

ADVANCE

WHOLE NUMBER, 378

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1901.

\$1 PER YEAR.

The Final Test of Manhood: Vote Right—Vote for Socialism.

Comrades and Friends: Next Tuesday you go to the polls. You have an opportunity to register a protest against this capitalist system. You have an opportunity to rebuke the servants of the capitalist class by voting for men and principles that are opposed to the capitalist system, that are opposed to the capitalist class. The system we live under at present gives into the hands of our masters our very lives. We have labored and our forefathers have labored to produce the machine. The machine is a social product. What is produced by the machine is a social product. Therefore, the machine and the product of the machine should be owned socially. And all the ills of the body politic come from the fact that the machine is not owned socially, but is owned by a few men, our masters, the men who own us also when we work for them. Now, Socialism means that the machine, the tools of production, will be held in common, and run for the benefit of the entire people, not as now, for the benefit of a very few.

Socialism means that every man willing to work will have the right to work and what is more to the point, he will be entitled to the entire value of the product of his labor. At the present time the capitalist, the man that owns the machine, the man that owns us when we go to work for him, takes the surplus value created by our labor and gives us barely enough to live upon. He takes it in the form of profits, just as the landlord takes the values created by our human labor in the form of rent. This latter gentleman, the landlord, owns some land upon which workingmen have built a house. There is no reason why he should own the land. No God gave it to him, and the farther you go back to find his title the less reason you find for the existence of the landlord. The land was once held by all the people, and it will be held by all the people again. For the chief object of Socialism is to return to the people their rightful possessions, the land and the machinery of production and distribution. This is the constructive program of the Socialists. To return to the people, what belongs to the people.

But to do this we have to meet certain conditions that confront us. The first

the land and the tools by legal means. The possessors of these things so necessary to our well-being will not give up without a struggle. They have everything on their side, including the law and the makers of the law, and therein lies the strength of the owners of the tools and the land. Every measure that is passed is passed for their benefit. They are strong in what they can buy and they buy favorable legislation. They buy measures and opinions and decisions favorable to their own interests, favorable to the interests of the capitalist class.

On the other hand, the people who were dispossessed of the land and who are robbed every day of the products of their labor, who labor and are allowed to labor only for the profit of their masters, for the profit of the capitalist class, these people constitute a class apart in ideals and hopes and aspirations from the class that holds them in bondage. The ideal of the capitalist class, the possessing class, is the present capitalist system, and it is well. This class has every thing it wants. Its members are not hungry, nor do they feel the cold, and when sickness comes there is no fear of death if science and skill can prevent, for these things can be bought. And the one reason why they are able to feel secure and exploit the workers and grind them down is because the government is theirs. The government today is no more than a guardian angel of the exploiting class, the capitalist class. And this class is secure in its robbery because it has the government on its side.

Now, just as the ideal of the capitalist is the present competitive system, so the ideal of the workingman must be the opposite—it must be the co-operative system. The worker gets no benefit out of competition, whereas the capitalist gets much. But just as the capitalist achieves his ideal by law, so must the worker achieve his ideal by law. The government is the guardian angel of the capitalist class, because members or servants of the capitalist class are elected to office. And taking the action of our enemies as a guide, we must elect members of the working-class to office, that the government may become a protection to the working-class. These members of the

working-class can be found only in the Socialist party.

The pseudo-workingmen's ticket, put up by the so-called labor party, is headed by a man of the capitalist class. The candidate for Mayor, aside from being a Republican primary league candidate at the recent election, owns a machine shop, and so well does he know where the interests of the capitalists lie in governmental affairs that he has come out with the old clap-trap of not wishing to have class antagonisms, after being nominated by a political party, the only excuse for whose being lies in the fact that class antagonisms existed, and the further act that the class it was supposed to represent had been getting the worst of it in the antagonisms. The ideals of Schmitz and his co-laborers in the John D. Spreckles Republican primary league are always where they may be seized by the hair. They have the dollar mark all over them. They represent no one but themselves, and no principle but their own small ambitions. As a political factor they count for nothing. After the present election they will be as though they had never been. A vote for them will be more than thrown away. It will be something to regret, as it will be an endorsement of the most corrupt and despicable methods of fooling the workers yet used. The fake labor party is the most ungenerous thing in the world. It is cowardly and mean. It stands for nothing; it teaches nothing and it is thoroughly reactionary. The only vote that will be registered as a protest against the present capitalist system will be the vote cast for the Socialist party. This is the workingman's party. It stands for restoring to the people the land and tools they have been robbed of. It is the uncompromising enemy of the system that degrades men to the level of beasts. It stands for all that is best in the thoughts of man today. It stands for human kindness and human brotherhood. It stands for the education of children, for the building of school-houses and the tearing down of prisons; it stands for a worthy social condition for all men worthy the name. If you would help us to capture this outpost of capitalism, San Francisco; if you would help us to usher in conditions for the working-class in this city fit for human beings; if you would help us to put courage into a million world-weary hearts, vote the ticket headed by Chas. L. Ames. That ticket stands for the working-class.

Social Contrasts from the Daily Press.

J. P. MORGAN, MULTI-MILLIONAIRE TOSSES A BREAKFAST FIT FOR A KING ON THE ASH HEAP.

Whether J. Pierpont Morgan likes the title or not, King of Finance he is, and, what is more interesting, he lives up to his title with befitting state and luxury.

Nothing could have been more royal than his journey across the continent when he came here as a simple lay delegate to attend the Episcopal conventiin.

The millionaire and his private car is an old, old story. Custom has so inured us to him that the millionaire without his private car would pique curiosity more.

The multi-millionaire and his three or four private cars has been with us, too. The world without millions thrilled and ogled—and its pulse went back to normal.

J. Pierpont Morgan, King of Finance, juggles with railroads and steamship lines. He gives his attention only to big things. He is in truth what shrewd old Collis P. Huntington called "scopy." When he planned his visit to California to the Episcopal convention, when he invited a dozen of his friends—dignitaries of the church among them—to travel with him, he never for a moment considered one paltry private car; he never even thought of hitching a few private cars to one of the regular trains that thunder overland. He dictated some letters to his secretary, he telegraphed some instructions and orders, brief, laconic, technical—and there was a "Morgan special." For his dozen guests, for the score of servants, for the baggage, there was a special train of six cars—sleeping cars, dining cars, observation cars, baggage cars.

In Calcutta there is a bridge over which humanity swarms in endless stream. One of the sights of the Far East is when the cry rings out, "Clear the way for the Vice-Roy!" There is a clatter of hoofs, a glitter of waving swords, the swarming humanity packs itself against the rails; with a glint of gold lace and a rumble of wheels the Vice-Roy passes through the living lane and on, for his afternoon drive.

From the Atlantic to the Pacific flashed the electric word, from station to station, from train dispatcher to train dispatcher, "Make way for the Morgan special!" and so by night and by day sped the Morgan special in safety and in almost record-breaking time across the continent.

That is royal progress.

One of the finest, most spacious, most luxurious mansions in the city was in readiness for Mr. Morgan and his guests on their arrival—the Crocker home on California street, on Nob Hill, the hill of the Western millionaires.

He had sent ahead of him Louis Sherry, the famous caterer to New York's smart set, and breakfast was waiting for half a hundred when the Morgan special rolled in at 8 o'clock on the morning of October 1st.

Mr. Morgan wished to enjoy all the comforts of home without the cares and anxieties of housekeeping—and by sending Mr. Sherry and his staff out here to do this for him, at the expense of a comfortable fortune he managed to do so.

To be sure, that first breakfast on the morning of the arrival was not eaten. Mr. Morgan preferred breakfasting on the "Morgan special" instead—so that breakfast was thrown to the dogs or the cats or into the ashbarrel, or goodness knows where. There is no record of what became of it. But there were many breakfasts after that, and dinners and luncheons and suppers—and what breakfasts and

dinners and luncheons and suppers! What masterpieces! What poems!

Every morning the Sherry steward and the Sherry chef—the first a keen, sharp-eyed little Irishman, the other an amiable, blonde Frenchman, went a-marketing. Every morning the choicest ducks, the plumpest squabs, the finest capons, the tenderest poultry went into the Morgan market basket—which is, of course, only figurative. Market wagon would be nearer the mark. Every morning the pick of the fruits and vegetables, the juiciest and best cuts of meat, the freshest of oysters, the chief beauties of the fish stand, the newest laid eggs, went to the Morgan pantry.

For game, poultry, meat, oysters, fish, fruit, vegetables, butter, eggs, milk, cream, groceries and liquors Sherry's buyers spent each day an average of \$200 for Mr. Morgan and his guests and the retinue of servants.

Fifty dollars spent for game and poultry, another fifty and more for groceries, a little less for meats, twenty or twenty-five for oysters and fish, ten, fifteen or twenty for fruits and vegetables, from seven to ten for butter and eggs, a few dollars here and a few dollars there for trifles and an ordinary day's marketing for Morgan was done.

The same liberal provision was made whether all the Morgan party assembled at the table or not, and there was never a time when the King of Finance need think twice or telephone for permission before bringing a friend or a dozen friends home to take pot-luck with him. There was usually enough to go round.

As for wines the choicest vintages were brought out by Sherry, including Johannesberger at \$23 a bottle (which makes it about \$4 a glass).

"It is the article that is important, not the price, in buying for Mr. Morgan," which is why Mr. Morgan gets the pick of the markets from New York to San Francisco.

Doesn't it seem, amidst such abundance, such excellence, such cookery, such taste, such gastronomic art—doesn't it really seem a pity that Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan has, after all, only one stomach, only one set of digestive organs?

RUTH DESPIRO, ACTRESS, STARVES.

And while this was going on, here was Ruth Despiro, actress, a fair, fragile little woman, only a girl in years, not yet twenty, she says; delicately pretty, ambitious, proud, dreaming dreams of histrionic glory—and starving, actually starving to death right here in the very heart of San Francisco.

At night—or rather, in the first hour of the morning—a policeman patrolling his beat found her in the 200 block on Leavenworth street, lying on the sidewalk unconscious. He took her to the receiving hospital, where it was discovered that she had collapsed from want of food, long want of food.

It was found that she was an actress of considerable experience, that she was credited with talent and ability, if press notices count for anything at all, that she had come here seeking an engagement, that day after day, week after week, month after month, for three long, weary, heart-breaking months, she had made the rounds of the dramatic agencies, had waited her turn in the outer offices of the theatre managers, had sold her little treasure of trinkets—keepsakes chiefly, and then had parted with her little stage wardrobe, and after that with her remaining clothing, garment by garment, until, when she was found lying in the street she was decently clad enough as to outward appearances, but with scarcely anything in the way of underclothing.

Poor little woman—with all the pride and

pluck that was in her she had been turning a brave front to the world, she had been desperately keeping up appearances.

Even as she has been decently and almost prettily clad as to outward garments and gone naked and cold beneath, so too she had turned a brave smiling face to the world and gone hungry day after day.

Somewhere Emerson tells us the wisdom of keeping a stiff upper lip. "Do not," he says, "go to ask your debtor the payment on a debt on the day when you have no other resource. He will learn by your air and tone how it is with you, and will treat you as a beggar. But work and starve a little longer."

Ruth Despiro, actress waited and starved—and kept a stiff upper lip. She had a room in a flat at 223A Leavenworth street and she went in and out of it, passing the time of day pleasantly with her landlady, forcing a sprightliness, looking trim and neat, tripping along lightly and briskly—all to hide from the landlady the weakness and weariness that came from long fasting and fading hope.

She made her calls on the agents and the managers, asking brightly and smiling sweetly—for one must smile sweetly if one would have an engagement as an income—"Have you got anything for me today?" And she would choke down the lump in her throat and keep the tears from brimming at each day's disappointment and say with the same sweet smile, "Well, then, perhaps to-morrow."

And all the time she was fighting the fight of life—

"With its struggles, its fears and temptations, its heart-breakings, cares and its strife."

She said: "To make my money go as far as possible I ate at 10-cent restaurants, only two meals a day, and I got down to coffee and doughnuts towards the last. I never thought things could be so bad with me. Isn't it strange how one keeps on hoping and hoping in spite of disappointment!

"I looked for other work, too,—a clerk in a store—and at last I got a promise of a place in a second-hand store to take stock. Then I ran out of money entirely; I had nothing more I could sell. I had had very little to eat for days, but I thought I could hold out even without food until I got work at the place promised me. But I couldn't—I had nothing all day Tuesday, and nothing all day Wednesday, and Thursday night I just gave out entirely—I don't know just what happened."

What greater contrast ever existed in the history of the world? J. Pierpont Morgan tossing capons into an ash barrel and Ruth Despiro selling her underclothing for enough to buy doughnuts and coffee. And when you vote for the capitalist parties you vote to continue the inequality, you vote to allow J. Pierpont Morgan, his servants and his wastefulness, and Ruth Despiro to faint and fall through starvation on the sidewalk.

The Chicago Federation of Labor, representing 100,000 union men of this city, voted today to expend an unlimited sum of money to fight to the last ditch the injunction against picketing recently issued by the United States District Court in the case of the Allis-Chalmers Company. It was provided that the expense of securing the best legal talent obtainable should be borne by a pro rata assessment on the members of the Federation.

Reports from Tampa, Fla., state that the capitalistic authorities are still doing all in their power to destroy every form of organization and to persecute and drive prominent union men from the city. A state of "anarchy reigns."

Reasons Why, Although a Union Man I Will not Vote for the Union Labor Party.

1st. My object in voting is to better my condition and not merely to give some fellow a political snap, even if he be of my own class.

2nd. The Union Labor Party is a party in name only, its platform is not a labor platform, and cannot better the conditions of the working class. It would, therefore (if elected), disappoint the workers and discourage them. They would argue, "It's no use talking about labor parties, we elected one and it did no good." Many workers would overlook the fact that results depend on the methods and not on the name of the organization.

3rd. The Union Labor Party candidates are merely Republicans and Democrats in a new organization. Mr. Schmitz was vice-president of the Republican Primary League and voted its ticket at the recent primary election, thereby disqualifying himself from legally participating in the Union Labor Party convention. Others of his ticket are tarred with the same brush, many of them being petty politicians of the Republican and Democratic parties.

4th. The needs of the working class call for great changes in remedying present evils, but Mr. Schmitz and his ticket pride themselves on being conservative, which means that he believes that the present system is all right.

5th. Mr. Schmitz says, "I am not in favor of arraying one class against another, or of making political distinctions based on wealth." Mr. Schmitz ignores the fact that the exploiters and the exploited, the bosses and the workers, ARE (and cannot help being) arrayed against each other. If I engage an attorney, I expect him to represent me, not my opponent. A labor representative should represent labor. No man can serve two masters with opposing interests, but Mr. Schmitz professes to believe that he can serve both the workers and the capitalists.

6th. It is useless to teach the workers that 2 and 2 make 5 this election and then have to teach them that 2 and 2 make 4 some other time. Workingmen may as well learn right now that labor is a commodity, and, like potatoes, its price (or wages) is determined by its cost of production and the state of the market. If potatoes are plentiful, they are cheap. If the unemployed are many, wages are low, no matter how much profit the capitalists are making, and no matter which of the capitalist parties is in power. Any party that favors the private ownership of the means of living and the competitive system of industry helps the bosses to fleece labor and keep down wages. If the leaders of the Union Labor Party do not know this, they are ignorant of working class interests, and therefore not fit to represent the workers. If these leaders do know it, but are afraid to tell workingmen the truth, then they are too cowardly and contemptible to be the champions of the workers. And in either case they are not worthy of my vote.

7th. The reason it is better to vote for what you want and not get it, than to vote for what will not do any good, and get it, is this: you are building up a party that will eventually do good.

8th. Lastly, I do not need to vote for a spurious labor party, because there is a REAL labor party in the field, a party which, having polled 7,756 votes, is already the third party of the State; a party whose nominees are all Union men and pledged solely to support working class interests as against the interests of the capitalist class; a party whose platform contains the only real remedy for industrial

troubles. That party is the Socialist Party, and I will vote its ticket straight, from its candidate for Mayor, CHAS. L. AMES, member of the Painters, Decorators and Paper Hanger's Union, No. 131, to the last nominee on the ticket.
THOMAS BERSFORD.

Crime and Criminals.

BY CEASARE LOMBROSO.

A great many persons do not comprehend that there may be some other method of defending ourselves against crime than by inflicting punishments which are often but new crimes and in nearly every case the source of other crimes. For the security of the normal part of humanity and for the sake of those unfortunate criminals themselves it is necessary to sequester them in such a way that they cannot commit any further crimes and that all occasion for crime is removed from them. But sequestration, as it is now employed in the case of the insane, must not be a torture for the latter, nor must it be the source of enormous cost to the community.

The cell system is horrible, and should be abolished for the sake of humanity.

Instead of driving these degenerates to insanity, suicide, or a slow and painful death, we should seek to direct the impulses and energy of the criminals into useful and beneficial channels. Finding an outlet for his energy and natural satisfaction in the exercise of his organs in a direction toward which he naturally inclines, the criminal will work with pleasure, and to the advantage of himself and others.

I have known born criminals in high positions who satisfied evil inclinations by the exercise of their profession and became useful members of human society.

I have known a famous surgeon who in the formation of his skull as well as in his face presented every characteristic of a born criminal, and who satisfied his cruel and criminal tendencies and energies by surgery, sometimes rather risky, but always ingenious.

Genius, like moral insanity, has its basis in epilepsy, and it is therefore not unusual to see moral insanity go hand in hand with genius, and thus become not only inoffensive, but even useful to society. Many of the great conquerors and leaders of revolutions whose deeds are recorded in history, belonged to that class.

To properly direct the dangerous inclinations and tendencies of the born criminals and morally insane and divert them into useful and beneficial channels seems to me the only correct and logical treatment.

Special Notice to Women.

The regular monthly meeting of the William Morris Club will be held Thursday afternoon, November 7th, at 2 p. m., at 1213 Laguna street.

These meetings are both educational and social, and all women comrades are requested to attend and co-operate.

Signed, MOLLIE BLOOM, Pres.
VILLA REYNOLDS, Sec.

To Socialist Women.

We are asked to publish the following notice:

"All women interested in the formation of a Woman's National Socialist League for the promulgation of Socialist principles will please address Imogene C. Fales, 126 Macon street, Brooklyn, or Marion H. Dunham, Burlington, Ia., or Wenonah S. Abbott, Oak, Shasta county, California.

HOW TO VOTE AND HAVE YOUR VOTE COUNTED.

Socialist Ticket

Mayor, CHARLES L. AMES,	X
Auditor, N. C. ANDERSON,	X
For City Attorney, NO NOMINATION.	
Sheriff, JOHN MESSER,	X
Tax Collector, LUDWIG BERG,	X
Treasurer, OSWALD SEIFERT,	X
Recorder, EMIL ROUGK,	X
County Clerk, SCOTT ANDERSON,	X
For District Attorney, NO NOMINATION.	
Coroner, N. J. B. SCHULTZ,	X
Public Administrator, C. G. PERAULT,	X
Supervisors,	
1. WALTER E. WALKER,	X
2. NICHOLAS V. HANSEN,	X
3. I. ROSENBLATT,	X
4. JOHN CARTER,	X
5. HENRY WARNECKE, JR.,	X
6. LYMUS VAN ALSTINE,	X
7. WILLIAM COSTLEY,	X
8. HUGO LOTZIN,	X
9. FRANK H. CRANFORD,	X
10. OLAUS GAFVERT,	X
11. LOUIS W. LINDGREN,	X
12. GEORGE GUTHRIE,	X
13. EMIL SCHAERER,	X
14. LOUIS N. VEZINA,	X
15. JACOB MAYBLUM,	X
16. GEORGE STEIN,	X
17. HENRY HILKER,	X
GEORGE NISBET,	X
Police Judges,	
1. CAMERON H. KING,	X
2. W. C. SHEPARD,	X

Leave place vacant where it says, "No Nomination"; otherwise your vote will be thrown away.

Vote for "Something Now."**A FEW PLANKS IN THE MUNICIPAL SOCIALIST PLATFORM.**

Are you impatient for the city government to take measures which will be of immediate benefit to you? Consider the following, then. Neither the Republican nor Democratic parties has anything to compare with them. And as for the Union Labor Party, it definitely rejected them. Hence, if they appear beneficial to you as a worker, you must vote the Socialist ticket to get them. A vote for them now, even if it does not win this election, hastens the time when they will come and is therefore most effectively cast.

AID FOR MEN ON STRIKE.

1st. The Socialist Party demands "that employment shall be given to all unemployed citizens who are residents of the city for two years immediately preceding application." Think, you workingmen, you who have been on strike, and you who have given financial aid to your needy brothers; think what a boon it would have been if those strikers could have obtained work at \$2 for an 8-hour day at the City Hall. This measure alone would aid men on strike very materially, and besides would act as an absorber of competitive unskilled labor, thus indirectly raising the wages of a great body of citizens and increasing the prosperity of all.

LICENSE CONTROL OF BUSINESS.

2nd. "Licenses, the cost to be merely nominal, shall be required to conduct any works, shops, stores, etc., or other-business in the city, and such license shall be revoked or suspended when the manager or proprietor conducts such business in a manner dangerous to safety or health of employes, or acts unfairly toward them or the public," etc. This measure is especially designed to check the greed and tyranny of those bosses who work their men outrageously long hours, ruining their health and morals, and those who threaten with discharge and who blacklist those workingmen who take an active part in labor organization. By means of a license, revoked on such grounds, the bosses would be brought to terms quite speedily and the high-handed tyranny with which the wholesale Butchers, the Employers' Association and the street railway companies proceed would be effectually checked.

HOMES FOR THE WORKERS.

3rd. The infamous laws which govern tenants of real estate, by which workingmen can be summarily ejected and damages granted the landlord three times the amount of the rent due, demand that the municipality take some steps toward securing its wealth-producing citizens in homes. Hence the Socialist Party demands the construction by the city of commodious, comfortable and sanitary houses for the lodgment of the workers, such to be let at a rental of 3 per cent of the cost, sufficient for repairs. This would materially reduce the average workingman's expenses and give him a shelter wherein he would be comparatively safe from ejection even though adversity, through no fault of his, did come upon him.

A WORKING CLASS PROGRAM.

There are many other measures in the Socialist platform which would work great benefit to the workingmen. The Socialist Party is the only working class party. It does not try to straddle, proclaiming friendship for labor and for labor's enemy, organized capital. If you are a working man, if you wish to benefit yourself and fellows, if you wish to strengthen your hand against your enemies,

VOTE THE SOCIALIST TICKET STRAIGHT!

It offers the workers more than all the other parties combined.

Rally, comrades, rally to the support of Socialism. Vote the ticket straight!

A vote for principle is never lost; they alone throw their vote away who vote for what will do them no good. Socialism is our only hope! Vote the ticket straight.

Workingmen, be not again deceived. Vote for your own cause! Vote for Socialism.

Comrades, Socialists, workingmen, we expect every man to do his duty. Do not betray the cause at the critical moment. Vote the Socialist ticket straight.

Special Notice.

Make no mark opposite the places containing the words, "No Nomination," on our ticket. This is absolutely necessary if you wish your ballot counted. There is no nomination for city or district attorney on our ticket. Make no mark opposite these places. The board of election commissioners have decided that ballots marked opposite the words "No Nomination" will be thrown out.

Every Socialist should watch at the polls. Many Socialist votes are thrown out because no one is on hand to protest. Call at "Advance" office for permit to enter the booth.

CHAS. L. AMES FOR MAYOR.

Socialist Party Campaign Fund.

Previously acknowledged: \$260.75. On list 52, by Chas. Scarper: H. M. Burdock, \$1; T. P. Crockett, 50c; A. Finlayson, 25c; Chas. Hewisch, 50c; Anton Bergk, 50c; Chas. Scarper, \$1. On list 113 by H. Culman: A Friend, \$2.50; H. A. Hitton, \$1. On list 129: John Retussnich, 50c; W. H. Eastman, \$1; Frank Rosetta, 50c; Peter Farrell, \$1; P. Wall, 50c; Ben. P. Ober, 50c; Mrs. N. Goldman, 50c; Mrs. S. Poppie, 50c. On list 71: I. Rosenblatt, \$1; Henry Sherman, 50c; Nathan Nickelsberg, \$1. On list 126, by George Nesbit: P. B. Moteen, 25c; A. E. Erickson, 25c; A. Kremer, 25c; B. Kloepper, 50c; Axel S. Bunth, 25c; C. E. Mathers, 50c; J. McCarthy, 50c; Aron Nelson, 25c; Chas. L. Olson, Alameda, 25c; H. Fridath, 25c; Fritz Jacobson, Alameda, 25c; A. Palm, 25c; O. Thomas, 25c; S. L. Johnson, 25c; Ole Anderson, 25c; Geo. H. Sandidge, 25c; George Nesbit, \$4. On list 68, by W. H. Ross: S. Seiter, 50c; F. Heckman, 50c; D. G. Hanchette, 50c; A. Schau, 75c; S. Nolan, 50c; Peet Vergez, 50c; J. Soraessler, 50c; William Rommel, 50c; C. M. Pratie, 50c; W. H. Ross, 50c. On list 118 by Thos. Bersford: Dr. Dietz, \$1; Fred Ficken, \$1; Herman Heider, \$1.50; W. Shephard, \$2; D. T. Loofburrow, Diamond Springs, El Dorado county, \$5. Total, \$300.

OSCAR JOHNSON, Fin. Sec.
49 Sacramento St.

Watch the count. Call at this office for a permit to enter the booth.

Tell Your Friends

TO ATTEND

The Grand Final Rally

OF THE

SOCIALIST PARTY

AT THE

METROPOLITAN TEMPLE

Saturday, November 2nd., 8 P. M.

Music! Oratory! Enthusiasm!

Let Everyone Come!

M. W. WILKINS will speak at the grand final campaign rally in Metropolitan Temple, Saturday evening, November 2d. Don't fail to hear him!

J. STITT WILSON will speak at the grand final campaign rally in Metropolitan Temple, Saturday evening, 8 p. m., November 2d. Bring your friends to hear him!

GEO. S. HOLMES will speak at the grand final campaign rally in Metropolitan Temple, Saturday evening, at 8 p. m., November 2d. Be sure to attend!

Home Life.

BY W. N. SLOCUM.

In San Francisco, on Sunday, October 6th, some of the Bishops in attendance at the General Convention of the Episcopal Church addressed large audiences in a number of the city churches.

The following is from the sermon of Bishop Potter of New York:

"No communistic mechanism which destroys the sanctity of the family, which strikes at the bond of marriage, which disbands the home and reduces men to a hard and common treatment and common life and common activities, will meet the want of that individual heart and life which in each human soul guards most of all the home fellowship and the nourishment and inspiration of the home life."

All churchmen who consider it their interest to oppose Socialism declare that "it would destroy the home." They ignore the fact that capitalism is already doing that as rapidly as possible. Under present conditions, we soon will have no homes to destroy. (For proof of which see the records of divorce courts—nearly all the cases being traceable to economic causes.) Between the efforts made by the two extremes of society—the co-operative efforts of the rich for the more effectual exploitation of the poor, and the competitive efforts of the poor for the privilege of serving the rich—with the consequent corrupting luxury of the one class and the demoralizing poverty of the other, American homes at the two extremes of society have already lost their sanctity. At both ends of the social gamut the mutual trust that once was usual between husbands and wives is now the exception rather than the rule; the demoralization of the young—of the very rich as well as of the very poor—is becoming more common, and even in homes where purity is still preserved conditions are such that immorality must continue to increase, for the home of the idler is degraded by fashionable follies, while that of the worker is made vicious by over-crowding and cheerless from want. The two extremes of society furnish most of the recruits for our prisons and houses of prostitution, and statistics show that under present conditions the percentage increase of crime in America is far greater than the percentage increase of population.

Home! Why the old-fashioned home exists today only among the middle class of society, which class is becoming relatively smaller, while the number of the poorer class is increasing, and every student of economics knows that under the curse of Capitalism the middle class is doomed to ultimate extinction. There is no other possible outcome. Wherever the means of production and distribution are controlled by a non-producing class, and the producers have no voice in such control, a middle class cannot long exist, and every careful and unprejudiced observer of events in America knows that the changes now taking place fully justify this conclusion. The rich are not only growing richer and the poor poorer, but the middle class, who have heretofore lived in comfort and plenty, are sinking slowly but surely into the great army of the destitute, and no relief laws, no schemes of charity, no palliatives of any kind can furnish an adequate remedy.

Under capitalism a large proportion of marriages of all classes are contracted on property considerations, and home life, in consequence, is degraded. Under Socialism home life will be purified, and in most cases, love, peace and happiness will reign where now is

hatred, contention and woe. Economic independence will relieve woman from the necessity of marrying for a home.

Commercial marriages are among the chief curses of our present order of society, and under Socialism, such marriages will ultimately be impossible. When the means of production—instead of being monopolized for private gain—are controlled by the people for the people, all class distinctions now founded on property will be done away with; every man and woman will be known for what they are, not for what they possess. The dependence of woman on man for support will, to a great extent, cease, and sex slavery, with the consequent degradation of woman and of home, will be at an end. Socialism will permit the free development of the intellectual and moral faculties of men and women, now cramped by toil and repressed by unfavorable environment. The people will live in palaces instead of hovels, and the "sanctity of home" will then have some meaning.

Nature furnishes, and mankind under Socialism will develop, wealth enough to enable all the people to have all the good things—mansions and palace cars included—which Pierpont Morgan and his guests, the Bishops, are now reveling in. Aye, much more than they have, for Nature holds in reserve, behind the veil of the future, untold blessings for the people who have proved themselves wise enough to take their own.

Priest vs. Archbishop.

Father McGrady, one of the men whose names will be handed down for respect by coming generations, has challenged Archbishop Corrigan of New York to a debate on the question of Socialism. The former sent to the Archbishop the following letter:

"To the Most Rev. M. A. Corrigan, Archbishop of New York:

"Your Grace—While sincerely grieving over the murder of President McKinley with the great body of Socialists in America, I can not, in justice to the truth, pass by the unfair inference of your letter of the 14th inst., which is, in a sense, a public document by reason of its wide diffusion in the daily papers. To implicate Socialism in the crime against the President when you request your clergy to impress on the faithful the constant teachings of our Holy Father Leo XIII, against the errors of Socialism."

"I therefore respectfully challenge Your Grace to show wherein Socialism errs. The Catholic Church championed Socialism 400 years ago until capitalism succeeded in winning the high places and pouring its corrupting gold into her coffers.

"The pope's encyclical has no dogmatic value in view of the fact that it is not the work of Leo XIII, proclaiming a doctrine of faith and morals, but merely the opinion of Joachim Pecci as a writer on social economics.

"My love for the Catholic church is too profound to allow me to keep silent when such a distinguished representative of the lowly Nazarene condemns a righteous movement for the liberation of the toiling masses from the bondage of industrial serfdom.

"I will go to New York and pay the rent of the hall on any date it may suit Your Grace's convenience to debate this vital question.

"Trusting that Your Grace will not shirk the issue, I am, respectfully yours,

T. McGRADY;

Pastor St. Anthony's Church.
Bellevue, Ky.

The Stitt Wilson Meetings in Oakland.

The J. Stitt Wilson series of lectures, delivered in this city last week, has proved a most gratifying success. The topic treated on Monday evening, the 21st, was "The Labor Problem Stated"; on the 22d, "The Present Competitive System Impeached"; on the 24th, "The Labor Problem Solved"; and on the 25th, "Socialism, the Logic of Christianity."

After an appropriate introduction by the chairman, Mr. Wilson stated that he had been invited by the local society to deliver a series of four addresses on the general theme of Socialism from his own standpoint. He then entered directly upon his subject, and for an hour and a half held the rapt attention of his audience.

Of the many forceful and telling points made by the speaker during these four addresses, space may be found here to note two, which, partly by reason of their significance, and partly through felicitous expression and a wonderful vividness of illustration, seemed to lay hold upon the special attention and interest of his hearers. Giving these two points their briefest possible expression, one may say: Physical well-being is the basis of the higher virtues. The improving changes going on in society are typically and essentially Socialistic Processes.

Socialism is concerned first—so the speaker made it to appear—with the physical well-being of humanity. Were all human beings properly housed and clothed and fed and nurtured physically, as would result if all had equal opportunity, and each received the just reward of his own activity, then there would exist the broadest possible basis for the development of those higher moral and spiritual qualities about which many of us manifest such deep concern. How inconsistent we are with our showy and expensive appliances for the supposed securing of the happiness of human souls in the world to come, while expending so little of our energy and wealth in devising arrangements for the alleviation of that wretchedness and despair which negative human happiness both here and hereafter!

Society at large, along with everything else, falls within the scope of the great law of evolution. The improving changes going on therein are partly due to the operation of this great law, and partly due to the conscious efforts of man himself. Man is a conscious factor in the evolution of society; and these efforts put forth by man for the betterment of society—for the supplying of just and equitable conditions under which each may develop the best that is in him—these constitute Socialism in its broadest sense. The changes so wrought are Socialistic changes. Any man or woman so striving for the betterment of humanity is a Socialist. Examples were culled from the history of government and of theology and of science and of commerce, showing that the improving changes striven for and gradually wrought out through the conscious efforts of men, are essentially socialistic in their character—rampant, egotistic individualism, gradually giving way before a humane, altruistic Socialism.

Mr. Wilson's audience included many of our noted citizens, both men and women, teachers and others prominent in educational and literary concerns being particularly well represented. Masonic Hall, where the addresses were delivered, was comfortably filled on the first night, and upon all the succeeding nights was crowded to the doors.

E. L. KNOWLTON.

Consider it your duty to see that every vote cast for the Socialist Party is counted. Call at this office for a permit to watch.

Karl Marx' Economic Teachings.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated for the "Advance" by Kaspar Bauer.

(Continued from last week.)

CHAPTER VII. CO-OPERATION.

We have seen in the fifth chapter that in order to be a capitalist in the full sense of the word the employment of wage-workers is not sufficient. The employer of wage-labor becomes a full-fledged capitalist only when the mass of surplus-value produced by his wage-workers is so great that it supplies him with an income large enough to maintain his standing in "society," and to increase his wealth without compelling him personally to exert himself. This presupposes the simultaneous employment of a number of workmen much greater than was possible or permissible under the rule of guild handicraft. A greater number of laborers working together at the same time in one place, or if you will in the same field of labor, in order to produce the same sort of commodity under the command of one capitalist, constitutes, both historically and logically, the starting-point of capitalist production.

The difference between the capitalist and the handicraft mode of production is, therefore, at first, merely a difference of degree, not of kind. Whether I employ three weavers working three looms or thirty weavers with thirty such looms, in the same place at the same time, appears at first to result only in the difference in the amount of surplus-value produced by three and by thirty weavers. But other differences arise as the result of the employment of the greater number. Let us draw your attention, for just one instant, to the law of greater numbers—to the fact that individual peculiarities become the more apparent the fewer individuals one considers, and that they become obliterated the more the observation becomes mass-observation. If I desire to establish the average duration of the life of human beings, and base my calculations upon the duration of the lives of five or six people, I will, without doubt, make serious mistakes. But I can, in all possibility, come very near to the truth if I base it upon the duration of the lives of one million people.

Similarly, the individual differences of single workers become more apparent if, instead of thirty, I only employ three. If I employ thirty men, the superior labor of the better workers and that of the inferior ones will equate, will compensate each other with the result that I will get average labor. According to Burke, all individual differences disappear by the simultaneous employment of as small a number as five farm laborers, so that any five farm laborers, picked at random at any time, as a rule, perform as much labor as the other five. With the "small boss" it is merely a matter of chance whether his workers perform average social labor or not. Only for the capitalist is it possible to obtain average social labor as a rule from the labor set in operation by him. The simultaneous employment of many workers in the same place has yet other advantages. The cost of constructing and arranging a working-place where thirty weavers can be accommodated is not ten times as great as the cost of a place where only three of them can weave. Again, a store-room where one hundred tons of cotton can be stored does not cost ten times as much as one where only ten tons can be deposited, etc. The value of the constant part of capital which

re-appears in the product decreases the more according to the number of workers employed, the more workers are, under otherwise equal conditions, employed at a certain process of production. Thereby surplus-value grows according to the total amount of capital advanced, but thereby also decreases the value of the product, and under certain conditions (conditions elaborated upon in the last chapter) the value of labor-power. Thereby surplus-value increases also in relation to variable capital.

The simultaneous employment of many a definite result, leads to their planful working together, or, in other words, to co-operation, which, in turn, creates a new, social power of production. A power which is quantitatively and qualitatively different from the number of individual powers of production, of which it consists. This new power is from the start a mass power; it makes possible many labor-processes which, with inferior forces, could be accomplished only imperfect, or not at all. Thirty men can carry with ease the tree which three men would vainly attempt all day to move. Again, co-operation makes possible the accomplishment of tasks where it is not mass power but the compression of the greatest possible amount of labor rendered in the smallest possible length of time that is required; as is the case during harvest-time, for instance: Even were a great mass of labor-power or its concentration simultaneously in one particular place is not necessary, co-operation is of advantage; it increases the productivity of labor. We are all familiar with the method which was once employed in the erection of a house; how bricks and stones were placed upon the scaffolds and a chain of workers formed of which one gave the material to the other. In this way it could be transported much more rapidly than if every worker went the whole way by himself.

Again, the fact that man is a social animal cannot be overlooked; we must not forget that his mental capabilities, his pride and his desire to excel, are roused into action when working side by side with others, and that those qualities are quite an important factor in making labor more productive.

Under the capitalist system it is possible for the workers to work together for a common end, only if their labor-power has been purchased by one and the same capitalist. The more labor-power is to be bought, the more variable capital is necessary; the more wage-workers are to be employed, the greater will be the mass of war-materials, tools, etc., these workers employ and consume in turn; in other words, the greater will be the necessary amount of constant capital for that reason. The success of co-operation on a certain scale presupposes a certain amount of capital. This now becomes an essential prerequisite of capitalist production. Co-operation is not peculiar to the capitalist mode of production alone. We have already seen it in primitive form among the Indians. We saw there that their planful working together during their hunting expeditions demanded planful leadership. This planning and directing is necessary for all forms of social labor, no matter in what form it may be carried on. Under the capitalist mode of production this directing of production necessarily becomes one of the functions of capital. In this analysis, too, we see the beneficial result of the distinction made by

Marx of the twofold character of commodity producing labor. Corresponding to this twofold character, the process of production is, as we have seen, under capitalism, the combination of the labor process and process of exploitation. As far as the process of production appears as the labor-process, the capitalist appears as the leader of production, and the function which he performs as such will be more or less necessary under every social labor-process.

The capitalist process of production as process of exploitation, however, has for its basis the antagonism of interests of capitalist and laborer; as it has already been revealed to us in the chapter on the work-day. If the process of exploitation is to go on uninterrupted and in the way devised, then the subordination of the worker and the despotic sway of the capitalist is demanded. Process of exploitation and process of production, however, are merely two different parts of one and the same process, i. e., the capitalist process of production and for that reason the direction of production and the despotic sway of capitalists over the workers also appears as one—and since the one is a technical necessity, capitalist economic tells us that the rule of capitalists over the workers, too, is technically necessary, that it is demanded by the very nature of things and that, with the removal of the denomination of capitalists, production itself, as far as it is social in its character, would be destroyed, would cease; that the rule of capitalists is the sine qua non of civilization! Rodbertus declared that, as leaders of industry, the capitalists are officials of society, and as such are entitled to a salary. But just as the capitalist engages in the production of use-values because he can in no other way come into the possession of values, so the direction of industry is for him merely a necessary evil, to which he submits merely because it is inseparable from the production of surplus-value. He leaves this function of direction to others wherever that is possible without injuring his surplus-value. If his undertaking is large enough he leaves the superintending to hirelings, directors or petty officials. At times he uses different methods to get rid of his task. During the cotton crisis in the seventies, for instance, the English cotton manufacturers closed their establishments in order to spend their time gambling in the cotton bourse, and thus knock out their "salary." The assertion that capitalists deserve to be paid for the service rendered by them in directing production reminds us of the boy who saw a tree loaded down with the choicest apples, at which, however, he could not get without first overcoming the obstacle put in his way by a high wall. The apples were too tempting, so he undertook the job of climbing the wall, a task which, after much hard work, was finally accomplished. He was just enjoying the result of his labor, the apples, when along came the owner of the garden and asked him by what right he took possession of the apples. "By the sweat of my brow and honestly have I earned them," quickly replied the shrewd robber; "they are the reward of arduous labor previously expended in climbing the wall." Just as the boy could get at the apples only by climbing the wall, so the capitalist, as a rule, can get at surplus-value only as a leader of production.

We have to refute one more peculiar view found in economic literature. According to our assumption so far, the capitalist purchases every labor-power at its full value. The combined forces of all the labor power bought by him, however, develop, by their planful working together, a new productive force. Working together, the laborers produce more than if they were employed separately, working singly. For this new productive force the capitalist pays nothing. It has nothing to do with the commodity-value of labor-power; it forms a peculiarity of its use-value. This new force comes into play only during the process of production, that is, only after the commodity labor-power came into the possession of the capitalist, after it has become capital. For this reason it appears to the capitalists and their supporters that this increase in the productivity of labor is not due to labor, but to capital. Because the social productive force of labor costs capital nothing, because this force is not developed by the worker unless his labor belongs to capital, for that reason it appears as a productive force, which capital, in its very nature possesses, "a productive power that is immanent in capital." As already pointed out, co-operation is not peculiar to the capitalist mode of production alone. Social production—production in which all take part—is the form observed, even at the cradle of the human race, during primitive communism. Farming originally was co-operative everywhere. The assigning of certain land to the family is of a much later period. We have given illustrations of co-operation among Indians in our first chapter.

The development of commodity production did away with this primitive co-operation. True commodity production enlarges the circle of those who work for each other, but the working together (with each other) ceases, except under the form of forced labor, labor of slaves, serfs or subjects for their masters.

Through capitalism, which arises in contrast to the isolating and dissipating of forces of the period of agriculture and handicraft, co-operation is again developed; social, joint labor again becomes the dominant form. Co-operation ever constitutes the fundamental form of the capitalist mode of production, it is its particular historical form within commodity production. Capital's desire is to develop social production more and more; it brings about higher and higher forms of co-operation: manufacture and modern industry. Its reason for this, its aim at all times, is the increase of surplus-value. In bringing about higher forms of co-operation, capital unconsciously is preparing the ground for a new, still higher form of production.

The production of commodities by handicraft depends upon the scattering and relative isolation of the different trades; a capitalist trade on the contrary, however, depends upon the combination of the different forms of labor; it depends upon combined, social production. The production of commodities by handicraft presupposes many small independent producers as the rule; the capitalist form of production, depending upon co-operation, places the individual worker under the unlimited authority of the capitalist. We have, in our first chapter, observed primitive co-operation and the division of labor; we have traced the origin of commodity-production; now we see the development of the capitalist mode of production, a mode which is commodity-production and co-operative production at the same time. If the capitalist mode of commodity-production differs from handicraft through the concentration of trades and the organization of combined, social labor, capitalist co-

operation also differs from the co-operation of primitive communism by the unquestioned authority of the capitalist, who besides being leader and director of production and owner of the means of production, is at the same time owner of the product of co-operative labor, which under primitive co-operation belonged to the workers themselves.

(To be continued.)

Book Reviews.

We usually take up the consideration of a new book a bit grudgingly, because, it must be admitted, some of the stuff that passes current between bindings is not worthy of the labor entailed in a review, even an unfavorable one. Such middle-class clap-trap as, for instance, the "Passing of Capitalism," by Isadore Ladoff, reviewed in these columns two weeks ago, inclines the editor to anarchism. There is no excuse for such a book; there is no use for more than half the books that pass muster as Socialist propaganda books. They are usually reactionary, and always stupid. A course in a kindergarten would prohibit such use, misuse rather, of language, as the writers display, and an intelligent glance at society, supplemented by the reading of one or two volumes by a good writer on Sociology, would put an effectual quietus on their bump-tus generalizations. The trouble with more than a good half of the writers of propaganda books is a desire for notoriety rather than a wish to help forward the world's work. They are anxious to be introduced in polite society as the author of —. And the very desire shows how superficial they are and stamps them unfit to do what their egotism drives them to attempt.

So much for the unworthy pretenders among us. They would not be considered if they were not a force that makes for reaction. Every bit of knowledge that must be unlearned is a hindrance to social progress. It is with considerable pleasure we turn from these make-believe people and consider a book written by a student of social forces and a serious thinker, entitled "Collectivism," by Emile Vandervelde. In this book an answer is given to the populist who asks what is to be done with the middle class. Proof is given almost sufficient to convince even a certain Mr. Gordon that there won't be any middle class to worry about in a very short time. Other questions bearing on Socialism and industrial evolution are taken up and discussed with that freedom from bias and cant so dear to the heart of the man in search of truth. A brief summary of the contents will give a slight idea of the scope of the work. The first part deals with the subject of capitalist concentration and the disappearance of the "peasant proprietor," "artisans" and "small retailers." This is discussed with a wealth of illustration and argument nowhere else to be found. "The Progress of Capitalist Property" is then traced through the successive stages of corporations, monopolies and trusts. The attempts of capitalist writers to explain away this process of evolution are taken up and thoroughly answered.

The latter half of the book is taken up with "The Socialization of the Means of Production and Exchange," and ably treats of the transition from capitalism to Socialism, and answers to the objections to Socialism. We heartily recommend the book for propaganda purposes. Collectivism, by Emile Vandervelde. Published by Chas. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Price, 25 cents.

Columbus unionists demand an investigation of the Ohio State University on account of the fact that that institution supplied scabs to fill the places of striking machinists and newspaper reporters.

Minutes of State Committee.

The S. E. C. of the Socialist Party met at San Francisco Saturday, October 26, 1901. Present: Andrew (Chairman), Anderson, Benham, Gafvert, Reynolds and Smith.

The minutes of last meeting were approved with slight correction.

Communications read from Leon Greenbaum, National Secretary, Chas. McDiarmid, Thos. A. Spivey, N. A. Richardson, P. D. Noel, A. Neuman, J. D. Wilhite, T. C. Harthorn, A. B. Lee, Karl Bracher, Jos. O'Brien, F. A. Elder, T. T. Gross, Mrs. S. C. Farrar, J. R. Cole, Oscar Johnson and J. A. Wayland, "Appeal to Reason." The State Charter was received from the National Committee of Socialist Party.

Remittances reported by Secretary as follows: For dues: Local San Francisco, \$10; Los Angeles, \$15; Vallejo, \$3; Hemet, \$5. Total for dues, \$33. For membership cards: Local Los Angeles, \$1.25; Redlands, \$1. Total for cards, \$2.25. For Delegate Fund: From Local Vallejo, \$5. Donation from Local Oakland to National Committee to be applied on debt of State Committee, \$5. Subscription to ADVANCE from Vallejo Local, 50 cents. Total of all receipts, \$45.75.

Bill received from G. B. Benham for printing 500 memos. and 500 letter-heads, \$2.75. Ordered paid.

The Treasurer was instructed to remit to the National Secretary of the Socialist Party, \$25 (being \$17.50 for dues, \$5 on old debt and \$2.50 for 25 local charters).

Local Santa Clara approves the Convention initiative of Local S. F., but amends the same as follows: The basis of representation shall be one delegate for each local, and one additional delegate for each fifteen members or major fraction thereof, in good standing. The State Secretary has not yet received the call of San Francisco for Convention.

The Secretary was instructed to send for detailed statement of Delegate Fund, and to send charters of the Socialist Party to all locals in the State.

The application of Local Rio Vista for charter was approved.

The State Committee took steps looking toward a lecture tour by Comrade J. Stitt Wilson and colleagues through California.

The Secretary was instructed to call for nominations in accordance with the National Constitution for a National Committeeman, one nomination to be made by each local, and forwarded to reach this committee on or before Saturday, November 16, 1901.

Thirty copies of No. 377 of ADVANCE, with National Constitution, were ordered for locals.

Adjourned to meet November 16, 1901.

J. GEORGE SMITH, Sec'y.

Address: Box 13, Emeryville, Calif.

At the fifth International Congress of Anthropology, recently held at Amsterdam, Holland, to which nearly all the European governments sent official delegates, was presided over Enrico Ferri, the famous Italian Socialist. The views of Ferri and his colleague, Cesare Lombroso, who recently became a convert of Socialism, in relation to the science of man and internationalism largely dominated the conference.

Dr. Siving, of Cincinnati, has been fined \$50 and costs for speaking on the streets. It will be carried to the higher courts to determine whether or not a police judge has more power than the constitution of the United States.

ADVANCE



623

Organ of the Socialist Party of California.

Published Weekly by Local San Francisco Socialist Party, at 134 Murphy Building, San Francisco, California.

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

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A STRAIGHT VOTE!

CHAS. L. AMES FOR MAYOR.

EVERY SOCIALIST VOTE IS A PROTEST AGAINST CAPITALISM.

Remember, a straight vote. There is only one party for the workingmen to stand with. That is the Socialist Party.

It is claimed that 5,000 children died of starvation, heat and foul air last summer in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Chicago.

Make yourself a committee of one to watch the count of the vote on election day. Call at this office for a permit to enter the booths.

Every trace of Czolgosz has passed from the earth. He will go down in history as a good Republican, a friend of Roosevelt's, and a d—d fool.

Don't forget that Oscar Johnson keeps the "Advance" on sale at his store, 49 Sacramento street. He is also secretary of the party and takes donations to the campaign fund.

Don't forget the monster meeting at the Metropolitan Temple Saturday, Nov. 2d. Everybody turn out. Bring a half-dozen friends. Stitt Wilson and other able speakers will be on hand.

The San Francisco Labor Council has raised all boycotts levied on the firms in the Employers' Association, as a result of the settlement of the City Front Federation strike.

When is a labor party not a labor party? When it puts an exploiter of labor, a John D. Spreckles-primary-league candidate up for Mayor and has not one plank in its platform for the benefit of the working class.

The only issue thus far developed between the Republican, semi-Republican (new labor) or Democratic parties is the removal of the unused car track in the mission. Of course workingmen are mightily interested.

The Central Federated Union of New York has invited the capitalist and Socialist candidates for mayor to appear before the body and

tell the members why the workingmen should vote for them. We know the Socialist will accept.

The Labor Party's candidate for Mayor has a wagon the motor power of which is a donkey. This amiable beast is a hint of what the man who votes for the fake labor party will consider himself after the votes for Schmitz and the other members of the John D. Spreckles primary league outfit.

Hall Caine, author of several popular novels of doubtful literary value, has been elected to office in the Isle of Manx on a sort of Socialistic platform. He advocates the common ownership of the steamships that ply between England and Manx, municipal ownership of the street and steam railways and other semi-socialistic measures.

We are just a bit suspicious of the way labor interests will be protected by the society organized by Bishop Codman Henry Potter and J. Pierpont Morgan. The late steel strike indicated very clearly where Mr. Morgan stands, also Bishop Codman Henry Potter, also the balance of the poor deluded idiots, who imagine the antagonism between the working class and the capitalist class can be modified by prayer.

It is an insult to the intelligence of the workers that Schmitz should be running on a labor ticket. He is continually apologizing for being on a working class ticket and repeats over and over again that politics cannot recognize the existence of classes. His prosperous machine shop explains his position. He is an employer of labor, a member of the capitalist class, and never was one of those gentlemen known to admit that there is a class struggle. It would be inconvenient. The ignorance of the workers on this point means money in the employer's purse.

An Honest Man.

We hear continually about the honest men who are Socialists and friends of labor coming out for some capitalist party. The latest is Mr. John Marble. This Mr. Marble acquired a reputation for honesty because he is unspeakably dull. There seems to be an affinity between dullness and honesty, and despite all evidence to the contrary, the people continue to associate the two. The unfortunate part of the thing is the reputation sticks to a man after he has been proven a palpable fraud. An instance of this is shown in the case of honest John Beardsley of Philadelphia, who appropriated a million dollars of the people's money for his own use and the use of his political friends while he was city treasurer. Now, John Beardsley was thought to be honest because he was the dullest man in Philadelphia, which is saying a great deal. And he was trusted the limit. The duller he grew the more honest he was considered, till one morning the Quakers woke up and found a depleted treasury. Mr. Marble has also been growing duller as the years go by. His speeches put the audience to sleep. And when they are read the labored effort at wit and the machine-made climaxes and elongated periods give every evidence of a studied effort to be stupid for the sake of appearing honest. He poses as the friend of labor and as he works himself with his hands, he has some prestige. He is the sure-thing Socialist beyond question. His hobby is a step at a time, government ownership, and

he stands by the Democratic party. Despite the mistreatment of the workers on every occasion by the Democratic Party, despite the crushed heads in the recent strike, when a Democratic Mayor ordered the strikers to go to work or be clubbed; despite Payot, the Democratic candidate for Supervisor, the greatest enemy of trades unionism and the special enemy of Mr. Marble's own union, he, Mr. Marble, stands upon the platform and endorses the candidacy of Tobin, Mr. Payot and the other capitalists.

He began his speech with a wilful lie. He said there were but three tickets in the field. He ignored the Socialist ticket entirely. The following is from the "Examiner":

"We have three tickets in the field. As to Mr. Wells, I know you do not want him, for with him you cannot have public ownership of the Geary-street Railroad or many of the other things that you want. There is another candidate. Do you think you can vote for Mr. Schmitz with any better hope of getting what is desired—public ownership, for instance? Mr. Schmitz was nominated by a party that was afraid to put the public ownership of the Geary street franchise into its platform, though a party that in the first place stated that to be one of its objects, and then by one of those strange things that happen in politics, that declaration was lost through the floor, before the platform was given to the people. They were for public ownership until they got their convention, and when their convention got together influences were put at work which made them silent upon the subject. Their candidate for Mayor has not declared himself upon that subject unless forced to do so, and when he does he talks about the influential and intelligent men who do not believe in it, before he says he is willing to give the matter a trial."

Further along he said: "But even if Mr. Schmitz' utterances on the Geary-street railroad were square and to the point he would not be entitled to our votes, and I can tell you why. Mr. Schmitz comes as the candidate of a party which is a threat and a menace to the citizenship of every man in this city. He comes as the candidate of a party which admits only a part of one class to full membership in the party. He comes as the candidate of a party which admits only one part of one class to membership in its conventions and to a place on its ticket. Why should I vote for Mr. Schmitz? Because I belong to a trade union? I believe in government by the people and for the people. To turn back to government by a class is to turn back to government by an aristocracy."

Here is what Andrew Feuruseth, secretary of the Water Front Federation, says to Mr. Marble and all other Utopians and honest men laboring in the Democratic Party. What he states here is true:

"We (the members of the Water Front Federation on strike) were clubbed regardless of when or where we were found, if it was after dark, and it was positively unsafe for the individual sailor or longshoreman to walk along the street.

"We brought these facts before the Chief of Police. There was no remedy to be obtained from him and we appealed to the Police Commission. We obtained no remedy there. On the contrary, clubbing became more virulent with each appeal.

"We appealed to the Mayor against the Police Commission, but it did us no good, the clubbing continued.

We appealed to the Board of Supervisors from the Mayor. The only change we could

observe was that the clubbing grew more systematic and seemed more determined than ever.

"We endeavored to have some of the policemen arrested for assault and found that we could not get that done.

"When we were thinking about the possibility of getting the matter before the Grand Jury, expecting that, surely, in some place, we might find some one who would be willing and able to give us some protection, we found, to our utter amazement, that the foreman of the Grand Jury, Mr. Symmes, was also the chairman of the executive committee of the Employers' Association, under whose orders it was evident that all the officials were acting, and under Mr. Symmes' protection, as foreman of the Grand Jury, they felt themselves perfectly safe to act.

"I then realized fully that the employing class in this city had complete control of the city's government and that the laborer and the hired man had no chance. I found that we had a class government already, and a very dangerous one, too.

"We find now that both the Republican and the Democratic tickets are as distinctly class tickets as the present government, and, inasmuch as we are to have a class government, I most emphatically prefer a working-class government."

Mr. Marble shows his ignorance of the fundamental proposition. He wilfully ignores the fact that we are governed by a class now. He stood on the platform and sold his birthright for an unattainable mess of pottage. He stultified himself by endorsing government by the capitalist class and opposing government by his own class, the working class. He has gone the way that dreamers and Utopians all go. They refuse to accept Socialism in any other than a brotherly love way and wind up eventually in the ranks of either old party.

Let us have done with these honest men who betray labor, who pervert the truth. There is only one issue; it is Socialism versus capitalism. The Marbles show their unwisdom by expecting a capitalist class party to take up Socialism. These parties are run by the capitalists for the capitalists. The capitalist system is good enough for the capitalists. They get all they want; they are not anxious for a change. But the working class, on the other hand, NEEDS the change; it needs Socialism. And every workingman with a glimmer of intelligence not over-anxious about his own preferment must see the truth of this.

Conversations of the Candidates.

Mr. J. Sadoc Tobin, Democratic candidate for Mayor: "After all I think the workingmen a bit stupid (of course, this is strictly entrepreneurial).

E. E. Schmitz: I am compelled to admit the truth of what you say (in private), but what is the special reason for making the statement at this time?

Tobin: I have abased myself on several occasions by referring to my ancestors. (Before I entered this election I had been trying to forget them. It is quite fashionable, also convenient, to repudiate one's ancestors among our set at Blingum), and I have assured the workingmen my coat was not made by a London tailor; also the wearing apparel was not indicative of a man's moral worth. I have even gone so far as to attend a church fair and play the wheel of fortune with the little shopkeepers, and smile pleasantly at the ugly old woman, but not till I had faithfully promised to tear up the unused railroad tracks did the workers seem to put any enthusiasm into their applause. Anything that suggests labor pleas-

es these square-heads—that is, these infelligent voters. Now, the unused tracks are no concern of theirs.

Wells: You seem to forget the aesthetic taste lately discovered in the worker. Everything must be picturesque, even the streets, according to the teachings of the university extension lectureres. And two streaks of rust are extremely inartistic, hence the applause when you suggested their removal. The working-class—that is, the intelligent workingman—demands pleasing surroundings. It will be my endeavor to give him such.

Tobin: What, do you intend to remove the unused tracks?

Wells: Yes, why not?

Tobin: But will Herrin permit you?

Wells: Herrin? Do you think Herrin would object?

Tobin: Undoubtedly.

Wells: In that case, of course, I—I—

Schmitz: There is no necessity for one compromising himself by stating his exact position on this question or any question. Generalities will suffice among friends. At least, we can trust each other.

Wells: Politeness might suggest acquiescence, but discretion would demand at least further consideration. Were you thinking of a loan, Mr. Schmitz?

Schmitz: I see I was born to be misunderstood. Here I am carrying water on both shoulders for the voters. In the trades unions I am a workingman, and refer to my manual labor of smiling over the strings of my violin at the "Florodora" chorus girls. In the Employers' Association I am a capitalist, and point to my machine shop as proof of my bias, but unfortunately, some of the water spills over and trickles down my back, and I shiver.

Tobin: You will do considerable more shivering about the time the votes are counted.

Wells: True.

Tobin: And you will have an opportunity to assist him, old stick in the mud.

Schmitz: This is positively coarse. At least, let us pretend to be gentlemen.

Tobin: What's the use. I have you both running.

Wells: What a change for the worse has come over your language since last week. Can it be possible you put your threat to read the "Examiner" and be vulgar into practice.

Tobin: What is it to you.

Schmitz (to Wells): I fear it is avatism. He is reverting to the original hod-carrying stock. It takes a man of strong character to do politics south of Market street.

Wells (to Schmitz): Only men like us can do it.

Tobin: What are you two doing—getting up a plot?

Schmitz: No; we are discussing our chances of election.

Tobin: Why waste time? You haven't any.

Wells: It would be better if we returned to a discussion of improving the aesthetic surroundings of the dear working people. I think I should give them my moral support if they would only go on strike for the right to wear button-hole bouquets instead of for shorter hours or better pay. I wonder if we could not combine our efforts and develop a higher artistic sense in them. The dear university extension people did very well, but their efforts fell short, the workers still strike for more money and more time to spend it. Now these things are low and vulgar.

Schmitz: I do the best I can with my violin and my county central committee.

Wells: The chairman of your committee should do well. He has quite a literary middle name. John Shakespear Parry. How well

it sounds! He should be an inspiration.

Tobin: He should be hanged. He is nothing but a cupid gone to seed—I should say, fat. He cannot spell his own name.

Schmitz: Hold, hold; I will not allow my man Frdiay to be maltreated, at least, till after the election. He comes of a very respectable family. His people had a marble-top table in the front room with a Bible on it.

Tobin: I thought he was a pile-driver.

Wells: Pile-driver? What horrid thing is that? Has it anything to do with horses.

Schmitz: He once spent half a day watching some pile-drivers, and because of his sacrifice got in the union. I needed him in there, just as I needed him and the others in the Republican Primary League club. That's all in the game, you know.

Tobin: What game?

Schmitz: The game of politics, and something beyond. You see, things looked rather bad for a while. There was a decided class feeling in the city, because of the strike. Everywhere you could hear whispers of independent political action by the working-class. I feared for my machine shop. John D. Spreckles feared for his vested rights, and so did a few others. We know when the working-class—I can use the word in private—awakes, nothing will stop it; nothing will satisfy the members of that class, but all that they produce. If they get all that they produce, what will we get? We'll have to go to work. Think of it!

Tobin: Horrors!

Wells: Thank heaven, I shall never live to see that day.

Schmitz: Well, to be brief, we formed this new labor party out of the remnants of the defeated Republican Primary League. Of course, we have a goodly number of well-meaning but ignorant fools around us. They are handy.

Wells: Of course.

Schmitz: If we should win we are not pledged to anything. Our platform has not a plank in it in favor of the working-class. We can go in to office with a free hand and our victory will mean a defeat for independent political action by the working-class. That is really all we had to fear in this campaign. The Socialists were the logical inheritors of any good that might come from the desire for independent political action. We must always combine against them.

Tobin: Always.

Wells: Always.

Schmitz: It will be defeat for the workers, win or lose. If my vote is small they will get discouraged—

Tobin: It is bound to be small. I have attended to that.

Schmitz: And if it is large, they will get discouraged. Only it will take longer for the discouragement to soak in.

Wells: After Mr. Schmitz's generous explanation, I see no reason for any bitterness. We are all of one aim, and I think a healthy one.

Tobin: Very true. Only we must always study to make our aim accurate, so as to hit the dear workingman in the eye to blind him.

Wells: You have learned the first lesson of the successful politician.

Schmitz: I think I can take some credit to myself for having discovered that great political truth, even as early as our friend Tobin.

Wells and Tobin: We owe you many thanks. We owe you our election.

A STRAIGHT VOTE!

CHAS. L. AMES FOR MAYOR.

An Address to Workingmen.

The Socialist Party of San Francisco (heretofore known as the Social Democratic Party), in municipal convention assembled publishes the following as its declaration of principles in relation to the present class struggle between Labor and Capital.

A WORKINGMAN'S PARTY.

The Socialist Party is composed of workingmen and those in sympathy with the objects of the labor movement. The interests of the working class are its sole interest; it is organized for the purpose of opposing the efforts of the employing and capitalist class to subjugate and oppress the workingmen. The Socialist Party relentlessly attacks the control exercised by the capitalist class over the offices and powers of the municipal, state and national governments, by means of which that class maintains its industrial supremacy over labor. The Socialist Party declares that the workingmen must themselves obtain and hold all the offices and powers of government in order that the rights of the working class may be sustained and protected against the attacks of the employing and capitalist class and that this can be done only by a proper use of the ballot.

CONFLICT BETWEEN THE CAPITALIST AND LABORING CLASSES.

Never in the history of the United States has the direct conflict of interest between the capitalist class and the laboring class been made so manifest as in San Francisco during the past few months. The capitalist class in many different forms, but recently and conspicuously in that secret conspiracy known as the "Employers' Association," have confederated for the purpose of disrupting and destroying all organizations of labor in order that the workingman, being deprived of the support and aid of his fellow worker, may be more easily subjugated to the despotic will and power of his employer; that he may be rendered powerless in opposing long hours of labor and be forced by his necessities to accept the lowest wages. Knowing that at present the working class are strong only in their unions, and that united effort alone makes them able to resist the encroachments of the capitalist class, the Employers' Association, in its greedy and infamous desire to reduce wages and lengthen the hours of labor, have determined to destroy that strength and to break up labor unions or render them completely powerless for good by depriving them of those useful weapons—the strike and the boycott. In these attempts the Employers' Association has been aided and abetted by the entire capitalist class.

CAPITALIST CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT.

The capitalist class is in full possession of all the executive and administrative departments of this city. The Police Department and all other departments of the city government are merely the tools of the capitalist class, and are used, whenever necessary to subdue and oppress the laboring class, in spite of the protest of workingmen, and in direct opposition to their welfare. The courts are also subservient to every capitalist command. By their decisions against the eight hour day and other labor laws, and by issuing injunctions against strikes and boycotts while upholding the Employers' conspiracies and infamous black lists, the courts have shown their utter contempt for the rights of labor and exhibited the basest servility to their capitalist masters. The working class, in its continuous struggle against the capitalist class, cannot expect to

receive and will not receive any aid or assistance from any department of the city government as now constituted—executive, administrative or judicial. The workingmen must rely upon themselves to preserve their own freedom and independence and to protect their own interests. The Socialist Party again repeats the undeniable and certain truth that the only remedy lies in the ballot, and if the workingmen would free themselves from virtual slavery and overthrow their oppressors, they must at once by their votes obtain possession of all the offices, and take complete control of all the departments of the city government. These offices must be filled by class-conscious workingmen who can be relied upon to support the workingman's interest as against the interest of the capitalist class. After the capture of the municipal government, the efforts of the working class must not cease until it has control also of the State and National Governments.

ONLY WORKINGMEN FOR OFFICE.

In view of the preceding known and undisputed facts, the Socialist Party declares that it has not and will not nominate for any municipal, city or other office any one who is not a well-recognized and faithful supporter of Union Labor; that it pledges its nominees to look out for the interests of the working-class above and against all capitalist interests of whatsoever nature or kind, and to insure good faith and the fulfillment of these pledges, each and every one of its candidates has deposited before election his resignation, duly signed and attested by him, and left undated, to be hereafter dated, presented and filed by the Socialist Party at any time after his election, should he neglect to carry out his pledges or fail to give satisfaction to the working-class and the Socialist Party.

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM.

The Socialist Party of San Francisco affirms its adherence to the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party of the United States, and points out to the wage-worker that his only safety lies in abolishing the capitalist system. The capitalist class now owns the land and machinery which the workers must use to produce even the wealth actually necessary for their own support, while the value of what the workers do produce for their employers is far greater than the wages paid. It is this surplus value or profit which the employer takes that has built up the capitalist, the millionaire and the trust. The possession of the land and machinery gives the capitalist almost absolute power over the very existence of the laborer. It enables the capitalist to levy upon the workers a tribute for the use of these things and to reap from their product a profit. It renders the workers industrially dependent upon the capitalist class and reduces them to a condition little above that of slavery, while it has enabled the capitalist and trust magnates to become the ruling and governing class and to seize and hold the reins of government. The Socialist Party declares that in order to overthrow this domination of the capitalist class and to free themselves from the economic dependence upon it, the people must acquire and collectively own and operate all the means of production and distribution; that not only all public utilities, but also all the land and machinery by which production is carried on or distribution made, should belong to and be operated by the workers; that in this way only can the laborer expect to get his full social share of the value he produces and be relieved from giving up all his product to the capitalist while he receives in the shape of low wages but a trifling share of the wealth he has created. Socialism means that the worker

shall have his full social share of the value he produces and that no capitalist shall make a profit out of the workingman's sweat and toil.

The Socialist Party declares that this result can be obtained if the workingmen will, in municipal, State and National elections, support the Socialist ticket and elect their own class into the control of all the branches of government, and it requests your earnest consideration of its platform.

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF SAN FRANCISCO

The Socialist Party of San Francisco, in convention assembled, reaffirms the principles of its National and State platforms, and declares that its aim is the organization of the working-class and those in sympathy with it into a class-conscious political party with the object of capturing the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of capitalism, the private or capitalist ownership and control of the means of producing wealth, into Socialism, the public or social ownership and control of all the means of producing and distributing wealth—the Co-operative Commonwealth.

While realizing that the working-class can not possibly attain satisfactory economic conditions under the present system of private capital, competitive wage-labor and capitalist exploitation of the proletariat, yet as a partial alleviation of the misery of the laboring class and as an aid to obtaining working-class mastery of the public powers, the Socialist Party pledges its nominees if elected to enforce the following:

THE MAYOR.

1. The Mayor shall be a representative of the working-class, devoted to the interests of that class and all his appointees shall be known supporters of Socialist principles.

BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS.

2. (a) The Board of Public Works shall be reformed so that competent workingmen shall manage all the work for the city, whether upon the streets, public buildings or otherwise. (b) That all such work shall be done by day's labor and not by contract. (c) That employment shall be given to all the unemployed in the city who are citizens of the State over the age of twenty-one years, and who have resided in the city for two years immediately preceding application for such employment. No one shall receive as wages less than the minimum standard fixed by the charter (that is, \$2 per day), and if employed at any recognized trade or skilled labor such employe shall receive the prevailing rate of trade union wages in the occupation or trade in which he may be employed. No more than eight hours shall constitute a day's labor. (d) Union labor to be employed in those trades in which organization exists. (e) The streets shall be kept clean and in good condition, sewers constructed where necessary and kept in repair. (f) Owners of vacant lots as well as those occupied shall be required to construct and maintain sidewalks in front thereof. (g) Playgrounds and parks shall be established particularly in working-class districts.

BOARD OF POLICE COMMISSIONERS.

(3) The Board of Police Commissioners shall be composed of men in complete sympathy with the labor movement and the needs of the workingman. (b) That it will so control and instruct the police that peace and order may be preserved and all kinds of vice rigorously suppressed. (c)

But they shall not be the tools and hirelings of the capitalist class and shall clearly understand that their first duty is to protect the interests and rights of workingmen and afford safety to all.

BOARD OF HEALTH AND SANITARY ORDINANCES.

4. (a) The Board of Health shall provide for proper sanitary supervision and inspection of the city. (b) Free medical attendance at free dispensaries, hospitals or homes of applicants with free drugs and medicines. (c) There shall also be provided free Orphan and Foundling Asylums, and also invalid and maternity hospitals for women. (d) There shall be rigid enforcement of sanitary conditions for labor and efficient factory inspection. (e) The labor of children under school age shall be prohibited. (f) All unsanitary tenements shall be destroyed. (g) Free public bath houses shall be maintained.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

5. (a) The Board of Education shall be so controlled that ample room shall be provided for scholars attending school, and the present overcrowding shall be stopped. (b) New school houses and kindergartens shall be provided where necessary. (c) Competent and well-paid teachers shall be employed and they shall be secure from meddling of politicians. Capability and merit, and not political "pull" shall be the only qualifications required. (d) Free school-books and free noon-day meals and full support when necessary shall be furnished to all children attending the public schools. (e) Education of all children shall be compulsory.

PUBLIC UTILITIES.

6. (a) The city shall proceed to acquire by condemnation, purchase or new construction and in the shortest practicable time all public utilities, water-works, street railways, electric light and power plants, telephone and local telegraph lines and such other industries the ownership or construction of which, at the present time, may, by the vote of the people, be decided upon. (b) No more private franchises for such public utilities shall be granted neither the Geary street railway nor any other present franchise extended.

INDUSTRIAL ADMINISTRATION.

7. (a) Municipal industries shall be managed by the employes, co-operatively under the control of the city administration. The employes shall elect their own superior officers when such officers are not elected by a general vote of the people. (b) No employe shall be selected or discharged for political reasons.

USE OF REVENUE FROM INDUSTRIES.

8. Revenue from municipal industries to be used as follows: (a) A fixed salary for each employe. (b) A pension fund to be set aside for sick or aged workers. (c) Improvement of public service to be made from income. (d) Public service to be made as cheap as possible.

EQUALIZATION OF SALARIES.

9. There shall be an increase of the wages of subordinate employes and reduction of the present exorbitant salaries of higher city officials.

HOMES FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE.

10. (a) The city shall, as fast as is practicable, and as soon as it can raise the moneys therefor by taxation or bond issue, prepare plans, procure lots in convenient places and construct neat, commodious, comfortable and sanitary houses for the lodgment of the workingmen and women of the city, letting the same to such persons at a rent not more than sufficient to return three (3) per cent per annum

on the original cost. (b) Workingmen to be invited to submit plans and suggestions as to the form of construction, desirable localities and such other matters as may assist in planning proper and convenient houses.

PALACE OF THE PEOPLE.

11. (a) Provision shall be made for the construction of a permanent municipal building of steel frame and fire-proof construction of not less than twelve stories, with all modern conveniences, to be known as the Palace of the People, and to embrace all the features of a Labor Temple and Maison de Peuple. (b) Such building shall be centrally located and shall contain the free public library and free reading rooms, also, chess rooms, bowling alleys, gymnasiums and similar amusements, to be free to the public. (c) It shall contain a large public auditorium and concert hall, capable of seating comfortably not less than five thousand persons, suitable for the accommodation of political conventions, grand operas, concerts and other performances. (d) It shall contain assembly halls, lecture halls and headquarters for the free use of labor, industrial and scientific societies, trades union organizations and political parties, or political organizations of recognized legal standing, and con-

tain rooms for mining, agricultural, industrial and commercial exhibits and museums, and such other accommodations as may be of advantage to the public.

LICENSE CONTROL OF BUSINESS AND EMPLOYERS.

12. Licenses, the cost to be merely nominal, shall be required to conduct any works, shops, stores, mills, restaurants, hotels, or other business in the city and such licenses may be revoked or withdrawn or suspended whenever the owner, proprietor or manager of any such business, occupation or place, shall conduct the same in a manner dangerous to the safety or detrimental to the health of employes, or act wrongfully or unfairly toward his employes, or toward the public at large or against the interest of the people residing in the city.

REPEAL OF DOLLAR-TAX LIMIT.

13. The limit of taxation for municipal purposes to one dollar on every one hundred dollars of assessed valuation as now provided in the charter being insufficient at the present time to provide for the wants and necessities of the city and to pay its expenses, that clause of the charter should be submitted to the people for amendment that the limit of taxation

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

NEW YORK, Jan. 3, 1901.

DRS. TAFT BROS.' MEDICINE CO.,

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

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

Very truly yours,

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER.

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

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

Yours respectfully,

O. D. PHELPS, M.D.

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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.

Home address, 235 Rivington street.

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

Feb. 5, 1901.

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may be increased to a sum sufficient to conduct the government of the city properly and carry out the plans proposed for the betterment of the conditions of the working-class.

NO TAXATION FOR SMALL HOMES.

14. (a) The Legislature should be appealed to by the city government and people generally for the submission of an amendment to the State constitution which will relieve from all taxation every homestead in which the owner thereof or his family actually resides and which does not exceed in value \$3,000, in the same manner as church and Stanford University property is now exempted. (b) Household furniture to the amount of \$500 shall be exempt from taxation.

AMENDMENTS TO CHARTER WHERE NECESSARY.

15. As to any of the measures proposed, which are now unattainable under the provisions of the present charter, the Supervisors shall prepare and present proper amendments to the charter which will authorize such measures and as soon as possible submit them to a vote of the people for their adoption.

APPROPRIATION OF CAPITALIST FLEECINGS.

16. The State constitution and revenue laws should also be so enforced by the city assessor and tax collector that all vacant and unused land should be assessed and taxed at the highest value of the nearest adjoining land occupied or in use, and all the franchises, mortgages, bonds, property and wealth of the capitalist class should be assessed and taxed at the highest value thereof, to the end that the capitalist class may be compelled to surrender in the form of taxes as large a part as possible of the wealth which they have fleeced from the workers, and that such moneys may be appropriated toward the carrying out of measures for the benefit of the working-class and the final attainment of Socialism, which aims not at mere Reform, but contemplates a complete industrial Revolution.

NO CAPITALIST PUBLIC OWNERSHIP MOVEMENTS.

17. In advocating these palliative measures as ameliorative steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we warn the working-class against capitalist public ownership movements. They are attempts by the employing class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security for exploitations in other industries and with the end in view of applying the revenues from publicly-owned utilities for the payment of public expenses, thus lessening the rates of taxation on the property of the capitalists, and in no instance are capitalist public ownership movements forwarded for the improvement of the economic conditions of the working-class.

Stitt Wilson Invited to Debate.

J. Stitt Wilson held four meetings in Oakland last week. All were well attended, the Masonic hall being filled each evening.

On Friday evening Mr. Wilson's subject was "Socialism, the Logic of Christianity." The speaker spoke with his accustomed vigor, and was warmly applauded, though the writer failed to see that any logical connection had been made between Socialism and Christianity. At the conclusion of the meeting Comrade Benham challenged Mr. Wilson to a public debate, asserting that the teachings of Jesus are opposed to the principles of Socialism. Mr. Wilson said that to do so would not be for the best interests of the movement; that Comrade Benham was anti-Christian and fur-

ther declined to debate the question with Comrade Benham either in public or private. Mr. Wilson, in reply to Comrade Benham, admitted that the fundamental principle of Socialism was the collective ownership of the means of which the people live and also that there was nothing in the teachings of Jesus to show that the latter desired such a conditions of affairs. While many present seemed to think Mr. Wilson was justified in refusing to debate, others besides the writer would have much preferred that, in the interests of truth (and as one will doubt Mr. Wilson's sincerity), this somewhat vexed question should be publicly discussed and decided on, pro or con. Fraternally,

E. L. C.

(The editor submitted the above to Comrade Benham. Comrade Benham then requested the insertion of the following.)

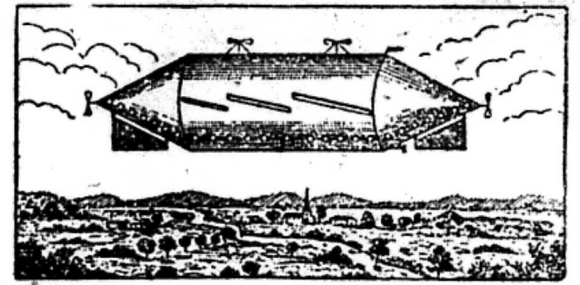
Editor ADVANCE: Through your courtesy, my attention has been called to the contribution signed, "E. L. C." It is very brief. Several significant remarks made by Mr. Wilson seem to have escaped your correspondent. Almost the first utterance made by Mr. Wilson when offering his refusal to debate was this: "No, I will not debate with you; I would be obliged to say things which I would not like to say to you in public." After this evidence of solicitude for my welfare, Mr. Wilson said: "If you think you can damage Christianity, do as Ingersoll did." In answer to the query made by me if Mr. Wilson would not be "willing to assist in the demonstration of truth," he said: "I do not intend to be the attraction to get together audiences that you may air your peculiar views on his subject. If you do not like what I say, follow me about the country; go hire a hall, and see what you can get out of it."

One acquainted with the subject might well expect to hear awful things when an effort is made to prove a likeness between the teachings of Jesus and the principles of Socialism, but I had entertained no idea the exposition could be so horrible as was intimated by Mr. Wilson. Yet, this mercy toward me seems a trifle strained, for, cruel as it would be to harrow up a friendly opponent, the harrowing would simply be an unimportant incident in connection with an attempt at the demonstration of the truth upon a question which must, sooner or later, be decided by the Socialists of the country.

Desiring nothing but an exposition of fact upon a specified subject, I made no reference to Ingersoll, nor evidenced a desire to attack or damage Christianity. The absurd suggestion as to Ingersoll, damage, etc., was simply an inexpensive means of appealing to the religious prejudices of the listeners.

In regard to Mr. Wilson serving as an attraction, etc., that I was seeking this debate as an opportunity for public speaking, is an intimation quite in keeping with the cause in which it was uttered. I did desire the best possible presentation of the views to which I am opposed. I credited Mr. Wilson with being a courageous defender of what, in his public addresses, he declares to be the truth; in this I was mistaken.

"Go and hire a hall." Yes, these words are familiar. They are shouted by hoodlums at Socialist speakers on the streets nearly every evening. These words have furnished a retort for every kind of political hack and capitalist supporter, when called to order for misstatements or when an endeavor is made to make plain the face of error in debate. "Go and hire a hall." It is remark whose cheapness has recommended it to all who have not the courage to defend their position, and is not infrequently used by those who have no position to defend.



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In answer to repeated inquiries if he would debate the question, Mr. Wilson said, "No, I will not debate with you, either in public or in private." As this made the matter a personal one, I can take no possible exception to this excuse. I am painfully aware of my limitations before an audience at all times, and can imagine how out of place Mr. Wilson would appear confronting so insignificant an opponent. An extraordinary confidence in my cause (now properly reprimanded) tempted me to engage with Mr. Wilson, who bears, with becoming modesty, the title of "The Peerless Orator." But after all allowance is made for the wide difference between peerless and myself, the discussion I desired would not be so painfully one-sided as it might at first appear. I have an abiding faith in the triumph of truth over error, though supported by the arts of rhetoric and the powers of eloquence. I am convinced that any child who can read the words of Jesus loud enough to be heard by an audience can work the undoing of any orator—peerless though he be—who endeavors to support Socialism by the teachings of Jesus. The precarious position of one who attempts to establish a relationship between the teachings of Jesus and Socialism is fittingly shown by Mr. Wilson's fear of an exhibition of argument upon the question. Truth is the only treasure worth striving for; the search for it will continue, its lovers never fearing the ultimate result of the effort. While assisting in this search I shall ever hold in highest consideration those persons who seek to establish conclusions by analysis and demonstration rather than by assertion and dogma.

While the demonstration waits, this kindly and gifted gentleman, Mr. Wilson, in company with those who share his unfortunate error, will avoid discussion, and while attempting to establish an impossible relationship continue to stray far, far from the paths of truth.

If the best interests of Socialism are likely to be put in jeopardy by the exposition of truth, then the picture of Socialism is dark, indeed.

In conclusion, Mr. Editor, let me add that (now I am by this refusal relieved of the possibility of the direful results of Mr. Wilson's unsaid things) should any less eminent but more courageous upholder of the Christianity-Socialism likeness feel disposed to discuss the question, I should be pleased to debate, feeling sure that such discussion will assist the public understanding of the principles of Socialism.

Yours for Social Democracy,

G. B. BENHAM.

San Francisco, October 28, 1901.

P. S.—I should make no public comment upon Mr. Wilson's reply had it been made (as was the offer to debate) in private. He evidently desired publicity, for the refusal was made in the presence of many persons. B.

Tobin's Wisdom.

The Democratic candidate for Mayor, in his attack on the New Labor Party the other evening, held out to the workingmen who own no more property than their overalls, the following argument: "You are invited to do that which will depreciate the value of your property by fifty per cent. Every man who has a dollar's worth of property invested in San Francisco must know that the election of a ticket which typifies discontent and agitation means stagnation in San Francisco; means that San Francisco will be stigmatized throughout the United States as a city where it is unsafe for capital to go, where men will not be protected if they invest their capital there and where you will be confronted by an agitation and discontent which will ultimately end in the confiscation of any property that you may invest in here."

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- BAKERS and Confectioners International, Journeymen**, No. 106. (Drivers). Meets every Wednesday, 6:30 p. m., at 117 Turk street. Herman Vogt, Secretary, with Liberty Bakery, cor. Jones and O'Farrell streets.
- BAKERS and Confectioners International, Journeymen**, No. 117. (Italian), 117 Turk street. Marcel Wille, Secretary, 117 Turk street.
- BAKERS (Cracker) and Confectioners International, Journeymen**, No. 125. Meets 1st and 3d Monday at Garibaldi Hall, 423 Broadway. C. E. Pursley, Secretary, 2109½ Mason St.
- BARBERS International Union, Journeymen**, No. 148. Meets every Monday, 8:45 p. m., at 32 O'Farrell street. I. Less, Secretary, 927 Market street, room 207.
- BOOT and Shoe Repairers Union, Custom**. Meets 1st Tuesday in each month at 102 O'Farrell street.
- BOOT and Shoe Workers Union International**, No. 216. Meets every Monday at 909 Market St. F. Maysenhelder, Secretary, 522 Eighth St.
- BOOKBINDERS Protective and Beneficial Association**. Meets 1st Friday at 102 O'Farrell street. L. G. Wolfe, Secretary, 765 Fifth St., Oakland.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of**, No. 25. Meets 2d and 4th Thursdays, at 102 O'Farrell street. H. McNesby, Secretary, 320 Harriet street.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of**, No. 205. Meets 1st and 3d Friday at Potrero Opera House, Tennessee St. John Honeyman, Secretary, 831 Texas St.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders' Helpers**, No. 9052. Meets Wednesdays at 121 Eddy St. Walter J. Cullen, Secretary, 1320 Harrison St.
- BLACKSMITH Helpers (Machine)**, No. 8922. Meets Tuesdays at 102 O'Farrell St. John Quigley, Secretary, 142 Silver St.
- BLACKSMITHS**, No. 168, Ship and Machine, International Brotherhood of. Meets Fridays at 102 O'Farrell St. G. Clarke, Secretary, 62 Rausch St.
- BREWERY Workers International Union of United**, No. 7. Branch 1 meets 2d and 4th Saturday; Branch 2 meets 2d and 4th Thursday; at 1159 Mission St. Ludwig Berg, Secretary, 1159 Mission St.
- BREWERY Workers, International Union of United**, No. 102. Bottlers. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday, 8:30 p. m., at 1159 Mission St. A. R. Andre, Secretary.
- BREWERY Workers, International Union of United**, No. 227. Drivers. Meets 2d and 4th Monday, 8:30 p. m., at 1159 Mission St. A. Rudolph Speck, Secretary.
- BROOMMAKERS International**, No. 58. Meets 1st and 3d Thursday, at 1159 Mission St. Geo. F. Daley, Secretary, 3514 Twenty-sixth St.
- BLACKSMITHS International Brotherhood of**, No. 99, Carriage and Wagon. Meets every Wednesday at 117 Turk St. W. W. Clarke, Secretary, 320 Lexington Ave.
- BLACKSMITH Helpers and Finishers**, No. 9106. Meets Wednesday nights at 1159 Mission St. John B. McLennon, Secretary, 525 Connecticut St.
- CARRIAGE and Wagon Workers International**, No. 66. Painters. Meets every Thursday at 1133 Mission St. T. J. Finn, Secretary, 1622 Mission St.
- CARRIAGE and Wagon Workers International**, No. 69. Wood Workers. Meets every Tuesday at 117 Turk St. Fred Hoese, Secretary.
- CARPENTERS and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood**, No. 483. Meets every Monday at 915½ Market St. A. E. Carlisle, Secretary.
- CIGARMAKERS International Union of America**, No. 228. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday at 368 Jessie St. J. A. Ramon, Secretary, 368 Jessie St.
- CLERKS International Protective Association, Retail**, No. 432. Meets every Tuesday at Pioneer Hall, 32 Fourth St. Leo. Kaufmann, Secretary, 1084 Golden Gate Ave.
- CLERKS International Protective Association, Retail**, No. 410. Shoe Clerks. Meets every Wednesday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. E. Kelly, Secretary, 28 Kearny St.
- CLERKS Protective Association. Drug. No. 472**. Meets Fridays at 909 Market St. H. Schwartz, Secretary, 1718 Geary St.
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- 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.
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- 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.
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- 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.
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- 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.

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

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

UPHOLSTERERS' Union of North America, No. 28. Evey Tuesday at 7 City Hall square. F. A. Rice, Secretary, 127 Precita ave.

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

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

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

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

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Nov. 28th—James F. Morton—The Novelist as Prophet of Social Change.

After years of lobbying and begging the President and Congress for an eight-hour law the American Federation of Labor has been officially advised that its request will be considered if it will submit a brief on the question. By the time conditions will make an eight-hour law practically useless we may expect its adoption or a decision declaring it unconstitutional. Why does not the Federation go into politics and try to elect government officials by, for and of the working-class?—Gazette, Omaha.

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