that Morris afterwards admitted that Mr. Hyndman was right and that he had acted wrongly. Apart from the injustice to Mr. Hyndman, it will at once be conceded that no biographer ought from personal motives to suppress such a fact. Especially is that true of Morris's action. Mr. Hyndman was the parliamentary candidate of the S. D. P. at Burnley (Lancashire), and Morris wrote offering to go down during the campaign to speak on his behalf, at the same time expressing his sorrow for past actions. Naturally, my friend Hyndman was well pleased, though he did not wish Morris to make such a public recantation and told him so. But Morris insisted, and went to Burnley and before an audience of some two thousand persons, confessed that in the quarrel of a few years before Mr. Hyndman was right and he was wrong. He spoke in the highest terms of Hyndman and his work for the cause of Socialism. Although I consider it to have been one of the noblest incidents of that noble life, and its wilful omission by Mackail cannot be too strongly condemned.

It is interesting to remember, too, that Morris rejoined the S. D. P., and contributed frequently to its organ, "Justice," in addition to lecturing for the party. His last public appearance indeed, was as the chairman of its New Year meeting in (I think) 1896.

I cannot help wishing that Mr. E. Belfort Bax, Maret's great vindicator, who wrote in collaboration with Morris, would take up the Socialist side of the life of the great artist, poet and craftsman, who gave so much inspiration and strength to the Socialist movement.

At least thirty injunctions of the blanket variety have been swung at workmen by the courts during the past months. Many trades are affected, including machinists, molders, miners, waiters, etc., and the injunctions are more far-reaching than ever before. The men are not only restrained from picketing and boycotting, but are commanded not to visit homes of non-unionists to persuade them to stop work and not to talk to others regarding specific labor troubles, or do aught to injure the business of the plaintiff, and so forth. The fact that the courts are working overtime to assist capitalists who are at war with organized labor is a pretty safe indication that trades unionism is growing more powerful despite all obstacles. A further result will be that those same trade unionists will soon be forced to the conclusion that they possess no standing in court and have no political power, and that they will line up at the polls with a party of their class and prepare to take control of the governing force.—Central Farmer.

Prosperity may be here, but it seems the workingmen cannot get it without a strike.

Supreme Court Musicians.

The great jumble of opinions, each differing from the others, handed down by these nine immaculate wise men, show beyond a doubt, to thinking folks, that the "constitution" is truly an "instrument" upon which this trained band of legal musicians can play any kind of tune they see fit—and can easily play to the taste of seventeen different kinds of audiences. In fact, the constitution has ceased to be more than a few pages of words in a dictionary, and this oligarchy of nine men, sitting on the supreme bench, are the lexicographers who give them any definition that pleases them. The real government of the United States has gone out of the hands of the people, of congress and the executive, into the hands of this court, which can make or unmake constitution and laws at their own sweet will. That they can make lightning changes as rapidly as a modern comedian seems almost self-evident from recent decisions, and the question as to whether the supreme court as well as the constitution should not be abolished and the will of the people substituted is a pertinent one, and one that will soon have to be settled.

Displeased at a judge's decision, Alexander H. Stevens once slammed his books down and made considerable of a racket.

"Mr. Stevens," said the judge, "are you trying to show your contempt for this court?"

"No, your honor," said the lawyer, "I am trying to conceal it."

That's the way many folks are feeling just now, but the end is not yet.—Paso Robles Independent.

From a Baccalaureate Address.

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

Yes, I am glad to see the private railroad companies building new roads and extensions. The people, when Socialism is ushered in, will have all the more miles to take over. The only trouble is, the people have to pay for building them about three times under the private way, but everything will be equipped in pretty good shape. Get ready, people, to ride on your own roads all over the United States at one-fourth of a cent per mile, and have your freight carried 1,000 miles for 50 cents, and your telephone and telegraph messages sent 1,000 miles (50 words), for 25 cents. In fifteen years you will have these privileges. You who won't vote for this never watch the movement of civilization, until civilization has buried you and your hundred-year back ideas 40 summers under the daisies.—Exchange.

Notes from Los Angeles.

Los Angeles, August 20, 1901.

Editor ADVANCE: Comrade Nacke addressed our regular propaganda meeting on the eleventh of this month. Her subject was "The Child and Socialism." Miss Nacke is now on her way to New York, from which place she intends to go to Europe.

At the last meeting of the Karl Marx Debating Club, the question discussed was, "Resolved, That religion has been a greater factor in shaping present civilization than economics." Comrade Fisher, taking the affirmative, said in part: "Every race that has existed has had some kind of a religion, consequently, it must have been a very prominent factor in the development of the races. When Cambyses invaded Egypt, the people were easily conquered because the great Persian warrior made use of their religious or superstitious beliefs, namely, he headed his army by a great number of cats and dogs—animals sacred to the Egyptians. Consequently, the country was subdued and then brought in contact with higher civilization."

Comrade Emma Wiesch, who took the negative, said: "All advances in society are made because of necessity and not because of any religious reasons. Religions are gased on economics, and therefore can't have a greater influence on civilization than economics. Did religion benefit civilization when the Mohammedan priests burned the library when Constantinople fell into the hands of the enemy?" Comrade Wiesch referred to the religious views and sentiments, and also their influence, during the French Revolution and the Civil War.

When the vote of the audience was counted, it showed that a large majority favored the negative view of the question.

At our last business meeting we had our delegates with us—Comrades Spring and Ryan. Comrade Ryan gave us quite a talk about the convention, and also about the condition of affairs in this State. We will hear from Comrade Spring later on, as we did not have time for both speakers.

Comrade Holmes, as Organizer, held a farewell street meeting on Saturday night. Comrade Holmes has left for San Bernardino, and Comrade Corey is now Organizer.

OLGA WIRTHSCHAFT.

Free Lunch for School Children.

Every day in the public schools in all the great cities of this country thousands of children sit with pinched faces and puny frames.

Their teachers, themselves underpaid, will tell you that these miserable children, a certain percentage of every class, cannot possibly be taught, they cannot possibly absorb knowledge, because they are not well enough fed.

Barely enough nourishment is theirs to keep their thin bodies and their feeble souls together. There is nothing left to nourish the brain.

All that the schools can do for them is to keep them out of mischief, to keep them locked up for a few hours in a bad atmosphere while their mothers are at work.

In Paris and in London, cities poorer than New York, the poorest children are fed at noon in the schools. They get in winter hot chocolate or hot bread and milk to strengthen them.

The great city of New York, however, cannot afford one cent to fill once a day the empty stomachs of children on the public school benches.—New York Journal.

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

ADVANCE

Dooley on Life at Newport.

P. F. Dunne introduces his friend Dooley to the gaities of Newport with the characteristic remark that her mansions are the homes of luxury and alimony. He then goes on to say:

"Misther Willie Hankerbilt met with a most dhriv-in' his cillybrated gasoline, Booney-Mooney five hundherd power autymobile, Purple Assassassin, at a modhrate rate iv wan hundherd miles an hour, accompanied by th' beautiful Countess Eckstein (who was formerly Mrs. Casey-Kelley, whose husband's marredge was cillybrated at Saint Go-go's-on-th'-hill las' week) he was run into be wan Thomas Sullivan, a painther employed by Mrs. Reginald Steenevant, who is soon to occupy th' handsome house, Dove Villa, which is part iv th' settlements allowed her be th' Dakota coorts. Mr. Hankerbilt was onable to turn aside to avoid the collision an' it was on'y be a supreme effort that he kep' fr'im bein' tipped over. He showed rare prisence of mind on which he was congrathulated be th' whole colony. Sullivan showed no prisence of mind at all, eyether be fure or afther death. Many iv th' cottagers ar're talkin' iv havin' a law passed compelling pedesthreens to ring a bell an' blow a hor-nr on their way to wur'rk. Otherwise they won't be a whole tire left in Newport."

There is a sign, presumably painted by a Mr. Swan, flapping in the breeze on Market street, which bears the legend: "I want to run my own business. Them's my colors," and a fearfully executed hand points at a tencent American flag. Underneath is the signature, A. Swan. This Swan, besides being a goose, is also a painter. He has about ten brushes and a paint pot as capital. He grows frantic at the thought of not running those brushes and that paint pot in his own way. It never enters his poor dull head how absolutely unnecessary he is to the scheme of things. Anyone can be such a capitalist as he. Only a certain sympathy, a fellow feeling in the business of exploitation on the part of contractors, gives him the least excuse for being. They look upon him as they do to a certain extent upon themselves, as doomed middlemen and out of the abundance of their charity extend him a helping hand. When the Painters' Union determines to go into business for itself and when the owners of houses learn that the Swans and others of his ilk are supported in luxury from the unpaid wages of the men they employ, things will take a turn for the better and strikes will not be heard of. The day is rapidly approaching. The unions are waking up to the possibilities underlying co-operative effort. When they go that far, there will be no staying them, and this Swan which is a goose can have some useful labor to perform, instead of painting absurd signs, brimming over with such grammer as affronts the flag his commercial soul tells him to respect.

Convention of Social Democratic Party, San Francisco.

The convention of the Social Democratic party of San Francisco met and adopted an order of business.

Permanent officers were elected as follows: Thomas Beresford, Chairman; Joseph J. Noel, Secretary; Chas. D. Scarper, Assistant Secretary.

The Convention adjourned to meet at Turk Street Temple, Saturday, August 24th, at 8 p. m., when report of the Platform Committee will be the first order of business.

Joseph J. Noel, Sec.

Meeting of the City Central Committee.

The meeting of the City Central Committee was held with Comrade Bardhun in the chair.

Seven new members were admitted.

Bills were received from G. B. Benham for printing amounting to \$37; one from Joseph J. Noel, editor ADVANCE, \$20.

The receipts of the evening were \$10.50.

Joseph J. Noel.

The Truth of the Matter.

When Rome went down 1,800 men owned all the Roman world.

When Babylon went down 2 per cent of her population owned all the wealth.

When Egypt went down 2 per cent of her population owned 97 per cent of her wealth.

There are 40,000,000 in England, Ireland and Scotland and Wales, and 100,000 practically own all the United Kingdom.

In 1860 there was but two millionaires in the United States of America, and no tramps. To-day there are 35,000 millionaires, and 3,000,000 tramps.

In the United States three-fifths of the entire wealth of the country is owned by 31,000 persons—less than one-twelfth of 1 per cent of the population.

Items.

You knock a man into the ditch, and then you tell him to remain content in the position in which Providence has placed him.—Ruskin.

In Philadelphia a group of capitalists are making efforts to combine the leading retail drug stores, thus cutting into another department of distribution controlled by the middle class.

Life's comforts are the outcome of labor applied to natural resources; hence to obtain and enjoy these without labor implies the taking of them, legally or illegally, from those who labor.

From Chicago comes news of the prospective consolidation of between thirty and forty of the principal malleable iron manufacturing concerns in the country, to be financed by J. Pierpont Morgan.

No person should enjoy superfluities as long as anybody lacks necessities; for the right of property in objects of luxury can have no foundation until each citizen has his share in the necessities of life.—Fichte.

J. Pierpont Morgan has purchased a \$1,500 dog in England. He buys thousands of American workmen cheaper than that. But the workmen set their own value upon themselves. The dogs don't.—The Worker.

If the labor unions would strike the trusts at the ballot box, they would swamp them under a deluge of votes. But before they can do that they will have to have a program to carry out. The workers are strong at the ballot and weak at every other point. They refuse to use their strongest weapon and turn it over to their oppressors, who use it against them on every occasion.—Exchange.

The Central Federated Union of New York, the largest city central body in the country, endorsed the strike of the iron and steel workers, pledged financial support and called on the workers to combine and "by the use of the ballot overthrow the system that makes combinations of capital like the steel corporation possible." They're coming!

Platform of the Socialist Party.

(Social Democrat.)

AS ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION AT INDIANAPOLIS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As such means we advocate:

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

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

3. State or national insurance of working people, in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds from this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, to be administered under the control of the working class.

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

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

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

But in advocating these measures as steps in the

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

Constitution of the Socialist Party.

(Social Democrat.)

(The following summary of the constitution may be inaccurate in some details and a verified copy will be published next week.)

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

NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

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

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

DUTIES AND POWERS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

HEADQUARTERS.

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

STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

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

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

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

DUES.

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

REPORTS.

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

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

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

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

AMENDMENTS.

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

REFERENDUM.

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

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

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

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

Slowly but Surely They Come.

"I am going to be a socialist from this day on, and thoroughly acquaint myself with the teachings of Socialism."

So said H. C. Baker, president of the Seattle Building Trades Council, in a public address last Sunday evening.

Here is a man 67 years of age, with the spirit of youth still in him. A leader among trade unionists, he sees and accepts the inevitable trend of unionism. "Strike at the ballot box"; that is the workers' battle cry henceforth.

Here is a man who has seen in his own lifetime the development from the sickle and hand-loom to the harvester and cotton mill. He sees that the tools no longer can belong to the individual, and that the worker has lost his old-time independence and become a slave of the owner of his tools and means of production.

"Let us own the land and the tools and be free again," says Mr. Baker. "I believe we shall take possession of the United States, for it belongs to us, and not to Morgan or Rockefeller," is another of his sentiments.

"Will you ever vote for a capitalist ticket again?" he was asked.

"No, I'm tired of that. I've been trying that for forty years and here I am in worse slavery than ever."

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To Order {

SUITS \$12.50

OVERCOATS \$12.50

PANTS \$3.50

and Upwards;

What the "Thunderer" Thinks of a Socialistic Success.

The party of Clerical reaction in Vienna suffered a reverse at yesterday's election for the Provincial Diet of Lower Austria. Dr. Lueger, the anti-Semitic Burgomaster, and his turbulent following in the Reichsrath, the Diet, and the Municipal Council, were beaten at the polls. The defeat of their candidate by a Social Democrat of Jewish extraction in a Vienna constituency is an unmistakable symptom of the progressive decline of the so-called Christian Socialists or, in other words, of the demoralizing faction which formerly terrorized not only the Municipal Council and the Provincial Diet, but the Imperial Reichsrath itself. It furnishes evidence of a healthy revulsion of feeling against the reckless propagandists of racial hatred and religious bigotry.

The anti-Semites boasted that Vienna was their impregnable stronghold, and made capital in influential and even exalted quarters of their supposed power of permanently excluding from the Kaiserstadt both the Pan-Germans and the Social Democrats. The latter have now forced an entrance into the anti-Semitic fortress. Their victory is all the more striking as their opponents had at their disposal all the influence of the anti-Semitic administration both of the province and of the municipality. The election took place under a suffrage which had been jerry-mandered for their own purposes by the anti-Semitic majority in the Diet. It disfranchises thousands of the working classes who have a vote in the elections for the Reichsrath.

These facts show that there is a wide-spread popular revolt against anti-Semitic teachings, terrorism, and mal-administration which is by no means confined to the masses. Large numbers of middle-class electors cast their votes yesterday for the candidate of the Social Democratic party, thus giving practical expression to the opinion widely held in this country, that in Austria the representatives of Social Democracy are considerably more than Radical reformers and may be reckoned upon to promote honest administration and to direct public attention to unquestionable abuses.

The Social Democrats have won much sympathy by their record in the Reichsrath. Their representatives, about a dozen in number, have done good work and have constantly been found on the side of mutual toleration and compromise between the nationalities. In a Parliament which has too frequently indulged in orgies of national prejudice they have invariably raised their voice in favor of political common sense and administrative probity. As the prospect of their ever becoming a powerful party in agricultural and priestridden Austria is remote, the disorganized Liberal element hails their successes over the reactionary demagoguery of the anti-Semites as victories of enlightenment and political honesty.

It is creditable, both to the party and to their supporters among the masses, that the Social Democratic leader, Dr. Adler, was yesterday elected by the combined efforts of the German and Czech working classes. Another favorable circumstance is that the aristocratic and episcopal patrons of Mr. Lueger and his anti-Semitic followers have evidently lost confidence in their henchmen. In view of the rapidly declining popularity of their proteges, which became manifest at the last general election, those distinguished wirepullers no longer seem disposed to afford them that assistance behind the scenes which was largely instrumental in their sudden rise to power in Vienna and Lower Austria.

Socialists, Attention!

To Locals and Comrades of California:

The State Executive Committee at its last meeting instructed the secretary to inform the party of its obligation to Comrades at San Jose for monies advanced to the delegate of the State for expenses to the Indianapolis convention. The following letter from San Jose shows the status of the matter:

"San Jose, Cal., Aug. 16, 1901.

"To State Executive Com., S. D. P.,—Comrades: In compliance with recent instructions of Local Santa Clara Co., S. D. P., the Unity Convention Committee, I herewith report on the account of Local Santa Clara on the State Delegate fund:

"Receipts: Per Los Gatos and Santa Cruz list: H. Groner, 50c; T. Horner, 50c; Fred Larder, 50c; R. A. Crosby, \$1; Wm. W. Barron, \$1; J. R. Knodell, \$1; total, \$4.50. R. K. Swope, 50c; T. Hepp, \$5; T. Thole, \$1; total, \$11.00. Per Ent. Com., \$3.75; per State Ex. Com., \$20.75; F., \$.25; total, \$24.75. Loan of J. Lawrence, \$12.50; loan of D. Geary, \$60; grand total, \$108.25.

"Expenses: Ticket to Chicago and return, \$72.50; fare, Chicago to Ind., \$12; by wire to H. Ryan, \$10; cost of telegraphing, \$1.75; payment of loan, \$12.50; total, \$108.75.

"Total receipts, \$108.25; total expenses, \$108.75; loans unpaid, \$60; other debts, 50c; complete debt, \$60.50.

"The above statement is conclusive to date and shows the exact condition of the State Delegate Fund, with an unpaid debt of \$60.50. We are instructed in submitting this report to add a statement bearing on the matter. The election of H. Ryan as the delegate to represent the northern district of California, after the approval of the referendum, made it a duty on the part of the whole State to settle the financial questions involved in the trip to Indianapolis. Considering the good results of the convention, largely due to its size and the presence of a good delegation at the convention representing California, and the further fact of the smallness of the debt, we should endeavor by every means to settle immediately with Comrade Dan Geary the amount of the loan he kindly advanced till the State raised the money. Expecting that an immediate settlement will be made, we urge your body to earnestly and quickly send an appeal out for funds, attached to a report of the money so far paid in.

"In behalf of Local Santa Clara,
"Committee on Unity Convention."
"JOS. O'BRIEN.

We trust every Local and comrade will feel it his or her duty to repay the loan so generously and confidently made by Comrade D. Geary. Fraternaly,

JOHN M. REYNOLDS,
State Secretary.

A Letter from Debs.

Editor of "The Worker":

The Socialist delegates who met at Indianapolis last week and by their wise counsel, patient effort, and fidelity to principle converted rival factions into a united, harmonious and enthusiastic party, are entitled to the thanks and congratulations of every Socialist in the country.

Considering the strained relations of the past and many other difficulties under which the delegates assembled, they accomplished all, and even more than could reasonably have been expected, and it is with special satisfaction that I voice my approval of the results of their labor: There may be those who will use a magnifying glass in seeking points of objec-

tion, but I am confident that hearty concurrence will mark the verdict of the membership at large.

Only our friends, the enemy, have cause for chagrin and disappointment. Most assiduously did their emissaries scatter the seed of dissension and strife, but it failed to germinate. The soil and climate were not congenial to it and the crop was a total failure. In the severity of debate, it may have seemed at times as if the convention was doomed to failure, but as passion subsided, the delegates were brought nearer and nearer together until at last all differences were hammered into forms of harmony and strength, and the stirring strains of the "Marseillaise" burst from the throat of the delegation and proclaimed the triumph of the convention.

The platform is a sound and practical expression of the party; the name is free from objection; the general plan of organization meets the demand and the national headquarters have been wisely located.

For National Secretary the convention could not have made a better choice than Leon Greenbaum. Knowing the comrade personally, I can with pleasure bear testimony to his honesty, efficiency and unflagging devotion to Socialist principles.

Through "The Worker" I extend a hand of cordial congratulation to every comrade. Let the dead past bury its dead. Let the convention stand as a monument above internal dissension and factional strife.

The proletariat is to be organized for the great class struggle, and the task appeals for our united and unflinching efforts. Hail the Socialist Party of America and the Social Revolution!

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Terre Haute, Ind., Aug. 5th.

Cheap Transportation.

The British ambassadors in Belgium, France, and Germany have sent some facts concerning the reduced fares on the railways in those countries.

Belgium offers the greatest variety. On the State railway five different kinds of tickets are issued to workpeople living in the neighborhood of the towns where they are employed, including tickets for single and return journeys, for six or seven consecutive days, and tickets for one return journey each week. Substantial reductions are made.

Thus for a single journey of eight kilometers (about five miles) on six days of the week a total charge of 70 centimes (14 cts.) is made. For the six return journeys 10c. is charged. Substantial reductions are also made in favor of the workmen on the tramways in Brussels and Antwerp, and when all the Antwerp tramways are consolidated in one company, as will shortly be the case, this company will be obliged on all the lines, about 27 1-2 miles, to issue to workmen in the morning until 8 a. m., and in the evening from 7 p. m. to 8 p. m., single tickets on week days at a maximum price of ten centimes (2 cts), giving the right to one change of tram, whatever the distance.

In France third-class passes are delivered to workpeople by which they can make the double journey each day. The cost varies on different railways, but a fair sample is the Western, which charges a franc for distances up to nine kilometers. The rate of reduction on the price as fixed by the general tariff for third-class fares is about 80 per cent.

The rate per person per kilometer for workmen's monthly tickets on the German Imperial railways in Alsace-Lorraine work out to three-quarters of a pfennig, and on the Russian State railway, on which weekly tickets are issued, the rate is one pfennig. It takes ten pfennigs to make a penny.

Karl Marx' Economic Teachings.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated for the "Advance" by Kaspar Bauer.

(Continued from last week.)

Let us examine the adventure of a commodity in its dealings with gold somewhat closer.

2. (Sale and purchase.) Let us accompany our old friend the tailor to the market. He exchanges his product, the coat, for \$10.00; with that sum he buys a cask of wine. Tailors like to drink. We have here two distinct transformations: first, the transformation of commodity into money; then, the re-transformation of money into commodity. But the commodity which we have at the end of the whole transaction is a different one from the one we had at the beginning. The commodity we had at the beginning (the coat) was *non-use* value for its owner (the tailor); the commodity we have at the end is use value for him. The usefulness of the coat for the tailor consisted in its qualities of value, as product of human labor in general; it consisted in its exchangeability with another product of human labor in general—with gold. The usefulness of the other commodity (the wine) for him consists in the bodily qualities of the wine, in the quality of being, not the product of human labor in general, but of a particular form of work, i. e., vinery-work, etc., etc.

The form of the simple circulation of commodities is: Commodity—money—commodity; it means to sell in order to buy.

Of the two transformations, *commodity-money* and *money-commodity* the first one is the most difficult to accomplish. If one has money it is no trick to buy, it is quite different to sell in order to get money. Under the reign of commodity production the possession of money by the owner of commodities is absolutely necessary; the more the social division of labor develops, the more *specialized* becomes his work, the more *general* becomes his needs. Shall the *aim and object* of a commodity, its transformation into money, be accomplished, it is necessary above all, that it is a use-value, that it satisfies some human desire. If this is the case, if the attempt to transform it into money succeeds, then comes the question: *into how much money?*

That question does not concern us at this time. The answer to it belongs to the examination of the laws governing *prices*. What interests us here is the change in the form: commodity-money. It is indifferent to us whether the commodity increases or decreases in its magnitude of value.

The tailor gets rid of his coat and receives his money for it. Let us suppose he sold it to a farmer. That which for the tailor was *sale* becomes a *purchase* for the farmer. Any sale is a purchase, and vice versa. But whence came the money of the farmer? He exchanged it for corn. If we trace the way traveled by the money-commodity, the gold, from its source, the mine, from one owner of commodities to another, we will find that every change in its ownership was the result of a *sale*. The transformation coat-money forms, as we have seen, the starting-point of not only one but two claims of transformation. One is coat-money-wine. The other one: corn-money-coat. The beginning of the chain of transformation of one commodity is at the same time the end of the chain of transformation of another commodity, and vice versa.

Let us suppose the wine-merchant buys a

kettle and coat with the \$10.00 which he receives by the sale of his wine. Through that the transformation *money-wine* becomes the last link in the chain *coat-money-wine*, and the first link of two other chains, *wine-money-coat* and *wine-money-kettle*.

Each of these chains of transformation form one circulation: commodity-money-commodity. It begins and ends with the commodity-form. But the circulation of any commodity is interwoven with the circulations of other commodities. *The whole movement* of these countless inter-related and inter-twined circulations *form the circulation of commodities*.

There is an essential difference between the direct exchange of product, or simple exchange, and the circulation of commodities. The simple exchange of products was caused by the development of the powers of production beyond the barrier with which primitive communism hemmed them in. The exchange of products was instrumental in extending the system of social labor over domains outside of the village commune; it resulted in different communes or their members working for each other. But the simple exchange of products itself formed a barrier as soon as the powers of production developed, these barriers were broken by the circulation of commodities. I take the products of him who takes mine. This barrier is set aside by the circulation of commodities. True, every sale is a purchase: the coat cannot be sold by the tailor unless some one else, the farmer, perhaps, buys it. But it is not necessary that the tailor must immediately again become purchaser. He can lay the money into a strong box and wait until it pleases him to buy. And secondly, he is not at all compelled to buy, now or later on, from the farmer who bought the coat from him, or to buy in the same place where he has sold. The barriers of time and place and individuals, these barriers of the simple exchange of products, fall to the ground when the circulation of commodities supersedes the simple exchange of products. There is another difference between simple exchange and the circulation of commodities. The simple exchange of products consists in the disposing of *surplus* products, and for the time being, does not interfere with the form of production prevalent during primitive communism; forms of production which are under the direct control of those concerned and taking part in production.

The development of the circulation of commodities on the other hand tends to make the conditions and relations of production more and more uncontrolable and confusing. The individual producers become more and more independent of each other, but more and more dependent upon social conditions and circumstances which it is impossible for them to control any longer. The social powers are thereby endowed with the powers of blind forces of nature, which, if interfered with or disturbed in their balance, manifest themselves in catastrophes such as violent storms and earthquakes.

The seed for such disturbances is sown with the beginning of the circulation of commodities. The opportunity offered by it: to sell without being compelled immediately to buy, already includes within it the *possibility* of the

crisis. However, before the possibility can become reality, the forces of production must develop beyond the range of the simple circulation of commodities.

3. (The currency of money.) Let us keep in mind the circulation of commodities which we have traced in our last paragraph: corn-money-coat-money-wine-money, coat, etc., etc. The continuance of these circulations effects a corresponding movement in money. But this movement is not a circulation. The money which came from the farmer does not return to him; on the contrary, it goes further and further away from him. To quote Marx: The movement directly imparted to money by the circulation of commodities takes the form of a constant motion away from its starting point—of a course from the hands of one commodity-owner into those of another. This course constitutes its currency.

The circulation of money *is the result* of the circulation of commodities, *not the cause* thereof, as is often supposed. The commodity as use-value (and that is now the subject of our examination), falls out of the plane of the simple circulation of commodities, where the buying and selling of things does not as yet form a regular trade, immediately upon making its first step in the circulation to enter its consummation and new use-value, but equal exchange value steps into circulation in its stead. In the circulation corn-money-coat, the corn disappears from circulation immediately after the first change of form, corn-money, and new value, but different use-value, returns to the seller of the corn: money-coat. The money, as medium of circulation, does not disappear from circulation, it does not fall out of it, but continues to move freely within its realm. The question now is, how much money is necessary for the circulation of commodities?

We know already that every commodity is ideally equated with a certain amount of money, that is to say, that its price is fixed, before the commodity comes in contact with real money. The value of gold being given, we see that the price to be gotten for each single commodity and the sum of the prices of all commodities, is already determined. The sum total of prices of commodities is a given, ideally represented sum of gold. To make it possible for commodities to circulate, it is necessary that this imaginary, ideally represented sum of gold can be transformed into a real actual one; the amount of the gold in circulation is consequently determined by the sum total of the prices of the commodities in circulation. (We must not lose sight of the fact that as yet we are in the realm of the simple circulation of commodities, where checks, drafts, credit-money, etc., etc., are unknown.) If prices remain the same, the sum total of prices sways with the mass of the circulating commodities; if the mass of commodities remains the same, it sways as their prices sway, no matter whether this swaying is caused by a change in the market prices or whether this change effects all or only a few commodities. However, the sales of commodities are not always independent, nor do they all take place at the same time.

Let us again take our first illustration: We have the following chain of transformations of form: 5 bushels corn, \$10.00; 1 coat, \$10.00;

40 gallons of wine, \$10.00; 3 tons of coal, \$10.00. The sum total of prices of these commodities amounts to \$40.00, but only \$10.00 is necessary to transact the four sales, those \$10.00, however, change their place four times, they make four circulations. Let us suppose that all these sales have all taken place within one day, and we will have the amount of money which figures as medium of exchange, within a certain domain of circulation, in one day, \$40 — 4 — \$10.00, or to express it in general: *Total sum of the prices of commodities*, divided by the number of circulations made by equal sums of money, equal total amount of the money, which, within a given time, functions as medium of circulation. The time required for the circulation of the different coins is as a matter of course, not at all alike; some are hoarded for years: kept in a strong box, while others might serve as the medium of thirty exchanges in one day. Nevertheless, the *average* rapidity of circulation is a given velocity. The rapidity of the circulation of money is the determined by the rapidity of the circulation of commodities. The quicker and faster commodities disappear from circulation to be consumed, and the quicker they are replaced by new commodities, the more rapid is the circulation of money. The slower the circulation of commodities, the slower the circulation of money, the less money comes within one's reach. People whose eyes are fixed on the surface of things, imagine consequently that it is the scarcity of money which causes the cessation of circulation, while such a thing is possible in our days, it never occurs for any length of time.

4. *Coin. Paper money.* It naturally was a great hindrance to business in every way if, by every purchase and sale, the genuineness and weight of every piece of gold to be exchanged had to be carefully examined. That inconvenience was done away with as soon as a universally recognized authority guaranteed the right weight and quality of every gold-piece. And thus gold-pieces, coined by the government, took the place of gold bullion. The coinage of money arises out of its function as *medium of exchange*.

(Continued next week.)

The Working-Class and Its Struggle.

As Professor Richard Ely has wisely said, the labor movement in its broadest terms is the effort of men to live the lives of men. It is, in politics and out of it, an organized indication of the desire of the producers for the better life—for safer and more sanitary industrial conditions, for purer and healthier domestic environments. In short, it aims at the highest development for all mankind of which the race is capable—physically, intellectually and ethically. Therefore, the ends of the Social Democratic party, the only true labor party, are those towards which every poet, philosopher and statesman have in reality struggled ever since Time was. The Socialists ideal age is one in which the wars alike of nations and of industrial bodies have ceased and wherein a peaceful organization of society has been developed in which shall be abolished those things which make for evil, while those which are for good shall be encouraged and conserved. These things being so, the Social Democratic party not only claims the votes of the workers and the producers, it also demands as a right the votes of all sympathizers with the down-trodden, the thinkers, the reformers, the advanced guard of the newer, higher civilization. Every vote for the Social Democratic party is a blow to reaction and slavery alike.

The Lesson of Brute Force.

By William Thurston Brown.

The creed of brute force is a transparent lie; brute force never decides anything. No question is ever settled until the solution which love dictates is reached. Might can never make right. Brute force can never consummate justice, by whomsoever exercised. And we shall never have anything like peace or prosperity, save as we have justice. The appeal to force from above will be met by the appeal to force from below. The anarchists of the avenue will continue to spawn the anarchists of the alleys. And by the same token justice and love will call forth justice and love. It lies in the power of men and women to say that the social and industrial development of these coming years shall be peaceful. There does not exist a single institution on this earth which can escape the closest scrutiny of the eye of justice. Justice is a solvent which nothing can resist. It has dissolved empires, and it will dissolve every government that is erected on the basis of force. It has dissolved superstitions, and it will dissolve others, whether they are in the realm of religion or in the realm of industry and commerce. We cannot hide ourselves, our property, our conduct, our theories from the light of justice. We need to know that love alone is eternal. We live in a shadow or a dream, lacking knowledge. The Caesars are gone and their empire has melted away. The tyranny and despotism of the Stuarts and Tudors and the Georges have vanished. The deeds of the nations to-day—of England in Egypt and India and South Africa—of Russia in Finland and China and Siberia—of the United States in Cuba and the Philippines are not to be dismissed with a word. They are going to be weighed in the balance. The ledger of retribution is not by any means made up. But they shall all pay to the last farthing. "The mills of God grind slow, but they grind exceeding small; though with patience he stands waiting, with exactness grinds he all." Spain four hundred years ago was the foremost nation of the earth. To-day she has fallen to the rank of a tenth-rate power. In the days of her pride, she brooked no protest. The house of Hapsburg appealed not to reason or justice or love or humanity, but always to brute force. She took the sword, and though she has waited long, she has well-nigh perished by the sword. We boast of our Anglo-Saxon race, as if it were proof against the demoralizing infection of dishonor and perfidy. So boasted once the great Latin race. Yesterday it held the scepter of empire. To-day it is the jest of the nations. The descendant of the Caesars is the player of a hand-organ. Not only in the Philippines have we appealed to the sword, but also in the mines of Idaho and Colorado, of Illinois and Pennsylvania, and everywhere where men are demanding a living wage. We in this country are doing our utmost to teach the "silent, sullen people" of mine and factory and railroad that might makes right. Do we want them to learn that lesson? Do we want to appeal to the arbitrament of the sword in industry as we have in conquest? We may be sure that they will not be slow to learn that lesson. And we ought to know that in teaching it we are sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind. It was Jesus who said: "With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again."

The Factory Whistle.

Across the flats, at dawn, the monster screams; Its bulk blots the low sun. Ah, God of truth! To wake from night's swift mockery of dreams And hear that hoarse throat clamorous for my youth. —McClure's Magazine.

Thinks It Time to Pause.

Contempt of court is no worse than contempt of the law. Injunctions against committing an evidently unlawful act ought never to be permitted in any civilized community. The law provides the penalty for its infraction. The real guilt is in breaking the law, and the punishment should be for that and not for disobeying the mandate of the judge. When the law forbids a thing the sanction is far greater than that which can attach to the command of a judge. The law should be able to vindicate itself. That it does not do so is the reason of the increasing frequency for applications for injunction. * * * Society should be compelled to vindicate its authority by more proper methods. The injunction has a necessary and proper place in our legal procedure, but that proper sphere does not include the forbidding of an act already forbidden by the authority of the people themselves. Of course, the court also represents the people, and its act is assumed to be the act of the community. But the public will not take that view. It looks upon the injunction as the act of a single man, and upon the punishment of disobedience as vindication of the authority of the judge and not of the majesty of the law. The resort to the judge as to an authority stronger than the law is unhealthy, and should stop. The reason for it will disappear whenever the people compel the observance of law through agencies appropriate for that purpose.—San Francisco Chronicle.

Regarding Dangerous Opinions.

Much is said about dangerous opinion. There is no dangerous opinion except the suppressed opinion. The opinion that is willing to come into the open and submit to inspection is always safe opinion. The opinion that is driven into nooks and corners, that sneaks and snarls back of barriers and veils, that hisses from the lips of magistracies and is fulminated from coercive majorities, is dangerous opinion. The great truths have won a permanent place in the world not by escaping but by surviving scrutiny. No one ever speaks of dangerous opinion that has not something to hide. Opinion must give and take in free arenas. It has no victories which it does not win by its own virtue. Suppressed opinion is the background of assassination. Give opinion the freedom of your cities and legislatures. It is without barb. It neither insults nor assaults. It storms and pleads, but does not hit. No physical rejoinder ever found opinion harmless. But to the free questioners and answerers opinion has no terrors. Men may dodge your club but will not respect it. They may lie before your threat, but no threat ever changed opinion, except to make it more rebellious. The reform bark is worse than its bite. But if you prohibit the bark you increase and embitter the bite. All these things which unpopular men and women are writing and saying need to be spoken and written. They cannot be escaped. Somehow they will find vent. Nothing is so insecure as to drive this speculation into darkness, compel it to operate underground, force it to adopt disguises and play you hide and seek through an anonymous press.—Social Crusader.

Industrially, I divide mankind into two great classes—wealth makers and wealth takers. A farmer, a mechanic, a laborer, is a wealth maker; a millionaire, a usurer, a capitalist, is a wealth taker. A tramp is a wealth taker on a small scale. He begs for what he gets; the other fellow simply takes it without begging.—J. A. Edgerton.

ADVANCE



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Every available candidate for Mayor in the Democratic party has been canvassed, but refuses to accept the nomination. Can it be they are afraid of the axe?

French newspapers accuse our Government of starting the trouble in South America for the purpose of trying our new-found expansion ideal, to see how far it will expand.

At Newport our aristocratic friends recently gave a circus, drawing on members of their caste for performers. No one has yet complained that there was a dearth of clowns.

The agitation for voting machines all over the country is a step in the right direction. Everything that makes for the secrecy of the ballot and for an honest count of the votes helps Socialism.

Our Government has a splendid excuse for a foreign war. Internal affairs are in such a state that an upheaval might come at any time, hence the necessity for distracting our attention by treasons, stratagems and spoils—especially spoils—abroad.

The Rochdale Company is selling goods to unions, Longshoremen, Lumbermen, Porters and Packers, Warehousemen, etc. Orders are coming in freely. The unions buy directly from the Rochdale Co-operative Company, to furnish the families of their members with provisions.

Two colored non-union men, who shot a striker, were set at liberty yesterday, while their victim still lingers between life and death at the hospital. The police judges seem to be taking a hand in the strike, and of course their sympathies are with the capitalists, though the workers elected them.

"The Comrade" will appear September 15th. This is the first attempt in this country to have a Socialist magazine, purely literary in character. It is bound to succeed. All the young writers of the country that are worth knowing are Socialists, and the very best literary magazine in the country can be eventually built up by their contributions. We wish "The Comrade" every success.

Scabs from the University of California went to work yesterday on the water front. They were fraternity men, of course. These prigs who gather together in these Greek-letter societies are about the sorriest lot of human beings in the world. Each is as anxious about the other's grandfather as he is about the cut of

his own coat. And the cut of his coat stamps him worthy of every honor in his own eyes. Not true manhood, or kindness, or virtue, or simplicity of heart or intelligence are demanded in such organizations; only how many different kinds of a cad one can be has weight. They are scabs.

Private Ownership of a Strike.

Mr. Christopher Buckley, euphoniously called the Blind White Devil, has been trying to settle the local strike and offered to make a deposit as evidence of good faith. At this the "Examiner" screeches like a bedlamite. It is worth a man's life and reputation to venture too close to the strike headquarters with peace proposals. All overtures must be made to the editor of the "noisy one." If they suit him, all right, you are a gentleman and a friend to labor; if they do not suit him or if you would make political capital out of the peace no matter what advantage labor might gain, you are a scoundrel and a blackleg, with tendencies towards the dark alley and piece of gaspipe method of earning an honest living. The way of the political boss is devious and full of many hidden turnings, but when he sits in an editorial chair, master of unlimited item scavengers, his power for evil is practically unlimited. Not only may news be suppressed that would redound to the credit of a possible rival for the honor of party boss, but news manufactured to his discredit may find publication. And when the creature of the newspaper boss, if elected, fails to do exactly as he is told, all hell is let loose at his heels. No amount of atonement will appease the appetite of the little dictator. Nothing but actual destruction and annihilation. Even parties will be split and families rent asunder that the vengeance of a man with nothing to recommend him but his ability to lick his master's boots is satisfied. We see an example of this in the action of the "Examiner." Because the mayor refused to make an appointment at the behest of one of Mr. Hearst's reporters, the columns of that paper have been teeming with vilification and abuse of Mr. Phelan, his family, his servants and his dogs. Dark hints have been thrown out that the latter are not thoroughbred. And carrying the antagonism to Mr. Phelan to its logical conclusion, the managing editor of the "noisy one" stands for the strikers, knowing that Mr. Phelan, true to the interests of his class and to the conventional demands of his office, would be against them. This the strikers think is done from love of their cause. To show their appreciation they make it a special order of business in their unions to pass resolutions in favor of the Hearst daily. They do not know that they are merely grist for the "Examiner" machine, they do not know that they are being used as a club by the managing editor to beat his rivals for the position of party boss into a corner. When all other demagogic methods fail, an enemy of labor is mutilated beyond recognition or an attempted case of bribery is exposed. The only trouble about it is that the thing grows monotonous. This attack on the blind white devil is especially annoying. As a political factor, he was comfortably dead. It is too bad to revive him, even for the sake of negative propaganda. The only thing it proves is that the "Examiner" considers this strike its private property, and any political credit to be had from the settlement must belong to Mr. Hearst's hired man. There's the situation in a nutshell; and we have no assurance this hired man would make one whit more a better boss than Buckley, despite the fact that the latter had to go to Europe to escape going to the penitentiary.

The Trade Union and Politics.

Now that there is much talk of trades unions entering politics, to, in a measure, take revenge on the capitalist class for its attack on them, in which attack their very existence is threatened, it is well to consider under what conditions a union labor party may enter the field and build up a success that will be of permanent good to the working-class. In the first place the time when trades unions will be compelled to go into politics, seriously and without restraint, if not here now, will arrive very soon.

There are three factors driving them to it. First, the actual need. Second, the tendency of the times. Third, Socialistic propaganda. The third factor, while of considerable moment, is so well known in its methods and effects, no consideration need be made of it here. The second factor, however, is of peculiar significance, being psychical—having to do with the mind of the trades unionist. Tendencies are an overbalance. The human brain is so constituted that a reaction sets in against restraint or against freedom, according as either has been carried to excess. Excess in anything creates a demand for its opposite. This is the overbalance which is the very foundation of a tendency. This applies to the present determination of the trades unionists to enter local politics. The rapidity with which the plan has been put in operation is measured by the intensity of the prejudice formerly held, modified, of course, by the peculiar nervous strain all the workers of this city have undergone in the present war between labor and capital. To put it more clearly: Because the feeling against independent political action by the working-class was so very strong in the days that have gone, the reaction against this stupidity has been all the greater. The culminative period, when the tendency will begin to go the other way, will come, and the rapidity of its coming will be measured by the intensity of the present reaction, modified, of course, by defeat, because of misplaced confidence, ignorance of the leaders and lack of principles in the platform upon which its candidates must stand. The working-class as represented by the trades unions is too conservative. It cannot endure the agony of a new idea, especially a revolutionary one. This fact, together with its emotional character and the gross ignorance or duplicity of its leaders, makes it the plaything of fortune.

The first factor, however, modifies all that has been said concerning tendencies or all that might be said concerning Socialistic propaganda.

The organization of organizations in the capitalist world found, when it came into being and was baptized the "Trust," that in the world of labor organization of organizations had progressed just as rapidly. Every move by capital was met by a move on the part of labor. The isolated union felt itself no more of a match for the capitalistic giant than the individual worker felt himself equal to a struggle with the "companies" before the trust came to consolidate them. And just as the individual worker hastened to join with his fellows to fight the "companies," so the union he had joined hastened to add its strength to all the other unions that had come together to face the common enemy, the trust. There was economic need for these changes. In this city, though the combination of employers is in no sense a trust, still the parallel is sufficiently close to be maintained. And the first thing, when it dawned on the trades unionists that their central organization was ineffective, and that the "respectable element," together with the government of the city, was against them,

was to get hold of the government and use it to their advantage as the Employers' Association, with the backing of the "respectable" element, was undoubtedly using it to their disadvantage. The economic need was there. The need modified the tendency of the group or class and already it seems as though the next important step for the emancipation of the working class is about to be taken by the members of that class in this city. The capitalists' press, taking advantage of the tendency and wishing to accelerate it, for they know that an organization hastily formed and without genuine principles must fail, and the failure will but hasten the reaction against independent political action by the working-class, urges forward the formation of the new labor party. This makes for the security of their own class and for the ultimate success of their own political organizations.

Other factors will enter into the early dissolution of the new labor party besides hasty formation and lack of principles. Among these may be mentioned the effort to compromise and the place-hunting politician. Of the two it is hard to determine which is the greater evil. They compliment each other. Without the place hunter the necessity for compromise would not be so apparent. Compromise is always made for immediate success, and there is no one more anxious for success than the fellow out for a job.

Now, the tendency towards independent political action by the working-class being a fact, and the economic need being a further fact, how can they be used to the advantage of the working-class. That is the question which confronts every sincere friend of the workers in this city. Lack of principles, lack of men with sufficient experience to guide, lack of organization of sufficient stamina to withstand the onslaught of place hunting, compromising politicians, lack of a true insight into the history and development of the working-class, lack of a fixed goal, a firm faith and strength to do the right by the working-class, whatever comes—these are the things that will hinder the new union labor party, and keep it from accomplishing anything of permanent good for the working-class.

There is a certain spontaneity in this action of the unions, coupled with a blind faith on part of the members, that one should hesitate before betraying. One may betray through ignorance as well as malice. No doubt the betrayals through stupidity far outnumber the betrayals through perversity, but there is no occasion for either in the present effort at emancipation by the workers of this city. Socialistic propaganda has opened the eyes of too many among the trades unionists. Whatever party of the workers comes into being that will be tolerated for a moment must be a working-class party. There must be no compromise with either Democrat or Republican. There must be strength of character to withstand defeat; and, above all, the platform upon which its candidates will stand for election must rest on principles. What these principles may be, ask the capitalists. Whatever they advocate, take the opposite. If they are for competition, be you for co-operation. If they stand for a continuation of the present system, stand you for its destruction. If they are for capitalism, for themselves, be you for Socialism and for yourselves. Whatever the capitalist class wants, be against. For it is by coaxing you into a belief that your interests and theirs were the same, that they have been able to hold you in bondage so long.

You must awake from your ignorance, from your sleep of the centuries. You create the wealth of this city, yet you possess none of it.

Your first step towards the possession of it will come when you take possession of the government. But if you would take possession of the government and leave the present competitive system as it is, you would accomplish nothing. The ideal of the working-class must be co-operation; it must be Socialism. See to it that the platform of your new union party is a Socialistic one. To elect workingmen to office merely because they are workingmen, without a platform containing genuine principles, would have no more effect on your wage-slavery than another decision by the Republican Judge Sloss, or the cracking of your skulls by the police at the order of a Democratic Mayor like Phelan. Take an example from the Socialists. They never ask you to vote for their candidates merely because they are workingmen. That alone would not be a sufficient guarantee. They ask you to investigate the principles of the platform upon which their candidates stand and the methods of organization of the party by which it maintains control over its candidates, if elected. In this war with capital, it is principles—not men—we must consider.

Students Take Strikers' Places.

Oakland, August 20.—Students of the University of California turned in today and broke the tie-up in shipping along the water front. A dozen strong, the college men boarded the brig William G. Irwin, which has been unable to get away on account of the strike, and began to unload her cargo of lumber.

Among those who went to work are several members of college fraternities. Their names are: Oscar Sheffield, Sigma Chi; B. T. Rowland, Taylor McLean, Cleve Baker, Zeta Psi; William Childs, Robert Ritchie Jr., F. H. McMillan and D. K. Baldwin, Sigma Alpha Epsilon. With them worked a gang of twenty-five Roumanian longshoremen from San Francisco.

The students claim that they do not want to injure the cause of unionism, but wanted to earn a little pocket money. They were offered \$5.75 per day and engaged to work until next Saturday night.

A number of union men gathered at the Derby lumber yard, where the brig was being discharged, and jeered at the toiling students. They were kept from interfering with the work, however, by Policeman Quigley, who drove them back.

The claim put forth by these scabs that they work for pocket money only, is absurd. Despite the fact that one of them was found guilty of stealing in Berkeley, they all work as a matter of principle, against the strikers. They belong to fraternities, and any one who knows anything about college life will assert that the first requirement for entrance to one of the priggish societies is possession of wealth. Here is what Professor Zeublin of Chicago University says in the "Record" about these fellows:

"The university man, whether educated in a State university or in some privately endowed school, owes his education to the people because the expense of it comes from the people ultimately. He therefore owes a greater debt to society than other men, but in few cases does he repay in any adequate measure." And the debt they owe the workers, who sweat and toil to keep them while they study, they repay by scabbing on the workers at the first opportunity. Is it not a disgrace?

Letter Box.

Frank Reed.—We are sorry we cannot comply with your request. Best wishes.

What the Working Man Must Do.

At a recent banquet in New York city, twenty-five men were present who own or control one-half of the total wealth of this country of seventy-two millions of people. Twenty-five men own one-half, and seventy-two millions the other half. The proportion can hardly be figured out in such a manner as to be readily understood. But this fact has, in reality, no bearing on the ownership of the Government. Every voter in this United States has an exactly equal share in the government of the country, though he may not have his proportionate share in the wealth of the country. Thus the government is theoretically "perfect."

However, the American of today fails to care for his small share in the government; he takes no interest in it; he does not care who controls it, or what becomes of it. Therefore, he allows any one who wishes to do so to take care of it, with the natural consequence that those who do control the interests of the thousands and hundreds of thousands of those who are careless of what becomes of them, use those shares for their own benefit, and the Government is "rotten."

This disregard for his interest in the Government is responsible for the position of the working man of today. The hard names given the politicians and to the capitalists are scarcely warranted. At the polls the working man turns the whole thing over to those whom he knows will despoil him, and then, childlike, he wonders why he does not get his dues. He knows that politicians are the tools of the capitalists; time has taught him that the two combine against the workers, and bitter experience should, by this time, have taught him that the combination can rarely be beaten. Still, yearly the laboring man turns over his rights to his enemies, and condemns them for taking advantage of him.

When will the wage earner be brought to realize that he must look after his share of the Government? Even though twenty-five men owned the whole earth, they could not "run it" without assistance. The United States Government belongs to the people; the trouble is to get the people to look after it. The working man must awake; he must act; he must vote; not for capital or capital's representatives, but for labor and labor's representatives.

Organizer's Notice.

Comrades: Copies of the "Manifesto on the War Between Capital and Labor," published a few weeks ago in "Advance," may be had for free distribution at Comrade Scott Anderson's, 1067 Market, or Comrade G. B. Benham's, 38 Turk street. You are urged to distribute these as quickly as possible. It is an effective leaflet and has met with approval from many whose eyes have been opened by it.

The Declaration of Principles and Platform will be published shortly, also.

Comrades are urged to turn out in force at the meetings, corner of Grant avenue and Market St., Tuesday and Sunday evenings. As soon as practicable other meetings will be started and the agitation in other districts pressed. Comrades who are willing to speak or to learn to speak on the street are urged to communicate with the Organizer immediately. They are badly needed. The Organizer can be reached at the Wednesday night meeting at the Labor Bureau, Thursday night at Academy of Sciences, and at the street meetings. Get into the harness, comrades. We have big work to do; let us get at it.

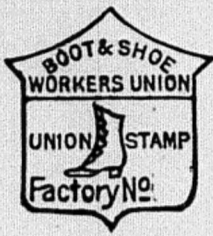
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The Coming Struggle.

Carnegie got away to Europe with two hundred million dollars, says the Portland Oregonian, which he had amassed out of the iron and steel trade, through operations like that bloody affair at Homestead, and through unconscionable prices for iron and steel products to American consumers; and these two hundred millions he is giving away, with great ostentation, to Europeans, while his successors in America, working the trust to the uttermost and making profits as fast as he did, are denying the claims of labor to moderate advance and improved conditions.

The working people of America are getting mighty tired of this "paternal" policy, in which the trusts have the support of a government bounty, while they pile up more fortunes like that of Carnegie. A great strike in the steel works of the country is now going on. Thus far organized labor is the only available check to plutocratic greed. There will be others; but the danger is that there will an ultimate plunge into state socialism.

But Carnegie's gifts are not the only gifts that our monopolistic plutocrats are making to Europe. These lords of wealth are constantly making to Europe the gift of lower prices than they are making to America. Combination, and support of protective tariff, are the means or instruments that enable them to do it. They are permitted to have a tariff that enables them to keep foreign goods out of America and to charge high prices at home while they meet competitors with lower prices abroad. English journals say that "the American invaders" are pressing English manufacturers "not merely in steel products but in five hundred industries at once." "To-day," says the London Mail, "it is literally true that they are selling American cotton in Manchester, pig iron in Lancaster, tinplate in Cardiff and steel in Sheffield. It only remains for them to take American coal to Newcastle."

How is this accomplished? It can be done only by underselling the British manufacturers; and this again can be done only by making lower prices to the foreign trade than to the domestic trade. The principle is to hold up prices at home, and with the money thus extorted from our own people, to fight manufacturers abroad; pretending meanwhile that the system which enables them to do this is necessary for the "protection" of the workmen of the United States.

It is no answer to the working people of the United States to tell them that their condition is better than it was fifty years ago. It ought to be better—though it is not better for all. Great numbers have, and no doubt always will have, great difficulty in obtaining the bare necessities of life. But under the monopolistic system which we have fostered, the larger part, vastly the larger, of the results of modern invention and progress go to the very few, who have become powerful enough to oppress the great body of the consumers of the country; and they do it. Else we should not hear of the fabulous dividends on American Steel or Standard Oil, nor of the display of wealth which in many cases so scandalously exceeds the modesty of private fortunes.

It may prove that a great democracy like our own is the only system of government under which problems of this nature can be adequately dealt with. Certainly they never have been dealt with adequately under any other system of government, ancient or modern. Even the most cheerful optimist cannot, however, but entertain some fear that the shock of a contest in which the forces are so vast may make a wreck of civilization. Yet the contest

must go on, at all risks. There can be no vested right in possession and use of the instruments of wholesale injustice and oppression. They who think that rational and moderate methods are better than those of revolutionary violence are to have a hard time of it, between the greed of the great plutocrats on the one hand and the fierceness of social agitators, incendiaries and revolutionists on the other.

Socialist Picnic.

The Socialist Maennerchor and the Tageblatt will give a picnic next Sunday, Aug. 25th, at Plittsville Park, Fruitvale. If you wish a good time be sure and go. This is the last of the season and you will have the satisfaction of knowing that while you are enjoying yourself you are also helping a good cause. The very best music will be furnished. There will also be games for young and old.

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Here and There.

Some of the populists still imagine that they are on earth politically, and are going to confer about it at Kansas City on September 17.

At Forli, Italy, the Socialists gained a complete victory over all old parties combined.—Latest reports states that many strikes are in progress in Italy.

A big strike is scheduled in the textile industry of New England for September 2. Bosses want to enforce a reduction of wages. About 75,000 workers may go out.

In San Remo, Italy, all the old parties combined against the Socialists, but the latter swept the city from mayor down. Last year and the year before the capitalistic combination won.

As in the Heydekrug district, reported last week, the Socialists of Duisburg, Germany, have just doubled their vote—increasing from 7,000 to 14,000—in a parliamentary election, it is time for Emperor William to throw another fit.

The union-hating New York Sun is gloating because one railroad traffic manager estimates that 50,000 persons will be displaced by the consolidated railways and another manager says the number will be as high as 75,000. Very consoling for railway employes who vote as the Sun dictates.—Cleveland Citizen.

The fruits of the unity convention are being felt. A special election was held in Sedalia, Mo., and the enthusiastic Socialists, pleased with the outcome and the outlook, got out and hustled, with the result that their vote was increased from 101 last fall to 324. The republican and democratic parties got scared, threw off the mask and combined, polling 976 votes. There is no difference between the hypocritical old gangs, especially when they are confronted by the class-conscious Socialist party.

About the only "labor law" that the Pennsylvania legislature enacted from the large batch of bills handed in was one to increase the number of mine inspectors. Now it turns out that glaring errors have been discovered in the law, and it is quite probable that it will become a dead letter. In Colorado, they carefully and scientifically mislaid the only bill that was passed in labor's interests. There are several ways to hold the working class down besides declaring the laws made in their favor unconstitutional.

Crouched in the sea-fog on the moaning sand
All night he lay, speaking some simple word,
From hour to hour to the slow minds that heard,

Holding each poor life gently in his hand
And breathing on the base rejected clay
Till each dark face shone mystical and grand
Against the breaking day;
And lo, the shard the potter cast away
Was grown a fiery chalice crystal-fine,
Fulfilled of the divine,
Great wine of battle-wrath by God's finger stirred.

Then upward, where the shadowy bastion loomed
Huge on the mountain on the wet sea light,
Whence now, and now, infernal flowerage bloomed,
Bloomed, burst, and scattered down its deadly seed,—

They swept, and died like freemen on the height,
Like freemen, and like men of noble breed.

Mistreatment of the Author of "The Story of an African Farm."

It is, I think, entirely true that Mlle. Olive Schreiner has been transported to a strange place, and imprisoned within a fence of wire netting, which is protected by armed sentinels with orders to fire upon anyone attempting to get through the netting to escape. In this place she lives alone with her dog, in one small room, for which she pays, cooking for herself, and compelled to remain all night without any kind of light. Her husband is refused by the British authorities permission to visit her. What is her offense? Merely to have espoused the cause of the Boers during the war. Is it tolerable that for this alone she should be subjected to the indignity of isolation from loved ones?—"Ouida," in London Daily News.

Right.

In no other country on earth have the working class such great political power as in the United States. They may, if they will, overthrow presidents and congresses, governors, legislatures and courts, and change laws and constitutions to suit themselves—all by the

use of the ballot. Why, then, this impotent whine about an "appeal to the bayonet." Men who have not sense enough to make an intelligent use of the ballot can expect nothing from the bayonet but prods in the rear as it is thrust into them by the armed forces of their masters.

To use the ballot rightly it is necessary for the workers to understand what their interests are, and then to elect men of their own class to make laws in furtherance of those interests, judges to interpret such laws, and governors and other executives to carry them into effect.—Exponent.

To Whom It May Concern.

Prompt action where one of our members betrays the cause of Socialism is the hope of the Socialist movement. Understanding this, Liberty Branch Social Democratic Party, San Francisco, as soon as it learned of W. L. Jones' recent action at the primary election, where he canvassed for the suffrages of our citizens for the Republican Party, took action at once to expel him. All comrades and Socialist sections are warned against this man.

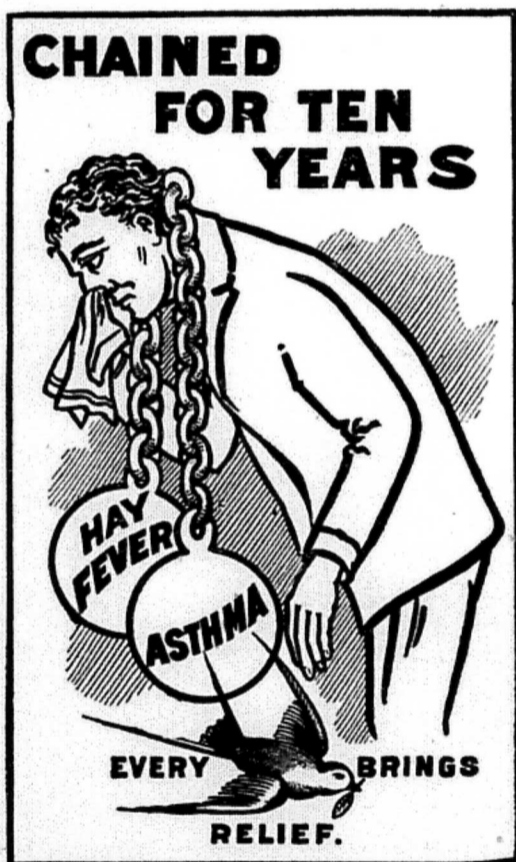
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REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER,
Rabbi of the Cong. Bnai Israel.
NEW YORK, Jan. 3, 1901.

DRS. TAFT BROS.' MEDICINE CO.,
Gentlemen: Your Asthmalene is an excellent remedy for Asthma and Hay Fever, and its composition alleviates all troubles which combine with Asthma. Its success is astonishing and wonderful.
After having it carefully analyzed, we can state that Asthmalene contains no opium, morphine, chloroform or ether.

Very truly yours,
REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER.

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

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

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

Again a "prominent preacher" has the floor, and again does he make a famous advance on the starting point. This time it is the Rev. Bradford Leavitt, of the First Unitarian Church. "His discourse," says a daily paper, "was a thoughtful review of the conditions that have led to the economic strife which so seriously threatens existing social and commercial life." Here is a part of his thoughtful review:

"To gain a just idea of the present local industrial trouble it must be viewed in its proper perspective. This strike is unreasonable and unwarranted. In this community the workingman can always get his just demands, and in making such demands he will have the sympathy of the people. But this strike was inaugurated by designing labor leaders who have made demands which it is impossible for the employers to grant. I respect the man who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow, and I am grieved when he is silly and unreasonable, when he dictates to his employer impossible conditions on which he shall employ labor."

The Rev. Mr. Leavitt would give the impression here that asking for one day's liberty in the week and cutting the hours of labor per day down from fourteen and sixteen to eleven and twelve, unreasonable and unwarranted. And the fact that the cooks and waiters did not have their demands complied with gives him the lie, for surely the demands of the cooks and waiters are just. Much is always

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demands, the columns of "Advance" are open for him to do so.

It is with a certain reluctance we turn to his solution of the problem. It is the old idiocy of brotherhood. The absurd position of the man who would advocate brotherhood to the workers when they are imbued with the spirit of brotherhood and practice it as much as their masters will permit, is too apparent for comment. It is this very spirit of brotherhood the capitalists fear most and wish to destroy. No organization in the world, not excepting Mr. Leavitt's church, is more thoroughly saturated with the feeling of brotherhood than the trades unions. For it the unions go on strike and cut themselves off from the very things necessary to life. For it they struggle all the year with the exception of election day. And against it the capitalist fights all the time, especially election day.

Of course, the preacher means brotherhood between the masters and the men. But if the masters desire brotherhood, or if it is necessary, do they wish, as in all things with which they deal, to have a monopoly of it, allowing no practice of it outside of their own ranks, and not permitting the men to practice it among themselves? This is like them; it is also like the preacher to advocate it. We wish to remark at this juncture and close the debate, that it is the feeling of brotherhood the workers have had for their masters which has been their undoing. No matter how many workers were shot down at Homestead, Latimer, South Pittsburgh, etc., the feeling of brotherhood held by the workers for the capitalists always

survived the shock. On election day they practiced this brotherhood by voting the same ticket, for the same men who would be ordered by the same capitalists to shoot them down. The person who would preach such doctrine to the workingmen of this city has no other design than to rivet the chains more firmly on their wrists. The days of brotherhood between master and man, which means bondage for the man, are past and gone. The working class has collective knowledge sufficient to upset any such proposition of peace with dishonor. Brotherhood will be established in the world by and by, but not till the present struggle between capital and labor has been settled to the entire satisfaction of labor.

Our Propagandists in the South.

If ever a town deserved the name of "Hell's Kitchen," Oxnard is that place. Saloons, dance-halls, gambling joints and dives occupy the prominent street corners and suck in the men, as they come from the sugar factory, as naturally as if they were part of the great Oxnard plant.

Saloon keepers are sociological students, in their way; they know that there are many things beside a diet of red herring that will cause a man to buy their goods. Here is a sample of the incentive to drink that came to light in the midst of our first night's meeting: Just as we were closing a man handed me a note which read as follows:

"Five men were discharged from the sugar factory, one hour ago, for refusing to risk their lives and go into a tank through a small manhole. Temperature 125 up."

Five men refused, but others were found willing to risk a drop into this sugared hell—and so capitalists and laborers fraternally go their way.

In spite of the cry, "More laborers needed in California," a long row of men sit daily at the factory gate begging for work. Mexicans make up a large fraction of the workers and many of them attended our meetings. One Mexican came to us for literature and desired to translate for the benefit of his fellows—he tells us there is a movement in Mexico. It is a good town for propaganda, Oxnard, and many questions were asked by the crowd that stayed to the last. Local Oxnard is largely composed of German comrades who were most hospitable to us.

JOHN MURRAY, Jr.
JAMES ROCHE.

In McKeesport Mrs. Fred Baugh, the wife of the superintendent of the mills, is the woman to whom the trust is indebted for what it regards as its strongest support. She escorts the strike-breakers who have kept the mill in operation to and from their work, and the pickets say they would rather face a regiment of soldiers than do anything improper in her presence. They say that in peace times she nursed their families, and that they cannot interfere with her or the men she escorts. The force at the mills will be increased tomorrow. It is probable that the Star Tin Mills, in this city, will be started tomorrow.—Newspaper Dispatch.

The trust magnates are not the only cowards to take refuge behind a woman's skirts. Nor is this woman the first to lend herself to an unworthy cause. The unfortunate part of it is that the strikers feel under obligation to her for her charity. If they had received the full value of their labor, they could have paid for the nursing of their wives and children and today they could be free to act as men. Charity covers a multitude of sins, and considerable stupidity.

Socialist Party

Office National Secretary, Room 427 Emilie Building.

St. Louis, Mo., August 10, 1901.

To the State, Territorial and Local Organizations Concerned in the National Socialist Unity Convention held at Indianapolis, Ind., July 9, 1901:

Dear Comrades: The National Unity Convention of the Socialist Party which convened at Indianapolis, Ind., on July 29, 1901, elected the undersigned as National Secretary, with headquarters at St. Louis, Mo. The convention adopted a Constitution for the party which provides, among other things, for a National Committee, consisting of one member from each organized State or Territory, and it elected a quorum of five national committeemen, residing in St. Louis, to supervise and direct the work of the secretary. The National Committee has the power to remove the National Secretary, the quorum of five, or the party headquarters, and whatever the management of the party's affairs at headquarters, the same must be satisfactory to the National Committee, which represents the party throughout the country. The convention also adopted the following:

"Resolved, That the Social Democratic party, with headquarters at Springfield, Mass.; the Social Democratic party, with headquarters at Chicago; the Socialist party of the State of Texas; the Socialist parties of the States of Kentucky, hereby surrender their separate and independent existence and merge and amalgamate into one organization."

The great object of the convention having been accomplished, I am directed by the quorum to address you, advising you that the National Secretary and National quorum of five have assumed office and are now ready to transact such party affairs as may properly come within their jurisdiction. The National Committee now has under consideration, designs for charters, suitable to the new party, which will be issued soon, and furnished free of charge, in exchange for the charters of former Socialist organizations, one form of charter being for State or Territorial organizations and another for locals where such State or Territorial organizations do not now exist. According to the Constitution adopted, the revenue of the National Committee is to be computed on a basis of five cents per month for each member in good standing, to be paid by the State or Territorial organization where same exist, or by the locals, where such State or Territorial organizations have not yet been perfected. The amount and character of the work performed by your National Committee depends in a great measure, on the promptness with which said committee is supplied with funds. It is, therefore, important that this feature of the new party organization be kept constantly in mind; and at the present juncture of affairs it should receive immediate attention. In conclusion, the National Quorum expresses itself desirous of co-operating, in so far as it can properly can, with State and Local organizations, in building up the solid impregnable Socialist Party; whose mission it is to sweep the capitalist system into oblivion, and usher in the co-operative commonwealth. To this end, comrades, you are now called upon to arise as one in the great Socialist revolution, and complete the work so auspiciously begun by the Unity Convention at Indianapolis. With greetings to each and every comrade in the United parties, I remain, on behalf of the National Quorum,

Fraternally yours,

LEON GREENBAUM,
National Secretary Socialist Party.

Would They Take the Capital Away?

Workingmen are warned that if they should put Socialists into public office and seek to carry out the Socialist program of securing the workers the whole product of their toil, the capitalists would straightway "take their capital out of the country." Sometimes this interesting suggestion makes quite an impression. Men who have not yet thought deeply about the matter are inclined to take it seriously.

Let those who are afraid the capitalists will "take the capital out of the country" consider what that phrase means. What is capital? Well, land is capital—a large part of the land, at least. They won't take the land away, will they? Railroads are capital. They will hardly tear up the rails and carry them off. Factories are capital. It would not be very easy to abscond with a steel mill.

No, a Socialist administration will not lose any sleep worrying lest the bosses take the capital out of the country. They may take themselves off and we will say, "Good riddance to bad rubbish." They may take their deeds and bonds and stock certificates, for all the good it will do them. They may even take what ready cash they happen to have on hand. We can get along without it. But the greater part of the real capital—the material means of production—is of such a sort that it cannot well be carried off.

Besides, if there were any danger of the capitalists carrying out their threat, there is the injunction, which has been used in one direction—against labor—so long that it has got lopsided. We might even give it a new twist.

Don't be afraid of "driving capital away." Capital is the product of labor and is useless without the constant application of labor. Simply resolve that the people who perform the labor shall also own the capital, and it will not be difficult to carry the proposition into effect.—The Worker.

Diary of an American Abroad.

Monday, 10 a. m.—Reached England. Country half asleep.

4 p. m.—Reached London. Village awake, but not really spry.

8.—Dinner. Arranged to turn dining room into ante-room for callers. Tired. Counted checks. Bed.

Tuesday, 9 a. m.—Read "Times" at breakfast. Leader disparaging our company. Must see to this.

10.—Saw proprietors of "Times."

11.—Bought "Times."

3 to 6.—Interviewed the company's competitors; three minutes each.

6 to 7.—Wrote checks.

8:30.—Theatre. Play. "The Iron-master." Don't like the sound; suggests rivalry; must see if rights are to be had.

Wednesday. Curiously unlucky morning. Admiralty wouldn't sell fleet. War office refused to scrap guns. Colonial secretary declined to let me have Jamaica as a tip for our ashes. At this rate no use staying out. Picked up Thames steamboat fleet for an old song on way back. Will do to run on the canals inside our fitting shop.

Thursday, 5 p. m.—Things have been humming today. Steamboat deal evidently leaked out. Bought the P. & O., Cunard, White Star, Orient, Union Castle, and North German Lloyd. Bought the London and Northwestern. Cabled to my company that they might begin making.

Friday, 10 a. m.—Cable from company ask-

ing me to buy less and sell more. Nonsense. Plenty of time for selling. Much best policy to buy up all our customers first; sell to ourselves then and make sure of orders.

4 p. m.—Bought Holyhead harbor. Made an offer for St. George's Channel.

Saturday, 9 a. m.—Cable from home, "Rival trust formed. Underselling. Return at once."

10 a. m.—Returning.—London Punch.

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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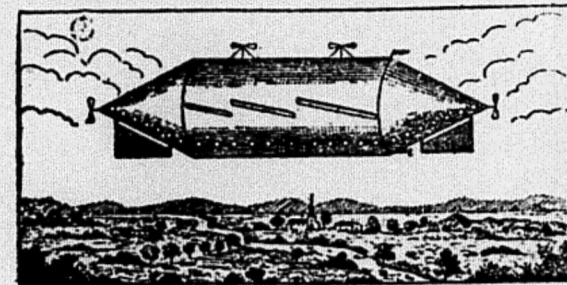
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San Francisco Trades Union Directory

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

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

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

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

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

TYPOGRAPHICAL Union, International, No. 29 (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. Every 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.

Indorse the Party.

The following resolutions were passed by the National Convention of the American Flint Glass-Workers' Union, held at Atlantic City, N. J., last month:

"Whereas, A movement is now on foot to organize the class-conscious workmen of this country into one huge political party, having for its object the amelioration of the working class; and

"Whereas, The Social Democratic Party has used every effort to bring about such a movement; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we convey fraternal greetings to the Social Democratic Party, wishing them God speed in the noble work they have undertaken on behalf of the wage-earners of this country."

Rabbi Hirsch says: "Unless radical changes are made in the present form of government, four years from now there will be a tremendous fight between two great bodies for the control of the country. The capitalists and the Socialists will be the parties." It sounds almost like an echo from Mark Hanna. Can it be the Rabbi reads the respected Ohio politician's speeches?

The "Dear" Free Competitton.

John W. Gates was owner of some steel mills. When Mr. Morgan wanted to form his steel trust he sent for Mr. Gates and wanted to purchase his mills, but Gates did not want to sell, and this is what Morgan said to Gates:

"We want your stock, and we mean to have it. We shall pay you so much for it AND NO MORE.

"You will sell out to us, and you will sell NOW. This is your last chance to come in before we drive you out of business.

"Can you be a director in the trust? No, you CANNOT.

"All that you can do is to give up your property to us at a price that I shall fix, and you may consider yourself lucky to get as much as I am willing to give."

The present industrial war from a conservative standpoint.—The London Evening News in an editorial on the United States steel strike sees in the strike "a nature of revolution against plutocracy." The paper says: "The contrast between great wealth and sordid poverty is greater in America than in England. This is accentuated by the vulgar ostentation of the American plutocrat. The relations between employer and employee is very bitter. The human factor has been eliminated. The real issue in the present contest is the continued existence of the labor organizations. The spirit in which J. P. Morgan met the representatives of the workmen showed that he wished to provoke a fight with the object of destroying the trade unions. Whichever side wins the ultimate victory, the contest will prove disastrous to America. The fact that it may be to our commercial profit is one we cannot consider and contemplate the possible results."

A comrade writes about a university scab as follows: "One Walker, a graduate in pedagogy here at Stanford, and who has been waiting around to get a school, is scabbing in the city, working in a warehouse for five dollars a day. Of course he is a "teacher by profession," and wouldn't recognize a laboring man nine months in the year. But he pockets his dignity in vacation time and is not too proud to pocket a laboring man's wages. If there is any scab I have the utmost contempt and loathing for it is these university dudes who think they are little tin gods on wheels, but yet do not hesitate to stand in the balance against a working man when battling for his rights."

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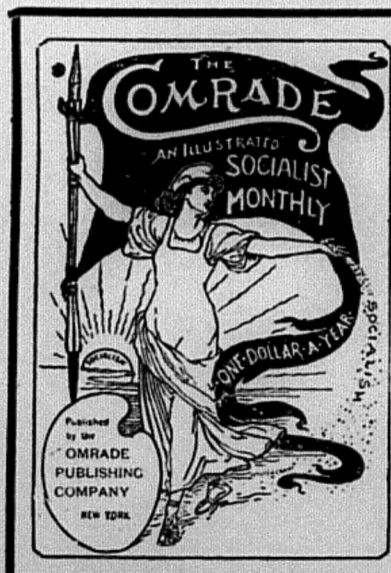
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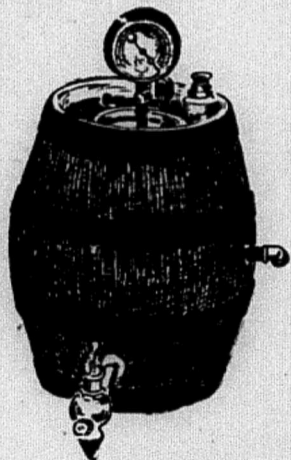
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