

ADVANCE

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Organic Unity Achieved at Last.

Twelve Thousand Organized Socialists Wheel into Line—Indianapolis Convention the Biggest and Best yet Held. Harmony, Enthusiasm and Victory.

The National Unity Convention has met and adjourned. Unity has been achieved, harmony restored, and the foundations of a strong organization laid. It has been so unqualified a success that its expense will be considered light by those who have the welfare of the movement at heart. Thus may we sum up the report of its proceedings.

J. W. Kelly of Marion, Ind., called the meeting to order and Comrade Geo. D. Herron was acclaimed chairman and Philip Brown of Chicago, Secretary. A committee of ten on credentials was elected from the two factions and independents and a committee of five on rules and order of business.

When the convention reassembled at 3 p. m., Hillquit reported for the credentials committee. There were no contests, but each side had thrown out about 60 votes on account of technicalities. This allowance being made, it appeared that the 124 delegates in attendance directly represented 6,541 party members in good standing. These were distributed as follows: Three unaffiliated states had eight delegates with 352 votes; the adherents of the Chicago Board and 48 delegates, representing 1,396 members in twelve states; and the Springfield faction had 68 delegates having credentials from 4,798 members in fifteen states and one territory. In all twenty states were represented, beside the territory of Puerto Rico. As many party members had not signed delegates' credentials, the committee thought it a conservative estimate to place the membership of the organizations represented at twelve thousand.

The report of the committee on rules brought out the first contest of the convention.

The first division came on a clause in the report of the rules committee providing that committees on platform, resolutions and constitution be elected as the organization committees had been, representing the factions. A number of delegates thought that, organization once effected, all committees should be chosen without regard to faction. After some discussion, in which Hillquit favored the committee's report, the recommendation was adopted. Other rules were adopted without discussion.

A much sharper debate, which lasted for two hours, was raised by an amendment offered by Berger, providing that upon roll calls on important questions, each faction be recorded separately. Margaret Hale supported the amendment, and said the convention call provided for it.

Harriman made a strong speech attacking the amendment, and challenged any one to show where either of the convention calls provided for separate voting. The Springfield party delegates had not attempted to use their power unjustly, and they had yielded every point to secure unity. He believed every delegate should be prepared to abide by the convention's acts. He was repeatedly applauded.

Goebel of New York, Hoehn of St. Louis, Morgan of Chicago, and Seidel of Milwaukee supported the amendment.

Steadman of Chicago did not altogether favor the amendment, but thought it might be granted. He was greatly applauded when he declared that as far as he was concerned his mind was made up to abide by the action of the convention.

McCartney of Massachusetts offered the following substitute, which was accepted by Berger and unanimously adopted: "The vote by roll call on all important questions shall be taken by the parties separately: the aye and nay votes of the respective parties shall be added, and the majority and minority votes of the convention as a whole be determined; the majority vote of the whole shall be the act of the convention."

Permanent organization was then completed by the election of Mailly of New York as secretary and Strickland of Chicago as assistant secretary, and the choosing of the following committees: Platform—Berger, Haile, Westphal, Hillquit, Carey, Simons, and Dobbs. Resolutions—Leeds, Kelly and Hoehn. Constitution—Steadman, McCartney, Goebel, Harriman, Morgan, Mills, and Robinson.

Carey of Mass., was chairman on Tuesday. A capitalist lie about "repudiating Debs" was nailed and a telegram expressing "esteem and love" was sent, to which the following reply was received:

"The expression of the Convention is gratifying in the extreme. May a united and harmonious party crown your labors. Press reports do not disturb me. I am a Socialist. A thousand thanks to the delegates for their personal expression. But for illness in my family I would be with you."

The first order of business was the reading of the reports of the two national organizations, through their secretaries. National Secretary Butscher of the Springfield Committee reported first. His report detailed the work done since the committee has been in existence, and the showing was a most creditable one. It called forth applause and Secretary Butscher was the recipient of many congratulations from many of the delegates.

The report showed that the committee has granted charters to 137 new locals, with a membership of 1,407, bringing the total number of locals up to 229. Reports from 147 locals showed a present membership of 7,-

328, with 82 not reporting. The total receipts were stated to be \$4,187.68; total expenditures, \$4,167.22; cash on hand, \$20.44. Due stamps had been sold to the number of 52,579. Liabilities were \$677.02, covered by assets of \$853.29, with a surplus on account of \$176.27.

Secretary Theodore Debs next reported for the Chicago N. E. B. The report was a brief one, and showed receipts since Jan. 1, 1901, of \$3,707.01, and disbursements of \$3,637.64. Liabilities for loans and salaries were stated at \$1,083.55. He stated that a complete report would be given when the work of the convention is accomplished and his office transferred to his successor. He expressed his hope that unity would be effected and said that when relieved from the office he would not be a candidate for any official position in the party. Both reports were accepted.

Resolutions on affairs in Porto Rico, on the Negro question and trades unionism were next discussed. The first was adopted after dropping the adjective "un-American" and the other two were referred back to the committee, which was increased.

In the afternoon session Margaret Haile reported for the platform committee. The platform was a concise statement of revolutionary Socialism, and defined clearly the reasons for the existence of the Social Democratic Party, and why the working class should support it in order to achieve their emancipation by abolishing capitalism and establishing Socialism.

The platform concluded as follows: "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 transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We therefore consider it of the utmost importance for the Social Democratic 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."

Eight "immediate demands" were then introduced by the words, "As such means we advocate."

Simons, a member of the platform committee, offered the following as a minority report and moved its adoption: "To strike out all that part of the platform following the words, 'As such means we advocate,' and that a committee be appointed to draft an address to contain the immediate demands, with an explanation of them." He supported his motion in a fiery speech, and a lengthy debate then ensued. He was followed by Hoehn, who opposed striking out the immediate demands, characterizing Simons' motion as reactionary and ridiculous. Wilshire spoke against immediate demands, saying that the

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A Prophecy from One, Who, While not a Prophet Tells the Truth.

John Burns, the English workingman's friend and representative in Parliament, who is called a Socialist, but is so only to a limited extent, predicts that America will become Socialistic, and hints that the efforts to become so will result in another great war in this country. This is no wilder or more unreasonable a prediction than the one of the war of 1861-65 would have been twenty years before it occurred. Up until that war broke out—nay, even after it had been actually raging for months—there were millions of people who refused to believe that such a tremendous tragedy had occurred, or could occur. Men woke up every morning all over the North and rubbed their eyes thrice before they believed that the great tragedy was not a dream—even though their elder sons' seats were vacant at the breakfast table.

Let a plain, blunt statement be made here and now: causes of a great war are making as surely and rapidly now, if somewhat more under the surface, as they were made from 1820 to 1860. It may not come now; we are wiser. We look back on the war of the rebellion and say it was inevitable; no wisdom could have avoided it, and this is true. So, very likely, in 1950, the 200,000,000 people of this country will look back on bloodier fields than were ever seen before in the world's history and say: "No, it could not be helped." Why? it will be asked. Answer: Because the government sold and surrendered itself to hogs, cormorants, vampires, humbugs, swindlers, rascals, grafters, gourmands, thieves and robbers. Mind this is what they will say; will they be right? It is easier to look backward than to look ahead; but the wise man looks ahead.

Socialists—and after awhile, when the good times are overflowed with the lava of a panic, they will be militant, vengeful, not merely philosophical, augmentative. Socialists—are being manufactured by the scores of hundreds daily. Every time Morgan makes a new combination he makes a hundred Socialists. Every time Schwab draws his million dollars—once a year—he raises blood in a million hearts that boil for mischief. Every time Carnegie gives away a million dollars he aids a million men to read their wrongs—real or imagined—even in the best, freest and happiest land on earth.

Bryanism will turn into Socialism; populism has but a step to take to become Socialism. The Democrats are going back to bid for the support and fodder and fees of the plutocrats against the Republicans; many Democratic voters will not go back; many more will come to the growing army of Socialism. By 1920, perhaps sooner, it will be a resistless tide.

This is not a statement of what is desirable or hoped for; merely a slight forecast of things to be, as surely as there is not a speedy and radical change in the policy and conduct of the dominant party in this country. But it is as impossible for that party, with its Hannas, McKinleys, Forakers, Allisons, Elkinses, Depews and the rest, to change its course, as it is for the leopard to change its spots.

The children of this country will have even a heavier task to perform than any of their ancestors had. There is a cloud in the American sky, hand-broad, on which, with a spy-glass, one may decipher the lettering of Macaulay's prophecy.—Portland, Ore., Evening Telegram.

The Position of the Beer Bottlers' Stated.

The Executive Committee of the Beer Bottlers' Union has issued the following statement:

1159 Mission street,
San Francisco, Cal., August 3, 1901.

Dear Sir: All members of the Beer Bottlers' Union who were locked out on Friday, some 117 in all, are still out; not one of them being willing to accept the terms of their employers and break faith with the union.

A special meeting of the union was held today at the headquarters of the union and the actions of its Executive Committee were discussed seriatim and finally adopted. The motion to ask the Labor Council to levy a boycott on the firm of John G. Rapp & Son, agent of Rainier bottled beer in this city was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

The members of the union have not forgotten that when they first organized Mr. Rapp called his employes into his office and summarily discharged all of them who refused to resign from the union. He is looked upon as the leading spirit in the Beer Bottlers' Protective Association, one of the first, if not the first association of employers to repudiate contracts signed by its members and guaranteeing to their employes union hours and wages. Mr. Rapp, the agent for Rainier bottled beer in this city, is the President of this Employers' Association, and as he was one of the first to attach his signature of the union scale, the members of the union naturally desire the Labor Council to levy a boycott on the firm which they believe to be the prime mover in this outrageous attack on their organization.

It is the unanimous opinion of the members of the union that their employers took advantage of the present labor situation to break their written contracts with the union, evidently supposing that in the turmoil of strikes and boycotts now going on that their raid on the Bottlers' Union, has been forwarded to the National Executive Board of the union, with all the details of its violation, and there is no doubt that the National Union will take prompt and effective action.

Meanwhile, the locked-out members of the union are distributing copies of the lockout notice and informing their friends that the Enterprise Bottling Company, and Schwartz Weiss Beer Bottling Company are the only bottling establishments in this city that are union shops, keeping their contracts and working for union wages.

Socialism does not advocate a forcible revolution, but holds that Socialism will be the inevitable result of the growth of capitalism; provided the social forces are properly directed. The development is a growth and all the changes which have been produced in society are the result of the material progress. Socialists propose the social revolution as a remedy for the social evils, and the founding of the Co-operative Commonwealth will be the inevitable result of the social revolution.—Farmers' Review.

There's no use to blink the question. There must be revolutionary reform in society or it will fall to pieces by its own rottenness. Courts, police, penitentiaries and gallows' ropes will not continue to hold it together at the rate in which crime is progressing in legislative bodies and in the courts, not to speak of its progress among what is known as the dangerous classes.—Southern Mercury.

A Sociological Straddle.

According to the "American Journal of Sociology," M. Thury, a professor at the University of Geneva, has approached the problem of labor in a new way. He is an individualist, and so is opposed to the Socialist regime. In a recent publication on "The Social Question in Its Principle," some of his leading ideas are expressed under such themes as: "The Right to the Means of Work Derived from the Obligation to Work"; "The Soil, the Source of the Necessaries of Life"; "Individual or Collective Ownership of the Soil"; "Labor Organizations and the Use of the Machine and the Division of the Products of Labor." He sums up his proposition in these terms: "Let competition be free as to the comforts; reserve one realm, that of the necessaries of life, and from that exclude speculation." This is not an entirely new regime, but is a kind of compromise between the old and the new conditions of society.

Coming from a professor, living in a country that is making preparations to inaugurate a large section of the co-operative commonwealth, it is no wonder he is willing to make some concessions to retain the beloved humbug of competition. Professors have to do something as an excuse for drawing down their salaries, the chief of which is to become academic and learned, when discussing the simple proposition of feeding a hungry man. It is to the interests of the class to which the professors think they belong, to have the people fooled, and the people are fooled. At least, they used to be. There is a change on the way.

Making and Breaking.

Those credulous mortals who insist upon legislation against the trusts, would do well to ponder over the following statement from Prof. George T. Ladd, professor of philosophy in Yale University:

"Twenty years ago the great corporations in this country were persistent lawbreakers, but in these days they do not need to break them, as they make them themselves."

As an illustration of this the professor is quoted as follows:

"Some years ago, while in Chicago, I found that if I cheated the Illinois Central railroad out of five cents I would have to serve a long imprisonment and pay a heavy fine. If an ordinary highwayman should, however, have met me on the street, knocked me down, and stolen all my money, and even killed me for that matter, he would have escaped with a much lighter sentence than I who had cheated a big corporation out of a paltry nickel."

The professor has merely stated in other words the truth that Socialists have always enunciated, that the law is the servant and creature of capitalist interests for all general purposes.—The Workers' Call.

Carroll D. Wright has issued a report showing that the total cost of transporting passengers in the United States is less than one-fifth of a cent a mile. You want to go somewhere on the cars. The cost keeps you at home. You pay at the rate of three cents a mile. This is fifteen times as much as it costs, according to Mr. Wright's figures. Remember that Mr. Wright is a G. O. P. appointee, and you will realize that he does not propose hurting the interests of the railroads when he thus shows their earnings to be 500 per cent. Is it any wonder from such a showing that the Vanderbilts, Goulds, Morgans, etc., can pile up such wealth when one figures up the number of miles of railroad and the number who travel yearly?

Really a Little More, But—

The wage scale having been fairly adjusted, the employer need not worry himself about what altruistic measures he will adopt for the benefit of his employes. Once the interest of the latter in the success of the enterprise becomes established, suggestions regarding methods which will be to the common interest of employer and employe will come fast enough from the men. Conveniences which good men need to do their work well and keep them in prime condition, mentally and physically, are the advantage, and they are bound to come, but they have their time and place of coming, which are after more important things are settled. It must be remembered that kind words and rest rooms and libraries and lectures and other so-called altruistic measures although excellent in their proper time and place, do not in themselves bring happiness and contentment, for they do not supply food and clothes and house rent and home comforts, and the latter are what men work for. Of such things, therefore, until the proper time arrives the men become suspicious, as they partake of the nature of charity, and honest workmen resent anything of such a nature. The men must be mentally happy and well advanced in modern thought and methods before such things can be introduced.

Nor should an employer allow the announcement to become current that he has a "model shop" when he has made his business a success by adopting the methods outlined above and added such conveniences as he finds are of common advantage to his business and his men. Intelligent workmen are sensitive to being referred to as adjuncts to anything "model."

An attempt to advertise an enterprise by proclaiming that philanthropic principles dominate its management may be effective for a time, but men lose respect for such philanthropy and its projectors. There is no philanthropy about it; it is pure business. Nor should a manager announce to his men or to the public that he incorporates advanced ideas in his system of management "because it pays." No advantage can be gained by such a course. It will, in fact, be found that it does not pay. He should no more think of making such a statement than of saying that he keeps his own hands and face clean or changes his linen daily "because it pays."—H. F. J. Porter in *Cassier's Magazine*.

Slavery in Pennsylvania.

The Philadelphia "North American" has presented a faithful picture of some of the conditions prevailing in the anthracite coal district, the contemplation of which should make Pennsylvania ashamed to ask for relief at the hands of the Legislature.

It is a reproach to an American commonwealth that any portion of its population could be made the victims of a system of industrial slavery that violates the principles of its organic law and is, in every respect, worse than feudalism.

The depths of human misery are sounded by the toilers in the mines. No serf was ever more absolutely at the mercy of his master than is many a miner in Pennsylvania, who is the perpetual debtor of the company store. This miner must work for such wages as the operator sees fit to pay, and he must pay such prices for what he consumes as the operator sees fit to exact. By a system of accounts that is fraudulent on its face, the prices are made to consume the wages, and revolt against the robbery means starvation for the miner and his family. There are families in the anthra-

cite district who have toiled for ten years at the hardest work done by human beings and never received a dollar in cash.

No more consideration is given to the needs of these toilers beyond such as may be necessary to keep them alive while they are able to work, than is given to the wants of wild animals. The mules that haul ore are treated more humanely than are the men who mine it. No adequate precautions against loss of life or limb are taken, if expense be involved, because no capital is invested in human life, and death and suffering cost nothing to the company. Laws enacted to make murderous negligence expensive to corporations are nullified by subordination of those appointed to enforce them. Human life is held more cheaply in a coal mine than in an army on the field of battle.

Machinery.

Up to the present, man has been, to a certain extent, the slave of machinery, and there is something tragic in the fact that as soon as man had invented a machine to do his work he began to starve. This, however, is, of course, the result of our property system, and our system of competition. Five hundred men are, in consequence, thrown out of employment, and, having no work to do, become hungry and take to thieving. The one man secures the produce of the machine and keeps it, and has five hundred times as much as he should have, and probably, which is of much more importance, a great deal more than he really wants. Were that machine the property of all, every one would benefit by it. It would be an immense advantage to the community. All unintellectual labor; all monotonous, dull labor; all labor that deals with dreadful things, and involves unpleasant conditions, must be done by machinery. Machinery must work for us in coal mines, and do all sanitary services, and be the stoker of steamers, and clean the streets, and run messages on wet days, and do anything that is tedious or distressing. At present machinery competes against man. Under proper conditions machinery will serve man. There is no doubt at all that this is the future of machinery; and just as trees grow while the country is asleep, so while humanity will be amusing itself or enjoying cultivated leisure—which, and not labor, is the aim of man—or making beautiful things, or reading beautiful things, or simply contemplating the world with admiration and delight, machinery will be doing all the necessary and unpleasant work. The fact is that civilization requires slaves. The Greeks were quite right there. Unless there are slaves to do the ugly, horrible, uninteresting work, culture and contemplation become almost impossible. Human slavery is wrong. On mechanical slavery, on the slavery of the machine, the future of the world depends. And when scientific men are no longer called upon to go down to a depressing East End and distribute bad cocoa and worse blankets to starving people, they will have delightful leisure in which to devise wonderful and marvelous things for their own joy and the joy of every one else. There will be great storages of force for every city, and for every house, if required, and this force man will convert into heat, light or motion, according to his needs. Is this Utopian? A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not even worth glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which humanity is always landing. And when humanity lands there it looks out, and, seeing a better country, sets sail. Progress is the realization of Utopias.—Oscar Wilde.

Capitalism in Dixie.

Miss Irene Ashby, organizer of the American Federation of Labor, in a recent issue of the *Federationist*, tells a most gruesome story of child labor in the Southern States. The story is a terrible one and reveals a condition that is a shame and disgrace to the country and to the age in which we live. With the exception of Tennessee the Southern States are the only ones in the Union where there are no laws for the protection of child and even adult labor. In the New England States, where cotton manufacture is a leading industry there are laws for the regulation and protection of child labor, but they were not put on the statute books by the philanthropists who draw dividends by filling graves with little children, they were enacted through the effort of organized labor. If emancipation comes to the children of the South, it must come, as it did in Tennessee, through the election of working men to the law-making bodies.

Not long ago a correspondent of the "New York Times" took a trip through South Carolina and stopped for a while in a mill town of that State. "What struck me particularly in this small place," said the correspondent, "was the fact that it had two cemeteries. I was told that the death rate of the mill children was very high. This I understand when I saw the pale little beings, who worked in the mills, compelled to attend the whirring machinery from 6 a. m. to 6 p. m. I discovered that often the fathers of these children do not work whatever, but simply loaf about the village and drink whisky and chew tobacco. The houses the company provides for the mill workers are neat enough in appearance, but they are stuck over the hillsides in hideous rows, with no tree or flower or garden, most of them not even having a fence around them. If that is better than living on a farm, then farm life in the South must be pretty horrible."

The parents of these children can't be held responsible. They are the victims of a social condition that compels the children to work for a wage as pitiful as their own poor lives, while their natural protectors and providers are doomed to idleness.

The "New York Journal," commenting on this dreadful condition, says that this country has done a great deal of bragging lately about its world supremacy, its marvelous exports, and so on. That we have even invited the English to confess themselves beaten by our superior intelligence.

But one thing can be said for England: In that country you can not find children at work between the ages of four and ten years. They have got over that stage of savagery.

The "Journal" tells of a young woman who visited the mills of Alabama, where she saw hundreds of children, twelve and ten years old, and even younger, working hard all day.

She saw one child of four working at the unwinding of bobbins.

The children told her that when they got tired they cried, but went on with their work again as soon as the superintendent came around to scold them.

It is useless to appeal for redress to the powers that be, their sympathies are not with the worker. The only way the country can be purged of this disgrace is by united labor taking the law-making power into its own hands, get control of the government, and using it according to the dictates of enlightened humanity. Take the children from the mills and put them to school and their fathers from the street corners, and put them to work with the assurance of a competency.—*Machinists' Monthly*.

Organic Unity Achieved at Last.

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economic development of America was now more advanced than any other in the world, that we were on the verge of a social revolution, and that immediate demands were no longer necessary.

As the debate promised to be an exhaustive one, it was decided that a vote on Simons' motion be taken at 11:45 Wednesday morning. It was also voted to hold a night session to permit full discussion on the motion. The debate was then resumed, MacCartney, Berger, Sieverman, Harriman and Goebel speaking against the motion, and Murphy, Clemens, MacSweeney, and Backus in favor. Harriman said he was not in favor of the demands as formulated, but thought they should not be stricken out. He explained how he thought the demands should be drawn up. His explanation was received with approval from many delegates. Mills of Chicago said he was instructed against immediate demands, but he favored Harriman's explanation and would like to see the demands so inserted in the platform.

In the evening session the debate was renewed by Goebel, speaking for the immediate demands. At this point Herron took the floor and advocated a modification of the statement of the demands, which practically coincided with Harriman's views. He moved the following as a substitute for the demands as stated in the committee's report:

"1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and of 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 the property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of the employees and 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 accident, lack of employment, sickness, and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class and to be administered under the control of the working class.

"4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose, in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

"The remaining points (5 to 8) to stand in the committee's report; but to add: 'But in making these demands as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and in the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we would warn the people against the public ownership demands made by capitalist political parties, which always result in perpetuating the capitalist system through the compromise or defeat of the Socialist revolution.'"

After a parliamentary contest as to the status of the different motions, Simons stated that while he accepted Herron's substitute, he was still opposed to immediate demands; but there would be more discussion and more conventions, in which he expected to be heard. At present he wanted the convention to agree on a platform so that unity could be speedily effected.

The substitute was then adopted, and the discussion continued on the question of entirely striking out the demands from the platform. Spring, Lux, and Hayes spoke in favor of

striking out, the latter being so instructed. Pankopf favored the plan of retaining the demands and issuing an address fully explaining them. Morgan of Chicago made a telling speech in favor of their retention, saying that the movement to eliminate the demands seemed to be the beginning of another struggle in the Socialist movement between anarchism and Socialism. He was frequently applauded.

The debate was still on when the convention adjourned for the night.

On Wednesday morning the debate was continued until the time set for the vote came. The vote when announced stood, 5,358 for the retention of the immediate demands in their modified form, and 1,325 for cutting them out altogether.

Max Hayes was chairman. The debate on the platform continued in the afternoon.

The National Platform beginning with this paragraph was finally adopted: "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."

The report of the committee on constitution, etc., was taken up and after considerable discussion was adopted in the following shape:

Control of State agitation is left to the State organization. A National Committee, composed of one member from each state, is to be constituted, which shall appoint an executive committee of five, who shall reside at the headquarters.

St. Louis was adopted as headquarters and Leon Greenbaum was elected National Secretary. The name Socialist Party was adopted.

Max Hayes writes of the convention platform:

"From the standpoint of intelligent discussion and clear-cut debating, the convention ranks ahead of any similar assemblage that has ever come together in this country. Brilliant rhetoric, flashes of eloquence, keen wit and enthusiasm unbounded follow in quick succession. At times the debate waxes acrimonious, bitter; then it switches into harmonious channels and the white dove of peace spreads its wings.

"The personal composition of the convention is an interesting study, for here are assembled some of the brightest minds and competent writers and speakers of the American Socialist and organized labor movement."

Altogether, the results are most satisfactory. "The Worker" writes:

"The National Convention which opened its sessions at Indianapolis last Monday has proved, by the number of its delegates and the membership they represent, by its enthusiasm, and by the seriousness of its deliberations, the wonderful growth that the Socialist movement has made in recent years, and especially in the last year. Up to the time of our going to press, all reports are most favorable in the promise they give of a united movement with redoubled energy and influence. While there have been hot debates—as indeed there should be among men who are in earnest—there seems to have been less than might have been expected of personal or factional fealing.

The majority of the delegates were on the field on Sunday, those from Maine and California being the first to arrive, and the evening was spent in the pleasant renewal of old

friendships and the formation of new acquaintances between those who had never met, but who, as comrades in the movement, could not be counted strangers."

Of course California was there first—with all four feet, too! We wanted unity. Now we've got it, and we're going to keep it.

From "The Worker's Call" we clip the following: "One of the most remarkable features of this assembly is the great preponderance of native-born Americans amongst the delegates. It is rather doubtful indeed whether conventions of the two old capitalist parties contain proportionately as large a number of natives as this Socialist assembly shows. At any rate, the silly sneer that was formerly used against Socialism, as being a "foreign importation," has no title to consideration at the present day, even as a literal statement. The youth of the delegates was also distinctly obvious, an encouraging sign which shows that the "feet of the young men" are steadily turning towards Socialism.

"It is the general opinion of those participating in the events of today that a new era in the Socialist movement may be dated from this convention, that internal dissensions will disappear and a solid, united party will issue forth to carry on the struggle against capitalism."

(To be continued.)

A Letter from the Convention.

Chicago, Ill., August 2, 1901.

To Local San Francisco, S. D. P., Secretary Comrade Joseph J. Noel, and Comrades:

In reporting as delegate to Unity Convention, held at Indianapolis, July 29th, it gives me great pleasure to report that the instructions to your delegate were adhered to by me and the measures suggested by Local San Francisco were, in the main, carried in the convention.

1st. The name "Socialist Party" was decided upon, your delegate voting in the affirmative.

2d. Official organs were abolished.

3d. A system of dues stamps was provided for.

4th. I voted for the city of Chicago as the seat of the National Executive Committee, per instructions, but it failed to carry. See convention report.

5th. National conventions are to be held in the year of presidential elections, and when otherwise needed, by initiative of five locals for referendum vote of party.

6th. The recommendation that the National Executive Committee be composed of State Organizers did not carry as recommended, but a National Committeeman from each State was provided for, and these have power to appoint a local committee of five at St. Louis, to act as a National Committee, subject to the jurisdiction of the appointing committee.

7th. The National Committee shall appoint their Secretary; carried. The Secretary is to be a salaried officer and devote his whole time to party work. His salary was decided as \$1,000 per year.

8th. National Organizers were abolished.

8th. State autonomy was carried.

10th. The powers of the National Committee were defined and other rights reserved to States and Territories.

On the question of immediate demands, your delegate voted against them in any shape whatever.

Under the head of "Remarks," I desire to state that at the beginning of the convention a spirit of cautiousness was shown by all parties represented. The adherents of the Chicago Board were instructed to report on every

measure taken back to a referendum vote of their constituency, and they insisted that the parties vote separately on all questions of importance. This cautiousness finally gave way to a feeling of confidence on both sides, and after the first day's session, unity was assured.

Every delegate expressed the opinion that in his locality the movement would be given great impetus on account of unity.

In conclusion I will say that, taken all together, the convention was inspiring, as well as instructive. I considered myself very fortunate in being there, and I take this occasion to thank the comrades of San Francisco and other places in the State who have honored me by naming me as their delegate.

Yours fraternally, *Wm. E. Costley.*

How They are Robbed.

A boy is born in the country. Laboring always with his father, his grandfather, his mother, he sees each year the finest crops from the fields he and his father have plowed, harrowed and sowed—the fields that his mother and sister have mowed and reaped, binding the corn into the sheaves which he himself has helped to stack—he sees that his father carries the best of these crops, not to his own house, but to the squire's barn beyond the manor gardens.

As they pass the manor house with the creaking cart he and his father have piled up, the boy sees on the veranda a richly dressed lady seated at a table spread with a silver kettle, fine china, cakes and sweets; on the other side of the carriage drive he sees the squire's two sons in shining shoes and embroidered shirts playing ball on the smooth lawn.

The ball is knocked over the cart. "Pick it up, boy," cries one of the young gentlemen. "Pick it up, Johnny," shouts the father to his son, taking off his cap and walking beside the cart holding the reins.

"What does it mean?" thinks the boy. "I am tired with work, while they are playing; yet I must fetch the ball for them."

But he fetches the ball, and the young gentleman takes it from the coarse sun-burnt peasant boy's hand with fine white fingers and returns to the game without noticing him.

The boy's father has gone on with the cart. The boy runs along the road to catch up, kicking up the dust with his clumsy, worn-out boots and together they reach the barn crowded with carts and sheaves. The bustling overseer, his canvas jacket wet with sweat at the back, and a stick in his hand, greets the boy's father with an oath for driving up to the wrong place. The father apologizes, turns wearily, lugging at the reins of the exhausted horse, and stops at the further side.

The boy approaches his father and asks: "Father, why do we bring our corn to him? Haven't we grown it?"

"Because the land is theirs," answered the father angrily.

"Who gave them the land, then?"

Go and ask the overseer there. He'll explain it to you. Do you see his stick?"

"But what will they do with this corn?"

"Thresh it and then grind it and then sell it."

"And what will they do with the money?"

"They'll buy those cakes with it that you saw on the table when we passed."

The boy becomes quiet and thoughtful. But he has little time for thought. The men shout for his father to bring his cart nearer. He pulls the horse up to the stacks, climbs to the top of his load, unties the rope, and wearily hands the sheaves up one by one, straining his hernia* with each effort; while the boy holds the old mare, whom he has driven for the last two years, brushing away the flies as

his father tells him, and wondering, for he cannot understand why the land does not belong to those who work for it, but to those young gentlemen who play about in fancy shirts, and drink tea and eat cakes.

The boy thinks about this continually, when waking, when going to sleep, when attending the horses, but finds no answer. Everyone says it is as it should be—and he lives accordingly.

So he grows up. He marries, children are born to him, and also wonder; and he answers them as his father answered him.

And they, too, living in poverty and subjection, labor for idle strangers.

So he lives and so live all around him.

Wherever he goes it is the same; and according to the stories of the passing pilgrims it is the same everywhere. Everywhere laborers overwork themselves for idle, rich landlords. Suffer from rupture, asthma, consumption; drink in despair and die before their time. Women overstrain themselves, cooking, washing, mending, tending the cattle; wither and grow prematurely old from overpowering and incessant labor.

And everywhere those for whom they work indulge in horses and carriages and pet dogs, conservatories and games, from one year to another; each day from morning till evening, dressing as if for a holiday, playing, eating and drinking, as not one of those who work for them could do, even on a holiday.—Tolstoi.

*Owing to often overstraining themselves, a great number of Russian peasants suffer from chronic hernia.—Trans.

State Organizer's Report.

Everywhere, with scarcely an exception, there is a hopeful awakening of the masses, to give heed to the Socialist speaker. Beginning with May 16th, and ending with July 28th, I spoke at 56 meetings, 52 of which were held on the street and only 4 in halls. The last meeting that I held in Los Angeles I was told by the only comrade who assisted me, that it was the largest Socialist open-air meeting he had ever seen in that city.

Pomona.—Very large meeting.

Redlands.—Large meeting.

Highlands.—Here I had quite an experience. I was informed that anything like a good meeting was impossible, but I succeeded in catching the crowd at the depot and held them for an hour. At the close I organized a local with eight members. The comrades were delighted and Comrade Tyler said it was the best meeting ever held in Highland.

San Bernardino.—Three large meetings.

Riverside.—Three large meetings.

Winchester.—Very good meeting.

Covina.—Held excellent meeting.

Santa Ana.—Three of the largest meetings ever held in that city.

San Diego.—Four meetings were held here and nowhere on my journey was there more earnestness and enthusiasm. At the second meeting I was interrupted by a policeman after I had spoken for an hour and was asked not to speak so loud; it was positively amusing.

Escondido.—Here they are trying to form a local. They have not done so yet. There are something like 20 Socialists in the town, most of them converts of Job Harriman. At my meeting I had (according to Comrade Miller) at least 150 people, and had quite a lively question time.

Sawtelle (Soldiers' Home).—Here I held two very fine meetings, at one of which I spoke for 20 minutes against a dog and pony show, and succeeded in keeping my crowd.

Scott Anderson.

Notes from Afar.

Half the weekly papers in British Columbia are fearless advocates of socialism.

The anti-clerical movement in Bohemia is said to be rapidly gaining ground.

In the municipal elections in Bohemia the Social Democrats report notable victories. In many towns they elected their entire tickets.

The Southern Tobacco Journal says that "the spread of Socialism in the past few years is greater than is generally supposed. It is not hard to make converts to it with things as they are now."

Canadian Socialists propose to put a paid lecturer in the field to organize the forces and do active propaganda work. An appeal has been made for funds to keep a good man permanently in the field.

While the Social Democrats of Holland polled a splendid increase in their vote in the recent national election, they duplicated the performance in the municipal elections that have just been held. In Amsterdam, the chief city, the S. D.'s gained about 70 per cent. and polled nearly one-third of the total vote. Similar reports come from other places.

A meeting was organized by the French Union of Trades at the Bourse du Travail to receive the report of the delegates of the Labor Peace Congress who recently visited London. On this occasion the windows of the Bourse had been adorned with red flags and hangings. These the police ordered to be removed, and on this being refused, they entered the hall of the meeting and carried off the "seditious emblems," in spite of the loud protests of the members of the trades unions who were present. A formal protest has been entered against these arbitrary proceedings by Guerard of the railway workers.

The Madras "Hindu" comments on the action of Mr. Markham, a Liberal member of the English parliament, who publicly denounced the financiers back of the South African war as "thieves and swindlers." The closing words of the "Hindu" editorial are interesting as showing how the idea of Socialism is taking root even in India. It says: "THE final issue of the action will be watched with keen interest everywhere, and ESPECIALLY BY THE POOR WORKING CLASSES, WHO WOULD REJOICE TO SEE THE ERA OF CAPITALISM PASS AWAY and suffering and misery and wretchedness things of the past." More power to the "Hindu," say we, in fighting for that ideal.—Worker.

"The Pilgrim" for August begins a thrilling story of love and political conspiracy in Spain, entitled "The Velvet Glove," by Henry Seton Merriman, author "The Sowers," "The Isle of Unrest," and other successful romances. Byron W. Holt, the statistical expert of the New York Reform Club, writes of the "Billion Dollar Steel Trust," Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones describes "The Congress of Religions" and Samuel E. Moffett tells of some interesting incidents in the "Strenuous Newspaper Life." The culmination of the yachting season is recognized by a brilliant cover, and a strikingly illustrated article by Duncan Curry. The home departments, short fiction and art features of the number show a distinct advance over its predecessors.

Karl Marx' Economic Teachings.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated for the "Advance" by Kaspar Bauer.

(Continued from last week.)

If Marx does not say that labor is the source of all wealth; if this sentence appears only as the result of confounding use-value with exchange-value, then, of course, all consequences of that statement, relative to Marx, fall to the ground. We see, also, that the charge of Marx having overlooked the part which nature plays in production is entirely unfounded. The opponents of Marx, who make that contention, have, however, overlooked something themselves, namely, the difference between the body of the commodity and social process represented by it. The long-standing discussion over what part nature plays in the formation of exchange-value shows how badly a great number of economists have been deceived by the fetich-character of commodities. We see that Marx did not "overlook" nature in relation to the production of use-values. If he did ignore it as an exchange-value producing factor, it was done, not on account of "superficiality," but for the reason of his penetrating insight into the social character of the production of commodities, an insight which is still lacking in economists who deduce sociological laws from a condition which is anything but social—isolated human beings. Another error often made relative to Marx' theory of value consists in confounding the value-producing power of labor. The line of distinction must be clearly drawn between the two. Labor, as the source of exchange-value, can no more have value itself than gravity has weight or heat has temperature. So far we have treated of exchange value only as it is formed by skilled or unskilled labor; not of the value of labor power itself. The value of labor power finds its expression in the wages of the laborer who is the owner of labor-power.

So far we have only dealt with the simple production and exchange of commodities. As yet labor, as a commodity, does not exist for us. Later on we will speak in detail of human labor power and its exchange-value. This hint, however, to avoid error: It is necessary always to keep in mind the character of a law. In our instance—to keep in mind the character of the law of value.

Every sociological law is an attempt to explain social phenomena. But it can scarcely be said that any phenomenon is the result of one single cause. Different interwoven causes lie at the bottom of the different phenomena, which again are interrelated and interwoven. Any one examining sociological laws has, therefore, a two-fold task to perform. First, he must separate phenomena from each other, isolate them, as it were; then, secondly, he must separate and classify the causes which underlie the phenomena, must separate the general from the individual, the more important from the less important. Both methods of research are possible only by abstraction. The naturalist is aided in his researches by many ingenious instruments, by observation and experiment. The student of sociology is in the very nature of things barred from experimenting and his observations can at best only be limited. By making abstractions it is possible for the student to understand and comprehend the laws which underlie the phenomena he wishes to explain. Without a knowledge of the underlying law the phenom-

ena cannot be explained. Yet this single law, by itself, is insufficient to explain satisfactorily all about these particular phenomena. A law may be weakened by another law—aye, more than that: its action may be entirely suspended by another law; yet, to conclude from such a case that the law or laws did not exist at all would be to make a serious error. The law of gravity, for instance, holds good only within an airless chamber—within it a piece of lead and a feather drop to the ground with the same velocity. Inside of a room filled with air, however, the result, on account of the resistance of the air, will be quite different. Nevertheless, the law of gravity is correct.

Thus it is with *value*. As soon as commodity production became the dominant form of production, the laws governing commodity-prices drew the attention of those engaged in commodity production. The analysis of the price of commodities resulted in the fixing of the magnitude of value. But just as little as the law of gravity is the only cause of the phenomena of a falling body, so little is the value of a commodity the only cause of the price. Marx mentioned commodities whose value is not only temporarily and occasionally, but permanently below their value. For instance, gold or diamonds have probably never been paid for at their full value. The commodity labor-power, too, may, under certain circumstances, be paid for below its value. A great many of the objections postulated against Marx' theory of value spring out of a confusion of *price* and *value*. They must be kept separate.

At the same time it is necessary to keep in mind the historic character of Marx' theory of value. His theory is only to form the basis for the explanation of the phenomena of *commodity production*. But even at this time, remnants of former modes of production survive within the dominant form. In agricultural callings, for instance, even today many things are produced, not as commodities; that is, for sale on the market, but to be used by the producers themselves. These instances, however, are the exception and cannot prove anything against the theory of value. Above all, we must not be blinded by the fetich-character of commodities, we must not take the social relations as expressed in commodities as the real qualities of them. If we never lose sight of the fact that commodity production is a form of production within which we work *for each other*, even though not *with each other*; and that value is a relation of objects, but represents relations of human beings to each other, then we will know how to take the sentence which forms the fundamental analysis of "Capital." It is only the socially necessary quantity of labor which determines the value of an article.

3. Exchange value. The magnitude of the value of a commodity is determined by the socially necessary labor time expended in its production, but it does not find its expression accordingly. We do not say: This coat is worth 40 hours of labor, but probably: It is worth as much as 20 yards of linen, or 10 gr. of gold. That is because the coat, considered by itself, is as yet not a commodity; it becomes a commodity only when I intend to exchange it. The value of a commodity is ac-

cordingly also shrouded in mystery, if I do not compare it with the one with which I intend to exchange it. It is true that the magnitude of the value of a commodity is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor power expended in its production, but it is expressed by its relation to the magnitude of the value of one or more other commodities, through its exchange relation. Bourgeois economy largely holds that the exchange relation of a commodity is determined by the magnitude of its value. An illustration will show the error in this position. Let us suppose a sack of sugar. It is of a given weight, yet I can only express its weight by comparing it with the weight of another body, for instance, iron. In order to be able to express the weight of the sugar I place it on one side of the scale, while on the other side I place a given number of pieces of iron, each of a given weight and called 1 pound; the number of the pieces of iron teaches us the weight of the sugar; but it would be absurd to say the sack of sugar weighs 100 pounds because I placed 100 lb pieces of iron on the other arm of the scale to make it balance. The reason why I had to place 100 pieces of iron in the scale was because the sugar weighed 100 pounds. This clearly illustrates our case, for thus it stands with the *magnitude* and the *form* of value. The expression which we give to the weight of a body is similar to the expression given to the value of a commodity, that is the form in which we express the magnitude of its value. To say a sack of sugar weighs 100 pounds means, strictly speaking (and to carry our illustration further), that a sack of sugar is just as heavy as 100 certain pieces of iron; so we can also say of a coat that it is worth as much as 20 yards of linen. If sugar and iron did not have weight as a quality common to them both it would be impossible to bring them into a given relation as *bodies* (*substances*). It would be equally impossible to bring *coat* and *linen* in relation as commodities did they not both have one common social quality—that of being the product of homogeneous labor-power, of being values!

In the first equation iron and sugar play two distinct parts: 1 sack of sugar is as heavy as 100 pounds of iron. Sugar appears here as sugar, but iron as the personification of weight. In this equation we leave out of consideration the bodily qualities of the iron, but not those of the sugar. Of similar character is the equation, 1 coat equals 20 yards of linen. Coat and linen are both commodities, consequently use-values and values; but in the value-form, in the relation of exchange the coat figures only as use-value; the linen on the other hand purely as the expression of the exchange value. Just as it is possible for me to use different materials, such as lead, etc., to weigh the sugar, so can I express the value of the coat not only in linen but in every other commodity. In the equation, 1 coat equals 20 yards of linen, the natural form of the linen is left out of consideration; it figures in this relation only as exchange value, i. e., as embodiment of human labor in general. The linen becomes the form of expression of the value of the coat in distinction to the coat as such. The antithesis of being use-value and commodity value, innate in every commodity, reflects itself in the expression of val-

ue, within which the coat as such figures only as a form of *use-value*, the body form of the commodity linen, figures only as a form of commodity value.

Nevertheless, the use-value of the commodity in which the value of another commodity finds expression is not a matter of indifference. Both commodities must be different use-values. They can under no conditions be alike. The equation, 1 coat equals 1 coat, is without meaning. I can express the value of the coat not only in linen but in every other commodity. We can also reverse the equation and express the value of linen or any other commodity in coats. We can on the one hand set up this equation:

$$1 \text{ coat} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 20 \text{ yards of linen.} \\ 10 \text{ lb of tea.} \\ 40 \text{ lb of coffee.} \\ 5 \text{ tons of iron.} \\ 2 \text{ bushels of wheat.} \\ 26 \text{ lb of sugar.} \end{array} \right.$$

and we can reverse it and say:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} 20 \text{ yards of linen} \\ 10 \text{ lb of tea.} \\ 40 \text{ lb coffee.} \\ 5 \text{ tons of iron.} \\ 2 \text{ bushels of wheat.} \\ 26 \text{ lb of sugar.} \end{array} \right\} 1 \text{ coat.}$$

Both equations appear to mean the same thing and that is true if looked at as purely mathematical equations; but as different forms of expression of value their meaning is historically and logically different.

At the beginning of the production of commodities the exchange of products occurred only here and there, occasionally, if opportunity offered itself. A simple form of equating values is characteristic of this period. One single commodity is brought into a certain relation with another single commodity; for instance, one bronze hammer equals 20 pounds of rock salt; this form Marx calls the simple value-form. But as soon as it becomes customary to exchange one particular product of labor (cattle, for instance) with other products of labor, the expression of value takes on the form of the first of the two equations we have cited, for instance:

$$1 \text{ cow} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2 \text{ slaves.} \\ 1 \text{ sword.} \\ 1 \text{ belt.} \\ 10 \text{ sandals.} \\ 3 \text{ cups.} \\ 2 \text{ bushels corn.} \end{array} \right.$$

This form of value Marx calls the total or unfolded value-form.

As the production of commodities develops the number of products produced for exchange grows larger and larger and customary exchange includes an ever-increasing number of manifold commodities. Not only cattle, but swords, belts, etc., etc., regularly and customarily exchanged. The best adapted commodity finally becomes the one in which the value of commodities are the most frequently expressed until it finally becomes the only one in which it is expressed. And here we have arrived at the point where our second equation comes into operation in the *general* form of value.

Let us now closely examine the equivalent form in our equation. As we have seen above, the equivalent form appears as the embodiment of human labor-power in general. But in former forms of expression it was only accidentally that a commodity appeared as such. It is true that in the equation, 1 coat equals 20 yards of linen, figures only as the form of use-expression of value; but if 20 yards of linen are equated to 1 bushel of wheat,

or, again, with one coat, it then becomes the wheat or the coat that appears as the embodiment of human labor-power in general, while the linen figures again as use-value. Different it is with the general form of value. Now *one single* commodity serves as equivalent, and this one is the universal equivalent. That commodity is just as ever, before as after, use-value and exchange value; but all other commodities in relation to it seem only use-values; the commodity itself figures as the universal and only form of expression of value, as the universal social embodiment of human labor-power in general; it now becomes the commodity which is *directly* exchangeable with all other commodities, and which is consequently universally expected. On the other hand, the power gained by that one commodity is power lost by all others; they lose the power of being *directly* exchangeable with each other. Every exchange of two commodities can henceforth only take place with the help of the universal equivalent in which all commodity-values reflect themselves.

(Continued next week.)

Combination Leaders' Union in Session

Some interesting communications—the strike of the Iron and Steel Workers discussed.

Routine business was quickly disposed of at the last meeting of the Combination Leaders' Union.

Business Agent Morgan reported that owing to the strike of ungrateful union work people he had not had much time to form new unions and strengthen old ones. He had, however, appointed a committee of five, composed of one member from each of the great railway interests, to run the Northern Pacific, and thus insured peace for all the organizations and "stable rates"; had taken further steps to organize the soft coal industry as well as the banking business of New York, and called on a number of small unions and urged them to get together to economize in operation and maintain maximum prices. Desired an executive session to discuss the strike of iron and steel workers. Granted.

A communication was received from the Sultan of Turkey, an honored member of the Rulers' Union, stating that he had concluded to pay some of his debts, though his subjects are threatening to strike and riot on account of what they called burdensome taxation, and hoped that the C. L. U. would grant moral and financial support if the worst came to the worst. Received.

Kaiser, Wilhelm, of the same union, wrote that the Belgian local refused to grant universal suffrage and trouble is feared; and that the young King of Italy has fallen under suspicion on account of betraying some sympathy with Socialism, but that he would be watched. Received.

Business Agent Hanna, of the Politicians' Union, wrote that everything is progressing nicely to get back to the old fight of tariff and taxation between the dominant parties, and that the people were responsive and believed there are no other issues. Received. (Applause.)

Judge Ricks, of the Lawyers' Union, sent a long letter stating in effect that the brothers on the bench are rapidly taking his view of matters regarding the issuing of injunction during strikes, and that private ownership of the tools of production, being guaranteed by present laws, for which workingmen vote, will be protected at all hazards. Received with thunderous applause.

Many of the unions reported absorption of competitors, raising of prices because they needed more money, resistance of work people

who absurdly claimed they needed more money also, introduction of new machinery to displace disloyal workmen, and other things of interest to the union.

When the C. L. U. went into executive session, the reporter of this paper dodged behind the big safe, and was, therefore, secure and enabled to "scoop" all the other newspapers less thrifty.

The first speaker to take the floor was Business Agent Morgan. He reviewed the history of the strike trouble from its inception, declaring that while the unions, vulgarly called trusts, affiliated with the C. L. U. believed in organization of employers, they could not approve of employes organizing, as such a procedure would oppose the interests of the capitalists and the country as well, for the reason that the work people would demand higher wages and shorter hours, which would mean less profits from employers and perhaps the loss of trade, especially in foreign markets.

Mr. Morgan frankly admitted that it was the policy of the local unions in the central U. S. Sleep Corporation to conduct "open" mills, so that during dull periods the latter could be run, while the plants with organized workmen in them could be closed and kept closed. This policy would have the effect of putting a premium on disorganization among the work people, and they would stampede from their so-called unions and clamor for "open" mills, with the result that the capitalistic brethren could dictate terms to suit themselves.

"There are just two ways of proceeding," the business agent concluded. "One is to patch up some sort of compromise to 'recognize' somebody or something, under certain circumstances, at some remote period, or to fight this thing out to the bitter end. While, if we conclude to adopt the latter plan, we can count on our brothers in the Politicians' Union to hurl all the injunctions we may desire and to call out the police and militia, I am personally of the opinion that we should be tactful and adopt the former plan. This is the day of diplomacy, and we can beat the labor people at that game."

Bros. Rockefeller, Sage, Vanderbilt, Whitney, Gould, Hill, Gary, Armour and other delegates discussed the matter. The radicals urged that the fight be waged to the last ditch, while the conservatives urged that pacific measures be adopted.

A motion finally prevailed that the business agent select an advisory committee of five members, and that they use their best judgment to handle the strike in the iron and steel industry.—Cleveland Citizen.

Labor contractors in Mexico are charged with horrible cruelty towards men and women laborers employed to work on plantations in Yucatan. Recently it is alleged eighteen married men with their families and twenty-two single men were engaged to go to Yucatan under a promise of receiving \$2 per day. They were embarked at Tampico, and it is claimed were kept between decks during the voyage and fed on hard tack and rice. On reaching Yucatan they were taken to the plantation, where they say their wages were but 87 cents a day. Several men with their wives and children ran away, but were pursued, caught, and, it is alleged, brutally whipped, the men receiving fifty lashes each, the women twenty-five, and the children six. In the United States some workingmen and women toil for much less than 87 cents a day, and they don't have to be lashed by whips to make them do it. The lash of hunger is sufficient inducement.

ADVANCE



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Unity is a fact.

It is the Socialist Party.

Wilson, leader of the mine workers, was at the convention.

Now watch the boom in Socialist stock, common and preferred.

Delegates representing over 1,200 unattached Socialists were there.

Socialists do not object to the trust. They merely object to the present ownership of it.

California is always in the lead. Our delegates were the first on the field at Indianapolis.

The convention was the most successful working class convention ever held in the country.

The trust is Socialism as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough—in the matter of distribution.

No, brother, we have no assurance that the European governments will take their indemnities against China out in washing.

Now that the robbers of the Selby Smelting Company have a good start in life, it is up to them to emulate Rockefeller and endow a university.

It is your duty if you are a Socialist to join the party. Every one is of assistance. The good you may do alone can be increased in effectiveness if you get into the organization.

The fellows who got away with \$300,000 in gold from the Selby Smelting Company the other night, did almost as well as if they had organized a trust. And the money was just as easy.

When the burglar class becomes a little stronger a movement may be expected to legalize their profession. The lines laid down by the trust magnates in securing "just laws" will be closely followed.

With a little assistance from the comrades, "Advance" can be made the very best Socialist paper in the country. This assistance can be given by each comrade pledging himself to secure one new subscriber. Try it.

The Wednesday morning papers announce two robberies. One of \$300,000 from the Selby Smelting Company by a couple of obscure thieves. The other of \$20,000,000 from the people by John D. Rockefeller.

Chairman Dick of Ohio says the Republican party will now advocate government ownership of telegraphs and telephones. Also, that the Dominion of Canada intends to own the telegraphs and telephones in Canada. Mr. Dick says "Uncle Sam" can operate the telegraph lines and send messages for the people at 5 cents per message, and make it pay at that price.

Here, you workingmen who are afraid this dear "free" competition you love would be sacrificed under Socialism, listen to how one of your masters, Mr. Schwab, uses that glorious principle to add to the profits of the Steel Trust. It is a very simple method he has and very alluring to a lover of "free" competition. He made the following statement before the industrial commission in reference to the methods of furnace operation: "Some managers would put one man in charge of all these; I put a man at the head of each and pit them against each other, thus getting the very best results."

Word comes from Denver, Col., that the labor bill known as "Employers' Liability Bill," had most mysteriously disappeared from the official files. It was the only bill passed by the last legislature in the interest of the wage-earners of Colorado, and great indignation is expressed by the labor-leaders at the alleged theft. Well, this saves the Supreme Court some work, and possibly worry. All the time and money spent by the trades unions to have this bill passed would have been wasted, anyhow. What difference does it make if it was wasted on a bill that was stolen or on one that would be declared unconstitutional?

John D. Spreckels who, with his side-partner, De Young, controls the Republican party in this city, will not allow a union man on one of his steamers. We predict that the Republicans will carry San Francisco this fall. There is not enough Republican votes among the wealthy class to make this possible. Over fifty per cent of the votes will come from the working class. Yet John D. Spreckels is the spokesman of the party that will get these votes. He will not allow a union man to put his foot on board one of his boats. Is that not sufficient reason why you should support the party of your own class, the Socialist Party, the Social Democratic Party.

The Providence (R. I.) Journal, in a leading editorial, calls public attention to the fact that Shaffer and Hanna are close personal and political friends. It reminds its readers that this "labor leader" addressed the workingmen of Chicago in the last Presidential election, side by side with Hanna, in the interest of McKinley. We are afraid Bro. Hanna gave Bro. Shaffer a gold brick in the election of McKinley. Since then Bro. Morgan and the other facetious members of the Steel Trust have given him several. In fact, Bro. Shaffer's collection of gold bricks is only equalled by the collection in possession of the members of the Amalgamated Steel Workers' Union. The worst of it is, Bro. Shaffer is reaching out his hand for more, and his gullible associates are prepared to do the same. It is all right. It gives them a chance to say after every election, "We will never vote the Republican ticket again." That's a good grandstand play. We always like to hear it.

THE CASE OF THE BRADLEY-MARTINS.

Mrs. Bradley Martin, who jumped into fame by means of a ball that caused the world to stand agape for the conventional nine days, gives evidence of a desire for another plunge into the noisy whirl of newspaper notoriety. This last bid for space is the purchase outright of a poor boy for her grandson, the Viscount Uffington, to play with. The boy was bought from his mother, who was left with four other starvelings to look for another viscount, grandson of another Bradley Martin, that might take a fancy to them.

Think of the wretched condition of a mother compelled to sell the flesh of her flesh, the bone of her bone. Yet mothers by the thousand would gladly sign their children into bondage if assured of a living for them by the transaction. To what mental hell must not a woman be driven who would transfer all right to even see her first born. And imagine the degradation of knowing that her offspring was a mere plaything, a toy, a mountebank, compelled to do tricks, much as a mechanical doll is compelled to speak and nod its head in obedience to the turning of a key. Yet this is an age when individuality is developed and brought to the highest perfection! Here are two children that represent the actual conditions in society today. One was born in Saint Germain, surrounded by all the luxuries and all the pretended elegance and delicacy of the "neuve riche," with nurses and attendants to wear out their lives in obedience to his every whimper. Over towards Battagnolle, perhaps near the barrier another human soul is ushered into the world at the same time, the first born of the poor and lowly. The father a worker, a mechanic, maybe, or a laborer. He does something useful for society, at any rate. The Bradley Martins give balls. Despite the usefulness of the labor that the father performs, the son, the first born, is ushered into an unwelcome world, amid surroundings wretched and mean. The cries of the baby are hushed by the trembling mother, lest the overworked father lose rest by them. He sucks the milk of fear, but he grows. And when the mother sees the first dawning of intelligence in the eyes, who can measure the delight that leaps in her breast? She is determined to make a man of him. Every mother wishes her son a man. She patches and stitches and economizes in her household expenses; she even stints herself, that "le petit Jean" may have comfort and grow to be a useful member of society. But her plans go wrong, somehow. Her husband loses his job; there is a strike, or it is a crisis from over-production. He waits patiently till his master gives him permission to return to the factory, or till the surplus products have been consumed by those who did not produce them, and meanwhile dines on a crust. "Le petit Jean" also waits, but not so patiently. His healthy young stomach craves food and he objects, in his boyish way, to the gloom that has fallen on the household. His lusty cries of protest drive the father to the street. From the street to the cabaret is only a step. The first drink is taken to please a friend, the second is taken to please himself. Drunkenness, that Lethe sleep of the poverty-stricken, soon follows, and worse, for "le petit Jean" and the mother, and the mother's hopes more children come as a natural corollary to the visits to the cabaret. The mother has no time to help the boy. The agony of child-bearing has dulled her sensibilities and sometimes she does not care what becomes of him.

Nor does the father who, having tasted the sweets of idleness, refuses to return to the old slavery. The boy takes to the streets. There is none of the old caressing from the mother; no longer is he "le petit Jean." It is just "Jean," and when he answers the call it is usually to get a box on the ear. But he learns the tricks of the street. He stands on his head, and it so astonishes the Viscount Uffington that he cries for possession of him. The poor mother transfers all right, title and interest in the beautiful boy, her first born, the child about whose head clings all those sacred memories of early motherhood, to the Bradley Martins, as a toy, a plaything for their grandson.

Why should such things be? Why should one human being be the chattel of another? As long as the present competitive system exists, as long as labor power is a commodity in the market, as long as workingmen are willing to create values for the Bradley Martins to squander in Europe, just so long will these same Bradley Martins be in a position to buy the sons and daughters of these same workingmen and they will not have to go to Paris to do it. These two boys, born almost the same day, are typical of the conditions. One has everything, though his father produced nothing, and the other has nothing though his father produced much. There is no opportunity for individuality, there is no opportunity for the development of manhood. Special privileges based on the private ownership of the means of production bring these things to pass.

The Brutality of the Police.

Since the teamsters' strike began the police of San Francisco have displayed a surprising amount of unseemly brutality, not only to the strikers, but to men who have no connection whatever with the present trouble. These latter have been attacked on their way home from work. Last week mention was made in "Advance" of the police riding into a crowd and tramping under their horses' hoofs four men and two boys because they laughed at the efforts of a non-union man to drive a balky team. This week three more cases have come to our notice that give evidence of an utter lack of the first principle of decency by our blue-coated guardians of the peace. Not one of the men involved was a striker. The first was a weak little citizen who had the temerity to stand on the corner of Third and Market streets and wait for a car. There was "nothing doing," and the policeman was weary of the monotony. He hit the weak little citizen on the head, and to lend variety to the performance, he kicked him in the back near the kidneys. When the weak little citizen recovers he will sue the policeman for damages, if he finds him. This annoyance may be spared Mayor Phelan's pet, as the weak little citizen has small hopes of recovery.

Case number two is that of a comrade who merely passed a stable on his way home from the cabinet shop where he is employed. He was knocked down and fearfully abused. His head was split open in three places by the ever-ready club, of the ever-ready policeman. If one may not pass a stable without being maltreated, why have stables? Or if the streets are the private property of the police, why do they not fence them in? The fourteen stitches in our mild-mannered comrade's head cry out, why not?

Case number three happened on the waterfront, where four persons, moving slowly constitute a mob. A different policeman, the policemen were different in each case, which

gives one permission to suppose they are all brutal from instinct or are trained to be so by their chief—the policeman ordered the four men to move on. They were moving on at the time. The oldest member of the party turned his head with a look of surprise in his eyes. By way of repartee the policeman swung his club and the old man fell. This seemed to anger the policeman, and he kicked the old man in the ribs. Fearful of his life, the old man jumped to his feet and made for the ferry. This angered the policeman still more. Possibly he suspected his victim of living in Oakland, or maybe it was a private grudge; but the swings and jolts that old man received will be remembered by him till his dying day. Which, with the help of God and the policeman's club, may not be long postponed.

The policeman of our large cities is becoming a social evil. Societies for his suppression should be organized at once. Aside from the injury to the ribs of our fellow citizens he does during a strike, it is a well established fact that fifty per cent of the crimes in the country are committed with his connivance. It is to his interest to frighten the shop-keepers by having robberies perpetrated and murders planned. There is not a "bull" on the force who has not a friend desirous of becoming a "bull" on the force. Every additional crime is an additional chance for the friend to get a job. The life is, on the whole, an easy one, and the pay, with sundry emoluments on the side, is rather seductive. There is a good excuse in these days of competition for a class of professional guardians to form, that will hedge itself in and protect itself in every one of its privileges. One of the best methods to accomplish this in the case of the police is by inaugurating a season of terror. A sena-ment must be created in their favor. And to that end crimes are committed under their direction and with their consent. This explains why so many criminals are never caught.

And in this land of the free, the policeman has more power and uses it more to the disadvantage of decent people than in any country of Europe, with the possible exception of Russia. In England, for example, the policeman who so fearfully mistreated the old man on the water-front, would have been kicked into insensibility by the on-lookers. We want more solidarity among the whole people against these brutal fellows, at least to the extent of rescuing one of our number, who has committed no crime and is being beaten to death.

An Educator of the Working-Class

The special function of P. H. McCarthy's press agent is to hold the working class up to ridicule, and to disorganize labor unions is one of the means whereby he gains this laudable desire. Here is an extract or two from an editorial in "Organized Labor," written by him. His plentiful lack of wit is evidenced, so also his utter ignorance of the fundamentals of economics. The sorry part of it is that he is exalted to the position of teacher, when the chances are he would be cast bodily from the meanest school as a dunce:

"Unions are organized for the purpose of protecting both the interests of employer and employee. The FIRST duty of a union wage-earner is to earn for his employer a goodly profit on his investment, and the second duty is to demand a fair proportion of that which he earns as compensation for his labor. Further, he says,

"The interests of employer and employee are too much of a oneness for either to fight the other successfully."

And speaking of the organized workingmen

with every effort to show that the enmity now existing between the two central bodies in this city should be prolonged, this capper for the capitalists says:

"We have the genuine article of labor to offer to the purchaser upon its merits. If now and then a bad package creeps in unawares, let us, like all straightforward business men, replace it with one up to the standard at our own expense. Let us assume the same responsibilities as those of other business men."

This aristocracy of labor is one of the curses of the labor movement. But to show that the idea held by McCarthy and his creatures, that they represent the salt of the earth, it is only necessary to recall what was published by them a few weeks ago about legitimate trades unions versus the others. The others are those not under the domination of P. H. and the Democratic grafters. There is no use denying the fact that this editor is a thing of McCarthy's. He can not think without his permission and when the permission is granted something is produced that redounds to the credit of the President of the building trades council. The latter is secure in one job in the city hall, but as the term expires soon he has his eye on another. To that end he has helped to break up the strikes in this city, to dishearten the workers, to disrupt the unions, and to show the capitalist how beautifully a house divided against itself can fall. This will always be the case where a labor leader enters into capitalistic politics. A Democratic or a Republican office holder, with the ideals of these two corrupt parties, must of necessity become corrupt, and the corruption eventually tinges all with whom he associates. We can show a horrible example of this in the editor of "Organized Labor." He must know that unions are unions. That they are organized to help the working class. That every effort by the working class to change a mean condition into one that can be endured should be helped by every man with sympathy and kindness in his heart and a love of fair play. There are no legitimate unions as in opposition to unions that are not legitimate. The mere fact that a union is made up of members of one craft or has been organized but a short time, neither makes nor un-makes the standing of a union. Unions are the expression of a class struggle, and one union cannot emancipate itself without breaking the shackles that bind all the unions. Every betrayal, every job bought from the capitalist parties by selling the votes of members of a union, every unwarranted attack by one subdivision of labor under pernicious leadership upon another, every unhealthy editorial that exalts the profit of the master above the return for the brain and muscle expended by human beings in production, are so many cowardly stabs in the back by men who should front the common enemy and compel surrender. The time is fast approaching when these creatures who would sell their birthright for a mess of pottage and then not get the mess, will be brushed aside forever. Their ideas have become crystallized and the organizations they represent have become crystallized. But outside in the world of competition, economic changes are taking place and those leaders and organizations that refuse to become fluid and change with the changings will, in a brief space of time, be merely a glimmering shriek, hurtling hell-wards.

A Special Party Meeting.

A special party meeting is called for next Wednesday evening, July 14th. Every comrade is requested to be present, as business of greatest importance will come up for consideration. C. H. King, Organizer.

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A Mule and Another Workingman.

It was near the close of the nineteenth century, after having spent the best part of my life in the service of civilization, that I found myself without means of subsistence and out of a job. Men in like condition were all around me. Some were young, robust, hopeful; some were old, despondent and despairing. Some sympathized and some hated.

In my younger years I had worked incessantly, but of late no one seemed to have need of my services, and my substance had been consumed in its interim between jobs.

It was the age of machinery. A pulley, a belt, a dozen shafts and bearings superseded a hundred workman.

To my joy one morning, I read a sign, "Men Wanted," on an office door of a great corporation. For an instant my spirits bubbled over in the realization that I was a "man," and perhaps was wanted.

On entering the office I was met by a porter, who escorted me to a room where I was placed in the rear of a long line of men, awaiting turn at a door which led to an inner sanctuary, where the word "men" was being thoroughly sounded and exemplified by a great doctor, named Doctor Physical Examination.

My turn came in a couple of hours and I passed in. A being whose visage rivaled many of the likenesses of Satan I had seen in youth, met me with a cold smile, which reminded me of my vanished overcoat, and a piercing eye which stirred up my rheumatic pains, so deep was its penetration.

In youth I had been a splendid specimen of manhood—strong limbed, broad shouldered, keen of sight and ready of hand. A shadow of my former prestige remained, but in my hair age had sprinkled his tell-tale tokens, and my eyes, though strong, showed they had poured over the history of too many years.

The Great Doctor felt of my muscular arm, adjusted his glasses, and peered into my face with great wisdom. He turned me slowly around, as one would a revolving chair, and looked at me closely, up and down. As yet, neither of us had spoken. He mechanically pushed me on to a pair of scales, and peered through his glasses at the beam.

"What! what!" he exclaimed, looking closer and feeling my arm with more pronounced grip. "Only 158! Good girth, fine arm, full chest, but two pounds short; and hair a trifle grey and eyes declining in power of vision. Please pass out, sir!" and he opened a door into the street.

But I did not move. I was bewildered by his actions. "I would like to have work," I said, by way of explanation, but cutting me short he said hurriedly: "Our weight standard is 160 pounds; you weigh 158—"

"But that is a small deficiency—"

"A million words will not bring you up to our standard," said he.

"I have letters of service from—"

"If you had testimonials from all my beloved ancestors, you are still two pounds light," he replied.

"I have had twenty years' experience in my calling—"

"If you were a golden Colossus, you are not of standard weight, and your hair shows you to be over the age limit," he replied.

"My friend," I said, "give me a trial; I need work; my family—"

"Sir, your usefulness is past for us; you are a back number, we want men, we need men, we will take only men. You are not up to our standard of a man, and belong to the scrap pile. One must be a young, sound, good sight, hearing and health, of proper age, weight, height and habits—please pass out. Time is money!"

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I stepped out into the street rejected, just as an old mule limped out of an alley on the other side. The stock yards were near by, and all day another Great Doctor had been sorting and buying mules. They must be young, sound, gentle, strong, true to the collar, free from bad traits, of proper age, weight, color and disposition, and this old veteran which met me had failed to pass. He bore many visible tokens of disqualification. His left ear drooped. His right forefoot was full of corns. His tail had been broken in a wreck, years ago. His under lip hanging so low, gave him an unseemly aspect, and the copious flow of tears from his single eye, bore witness that he had passed life's golden meridian.

We walked down the road together, lamenting over our mutual unfitness for earth.

Presently a butcher overtook us and drove my companion away to the cannery. The grewsome thought, too dark for utterance, flashed through my mind—how long ere the cannery, instead of the almshouse, will be the refuge for worn-out workingmen?—Moulders' Monthly.

Liebkecht in Modern London.

And now I look around me—new streets—new names of streets. Everything overthrown. And the new larger, more beautiful than the old. Dudley street and St. Giles, where the misery huddled together—swept away. The slums and dens and rookeries—all gone. And neat, clean streets. The moral and "respectable" society has had an attack—not of decency, but of thousands of prostitutes more than at that time.

And the seamstresses? Has their condition improved? Has the sweating system ceased to flourish? No, no! The number of victims has increased, and if Hood were to arise from his grave, he could add a few more verses to his "Song of the Shirt." "Sweating" is in use more than ever. And the sweating system has made the tour around the world, like once the tricolor.

And could anything else be expected? No man can get out of his skin. Nor can society do so. You cannot ask of capitalist society what it cannot accomplish; and it is incapable from its very nature to exterminate the misery and vice that it creates itself. It may—in moments of self-deceit—have the best intention in the world—and Lord Shaftesbury surely had the good intention and also wealth, influence and power—it gets no farther than to good intentions, or if they become deeds, these deeds are only empty nutshells. The good will is nothing—Buckle has shown that already. And against the fact that effects last as long as the cause is in force, no single individuals, no group of men and no human class can successfully struggle.

The dens of vice and misery may be destroyed by society—that is, a question of money and masons—but as long as vice and misery exist they will, if expelled from one den, immediately look for another and surely find it.

Mere charlatan cures! Mere Penelope work! "Plowing the sea," the Englishman calls it. To draw a furrow through the water—nothing is easier. But over the furrow the waters close again, and the plowing has been in vain.—Memoirs of Karl Marx.

J. Pierpont Morgan seems to be reaching out to the trustification of South America. It is reported that he has bought the Chilean section of the Transandine Railway, which is planned, when completed, to connect the railway system of Chile with that of Argentina.

What a Capitalist Paper Says.

Stock gambling is the cause of widespread business disasters; produces a feverish state of fluctuations and is appalling in its moral consequences. The land is filled with wrecks of human beings victims to its delusions. Male and female, rich and poor, all orders of people, are drunken at its intoxicating shrine. This harlot sits queen in the Babylon of Wall street, holding up the golden cup full of abomination. Now, stock gambling rose to a great height just in proportion as railroad stocks increased in volume, and eight-tenths of all stock gambling is in railroad stocks. While mining stock would leave a limited field for this evil, it can safely be claimed that, with Government ownership of railroads, by which all railroad stock would cease to exist, this evil would be so reduced as to effect a mighty reformation.

Does not the position at which we have arrived show the truth of the words of Daniel Webster, who said:

"The freest government cannot long endure where the tendency of the law is to create a rapid accumulation of property in the hands of a few and to render the masses of the people poor and dependent."

One of the ablest members of the United States Supreme Court says:

"If the Government may be safely intrusted with the transmission of our letters and papers, I see no reason why it may not also be intrusted with the transmission of our telegrams and parcels."

Our Duty to the Heathen.

From Greenland's icy mountains to Manila's coral strand, the poor benighted heathen calls away to beat the band. They are aching to be civilized in every heathen land, and we've got to have an army for the job. The heathen are a-callin' to our noble, Christian race, America, with all the rest, has got to set the pace, and for our surplus products we must have a market place, and we've got to have an army for the job. The heathen in the peaceful paths of freedom must be led; at present he's too volatile and light as to his head; the only way to keep him down is to fill him up with lead, and we've got to have an army for the job. Then it's rise up, William Riley, and come along with me, for we're goin' to bring them freedom and set their poor souls free; they are only yellow niggers, and they will soon be up a tree—but we've got to have an army for the job.—The Public.

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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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Labor Unions and the Militia.

The action of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Association, says the "Social Democratic Herald," in incorporating in its constitution an amendment excluding from membership in its organization "any person a member of the regular army or of the State militia or naval reserve," has aroused a discussion involving wide issues. Added importance is given to the amendment in question by the fact that it was indorsed, even though perfunctorily, by the Central Federated Union of New York. Many daily papers see in the spirit of this amendment a serious menace to present-day institutions. In the opinion of the Providence "Journal" (Ind.) the sentiment expressed "comes perilously near being a declaration that this union wishes to be in a position to resort to extra-legal means to enforce its demands." The New York "Times" (Ind.) thinks that the principle involved is simply the "freedom of riot." It continues:

"Carried far enough, this policy would reduce the national guard to a handful of men, who would be easily overcome by the mob. Striking employes of transportation companies and manufacturing establishments would then be free to tear up the rails, overturn cars, stone passengers, burn buildings, wreck machinery and club the life out of men who were willing to take the places they had left at wages satisfactory to themselves. * * *

"It is a very singular exhibition of the present spirit of organized labor. It would be disquieting if it were not confined within narrow limits. The great mass of workingmen in the United States abhor these doctrines. The solid substance of our Anglo-Saxon civilization stands opposed to them. If it were not so, if the demand for freedom of riot were so general as to be apparently about to prevail, consternation would seize upon the community. Men would prepare to leave the doomed country, taking with them their portable possessions; commerce would perish, business be destroyed, and the advocates of the freedom of riot would be left to exercise upon each other the destructive privilege they had secured."

An opposite point of view is strikingly stated in a letter from Ernest H. Crosby to the same paper. Mr. Crosby, who is an advocate of non-resistance, writes:

"Once upon a time there lived a Russian landlord who had a very bad temper. When anything went wrong upon his estate he was accustomed to collect his hundred of serfs in a fenced enclosure, provide each one with a stick, and set them to work at beating each other until they cried for mercy. One day, as this operation was being repeated, a young serf called out: 'Suppose we stop beating each other,' and at once they threw down their sticks and found out, to their surprise, that there was no one left to give them a whipping. It seems to me that the trades unions who refuse to allow their members to enter the militia are rediscovering this ancient Russian truth—that it is foolish to beat yourself.

"It is very superficial to suppose that the effect of the use of soldiers in strikes is to prevent violence. As a matter of fact, they cause the violence which they seem to put down. It is the knowledge that they have the militia to fall back upon that induces employers to hold out against just demands, and they never need armed assistance except when public opinion is against them. A study of the cases in which soldiers have been called out in labor disputes will show that invariably the public opinion of the neighborhood favored the strikers and that the appeal to the soldiery was an appeal from public opinion. If this military court of appeal had not existed, public opinion would

have decided the strike, and would have decided it fairly. The introduction of the militia into such disputes is not a true exercise of self-government on the part of the community, but rather an attempt to override it."

Minutes of Bottlers' Union.

Local Union No. 102, Bottlers, 1159 Mission street, San Francisco, Calif., August 6th, 1901.

The regular meeting of the Bottlers' Union was held at the above address and all members locked out and working were present. Committees were appointed to visit every union in San Francisco to explain to them the circumstances under which the union members were locked out, and to request them to refrain from drinking bottled beer the product of the bottling establishments that had repudiated their agreements with the union.

The secretary reported that the executive committee of the Labor Council had resolved to recommend to the Council that a boycott be levied on the firm of John Rapp & Son, agents of Rainier Bottled Beer in this city, for taking a leading part in the lockout.

A communication emanating from the Beer Bottlers' Association and which gave a garbled account of the facts leading up to the lockout, was read and the following reply to the same was adopted and ordered published:

"Notwithstanding the efforts of the said Association to make it appear that the relations of union members and their employers were not satisfactory, every shop in the Association that had kept its agreement to pay union wages and keep union hours was working without friction at the time of the lockout.

"The case of the Gambrinus Bottling Company to which the communication undoubtedly refers, was that of an open shop; a shop which was not running on union rules at the time the trouble occurred. After the union crew had performed their day's work, non-union men would be set to work, in violation of the contract, and if the union had not protested against this practice, the Association would have been the first to accuse the union of discrimination in this case.

"But the fact that the Association does not state in its communication is, that each shop in the Association had signed contracts with the union to maintain union rules, separate contracts for each shop, signed by the proprietors of each shop, and the resolution passed in the Association meeting to repudiate these contracts was a breach of faith so inexcusable that at least one proprietor of a large bottling establishment, member of the Association, protested against such action, although he was forced in line by his more unscrupulous associates.

"The fact is becoming apparent to the simplest understanding that these shops did not sign the contracts with the intention of keeping them. Immediately after the signing, they raised the prices of bottled beer to their customers, alleging as a reason the rise in wages and reduction of working hours to eight. Taking advantage of present labor difficulties, they repudiated their own signatures, replaced their union employes with juvenile and non-union labor, and attempted to excuse themselves by the plea that the union was dictating to them how they should run their business.

"The claim is made that the union disregarded an agreement with them, but the Association does not state that the contract was disregarded because the Association had previously broken it. In fact, the union insisted

on individual contracts with the various shops for the reason that the Association would not make its members live up to a common contract.

"The union is convinced that the firm of John Rapp & Sons is responsible for the present lockout from experiences with that firm in the past. When the union was first organized, Mr. Rapp called his employees into his office and gave them the option of resigning from the union or quitting their employment. He is the president of this contract-breaking association, and should certainly not expect union men and their sympathizers to patronize him when he shows his hostility to organized labor by locking out union men without cause.

"The demands, as the Association circular calls them, of the Bottlers' Union are certainly not exorbitant. A minimum wage of two dollars per day, eight hours' work, and as little employment of boys of school age in the bottle-shops as possible. Before the union was organized, however, the hours of labor were ten, low wages, and boys were employed wherever it was possible to dispense with the services of adult labor, with demoralizing results which any fair-minded person can foresee.

"Since the contracts have been violated, boys of thirteen and fourteen years of age have been offered one dollar a day and all the beer they want to drink, and boys are now running machines in the places of the locked-out beer bottlers.

"The boast of the members of this thrifty association that they will keep their hands off the customers of Mr. Rapp, amused the members of the union when it was read this evening. The idea that they will keep faith with one another, when they repudiate their contracts with their employes, is not worthy of serious consideration.

"The Enterprise Bottling Company and Schwartz Weiss Beer Bottling Company are not members of this Association. They are working under union rules, eight hours per day and are strictly observing the regulations of the union in regard to the employment of boys, etc.

"The members of the union who were locked out believe that they will receive the full support of organized labor and that the proposed boycott against the firm of John Rapp & Sons, agents of Rainier beer, will demonstrate to the Beer Bottlers' Protective Association, that contracts to pay union wages and keep union rules should be kept in future. Rumors of the proposed lockout were current before the trouble occurred, and was not altogether unexpected. The members of the union know what they have to expect if this effort to disrupt their union is successful, and appeal to the public of San Francisco to support them by patronizing only the products of union bottling establishments.

"Respectfully submitted,

"ARTHUR R. ANDRE,
"General Secretary, No. 102."

What a terrible condition it would be for workingmen to work eight hours a day in a shop that they owned, ride on railroads that they owned, buy their groceries and clothing at a store that they owned, go to the play at a theater that they owned, study the art of the world in galleries that they owned, ride on street cars that they owned, build houses that they owned from forests that they owned—wouldn't that be a calamity? Slavery like that must never be allowed! It is much better for the few to own the whole outfit—and the workingmen with it.—Social Democratic Herald.

America's Conquest of England.

The conquest of England and practically also of Europe by the American millionaires has suggested many reflections. A correspondent suggests the following questions as suitable at the newly endowed Scottish universities:

1. Geography: Draw a map of the United States, marking London, Edinburgh, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Birmingham, Paris, Berlin and Vienna.
2. Problem: If a man does a piece of work in four days, how much quicker will an American do it, at half the salary?
3. Political economy: The American millionaires in England state that "they feel as if England were their own country." The German Emperor who last visited England, declared "he felt perfectly at home." Account for this.
4. History: Write an essay on the invasions of Great Britain, and the rebellion and subsequent subjugation of the Angles. Give dates of the accessions of Xerxes I, Cloen, Morgan the contractor and other conquerors; also of the beatification of St. Andrew Carnegie. Say what you know of any of these.
5. Trade problem: You are an English manufacturer. An extensive order is received for locomotives for a railway from the Cape to Cairo. Which do you do—demand an entire alteration of the railway to fit the six locomotives you have in stock, or recommend an American rival?
7. Travel: You are an American millionaire traveling for recreation. Which would you take back with you as a souvenir—the tower of London or the Arc de Triomphe? State your reasons for preferring one of these trinkets.
7. Matrimony: As Americans are not good enough for the daughters of American millionaires, which should the latter prefer—buying a young European Duke over head and ears in debt, or a tottering old one, with an ancestral castle in ruins?—Exchange.

Plutocrat's Catechism.

- 1—Who made you?
I made myself.
- 2—How did you make yourself?
By swindling, overreaching and other malpractices.
- 3—Do you believe in gold?
Yes, I believe in gold with my whole mind, and I love it with my whole heart.
- 4—Why do you believe in gold?
Because it procures for me the love and affection which the qualities of my character, my intellect and my person do not entitle me to possess.
- 5—Of what must you take the most care, of your money or of your soul?
Of my money, for without it I should have neither power, position, friends nor pleasures.
- 6—What is faith?
It is to believe without doubting that with money I can do whatever I please.
- What is hope?
Hope is a firm trust that our iniquities will not be discovered in this world and will be forgiven in the next.
- 8—What is charity?
Charity is to help others that it may help ourselves.
- 9—Are we bound to love our enemies?
Yes, so long as it is unsafe to show that we detest them.—"London Truth."

During the week the glass makers of Iowa were negotiating with the Belgian manufacturers at Charleroi with a view to forming a trust.

Minutes of the Party Meeting.

At the regular party meeting of August 7, 1901, fifteen new members were admitted. Cameron King was elected Organizer of Local San Francisco.

Manifestos and names of candidates for primary election were ordered sent to every signer of the petitions for Palace of the People and Employment of the Unemployed.

Comrades Molitor and Carter were elected to Committee of Political Movement.

There will be a special party meeting next Wednesday, August 14th.

The party's attitude towards trades unions is to be placed on back page of manifesto.

Twenty-five thousand copies of the manifesto are to be printed.

Comrade Whys was elected to the office of librarian.

The literary agent was instructed to retain fifteen of Mrs. Avery's books, and hold the balance subject to her order.

Comrade Culman elected chairman for Thursday night propaganda.

Warrant of \$20 was ordered drawn on the Treasurer by the Organizer for distributing manifestos and delegates names.

The Organizer is to notify members by card of special meeting next Wednesday.

Receipts of the evening, \$32.25.
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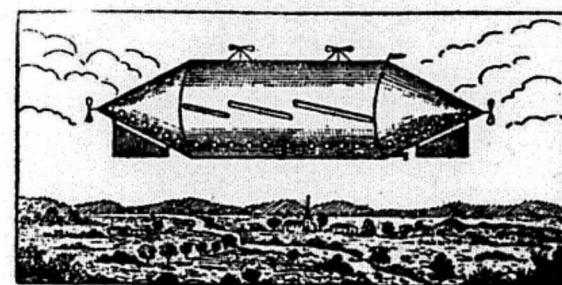
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San Francisco Trades Union Directory

- 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.
- BARBERS International Union, Journeymen, No. 148. Meets every Monday, 8:45 p. m., at 32 O'Farrell street. I. Less, Secretary, 927 Market street, room 207.
- BOOT and Shoe Repairers Union, Custom. Meets 2d Sunday, 2 p. m., at 909 Market street. G. W. Lewis, Secretary, 100 Olive avenue.
- BOOT and Shoe Workers Union International, No. 216. Meets every Monday at 909 Market St. F. Maysenhelder, Secretary, 522 Eighth St.
- BOOKBINDERS Protective and Beneficial Association. Meets 1st Friday at 102 O'Farrell street. L. G. Wolfe, Secretary, 765 Fifth St., Oakland.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of, No. 25. Meets 2d and 4th Thursdays, at 102 O'Farrell street. H. McNesby, Secretary, 320 Harriet street.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of, No. 205. Meets 1st and 3d Friday at Potrero Opera House, Tennessee St. John Honeyman, Secretary, 831 Texas St.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders' Helpers, No. 9052. Meets Wednesdays at 121 Eddy St. Walter J. Cullen, Secretary, 1320 Harrison St.
- BLACKSMITH Helpers (Machine), No. 8922. Meets Tuesdays at 102 O'Farrell St. John Quigley, Secretary, 142 Silver St.
- BLACKSMITHS, No. 168, Ship and Machine, International Brotherhood of. Meets Fridays at 102 O'Farrell St. G. Clarke, Secretary, 62 Rausch St.
- BREWERY Workers International Union of United. No. 7. Branch 1 meets 2d and 4th Saturday; Branch 2 meets 2d and 4th Thursday; at 1159 Mission St. Ludwig Berg, Secretary, 1159 Mission St.
- BREWERY Workers, International Union of United, No. 102. Bottlers. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday, 8:30 p. m., at 1159 Mission St. A. R. Andre, Secretary.
- BREWERY Workers, International Union of United, No. 227. Drivers. Meets 2d and 4th Monday, 8:30 p. m., at 1159 Mission St. A. R. Andre, Secretary.
- BROOMMAKERS International, No. 58. Meets 1st and 3d Thursday, at 1159 Mission St. Geo. F. Daley, Secretary, 3514 Twenty-sixth St.
- BLACKSMITHS International Brotherhood of, No. 99, Carriage and Wagon. Meets every Wednesday at 117 Turk St. W. W. Clarke, Secretary, 320 Lexington Ave.
- BLACKSMITH Helpers and Finishers, No. 9106. Meets Wednesday nights at 1159 Mission St. John B. McLennon, Secretary, 525 Connecticut St.
- CARRIAGE and Wagon Workers International, No. 66. Painters. Meets every Thursday at 1133 Mission St. T. J. Finn, Secretary, 1622 Mission St.
- CARRIAGE and Wagon Workers International, No. 69. Wood Workers. Meets every Tuesday at 117 Turk St. Fred Hoese, Secretary.
- CARPENTERS and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood, No. 483. Meets every Monday at 915½ Market St. A. E. Carlisle, Secretary.
- CIGARMAKERS International Union of America, No. 228. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday at 368 Jessie St. J. A. Ramon, Secretary, 368 Jessie St.
- CLERKS International Protective Association, Retail, No. 432. Meets every Tuesday at Pioneer Hall, 32 Fourth St. Leo. Kaufmann, Secretary, 1084 Golden Gate Ave.
- CLERKS International Protective Association, Retail, No. 410. Shoe Clerks. Meets every Wednesday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. E. Kelly, Secretary, 28 Kearny St.
- CLERKS Protective Association. Drug. No. 472. Meets Fridays at 909 Market St. H. Schwartz, Secretary, 1718 Geary St.
- CLERKS. Ship. No. 8947. Meets Thursdays at 5 Market St. Room 17. W. O. Ferrall, Secretary, 315½ Capp St.
- COOPERS' International Union of N. A., No. 65. Meets 2d and 4th Thursday at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St. Secretary, W. T. Colbert, 280 Lexington Ave.
- CORE Makers' International Union, No. 68. Meets at 1159 Mission St., Thursday. Secretary, Walter Green.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 85. Brotherhood of Teamsters. Meets every Thursday at Teutonia Hall, 1332 Howard St. John McLaughlin, Secretary, 210 Langton St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 228, Sand Teamsters. Meets every Wednesday, at 1159 Mission St. M. J. Dillon, Secretary, 5 Homer St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 224, Hackmen. Meets every Thursday at 102 O'Farrell St. John Dowling, Secretary, 27 Fifth St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 226. Milk Drivers. Meets every Wednesday at Mangel's Hall, 24th and Folsom St. A. Dijeu, Secretary, 935 Market St., Room 17.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 256. Meets at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St., Tuesdays. Secretary, James Jordan, 530 Castro St.
- ELECTRICAL Workers of America, National Brotherhood, No. 151, Linemen. Meets every Monday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. F. Leonard, Secretary, 1227 Filbert St.
- ENGINEERS, International Union of Steam, No. 64. Electrical and Steam Engineers. Meets Fridays at Odd Fellows' Hall. W. T. Ronney, Secretary.
- GARMENT Workers of America, United, No. 131. Meets every Thursday at 117 Turk St. Ed. Corpe, Secretary, 3382 20th St.
- GARMENT Workers Union, International, Ladies, No. 8. Cloakmakers. Meets every Tuesday at 915½ Market St. I. Jacoby, Secretary.
- GLASS Bottle Blowers Association of the U. S. and Can., No. 3. Meets 2d and 4th Tuesday at Eintracht Hall, Twelfth, nr. Folsom St. Phil. J. Dietz, Secretary, 1347 Eleventh St., Sunset District.
- GLASS Workers, American Flint Association of the U. S. and Can., No. 138. Meets 1st Tuesday at 121 Eddy St. H. Johnson, Secretary, 1017 Howard St.
- HATTERS of North America, United, S. F. District. Meets 2d Friday, January, April, July, Oct. C. H. Davis, secretary, 1458 Market St.
- HORSESHOERS of the U. S. and Canada, International Union, No. 25. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday at 909 Market St. John McCloskey, Secretary, 202 Oak St.
- HOTEL and Restaurant Employes, No. 30. (Cooks and Waiters Alliance). Meets every Wednesday, at 8:30 p. m., at 316 O'Farrell St. W. L. Caudle, Secretary, 12 Carlos Place.
- LAUNDRY Workers International Union (Shirts and Waists), No. 23. French. Meets every Wednesday at Universal Hall, 812 Pacific St. J. Dussere, Secretary, 12 Montgomery St., Room 12.
- LAUNDRY Workers International Union. Steam. No. 26. Branch No. 1 meets 1st and 3d Monday at 1159 Mission St. Branch No. 2 meets 2d and 4th Monday at 1749 Mission St. Secretary, 927 Market St., Room 302.
- LEATHERWORKERS on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood. Meets every Friday at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St. A. H. Kohler, Secretary, 1519 Polk St.
- LITHOGRAPHERS International Protective and Beneficial Association, No. 17. Meets 2d and 4th Wednesday, Alcazar Building. R. L. Olsen, Secretary 1007½ Lombard St.
- LABORERS' Protective Association, No. 8944. Meets Sundays at 2:00 p. m., 1159 Mission St. John P. Kelly, Secretary, 117 Gilbert St.
- LEAD Workers, Manufacturing, No. 9051. Meets at 117 Turk St., Tuesdays. Geo. A. Fricke, Secretary, 220 Ash Ave.
- MACHINISTS. International Association, No. 68. Meets every Wednesday at 32 O'Farrell St. R. I. Wisler, Secretary, 927 Market St.
- MEAT Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America. Amalgamated. Meets Tuesday at 117 Turk St. Hermann May, Secretary, 10 Walnut Ave.
- METAL Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass Workers Union of North America, No. 128. 1st and 3d Monday at 1133 Mission St. J. J. O'Brien, Secretary, 749 Howard St.
- METAL Polishers, Buffers, Platers and General Brass Workers of North America, No. 158. Brass Finishers. Meets Thursday nights at 1133 Mission St. W. J. Ballard, Secretary.
- METAL Workers International Union, No. —. 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 1159 Mission St. F. A. Rice, Secretary, 127 Precita Ave.

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

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

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

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

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

The Struggle between Capital and Labor.

Leon Greenbaum of St. Louis, Organizer for the American Federation of Labor, and National Secretary of the S. D. P., delivered an address on the subject "The Class Struggle between Capital and Labor," at Galesbury, Ill.

The speaker reviewed the causes of the troubles between capital and labor, and advocated Socialism as the only remedy for present industrial diseases.

The lecture was given under the auspices of the Cigar makers' union and the Trades assembly. A large and attentive audience was present. W. R. Boyer introduced the speaker, who said in part:

"My critics say there are no classes in this country. We are all one class. You are stirring up class hatred. Let us see if this is true. Is it true, politically? You elect a man to office, and he is your master. You have no control over him. This shows that we are not politically equal yet.

"You may pass a law, and the Supreme Court will overrule it. Thus eight men rule 80,000,000.

"You have two classes in this country, the producer and the parasite. The parasite does not produce anything, but lives-off what others produce. All the money that Andrew Carnegie is paying for libraries is the unpaid labor of the men who have worked for him. This is all blood money. It has upon it the blood stains of Homestead.

"The law of competition prevails in the social as well as in the natural life. The big fish eat up the little, and the shrewd man overcomes the unsuspecting. We haven't risen above the system of cannibalism. We have industrial cannibalism today. Every evil we suffer socially and industrially is due to competition. It has produced the class struggles.

"I want to see class distinctions abolished. The only way to do it is to bring all classes into one class—the laboring class.

"The trades-unions, the international trades-unions, hold the key to this struggle. All we are trying to do today through the trades-union is to make our slavery more endurable. You are slaves if you are working for wages. You must sell your labor to some man, and he is giving you as little as possible for the product of that labor, and charges you as much as possible for it. The labor slavery is worse than the chattel slavery. Under chattel slavery the slave had to be well cared for. The wage slave under this system is treated like a lump of coal. Some time they will coagulate, and with a dull thud will fall upon the capitalist. I want to see the capital preserved, but I want to see the laboring man take possession of the capital. Let the capitalist work for us awhile. We have worked for him long enough.

"The trades union has three aims: First, to protect laborers from capitalists; second, to secure favorable legislation; third, to influence public opinion.

"The labor union fixes a minimum scale of wages, and keeps the wages from going to those of China. The trades unions save us from the degradation of the Chinese. There is no free speech where there are no trades unions.

"Here we are, millions and millions of us, and asking favors of a class numerically smaller than we are. We are not posted on our rights.

"We are trying to get laws in our interests, but the attempt is futile, for we go to our masters for them. I don't want the trades union to go into politics, but the trades unionists must go into politics. We must redeem ourselves not by strikes and boycotts, but by legislation.

"The capitalists are benefiting by the ills we complain of. The capitalist gets the benefit of child labor, convict labor and scab workmen. The conditions before laboring men are such that you must get legislation in your interests. We have raised wages somewhat, but it does not compare with the rise of prices by the capitalists.

"The working class have a card up their sleeve which they will play pretty soon, and bring these class troubles to an end.

"What are the remedies. We have social and political doctors, and the more we take their remedies the worse we are off. The working class goes to them and points out to them their diseases, and they bleed us more and more.

"It doesn't matter which side wins; you lose all the time. There is no use voting for your oppressors. The capitalist class must keep control of the government in order to keep in subjection the numerically stronger laboring class. We are facing dangerous conditions. The capitalists are preparing to disfranchise the working class of this country. The condition forces us into political organization, to form a party of our own and to work for the only remedy—the abolition of private capital and the use of it all collectively. The Socialist advocates the collective use of capital and the right to equal shares in the product of that capital.

"Socialism will provide for compulsory education and the pensioning of the working man after a certain age. The Socialist advocates nothing impracticable, but he says that the present system is impracticable and devilish.

"If you think the Socialist system is a just system it is your duty to vote for it, and when you vote for the abolition of the capitalist system you vote for the reign of peace on earth and good will to men."

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5. Each member has only one vote.
6. Each member is eligible to office.
7. Shares are all transferable. (With the consent of the Board of Directors.)
8. Interest is allowed on all share capital. At present at 8 per cent.
9. All the members of the store hold regular meetings for the election of officers, reports of manager and auditing of accounts. Officers under bonds.
10. All employees are employed by the Board of Directors.
11. The net profits are divided among the members in proportion to the purchases of each.
12. All trade is done on a strictly cash basis.
13. Goods are sold at market rates.
14. Only pure and reliable goods are handled.
15. Liquors are not sold.
16. Arrangements are being made so the members will get reductions on purchases besides groceries.
17. Believers in Union.
18. Call at store, 1896 Mission street, and get in touch with the movement.

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RETAIL TRADES COUNCIL.

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

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

Reports of Unions:

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

Bottlers: Progressing nicely; business is very good.

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

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

Steam Laundry Workers: Progressing nicely.

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

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

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

Meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

A. Dijean, Sec.

LOCAL OAKLAND, of the Social Democratic Party, holds regular weekly lectures every Thursday evening, 8 p. m. at Becker's Hall, 918 Washington st. Admission free. Address, correspondence to J. GEORGE SMITH, 309 Hearst Bld'g, San Francisco

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO, Social Democratic Party holds regular weekly lectures every Thursday evening on social and economic subjects at Academy of Sciences Hall, 89 Market street. Meetings begin at 8 o'clock. Open discussion follows each lecture. Questions answered; free platform; public invited. Admission free.

LOCAL ALAMEDA, of the Social Democratic Party, holds open educational meetings every Friday evening in room 5, Tucker Building 1424 1/2 Park street. Free discussion, questions, etc. Everybody welcome. Address communications to J. C. STAMER, 2061 Encinal avenue.

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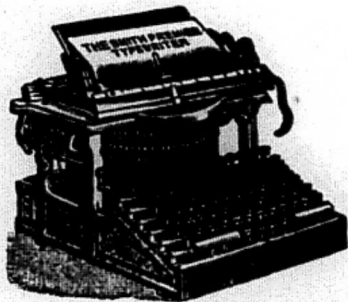
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