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EUGENE E. SCHMITZ, ESQ.

A Vindication.

It seems unfortunate that amidst the general rejoicing over the election of a candidate on a labor ticket a word of dissent should come from the Socialists, yet the word is here. We contended early in the recent fight and all through the same that Eugene E. Schmitz's candidacy was intended for nothing more or less than the election of a republican Mayor in San Francisco. The outcome proved our contention. The fight of the "Call" and the "Chronicle" against Wells was nothing more than a part of the plot. It was a struggle between two machines and the one having the most money and the best generals won. To offer this as a vindication of our policy would mean nothing if we did not thereby hope to enlighten a few well-meaning but otherwise uninteresting people on the fallacy of accepting a man to represent the working class who has no sympathy with the working class and no knowledge of its historic development and only contempt for its mission. This Mayor, Eugene E. Schmitz, is a middle-class man, a small producer, with all the astuteness of that class and very little of its honesty. He ran on a labor ticket, a class ticket, a ticket brought into being because of the class war that had raged in this city for months and yet we have him say the very night of his election:

"It is a well-known fact that I am a staunch Republican, so far as the creed of government is concerned, and in taking the nomination as I did, I did not forsake those principles. Whenever the tide of affairs swings into its normal channel, I shall again be found in the Republican party."

It was a well-known fact—to the Socialists—that he was a Republican. They knew that he had voted the Abe Ruef-Martin Kelly ticket at the primaries a few weeks previous to his accepting the nomination for Mayor on the labor ticket, but they also knew that he was trying to forget it and trying to make other people forget it. There was no hint that he was a staunch republican, till after the votes were counted. And therein is the astuteness of the middle class politician displayed, also the dishonesty. If he was a staunch republican what was he doing on a labor ticket and why did he not make his brave speech before the election, not after. Can it be that he does not know the republican party is the party of the capitalists, that it is the party of Hanna and the steel trust and the employers' association?? That it is the party of the Scotts of the Union Iron Works, who are keeping the very men whose votes he needed to elect him in a state of semi-starvation? And if he knew this would it not be the part of an honest, sincere man to either cease to be "a staunch republican" or else retire from the labor ticket. True, he was unpledged and stood upon a platform without a measure in it for the benefit of the workers, still these words by A. Furuseth that did more to elect him than anything else should not have been overlooked. They are straight and clean. They give exactly why there was a labor ticket.

"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, that 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."

There is no hedging here. This man Furuseth was an enemy of independent political action by the working class. He believed in pure and simple trades Unionism. He is undoubtedly sincere. His leadership is recognized and when he gave the reason why he was for independent political action he was listened to as the vote attests. Yet the man he helped to elect comes out the very evening of his election and says he is "a staunch republican." Think of this you workingmen, think of this you "Socialists" (??) who voted this man into power because he ran on a labor ticket, and when you think of it try and remember so you will not be hoodwinked again.

You workingmen and "Socialists" (??) who voted for Schmitz have much to learn. First that political decoy ducks will always be put up by the capitalist class to keep you in a state of doubt. You are really the easiest things that ever came over the bridge. You listen to every tune that is played by every third rate fiddler and imagine the harmony is sweet. And what do you get for it? A chance to beg the pennies, which are quickly taken away from you, so though you were as many Italian organ grinders' monkeys.

The second thing it would be well for you to remember is that the capitalist class and the working class are always antagonistic. The exploiter and the exploited, the bosses and the workers are, and cannot help being, arrayed against each other.

And whenever a politician comes among you and says he is conservative and does not believe in class struggles and such things, ask him to turn down his coat collar that you may see the dollar-mark on his neck, the mark of the bought agent of the capitalist class.

The third and last thing at this time for you to remember is that the socialists are never defeated. They await the development of our economic conditions, for just as truly as the sun shines will the political institution eventually conform to the economic changes taking place in the country. There is a class struggle economically, there will be one politically. Intensification of the economic struggle as evidenced here in San Francisco a few months ago proves this contention, for the labor party came into being because of it. It also proves that the capitalist class is not asleep. It is ready at all times to send its agents into the camp of the workers and lead them on to victory that is worse than defeat. In addition to the foregoing it would be well to add this, that any party not standing for a workingman getting the full value of what he produces, not standing for the common ownership of all the tools of production and distribution is a capitalist party no matter if it is called Republican party, Democratic party or Union Labor party.

Face to Face.

By Peter E. Burrowes.

Labor or service is that common denominator to which all men could submit as the social master-fact without leading to the dissolution of society by such submission; whereas profit-taking, as the master-fact of every single life is not thinkable. The race under such an impulse must quickly destroy itself by the anarchy of greed and conquest. Now as socialism is the recognition of the former, and competition (allied to commerce and waggery) is the recognition of the latter, as far as human nature will permit it, decent thinkers will not hesitate to check the mad pretensions of the individual schools, as a conservator of sound government and social order. It is the unconquerable collective sanity of the people alone that saves the nations from dissolutions under the baneful influence of profiting out of each other by competition cunning and so-called superiority of those who survive.

The conflict of the classes in this generation assumes the dignity of a great philosophic necessity when we consider out of what elements the commercial and bread battles of the masses and class are now maintained. Here is the vast majority of the population engaged in producing, weighing, measuring, counting, fetching, carrying something. So practically engaged are they in doing this one thing altogether under one bidding and for one purpose, that the whole mass of operators, clerks, directors, etc., etc., soon reveals itself to the philosophic mind as one social working man, and their collective operations appear as one social working day. Among the constituent activities of this working man and working day there is no contest. The middle class action throughout all the shades of salary, rank and distribution is in the same process with the laborers and in the same common relation to the alien direction of capitalism which now moves the whole bunch, and rules it merely by the possession of self-fructifying money. At many points it is almost impossible to separate this barren capitalistic man from the rest of society. He seems so like the middle man and the middle man wants to be so like him—he SO wants to be like him! Their instincts for accumulation, their genius for picking and stealing out of all things whatsoever they handle are so much the same, that we look in vain all up and down the social color chart to discover a visible line of shade, or tint, which we know to be two antagonisms only—capital and all the rest of society. At last we see the trust, and we see the labor organization; we see Morgan, and we see the proletariat; and social science has yielded its two objective polar antitheses to our analysis. The workman, subjectively conscious of his class and aggressively working out his own salvation; and the financier, proudly conscious of his class, and aggressively working out his self-appointed mission of labor subjugation.

The real positive work of the world has only commenced from the moment the two opposing factors in the abnormal life of present society have sensed each other's presence, and know that they exist only at the cost of each other. Many years of half-intuitions, of dim and partial glimpses, here and there, at the elemental combatants have preceded this and left nothing done because they were dim. But now the revelation has come, the two classes are out by their representative men. David and Goliath stand before each other. And the one thing to be had and done henceforth is definiteness as to the class conflict, and an uncompromising battle until the social tragedy finishes either in the ending of classes altogether by the victory of the proletariat, or in

the final conquest of the world's producers by the victory of the capitalistic man. This definite disclosure through socialism of the two primary antagonisms, the two chosen champion classes of the world, is by far the greatest boon ever given to the cause of permanent peace and order by any philosophy, and they who truly love and hope for human tranquility will kiss this sword. Labor, the interests, the triumphs, the qualities of the every-day doer of world-work, is as a great social liquid into which all things fit for society do easily dissolve. Only one thing cannot pass into this common solvent, and that one thing is the profiteer. He is a foreign element always in the social vial; he cannot melt and blend with any other thing in society but in appearance, and for profit and the deterioration of whatsoever he comes near.

Certainly as an abiding principle in the world the principle of competition must be a universal antagonism and they who make competition itself the motive principle of society might as well recommend fire as the universal reformer of cities. To recognize competition in itself as a social force is a brutal outrage upon reason and it has never been, in this or any other age, or country, or city or family, seriously so accepted. It was never anything else than a convenient cover for moral anarchy and guilty success, a villainous pax vobiscum with which we kick our rivals out of life. The very word "competition" is a blast of unending sorrow. Competition means nothing less than unending conflict. Competition cannot endure victory. Competition cannot endure defeat. Competition can not rest. Competition competes with everything and with itself. It is an acceleration always of its own speed. It whips and urges today more swiftly on than yesterday. It grows larger, fiercer, more intense. Competition knows no rest. If it did it would be no more competition. Whatsoever the mind perceives concerning the necessary speed, even unto infinite velocity of destruction, of this awful principle; the experience of the world knows capitalism to be within the assigned limits of human life and human endurance.

It is not the socialist that invokes the black spirits of conflict; it is not he that would turn this earth into a hell for their perpetual exercise. They are invoked, and have been embodied, as the immoral nerves and muscles of capitalistic society, by all the philosophers of individualism from Spencer to the Pope, and this awful crime leaves the Socialist no other alternative than to fight the fighter or die. And, that the strife may quickly be ended, we select the largest interest and the most afflicted man of the world—the laborer, to bring peace by going forth to battle.

The evolutionary idea of "the next step onward" with the material at our disposal suggests the ballot box of our democracy as the plain of this battle. Could we imagine capitalism as having attained its present overshadowing proportions over our lives under an absolute monarchic despotism; the throne recognizing no right of ours, and lending itself to the economic mastership of our oppressors; our class conflict would be, in that case, a resort to arms. But as the machinery of usurpation employed by capitalism itself was not the regular army but the regular lawyers, the regular judges, and the regular legislatures, so we shall also use them and place our own officers at the head of these pliant battalions; and with them win back the empire of labor to ourselves.

In the meantime, while waiting for events, let us get ready for them. Let us train in the morals, spirit and habits of organization, in

the trades unions. Let every working man in his trade's council consider himself as in training for the greater national and international parliaments of labor that are coming. It is to be a political contest at the ballot boxes, to make our own laws and our own judges, and very few of these.

Since the Socialist denies the real duality of interests at the machine, and also denies that party government and parties in the legislature are necessity, or on the bench; and denies that there are any two interests in a state, affirming that there is but one everywhere and that that one is the cause of labor, it follows that he sees very little for legislatures to do except it be to repeal all their former false property laws, to disband the courts, administer industry, and to dismiss the judges, since their old capitalistic paymasters can pay them no more. Once set upon its normal basis of labor and service to the single life, society has no problems for lawyers, and the single life once restored to its simple ideal of labor and service to the state, there is no problem for priests and there is an end to the strife between private citizens and government, an end to the notion that society exists only to enable a few persons to excel their fellows.

The Socialist Convert.

Struck down by brute Wealth's greed, relentless;
fell;

Numbered factory Slave to wheel insatiate,
With future, dark and dread, implacable.
His pain slow permeates his soul, transformable
And wakes to life, so tender, pitiful,—
That grief of Proletaire in sweat-shop, mine,
Lives with him near unsleeping; silent woe
of locked-out men, lone starving, beds with him;
And misery of close-packed, sunless holes
Of bloodless poor, black shame! casts pall on
earth,
On sky, so beautiful. Most sore bestead,—
Like stag at bay, he stands, resilient, fierce,—
Then quests keen, wide, the darkness stygian.

And soon on street, in hall, he hears a voice,
Despised, and exiled, prisoned, martyred lone,—
Yet thrilled with radiant hope, and wondrous
light.

Again the voice beseeching, burning fire,
Descries him 'mid the crowd with yearning face,
Enthralled, and almost convert. Then three
priests,
Puissant, kingly, find him reading tense
Their scrolls, new Bibles, blazing light for souls:

Lassalle, the brilliant, fiery priest!
Who smote the scholar, statesman, hip and
thigh,—
Who greatly roused the Proletaire to life,
Insurgent, earnest, thrilled with mission high,—
Of batt'ring down the venal World Bourgeois,
And building up the Comrade World to be.

And sad Savonarola of to-day,
Sorrowing sore o'er Trade's apostasy!
Rich heart exhaling love of brotherhood!
Great light to them, who yet in blindness sit!
Strong prophet shod with fire, in darkness dense
Announcing bold: Production, commune with
God,
And Distribution, human fellowship.

Unweary Titan, scholar, exile lone!
Vast searcher deep of proletarian woe!
X-raying keen in book profound, revered,
The Bourgeoisie exploiting deep his toil;
Loud crying in World Manifesto great:
Ye starved Proletaire! unite! unite!
Break down! break down! strong* binder of your
chains!

And now with brain alight, redeemed, inspired,
Regenerate,—hierophant full sworn,—
He goes, not counting cost, despising shame,
Converting souls to World-wide Cause sublime.

O World Bourgeois! titanic! savage! doomed!
O Comrade World! titanic! Godlike! crowned!
—Frederick Irons Bamford, in International Socialist Review.

*Capitalism.

Anxious for the Convention.

Local San Francisco has seen fit to call for a State Convention of duly qualified representatives of the two organizations represented at the Unity Convention. It is proposed to call the convention together on the 6th of December, at a place selected by majority vote. Further, the initiative proposes the same plan of representation as was in force at the Unity Convention on July 29th last, i. e., a delegate having as many votes as their are names of members in good standing signed to his credentials. This initiative, coming immediately on the defeat of the Los Angeles initiative, justifies itself by the suitability of the date it sets for the convening of the convention, and the general necessities urged by the southern initiative. It is, I suppose, generally conceded that the Los Angeles measure failed of receiving a majority vote, because it made a poor selection in regard to time, and a poor choice as to the place of holding of convention. Its defeat did not, however, mean that a convention should not be held, or that it was not desirable, for none will argue against a convention, except possibly a very few individuals. We have to deal with the wants of the organization, and only with such wants, individuals can take care of their own ambitions. For a year and a half the movement has been guessing with itself what the real basis and outlines of the State organization were, and to find itself at this time, with national unity achieved, working in a confused and uncertain manner, as, for instance, two separate organizations existing in San Francisco, one the so-called "Liberty Branch," and the other Local San Francisco, and between the two there lies the same old dividing line of inharmony and lack of organic affiliation. The State Executive Committee initiates a measure of its own choice, despite constitutional restrictions forbidding it, and before the same is in force by its own terms, it institutes the change, note the referendum on the change of name from S. D. P. to S. P., initiated by the committee and to be effective Nov. 6th, for the referendum reads, "This change to take effect on Nov. 6, 1901. This resolution is now enforced and has been enforced for some time.

What more eloquent and convincing argument can be offered than the stagnant condition of the party organization? What better reason can be urged for the adoption of the call than the fact that it emanates from a local which almost unanimously voted down the earlier call of Los Angeles.

As to the method of representation, the plan proposed in the initiative was tested at the Unity Convention with the result that it was found too cumbersome and undemocratic, as it tended greatly to encourage a personal representation; witness, the respective vote of H. Ryan, California's only elected delegate, who had less, far less, than either of those who went upon their personal or their local's support; far better be it that the local organization select their best men of their organization and send them as representatives to the convention on the plan proposed by Local Santa Clara.

If you want a convention; if you desire the class-struggle emphasized and adhered to without deviation; if you desire and want a live, energetic organization, stand for this initiative and the amendment of Local Santa Clara—"that the basis of representation be one delegate to each Local and one additional delegate for each fifteen members, or major fraction thereof"—raise your voice and lend your financial support to obtain a good convention, but if dilatory tactics, procrastinating methods, and a constant lapsing of locals are more to

your taste and judgment, then vote accordingly, but stop wondering why things do not move faster.

Vote for the convention and Santa Clara's amendment.
JOS. O'BRIEN.

Author of "The Man with the Hoe" Visits the Sweat Shops.

"Oho! This is the New York Greek colony, eh? Whew! What dirt, what disorder!" This was my cry as three of us—Sir Youthful and Sir Grayhead and myself—began picking our way through Roosevelt street. Everywhere were little clumps of children or little groups of noisy tradesmen. Every one seemed to be busy, but all things were confusion—no order, no beauty, no high intelligence. Was it to such that St. Paul preached on Mars Hill? Was it for such as these that Socrates drank the hemlock? No, since then there has been a thousand years of the "Unspeakable Turk."

"Look out, or you will step on these half-naked little fellows. A man's big foot would flatten one out like a fly." We stop a moment to look at seven little tots, all crowded in the cranny of a wall. The least one of these little fellows was eating with great satisfaction a penny's worth of miserable ice cream. This little one was a great tragedy, with its chalk-like face, pinched features, and starved expression in the eyes. It was one of those terrible babes that are old at birth.

On all hands there were the indications of watered milk and adulterated food. But there were also the remains of the old and classic beauty. The Greek outline, the small Attic features, the fawn-like eyes that do not think but feel! In the midst of all this squalor rises the imposing front of a Greek Catholic church. At the sight of it there burst upon the mind the memories of the great Constantine and the splendors of the Byzantine era.

My guide directed me to a place in Crystie street. "This is a sweat-shop," said my guide. And at the words, with the glance that followed, I thought of the bloody sweat of Christ—the eternal martyrdom of man. We had to step softly through the dark, winding, and slippery passages that led into this human hell. Soon we were on the third floor, looking out on the neighboring roofs, covered with refuse and garbage, broken bottles and sloppy pools. Deadly odors were continually blowing through the work-shops. The work people were bowed to their work with a strained intensity in every movement. Anxiety was written on every feature. Hunger rode a-straddle, spurs to his heels, as if death came riding hard behind!

Every worker in every room was more or less misshapen; those who ran machines had great humps on their shoulders, hideous and abominable distortions of the majesty that God made. Out through all this horror would sometimes break a crackling rill of laughter. Truly it was a Dantesque circle.

At one of the houses we entered, the old lady thought we were intending to purchase the building. Her face suddenly brightened. She led the way through winding halls. She gave a guttural cry as she reached the back yard, and a dozen young ragamuffins scampered to a dirty wool sack in the corner. She saw nothing but virtue in the old rookery. "See this finely-lighted hall!" she cried, as we passed into one dimly lighted by a little dirty window. "She what sunny rooms!" All of them were dingy and dark. Perhaps the mole, too, finds joy in his unlit chambers below ground. But the mole gets his rent for nothing; but these wretched families are forced to pay \$7.50 a month for one wretched little room. And this room, this rathole, this den

that I have found the "hoeman" taking root on our American soil. Certainly the decadence of labor is here in the making. Give us time enough and we will be able "to point with pride" to a fascinating horror equal to the older lands. As we passed out to the open air, some one remarked that Colonel Ingersoll was always insisting that there was no hell. What fatuity, thought I. While theologians have been debating whether or not God ever made a devil, men have built up a devil in the industrial industries of the world.

In these last days society is confronted by two gigantic evils—the trust and the sweat-shop. These are typical of all the rest. They are the two giants destroying the industrial life of the republic. One stands for congested capital; the other for emaciated poverty. They are the *reductio ad absurdum* of the competitive system. They spring from a failure to justly distribute the products of labor. They both show the power of co-operative principle. They are the modern Titans who are shaking the public safety so that everywhere the voices are beginning to cry: "Let us consider the new duties of new occasions—let us build the New Republic!"

Co-operative industry, then, is the hope of the New Time. In the ever-enlarging realization of the principle of fraternity is the hope of social progress—in this age, and in all ages. Edwin Markham in St. Louis "Dispatch."

Secretaries of Locals in California.

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

Secretary Greenbaum, of the Socialist party, issued charters last month to the States of Illinois, Nebraska, New York and Oregon, and to the following locals: Boulder and Colorado Springs, Col.; Columbus, Kokomo, Huntington and Indianapolis, Ind.; Harrington and Jenta Springs, Kan.; Portland, Me.; Ruth, Mo.; Exeter and Manchester, N. H., and Cheyenne, Wyo.

You call Socialism an experiment that might possibly fail; you don't realize that capitalism is no longer an experiment, but a failure.—Ex.

Comrades and Readers: Patronize those business houses that advertise in ADVANCE. By doing so you will help your paper.

KARL MARX' ECONOMIC TEACHINGS.

BY KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated for "Advance" by Kasper Bauer.

(Continued from last week.)

CHAPTER VIII.

DIVISION OF LABOR AND MANUFACTURE.

1. The two-fold origin of manufacture. Its elements: the detail laborer and his implements. In the first part of our presentation besides "Capital," Marx's "Critic of Political Economics" and his "Wage-Labor and Capital" served as a basis. Relative to this and the following Chapter, (Chapters which deal of the division of labor, of manufacture, machinery and modern industry), Marx's "Misere de la Philosophie," and "Capital" are taken as textbooks. Especially paragraph 2 of the 2. Chapter of "Misere de la philosophie", in which Chapter the disadvantages of the division of labor in capitalistic manufacture for the worker are located more in detail than in "Capital." The paragraph mentioned therefore forms not only the preliminary but also the supplement of two Chapters of "Capital" now under consideration. These two Chapters are, in our opinion, of the most brilliant of Marx's writings. It is to be regretted that so far the merited attention has not been given them by readers of "Capital."

At first we must observe manufacture, "that industry, which as yet is not modern industry with its machines, which no longer however is either the industry of the middle ages or house industry." ("Misery of philosophy"). As the characteristic form of the capitalist process of production, manufacture obtained roughly speaking from about the middle of the 16. to the end of the 18. century.

Its origin is two-fold in nature. On the one hand Capital was confronted with products that, before they were completely finished, had to go through the hands of many different kinds of hand-workers. A coach, for instance, went out of the hand of the wheelwright into those of the saddler, the painter, upholsterer, etc., etc. Instead of these many independent handworkers, the capitalist placed wageworkers of these different trades who worked together in a common workshop, according to a common plan in order to complete the coach.

Manufacture, however, developed also in another way, a way just the opposite of the one just shown. The capitalist combined a number of workers, all of whom produced the same product, in the same workshop. Each one of them had to perform all the parts necessary for the completion of the product. As soon as a greater number of workers were employed in this way, it naturally resulted in a division of the different parts of the work amongst the different workers.

On the one hand manufacture arose through the combination of different kinds of independent trades, on the other the division of the different transactions of one trade among different workers.

But whether the particular detail of work which the worker performs in manufacture, constituted the independent performance of a particular trade, or whether it arose as the result of the division of the performance of a trade, handicraft is always its basis not only historically, but also technically. That each single operation is carried out by human hands remains an absolute necessity. Just as in handicraft so in manufacture the success of the labor-process depends largely upon the skill, steadiness and rapidity of the individual worker. Yet there exists an enormous difference between the worker of the handicraft and the manufacturing period. Instead of the diversity of performances of the first, the handicraftworker, there steps the simplicity and monotony of the performances of the worker

of the manufacture period, where the worker performs day in and out and year in and out the same little knack required of him. The worker is no longer an independent producer with a definite aim, but a dependent part of a great working-mechanism, he becomes in a certain sense, a limb of the total worker. The adeptness of the worker is, within the limited value of his activity, thereby enormously increased. He discovers many "tricks of the trade," transfers his knowledge to his fellow-workers and is taught new ones by them in turn. Change of place and tools, the concomitant of diversity of work causes waste of time and labor power; this is eliminated by the detail laborer of manufacture who works uninterrupted without break and with the same tool at the same place. Otherwise however this sort of labor is lacking the charms and recreation which the change, the diversity of activities affords.

The division of labor within the factory develops not only the adeptness of the worker, but also the greater perfection of his tools. A tool which must serve for all the different purposes, cannot be adopted perfectly to any particular one; a tool which is used exclusively for one particular purpose, can be fitted exactly to serve that purpose, and becomes thereby more effective than former tools. All of these circumstances result in an appreciable increase in the productivity of labor in manufacture when compared with that of a handicraft.

2. The two fundamental forms of manufacture.

Thus far we have viewed the two-fold origin of manufacture and its simple elements, the detail worker and his implements. Let us now turn to its total form. Manufacture possesses two distinct fundamental forms, which arise from the nature of the article produced. This article either results from the mere mechanical fitting together of partial products made independently, or it owes its completed shape to a series of connected processes and manipulations.

We can illustrate either of the two fundamental forms of manufacture by famous example. Sir Wm. Petty illustrates the division of labor within the factory with the manufacture of clocks or rather during handicraft a watch was originally the product of one worker. He made it from start to finish. As soon however as the manufacture of clocks became a capitalist trade, the production of every compound part of a watch became the task of a particular detail-worker, as did the putting together of the different parts. Here we find main-springmakers, dialmakers, casemakers, handmakers, pinmakers, etc., etc., etc., and finally the repasseur, who fits together the whole watch and then regulates it.

This for an illustration of the first fundamental form of manufacture.

As illustration of the second will take what since has become famous, Adam Smith's representative of the manufacture of pins, as it existed in his time. "One operative pulls the wire," he says, "another one lays it flat, the third cuts it into pieces. the fourth puts the point on it, the fifth polishes the end where the head is to be placed. Three or four distinct operations are necessary to make the head, To set the head upon the pin is a trade by itself, as is the work of giving it its color. Another branch of the industry is the placing of the pins in papers. And thus the work of producing a pin is divided into eighteen different manipulations. performed in some factories by as many different hands." (Wealth of Nations, Ch. I.)

The single wire passes consecutively through the hands of the different detail-workers; but these workers do not wait for each other, they are all busy at the same time. Within a pinfactory there is going on simultaneously wire-pulling, cutting, sharpening, etc., etc., in short there is going on side by side at the same time all the different operations which the handicraft worker had to perform one after the other. This makes it possible to turn out more commodities within the same length of time. Another thing gained in manufacture when compared with handicraft is the gain in productive power, a gain which arises out of the co-operative character of manufacture. One disadvantage however sticks to manufacture: Whether it belongs to the class illustrated with the manufacture of a watch, or that of our second illustration, there is always one thing that remains to be done with the product or the parts composing it, namely, the transporting of it from one hand to another which requires valuable time and labor. It remained with modern industry to overcome this disadvantage.

By this process of transporting (handing over) one worker furnishes the other with raw material, one worker keeps the other one employed, as it were. The worker, for instance, whose task it is to place the heads upon the pins cannot do his work unless the fittingly prepared pieces of wire are furnished him in sufficient numbers. If therefore the work of all, the whole process of production is to go on uninterruptedly, the labor time necessary for the production of this particular product of every branch of the detail-work must be fixed and the mass of workers employed in the different branches must be brought in corresponding relations. If, for instance, the wire-cutter can, on an average, cut 1000 pins per hour, while the worker who puts the heads upon them can in the same time, "top off" only 200 pins, it will require 10 men for placing on heads in order to keep two wire-cutters busy. But on the other hand, the capitalist, who employs one wire-cutter must hire five men for putting on heads, if he wants to reap the full value of the labor-power of the first. If he wants to enlarge his establishment the number of workers to be employed is not a matter of choice, if he intend to thoroughly exploit his workers. In order to stick to our illustration: if he puts to work an additional wire-cutter it will be proportionally beneficial to him only if he employs five (not three or four) additional workers for placing on heads. The production of commodities within the socially necessary labor-time required for their production is as we know, a demand of commodity production itself; that is demanded by competition.

With the development of capitalist manufacture, the production of a given mass of product within the socially necessary labor-time becomes also a technical necessity. During handicraft, the worker who worked faster or slower, then was socially necessary thereby influenced his income as worker, but the rapidity or slowness of his labor did not make production impossible. In capitalist manufacture, however, the whole process of production is thrown out of gear as soon as within one branch the detail-workers deviate from the rule. We have seen above that the simultaneous employment of a greater number of workers at the same task results in giving average labor. This advantage of simple co-operation becomes an imperative necessity of manufacture production.

Only after production becomes capitalistic does the individual producer of commodities (the capitalist) produce, as the rule, with socially, necessary average labor. And he must do so. Only after the capitalist mode of production has become the dominant mode does the law of commodity-value come into full operation.

Side by side with manufacture there appears, here and there, the use of machinery, these, however, are under this period the exception, they play an inferior part. The

main machinery of manufacture is and remains the total-worker, (the workers in their total collective capacity) the different cogs in the whole wheel of this "total worker" are formed by the individual detail laborer. As a matter of fact, the worker under the system of manufacture is nothing but part of a machine, a part which must work just as regularly as steadily as any other. Just as with a machine there are parts that are more and some that are less complicated, so the different detail activities call for more or less skilled workers, the value of whose labor-power raises according to the skill necessary.

As long as the production of pins was carried on by handicraft, the apprenticeship and the skill of every pin-maker was the same, and consequently the value of the laborpower of each was, roughly speaking, the same, and relatively high. When manufacture superseded handicraft, the production of pins divided into special activities which required great practice, and also into others, the performance of which could easily be learned. The labor-power of those who had to spend many years in apprenticeship, in order to become skilled workers, was of course of much greater value than that of those who performed the simpler, easier tasks. And thus arose a "Hierarchy of labor, corresponding to the relative amount of wages." At the bottom of this ladder are the ones who do common labor, such as everyone, without any technical skill or knowledge whatever can perform. Such simple tasks occur in every process of production; during handicraft these simple tasks formed a change from the complicated activities; in manufacture however they became uninterrupted, steady employment of a particular class of people, who came to be known as unskilled laborers in contradistinction to skilled workers.

The time required for becoming skilled is shorter in nearly all cases for the factory worker than for the handicraftsman in the corresponding branch of industry. The handicraftsman must know how to make every particular part necessary for the production of the particular ware he is producing, whereas the factory worker needs to learn how to make only one particular part of the finished product. The cost of apprenticeship falls away entirely with unskilled workers:

And in this way falls the value of labor-power under manufacture; the labor-time necessary for the maintenance of the worker is shortened, and, the workday remaining the same, the duration of surplus labor-time is increased which means the growing of relative surplus-value. The worker, however, becomes crippled mentally and physically, his work loses all charm and interest and he himself becomes a part of capital.

(To be Continued.)

LOW'S STUDENTS SCABBING AGAIN.

The ushers at Herald Square Theater, says the "Worker," struck last Monday night on account of the summary discharge of the head usher and the employment of a Columbia University student at lower wages in his place. The manager refused to listen to their protest, and says he can get a full force of Columbia students to replace the strikers.

This is quite in line with what happened last June, when a body of students from the engineering department of Columbia were sent over to scab on striking machinists in New Jersey.

Those students have been EDUCATED AS SCABS under the direction of SETH LOW, president of Columbia University. If the workingmen of New York wish to encourage this sort of thing, let them vote the "reform" ticket next Tuesday.—And they do prefer it. Seth Low, the educator of Scabs was elected Mayor of New York by the votes of workingmen.

G. B. Benham, Printer, has removed to 123 7th Street.

A MENACING FRIENDSHIP.

BY GEORGE E. HERRON.

In both European and American magazines there is a revival of discussion as to the relative social merits of Christianity and Paganism. In times past the discussion has come from academic or ecclesiastical quarters. Now, however, it is a discussion among the Socialists. The revival may be valuable, if it tends to make clear the distinction between Socialism and Christianity; but if it tends to a confusion of the two, for reasons of sentiment or expediency, the result can only be disastrous to the Socialist movement. For next to the danger to Socialism from the concessions of capitalism is the danger that exhausted religions and ethical systems will fasten themselves upon the Socialist movement, in order to thereby perpetuate themselves.

The so-called Pagan side of the controversy does not need our attention. The world will not return to the Pagan spirit either of the Greeks or the Asiatics. All that is best and elemental in them has come down to us in the slow evolution of social experience. The worship and joy of life, which is our inheritance from the pagan, is still with us, in spite of the Puritan and the monk. And this worship and joy will bloom again in a new art and a new ethic, in a beautiful deliverance from the hideous phantasmagoria of civilization. Paganism as a system is dead, and the spirit we have with us for our salvation.

But with Christianity we have, as Socialists, a different problem to face. It is the system of Christianity that we have with us, and the spirit of Jesus that is hid and bound; and the spirit of Jesus cannot escape until Christianity is destroyed. There could be no greater antithesis, no deeper gulf, than that between Jesus and the Christian system. And nothing so surely as Christianity stands for all that is worst in capitalism; for all that is weak and mean in the human spirit; for all that represents the basest and most puerile modes of gaining power. There is no such force making for the destruction of spiritual integrity and courage, and for the unmaning and deceiving of the race, as the system of religion which so monstrously bears Christ's name, and so characteristically misrepresents him. Among no class of men is there so beggarly a conception of what it means to tell or be the truth, as among the official classes of religion; and among no other class is there so parasitical a servility. This has always been so, and it will continue to be so as long as there is an official religious class. It is in the nature of things that it should be so; for organized religion is always the economic dependent of the ruling class. The clergy are the most conspicuous beneficiaries or retainers of the owners of wealth and its sources. The court jester or court chaplain of yesterday was no more surely the pensioner of the king or lord, than is the clergyman of to-day the pensioner of capitalism. The very noblest and manliest of the clergy cannot escape the degradation and thralldom of this dependence and the spiritual pauperism resulting therefrom. Hundreds of heroic young clergymen in Europe and America have struggled for a free look at life, and for freedom to tell what they see, only to meet with baffled hope or tragedy, or else to fall back into acquiescence and compromise. Christianity is a huge and ghastly parasite, consuming billions of treasure out of the labor and the patience of the people, and is supremely interested in keeping the people in economic and spiritual subjection to capitalism. The spiritual deliverance of the race depends on its escape from this parasite. The world must be saved from its salvations.

It has been the methods of religious systems to fasten themselves upon every fresh coming of life into the world. We can see this by taking any cross-section of history. When the sweet and mighty spirit of Jesus was rising in a

cleansing tide of life among the peoples, every decadent religion, every political or philosophical system, fastened itself upon the reviving peoples, and in the name of Christ brought down to us the unspeakable caricature and spiritual tyranny of Christianity. The princes of Europe struck a bargain with Luther and betrayed and massacred the peasants, while appropriating the economic goods of the monks, and thus feudalism came to new power and glory. The communist movement of John Ball and Wickliff was made to prepare the way of Henry VIII. and the long line of robbers and flunkies that have made British history. Christianity and capitalism will alike seek to save themselves by the fastening themselves upon the Socialist movement of to-morrow, if not to-day.

So long as possible the religious system will try to preserve itself within its present source of power. It will be increasingly servile at the feet of capital. It will have annual schemes for "the reconciliation of labor and capital." It will manufacture revivals of religion. It will seek to gain power over the weak and helpless. How often have I writhed upon funeral occasion when the officiating clergyman would greedily seek to gain power over the living through a studied sympathy that would tear their hearts with anguish for the dead! How often have I seen the meanest spiritual scoundrelism seeking power in the guise of spiritual ministry!

But soon the Church will have no sources of power left within itself. It will discover that capitalism cannot save it, since capitalism cannot save itself, and will then seek to fasten itself upon the Socialist movement—not for the sake of Socialism, but for the sake of ecclesiasticism, or the religious system. With these approaches of Christianity the Socialist revolution should have nothing to do. To Christianize Socialism would be to destroy it, and to perpetuate a capitalized and decadent Christianity. Every attempt of the Church to serve Socialism will be for the sake of self-preservation, and not for the sake of the Socialist cause, just as churches are established in working-class quarters of the city to "reach the masses," not for the sake of helping them to freedom and justice, but for the sake of exploiting them as spiritual property for the Church. I have listened to many discourses in religious conventions about ways and means to "reach the masses," but not one of them has had the human interest of the people in view; they have been discussions pivoted upon the questions of what is to become of the church if the people turn away from it. The interest of organized Christianity in Socialism, is a loathsome and menacing self-interest, of which the Socialists should beware.

The relation of the Socialist movement to the spirit and ideals of Jesus is altogether another matter, and it is of this matter that I have so insistently spoken for several years. We do not need Christianity to interpret Jesus or what he meant to do; nor to interpret any of the Hebrew prophets before him. It is only by a monstrous effrontery that the Church should come to Socialists in the name of Jesus, when it completely misrepresents the whole spirit and teaching of Him in whose name it comes. Materialistic Socialism is in a far better way to give Jesus a hearing in the world than ever Christianity has been. I have tried to make the distinction between Jesus and Christianity clear to the church, and have failed. I can only hope that no part of the Socialist movement will be deceived into allowing itself to be used for the rehabilitation of a religious system that ought to rid the world of its destructive presence. Jesus was not a Socialist, and he came long before any scientific approach to society was possible; but he has left to the world a communistic spirit of matchless strength and masterly sweetness. The Socialist movement will receive this spirit and welcome this strength of power, while rejecting the traditions and authority of Christianity. Indeed, Socialism will have to be realized before the ideals of Jesus can be clearly discerned and considered.

Socialism will have its religion, or, rather, it will become a religion. But it will be a religion of the manifest facts and forces of life. Out of the selected experiences of the race and the individual will the co-operative commonwealth appropriate what is best as its philosophy and practice of life. For, after all, religion is simply the interpretation of life: and we shall have a pure and undefiled religion when we have our common human life interpreted so that we may each co-operate with the best that is in it. It is out of the common labor and struggle of the world that the soul's integrity and freedom have really come, and not out of its religious systems. Life has always been its own saviour and healer, its own lord and law, its own power and revival; and when we learn to freely look at life and trust it we shall walk in that vision for which the prophets have sought,

WORKING-CLASS POLITICS.

Competitive industry is based upon the assumption that in some miraculous way the struggles of a few thousand employers each to become immensely wealthy must result in untold benefits to the community as a whole. The Socialist cannot discover these benefits. His view of competitive industry is that it creates a capitalist class with interests antagonistic to the community; that it plunges trade into depression when ruin threatens not only the laborer in workshop and factory, but all who depend upon the steady flow of industry; that on the one hand it launches gilded barques upon a stormy sea, and on the other dooms the majority of men to ply frail wherries amongst shallows and jagged rocks. Children are thrust upon the world without training and without guidance. Grown men starve or flourish by the whim of fashion, or by the luck of speculators operating thousands of miles away. A swarming population of 80,000,000 struggle and strive, scheme and devise, rise and fall, gather riches and spend them, toil and shirk toiling. The vices of some bear them upwards to success, the virtues of others sink them to the depths of failure.

The Socialist refuses to believe that this chaos will continue forever. The day of disorganized industry carried on for private interest will go as surely as the day went when the care of prisoners, of the pauper, of the insane, was a matter of private interest. To work the mine and the factory so that the labor in them shall not be excessive by reason of the many parasites of landlords and sleeping dividend owners, so that every man who desires to live may have an opportunity to work, so that the mere earning of bread and cheese may not be so arduous that when it is done the worker has no energy left, is surely as imperative a need as that roads should be made public property, free libraries established, pure municipal water and cheap municipal gas supplied.

To modify the fell operations of the present system, various protective organizations have been formed by the workers, amongst which Trade Unionism stands first. But the Trade Unionist must recognize how modern invention has changed the world for him. Telegraph, telephone and express train make the world smaller daily. To the politician the globe is still large, and national boundaries are subjects of war and rumors of war; to the trader, there are no boundaries, no race, no country. If the furnaces of England are damped down, those of Pennsylvania spew out more molten streams; if the whirr of the Lancashire factory ceases, that of the Calcutta mill gets more deafening. The change matters nought to capital. Pound, dollar, or rupee—it is all one. It pays to gather them in. Capital draws its profits from the ends of the earth.

Nor is this all. For whilst the world has been shrinking, the force of capital has been accumulating.

On a week's savings a man used to be able to set up as his own master; now, how many centuries must a man

save before he can buy the factory or the mine in which he works?

The wide awake business man is discovering that competition is waste and inefficiency, and is forming trusts, combinations, and limited liability companies, controlling millions of pounds of capital, veritable rocks of Gibraltar against a labor attack. What are the funds of a union or a federation of unions compared with them? They represent a concentrated power as irresistible as the forces of nature themselves, as silent, as implacable. They are the terrible embodiment of the power of master over man. Trade Unionists are, in consequence, beginning to realize, that their political power must be used to protect their economic interest. No other weapon is available,—I. L. P.

Sacramento, Oct. 29th, 1901.

Correspondence.

EDITOR ADVANCE,

Dear Comrade:—Since the organization of Local Sacramento of the Socialist Party in April last, the growth of socialist thought and sentiment has been almost phenomenal in this city.

Our Local consists of forty members; all active militant socialists, and its propaganda has been persistent and intelligent, although the number of speakers is quite limited; since July we have held street meetings about twice a week; and during this last month of the campaign a meeting is held every night, and notwithstanding the intense struggle between the old parties for supremacy in this municipal contest, the interest in Socialism is constantly increasing and its principles steadily advancing.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the power and influence of the Rev. J. Stitt Wilson for good in the cause of Socialism in Sacramento. After holding a series of three meetings here, the week before last, that were largely attended and widely advertised, he returned last night, and delivered a powerful and persuasive speech in the Assembly-rooms of the State Capitol to an audience of 1500 people. The effect of his services here has been to greatly remove prejudice, create open thought and actually to popularize the Socialist movement. Local Sacramento has taken the field to distribute literature in a most effective and practical way. It is proposed to place 1000 Socialist papers in the hands of yearly subscribers and the public, and as many copies of Merrie England; of the latter a few less than 300 were sold in less than ten days.

Our ticket is exceptionally strong. S. Edgar Alderman, candidate for Mayor, commands the respect of the entire community. He is simply a splendid man, and a thorough Socialist, all of which may be fairly said of the entire ticket.

We are naturally very proud to be the first Socialist organization in the United States to teach Socialism in the State house, and candidly we do not expect to occupy the Assembly chamber again until we elect our own members and thus renew the propaganda there; for the republicans already believe, in view of the great numbers, success and enthusiasm of our meeting, that they have made a sorry mistake, and are excusing themselves to each other on the ground that they did not expect that anything like politics would be discussed. Curious thought, that, to a socialist, isn't it?

Respectfully,

LESLIE BROWN,

Press Correspondent Local Sacramento.

Marion, Indiana, Oct. 23, 1901.

To the State and Local Organizations of the Social Democratic Party, with Headquarters at Chicago, Ill.

Comrades:—The Committee on arrangements for unity convention to whom was referred the referendum vote of the party on unity proposition are happy to announce in this our final report that not a single dissenting vote has been received; all branches reporting unanimous vote in the affirmative.

J. W. KELLEY, Chairman.

ADVANCE



Organ of the Socialist Party of California.

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500,000 ANARCHISTS IN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The sensation of the day in New Brunswick, N. J., is the announcement that to Dr. Jacob Cooper, professor of logic and mental philosophy at Rutgers College and the vice-president of the institution, had been given an indefinite leave of absence by the trustees of the college,

Coupled with this announcement it is stated in the article that his leave of absence is due, according to the statement of those outside college circles, to "his very vigorous remarks on present political questions and at political gatherings, particularly as to his remark that there are 500,000 anarchists in the Democratic party."

"It has been an open secret for some time that certain influences in college circles were concentrating against Dr. Cooper because of his very forceful and frequently expressed views on civic and other questions.

We are not in a position to say much about this New Jersey man's Mental Philosophy, but we are of the opinion his Logic is all right. The Democratic party is the party of the middle class and the middle class hates the idea of a state. The state interferes with the middle class ideal of exploitation. Even to the limited extent the present state interferes with the freedom of the "individual" is not relished by the gentlemen of "small means." Any protection afforded the workers is offensive; any restriction of trade a crime. The Manchester school of economics finds its most firm adherents among the middle class, the middle class can be found in the Democratic party; the Manchester school is anarchism plus a policeman hence the conclusion that there are 500,000 anarchists in the Democratic party is wrong in only one particular: The figures are not high enough.

HOW TO TREAT A QUESTIONER.

GREET the man who says Socialism means violence with kindness. Explain to him that revolution is not always accompanied by bloodshed. Tell him for instance there was an industrial revolution when the trust made its appearance and yet, aside from the suicide of a few middle men and small producers, there was not a death caused by that greatest of revolutions. Previous to the revolution caused by the trust there was a wonderful revolution when the machine displaced hand labor as a means of production and aside from a few workingmen who starved to death and a few others who refused to starve and opposed the introduction of the machine and were shot down for their pains, there was not a drop of blood shed. Some hypercritical person might ask how many killed make a revolution. To this answer, that revolution as popularly accepted means more than a few deaths from starvation or the killing of a few ignorant men gathered at a factory gate. And to drive the argument home, ask him if he would have the world go back to hand production. Unless he is a veritable mossback he will answer "no." With success as a criterion—the ma-

chine won, therefore it was right—you may be able to lead him gently away from the idea of revolution and to a consideration of socialism and what it aims to do. Before doing so, however, show him wherein a complete revolution in the system is necessary and not any tinkering reform. By this time he will have asked you if socialism does not mean dividing up. This marks a stage in development; it shows interest. Be kinder than ever, Show him how the present system is a "divide up" system with the man who does the work getting the smallest share of the division. So many examples of this unjust "divide up" will come to your memory that it is useless to mention any, nevertheless, the recent "divide up" of the steel trust when the workmen averaged \$1.85 per day and the trust \$7,000,000 in three months should be brought to your man's attention. Show him wherein the division comes; how the men who built the mills and the men who work in mills, together with the men who transport the steel receive each about \$1.85 per day, while the trust magnates who do nothing but visit Europe and dawdle away their time at the spas, spending enough for foolish enervating luxuries in one day to keep a decent family comfortable, receive \$7,000,000 in three months. Be sure to mention the fact that these magnates do not even visit the mills from which they receive this enormous amount of wealth and that one man, Schwab, does all the overseeing and superintending necessary for which he receives \$1,000,000 per year.

When you have thrown aside your statistical habit he may be tempted to ask you if socialism will not interfere with a man's individuality. If he is a shop keeper and has in his employ two or three men to whom he allows no more individuality than one of the old slave drivers allowed his slaves you may have hard work with him. Show him that the individuality of the man who must beg for employment and cringe to retain it, who must obey the command of a steam whistle if he would have enough to eat, is not worth having any more than the individuality of the supercilious prig who is in a position, because his father exploited labor, to spend a whole morning trying on neckties or a whole evening at a stage door waiting for a chorus girl, is worth having. Tell him that socialism will conserve the interests of the individual, that ideals will be higher, that men will have an opportunity to be men. A word here about institutions, morals, etc. changing with the economic changes might not be amiss, but it is well not to crowd too much into a man before he is ready for it. Answer his questions first and the next will naturally be the incentive under socialism. This is the favorite question with people who have learned to pronounce incentive correctly, Ask your man if much of the world's work is not done by people free from the lash of hunger. No matter how he answers tell him there will be work to do under socialism, but it will not fall on so few shoulders as now. That the millionaire and the tramp will have no place in the new order—that the man who does not work neither shall he eat. This a simple solution. Before he recovers tell him in anticipation of his next question that socialism does not mean to abolish private property in the things people use; on the contrary, it means to let nine-tenths have much more than they can now get, and to let the other tenth have as much as they have any real use for.

And, lastly, socialism does not have to wait until every one is angelic and unselfish before it can be a fact. It is coming soon because the working people, who are nine-tenths of all the people, will come to see that it will be a good thing for them.

You may then tell him that socialism means running the railroads, the trusts etc, etc. in the interest of the whole people, with all the people owning them together. And by way of conclusion ask him a question. Ask him if he does not think a man should get the full product of

his labor. He will undoubtedly answer: Yes. Then say: You are a Socialist, for that's all socialism wants, and furthermore that the working class will not rest till it gets it. And that the capture of the government is only a means to this end.

That sneaking cur of local journalism "The Call" has been at it again. A person living in Oakland had no more judgement than to ask, possibly with good intent, this newspaper the difference between Anarchism and Socialism, and received the following reply: "ANARCHISM AND SOCIALISM—L. S., East Oakland, Cal. The difference between anarchism and socialism is that the former favors the abolition of all forms of government and the latter advocates a community of property so that each shall have an equal share and favors the abolition of rank. Anarchists and socialists are anarchists and socialists the world over."

The dishonesty in the last line is quite worthy of Mr. Spreckels or one of his hired hands.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD OF BATTLE.

Comrade Thompson, candidate on the Socialist ticket for Governor of Ohio, received 3170 votes in Cincinnati alone, The S. L. P. candidate received in the same place, 824. No report has come from the balance of the state.

In New York our ticket was well supported. The figures at our disposal are not authentic, therefore will not be published.

In Massachusetts we elected two representatives, possibly Carey and Macartney. The S. L. P. is not mentioned in the press dispatches so must have accomplished no more than it did in San Francisco.

In New Jersey the comrades with Vail at their head for governor, put up a splendid fight and when last heard from expected to increase their vote sufficient to open the eyes of the plutocrats.

In Sacramento our increase is exceptional, taking the conditions into consideration. The average vote is 312, last year it was 123.

In Indianapolis the vote in the city election was 213, an increase of about 80 per cent over last year.

San Francisco did well everything considered. Such a wave of enthusiasm for a labor candidate has seldom been witnessed anywhere as we had on exhibition here for Schmitz. The strike on the waterfront and among the teamsters brought the workers face to face with the actual conditions in the city government. They were persuaded that the labor party was a party of protest and they voted Mr. Schmitz into office because they imagined if they protested loud enough it might be heard. They will wake up to the truth very soon. Meanwhile we went back to our old figure of four years ago. It is not a defeat when all is said and done. We are sure of one thousand uncompromising socialists in this city. With that number to depend upon at all times we shall make progress.

Up in Seattle, in a school election, out of a total of 2834 votes cast, the socialists are credited with 728, a little over one fourth the entire vote of the community.

We have reason to congratulate ourselves upon the success thus far recorded. When the full reports are in we shall have still greater reason to feel that the cause of humanity has shown progress all over the country.

THE RESULT IN SACRAMENTO.

In this County last year there was a total of 10,059 votes cast for presidential electors; counting the highest vote cast for presidential electors on each ticket. The Social Democratic Party's highest vote for electors was 131, thus giving us about one vote to the enemy's 75, or say 1 1/4 per cent. Our lowest vote in the county for presidential electors was 123 and for congressman 99. The average for the nine electors and the one

congressman made an average for the whole ticket of 123 7-10. This year our election was a municipal election only, and there is only about three-fifths of the county vote within the city limits, but our average vote in the city was 312 exactly. How does that compare with the average of only 123 7-10 for the whole county just one year ago? Our lowest vote received is 159 being cast for our candidate for city treasurer, which is 22 votes less than our candidate for mayor received; the reason for which is that all our opponents united on an old broken-down failure of this capitalistic system who is said to have bankrupted himself through giving to the poor and needy, and his friends laid great stress upon the fact that he had done so very, very much for the orphans, and so on, and that now he is penniless. So the old women's societies of every kind, having an eye on a divvy of his salary if elected, I suppose, knowing that he is a good thing, sent out very pathetic appeals to the voters, through mail and by press, imploring them with tears in their eyes, to vote for their poor old superannuated failure, and as a result the heads of 22 me-too-Socialists were turned, who would otherwise have voted a straight socialist ticket; and so were led into virtually voting against socialism, and for the system that gives us old wrecks and starving orphans. Our lowest vote was thus reduced to a little less than 3 per cent of the total vote cast for our candidate for mayor while our highest was 462 votes for the office of collector, which is about 8 per cent of the total vote cast for all candidates for mayor, or over 10 per cent of all votes cast for that office. Our candidate for assessor made about the same score. Our candidates for trustees averaged about 3 per cent. There were five candidates for mayor in the field, namely, the Rep., Dem., Soc., Municipal League and Independent. The capitalist parties and candidates made the most bizarre and spectacular campaign imaginable, in fact it was what they call a red hot fight, and money for booze and votes flowed as freely as does the water of the Sacramento river, as it courses by our doors. And the issues! such issues! mostly based on the personalities of men, and a few on wind as far as the working class is concerned. Such as a low tax-rate, economy, a clean town, anti-gambling and such bosh. Capitalist Candidates, some of whom had helped to send workingmen to states prison during the A. R. U. strike, and others no better, posed brazen as brass as the workingman's friend. And is it any wonder that only he who was a socialist stood clear and unswerved in this battle of the economic classes and cast his ballot on the right side in the Class-struggle.

W. F. LOCKWOOD.

HOW DO YOU LIKE IT.

A Few Things that are Socialist-ic, Not Social-ism—Why Not Go all the Way.

From Saginaw Exponent.

The postoffice is socialistic—any outrage about that? The public school is socialistic—does it teach murder? City parks are socialistic—is there a conspiracy in them? Public fountains are socialistic—do you drink anarchy? Public highways are socialistic—does that mean bloodshed?

Public libraries are socialistic—do they inculcate violence?

Government ownership and operation of telegraphs is socialistic—is that criminality?

City garbage cleaning and sewer systems are socialistic—anything wrong about them?

City operated gas and electric light plants are socialistic—do they breed barn burners?

Government ownership and operation of railways is socialistic—any reason in that?

All these, remember, are socialistic, with the accent on the "ic." But all of them together do not mean socialism. The trusts are socialistic, in so far as they teach the value of socialized production. They wipe out unnecessary expense, just as socialism would do; they cheapen production, just as socialism would do; they dispense with useless labor, just as socialism would do; BUT—and here's the rub—they divide the profits among capitalists, who secure all the benefits of socialism with none of its duties.

Socialism can only come when all the means of production and distribution of wealth are owned in common by all the people, and operated for the benefit of all, instead of for private profit. Workingmen, you are the ones who will gain by this. Why not vote for it?

PRIVATE PROPERTY.

By JOSEPH H. ALFONSO, P. PH. D.

One of the persistent superstitions of the times is the idea that private property is an institution quite different from everything else in the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms, possessing virtues exclusively its own, and as such not subject to modification, denying even "eternity and force" in its stability and duration.

Strange to say, men who are supposed to have brains of good temperament and texture within the sacred walls of their bony mansions, persons who have a great reputation in many branches of classified knowledge, display their stupidity and lack of good logic by applying the metaphysical instead of the dialectical method in their researches touching upon the origin and development of property.

There was a time in the mystic ages of the past when man, having broken the shell which bound him to the suffocating bonds of individualism, as reflected in warring factions and bloody battles, the tribe was formed through the combination of the gens, working the land in common.

For many thousands of years, far longer than any other epoch in prehistoric times, communism was in vogue. Men owned the resources of the earth together because they could not help themselves. The struggle for existence was the arbiter. They were driven into it when the ominous swish of the unmerciful lash of necessity was heard giving forth the alternative of combined effort or an excruciating death by slow starvation, accompanied by the horrors of the cannibal feast.

The instruments with which he tickled the bosom of his alma mater—Nature—compelling her to bring forth her hidden treasures, were inadequate and exceedingly crude. Only by the most intense drudgery was life made possible. The slightest drought or overflowing rivers caused indescribable privation and often the annihilation of numberless victims.

The struggle, however, for the mastery between the sleeping mind and brute creation commences in deadly earnest; man is facing impending doom. The primitive brain is spurred into activity. Out of this crucible is evolved a better tool. The use of that giant fire becomes known. The ages of flint and stone are superceded by the bronze age. Through the many improvements in the implements of production, communism is discarded. Man can produce to advantage individually, appropriating to himself the fruits of his own exertions. Private property is inaugurated; insuring to all the results of their industry, their intellect, their thrift; as during this age it is strictly consistent, and being in conformity with the prevailing conditions, inevitable.

Trade is carried on in small stores and on isolated farms. Everything depends upon the consummate skill of the artisan and his dexterity.

His right there is none to dispute.

Production is for use. The profit system has not yet been ushered into being.

Population increases. new lands are being discovered; the immigration to these promised edens begins. A great demand for the necessary articles and clothing is created. Certain brains, stimulated by these forces, commence to ponder and reason. The subdivision of labor is put to a practical test. It pays the mechanic to desert his little shop, for by working together each assigned a special task, proportionally more wealth can be created. The manufacturing age is in full blast.

An effective method for the harnessing of steam is invented. The Engine is the result. Transportation undergoes a marvelous change. The prairie schooner and stage coach are soon displaced by the railroad. The industrial revolution is now breathing into everything; The problem of distance is solved; cities thousands of miles apart are brought together as if by magic.

The captain of industry manifests his power and steps to the front as the most prominent actor on the murderous stage of commercialism. Government of the bourgeoisie by the bourgeoisie and for the bourgeoisie is now at the helm.

As soon as machinery becomes complicated, the capital required

to enter the arena of business becomes much a. Finally there comes a time when the individual, no matter how sober, preserving and intelligent, finds that it is impossible for him to become master of himself, an independent producer.

Instead of the insignificant shoe shop, employing one or more men, we find a very large factory with very expensive machinery, a minute cog in an immense wheel. The village blacksmith shop has become a tremendous steel plant, a city in itself with thousands of employees. The simple sledge, a mighty steel hammer. The shipyards of our grandfathers; with their small number of proud shipwrights, gigantic affairs, costing millions, operated by steam, compressed air and electrical machinery. Here floating palaces, exquisite dreams of the creative genius of man, with all the luxuries the heart could wish for, are constructed. The sickle and cradle a powerful steam harvester, a stranger to aches and pains.

These are few of the many inanimate slaves which, as Aristoteles prophesied nearly 2,300 years ago, are destined to exterminate slavery in all its forms, and emancipate humanity from the trammels of that hideous wolf—want. As long as the tools of production were simple consisting of saws, anvils, hammers, hatchets, mallets and so on; their individual ownership was necessary and logical, but as soon as they became social in their character, requiring the participation of hundreds and thousands, that moment the method of distributing commodities came into conflict with social production. Hence our periodical panics, during which a considerable portion of the population starves in the midst of plenty, because production is not for the benefit of society. In this enlightened age it is for profit, carried on for aggrandizement of a few individuals, who, gorged with plunder, own the wage Slaves by owning the means to which they must have access in order to live. This, at present, is a deplorable condition of abject dependency and industrial servitude to a steadily decreasing few.

IN OBEDIENCE TO THAT LAW OF EVOLUTION WHICH COMPELS ALL ORGANISMS TO MODIFY THEIR STRUCTURE IN ORDER TO CONFORM TO THE ALTERED ENVIRONMENT, UNDER PAIN OF EXTINCTION, WE MUST SOCIALIZE THE MEANS OF PRODUCING AND DISTRIBUTING WEALTH. NO NATION HAS EVER BEEN SUFFICIENTLY GREAT TO ATTEMPT TO DISREGARD A NATURAL LAW.

As intelligent citizens, let us try to understand the laws which govern all things in "space and time." Striving to guide the noble ship of state as honest and and conscientious citizens, whose watchword is liberty, and whose beacon light is true democracy.

The coming of Socialism does not mean going back to communism. It means the onward march of man to that state where the individual will have his right to private property in the products of his toil guaranteed. It means that capital will be the slave of man, not his master.

Machinery will prove a blessing by providing ample time for the unfoldment of the mind sublime.

That the beautiful dreams of the American revolutionists of 1776, for which in the dead of winter they left their bloody footprints upon the cruel snows of Valley Forge and their bleaching bones on many a battlefield, will be a glorious reality, by opening the closed gates of opportunity, through the legitimate employment of certain forces which have solved the problem of production, relegating the struggle to its proper sphere—the enchanting realm of the intellect.

When we have the moral courage to believe and indorse at the polls that famous utterance of inspired Benjamin Franklin, that "Poverty is the creature of society and society is entitled to its last farthing whenever society demands it," we will then be able to "live above the fog in public duty and in private thinking."

THE FINAL RALLY.

A crowd that could scarcely be squeezed into the Metropolitan Temple greeted the speakers Saturday evening at the close of our campaign. The speeches were well received. Geo. Holmes of Los Angeles, and M. W. Wilkins of Lorin were at their best and stirred the large audience into enthusiasm. The bursts of applause were frequent and hearty throughout the evening, comrades Beresford, Liess and Anderson making telling points against the capitalist parties. The Union Labor Party came in for its share of disesteem. The fact that Schmitz and his friends were hangers on of the Republican Party and had organized the new labor party for the purpose of blinding the workers, was told and visibly affected the audience. The wretched conditions surrounding the workers under the capitalist system and how impossible a material change in those conditions could be made till the workers arose in their might and tore the competitive system up by the roots that degraded them was exposed with a wealth of detail impossible to escape and with which the audience fully agreed.

The meeting kept up till 11:30 and was one of the most successful ever held in this city.

Constitution of the Socialist Party

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

NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

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

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

DUTIES AND POWERS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

HEADQUARTERS.

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

STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

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

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

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

DUES.

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

REPORTS.

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

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

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

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

AMENDMENTS.

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

REFERENDUM.

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

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

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

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

Advance Co-operative Bakery.

All our readers, comrades and sympathizers with the cause of organized labor should deem it their duty to help to make the "Advance Co-operative Bakery" a great success. You can do so by asking for bread only that bears the Union Label. The "Advance Co-operative Bakery" is the only bakery in the city that is owned and conducted by class-conscious trades union men, the only bakery whose bread bears the Union Label.

Every working-class family in the city needs at least one loaf of bread each day. If every reader of ADVANCE would see to it that his wife or housekeeper asks for "Advance" Union Label bread, the success of our Comrades of the Co-operative Bakery will be assured. The bakery, whose advertisement you find on our last page, is now prepared to fill orders from all over the Mission, and within a few days will be able to take in orders from all parts of the city.

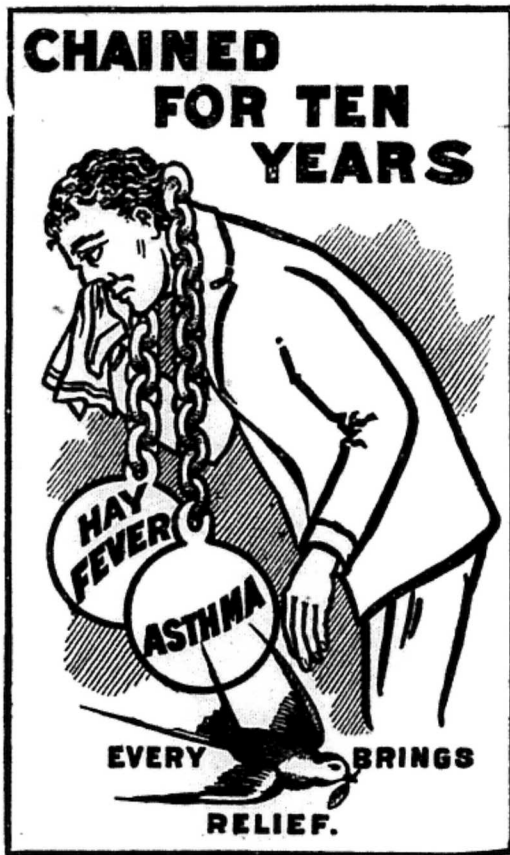
Drop a line, or telephone, to "Advance Co-operative Bakery and Confectionery," 1527 Mission street (Telephone, Jessie 2311), so that the management can map out the different delivery routes for the city.

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

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

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

NEW YORK, Jan. 3, 1901.

DRS. TAFT BROS.' MEDICINE CO.,

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

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

Very truly yours,

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER.

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

DR. TAFT BROS. MEDICINE CO.,

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

Yours respectfully,

O. D. PHELPS, M.D.

DR. TAFT BROS. MEDICINE CO.,

Gentlemen: I was troubled with Asthma 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.

TRIAL BOTTLE SENT ABSOLUTELY FREE ON RECEIPT OF POSTAL.

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

CALIFORNIA ITEMS.

An Entertainment and Dance for the benefit of the San Francisco Campaign Fund, will be given Saturday Eve., Nov. 30th, 1901. by Local Oakland, Socialist Party, at Grand Army Hall, 419 Thirteenth Street, near Broadway.

DIED—In Arroyo Grande, San Luis Obispo Co., October 26th,

MILAN GILBERT ASHBROOK, a native of Illinois, aged 43 years. He was a faithful worker for Socialism.

Locals should second San Francisco's call for a state convention for December 6th. The time is short.

Local San Francisco will nominate a National Committeeman at the next party meeting.

Local Los Angeles has started a paper called "The Los Angeles Socialist."

G. B. Benham, Printer, has removed to 123 7th Street.

Our Position After the Counting of the Votes.

CHAS. L. AMES, Mayor	912
N. C. ANDERSON, Auditor	1,145
SCOTT ANDERSON	1,133
County Clerk	
OSWALD SEIFERT, Treasurer	1,143
LUDWIG BERG, Tax Collector	1,119
E. G. PERAULT	1,110
Public Administrator	
N. S. B. SCHULTR, Coroner	1,002
JOHN MESSER, Sheriff	1,040
EMIL ROUGK, Recorder	1,072

Police Judges.

CAMERON H. KING	1,447
W. C. SHEPARD	1,301

Supervisors.

WALTER WALKER	1,232
NICHOLAS V. HANSON	1,184
I. ROSENBLATT	1,185
JOHN CARTER	1,173
HENRY WARNECKE JR.	1,221
LYMUS VAN ALSTINE	1,129
WM. COSTLEY	1,129
HUGO LOTZIN	1,115
FRANK CRANFORD	1,133
OLAUS GAFVERT	1,082
LOUIS W. LINDGREN	1,131
GEORGE GUTHRIE	1,149
EMIL SCHAEERER	1,178
LOUIS M. VEZINA	1,057
JACOB MAYBLUM	1,052
GEORGE STEIN	1,142
HENRY HILKER	1,069
GEORGE NISBET	1,076

Address all Communications for "Advance" to 618 Merchant Street.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIALIST PARTY CAMPAIGN FUND.

Previously acknowledged	\$ 300
James Andreed	1
Sherman	1
Anton H.	50
Charles Herold	50
Fred Biermann	50
Geo. Reichley	50
Friend	25
Oliver Everett	10
G. H.	1
Richard Fawkes	1
J. J. McLean, Independence.	50
Bertha S. Wilkins	1
W. C. Rush	1
"Cyclone"	25
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Ph. Bruckner	50
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Ludwig Berg	25
Rudolf Speck	25
Chris. Marguardt	25
A. Bappert, Hames	50
J. S.	1
Cash	25
Chas. L. Ames	2
A. Thieler	10
K. Foerster	10
Herley	25
Pl. Klare	25
Carl Violi	25
O. Friederich	25
Stitz	50
F. Prenschoff	25
R. Rieger	25
Louis Lutge	50
R. Rossbach	50
E. Poetsch	25
Dietrich	50
J. Muller	25
Total	\$ 331 85

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49 Sacramento St.

Take notice, the "Advance" office is now at 618 Merchant Street.

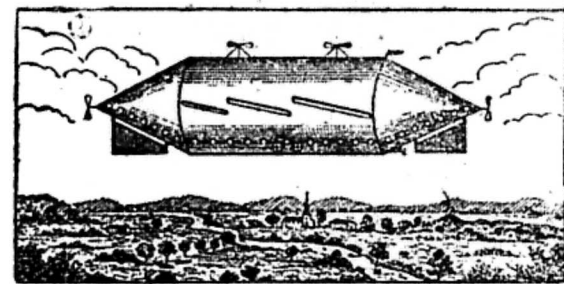
MINUTES OF PARTY MEETING.

Minutes read and approved with addition of "if those applicants be unable to attend" added to clause pertaining to investigating Committee. Thos. S. Painter admitted, Applications read first time Wm. Hefferin, second time J. Desmond. Moved and carried that notice be printed in the "Advance" that a National Committeeman will be nominated at next meeting.

After a discussion of the notice, given by the State Executive Committee recommending Stitt Wilson's colleagues to the Locals it was moved and carried. "that the State Committee be requested to inquire into the antecedents and qualifications of speakers before recommending them to Locals of the State.

Receipts of evening \$42.50.
Comrade Beresford elected chairman of next propaganda meeting.

B. P. OBER, Sec.



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Secretary: A. F. Mayer, 1434 Pine St. Physician: Dr. Fredk A Rinne, Rooms 3-4, 46 O'Farrell St. Hours, 3-5 and 7-8 P. M. Sundays 4-5 P. M. Dr's Residence: 2901 Folsom, Cor. 25th st. Hours: Before 9 A. M., 1-2, 5:30-6:30 PM.

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"USEFUL PRINCIPLES OF LOGIC,"

By Thomas Bersford,
Author of "Scientific Socialism," etc.
Price, 15 cents.

Address, care of S. F. Tageblatt, 117 Turk street, San Francisco.

A Consideration of Methods.

Editor Advance: The convention matter again brings to mind the problems in connection with our state organization. The "magnificent distances" of California, together with the poverty of the workers makes it well nigh impossible to have a really representative convention or state executive committee. Under the circumstances how can we come the nearest to democracy in party government? First what method will not only guarantee the selection of an efficient committee but at the same time make all feel that they have a voice in electing their state executive committee, and that the committee or any member, is not out of and beyond the reach of a possible hostile majority. The following plan I think fills the bill. Let the committee be selected from the members of the Local where the central committee is located, the entire state voting on the matter. If seven is the proper number for the committee, let the San Francisco comrades nominate double that number and, the whole state voting, the seven receiving the highest vote to constitute the committee. The difficulty suggests itself that if factions exist or should be developed in the headquarters Local, the majority faction could control the nomination of the entire 14 thus practically leaving nothing but "Hobson's choice" to the balance of the state. The best men regardless of faction should be able to get before the state membership. The application of proportional representation or cumulative voting in the nominating of the 14 by the Local would remove the difficulty. Let each member of Local San Francisco have just 14 votes but with the right to cast all for one man or to divide them between the men he specially favors; 14 votes for one man or 7 votes for each of two men or two votes for each of seven favorites, etc. By this method a minority could estimate their strength and concentrate on a small enough number to insure their being among the 14 nominees of the Local from which the state at large selects the seven that would constitute the committee. As to filling vacancies, the comrade who received the eighth largest vote could fill the first vacancy and so on. This method would make possible annual elections for the committee.

Now, as to the convention difficulty, San Francisco comrades admit they could not get a fair representation down to the convention if held in Los Angeles, therefore, they object to Los Angeles, but what of those of the south when the convention is held at the other end of the state? The only fair method it seems to me is for us to adopt the Indianapolis plan of allowing each delegate as many votes as he has signatures to his credentials. This plan is the only one that makes possible a fairly representative convention. The objection may be raised that this plan embodies the evils of proxy voting, yet a vote by proxy is better than not to vote at all. But, again, why not use the referendum in finally selecting candidates for state tickets? Let the names of two or three men receiving the highest vote in convention for each office be submitted to the state membership, the one receiving the highest referendum vote becoming the party's nominee.

The nearer we can come in party government to absolute democracy the better. The government of the party's affairs by one locality, largely independent of the rest of the state, no matter how ably done, inevitably leads to friction and misunderstanding. Factional quarrels at headquarters may still further complicate matters. I think the above outlined plan would meet all objections to present methods, minimize factional and sectional differences and thus enable the party as a unite to devote its entire attention to fighting our common enemy—the capitalist class.

Fraternally
L. H. EDMISTON.
Organizer Riverside Local.

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- BAKERS and Confectioners International Journeymen, No. 24.** Meets 1st and 3d Saturdays, at 117 Turk street. Marcel Wille, Secretary.
- BAKERS and Confectioners International, Journeymen, No. 106.** (Drivers). Meets every Wednesday, 6:30 p. m., at 117 Turk street. Herman Vogt, Secretary, with Liberty Bakery, cor. Jones and O'Farrell streets.
- BAKERS and Confectioners International, Journeymen, No. 117.** (Italian), 117 Turk street. Marcel Wille, Secretary, 117 Turk street.
- BAKERS (Cracker) and Confectioners International, Journeymen, No. 125.** Meets 1st and 3d Monday at Garibaldi Hall, 423 Broadway. C. E. Pursley, Secretary, 2109½ Mason St.
- BARBERS International Union, Journeymen, No. 148.** Meets every Monday, 8:45 p. m., at 32 O'Farrell street. I. Less, Secretary, 927 Market street, room 207.
- BOOT and Shoe Repairers Union, Custom.** Meets 1st Tuesday in each month at 102 O'Farrell street.
- BOOT and Shoe Workers Union International, No. 216.** Meets every Monday at 909 Market St. F. Maysenhelder, Secretary, 522 Eighth St.
- BOOKBINDERS Protective and Beneficial Association.** Meets 1st Friday at 102 O'Farrell street. L. G. Wolfe, Secretary, 765 Fifth St., Oakland.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of, No. 25.** Meets 2d and 4th Thursdays, at 102 O'Farrell street. H. McNesby, Secretary, 320 Harriet street.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of, No. 205.** Meets 1st and 3d Friday at Potrero Opera House, Tennessee St. John Honeyman, Secretary, 831 Texas St.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders' Helpers, No. 9052.** Meets Wednesdays at 121 Eddy St. Walter J. Cullen, Secretary, 1320 Harrison St.
- BLACKSMITH Helpers (Machine), No. 8922.** Meets Tuesdays at 102 O'Farrell St. John Quigley, Secretary, 142 Silver St.
- BLACKSMITHS, No. 168, Ship and Machine, International Brotherhood of.** Meets Fridays at 102 O'Farrell St. G. Clarke, Secretary, 62 Rausch St.
- BREWERY Workers International Union of United, No. 7.** Branch 1 meets 2d and 4th Saturday; Branch 2 meets 2d and 4th Thursday; at 1159 Mission St. Ludwig Berg, Secretary, 1159 Mission St.
- BREWERY Workers, International Union of United, No. 102.** Bottlers. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday, 8:30 p. m., at 1159 Mission St. A. R. Andre, Secretary.
- BREWERY Workers, International Union of United, No. 227.** Drivers. Meets 2d and 4th Monday, 8:30 p. m., at 1159 Mission St. A. Rudolph Speck, Secretary.
- BROOMMAKERS International, No. 58.** Meets 1st and 3d Thursday, at 1159 Mission St. Geo. F. Daley, Secretary, 3514 Twenty-sixth St.
- BLACKSMITHS International Brotherhood of, No. 99.** Carriage and Wagon. Meets every Wednesday at 117 Turk St. W. W. Clarke, Secretary, 320 Lexington Ave.
- BLACKSMITH Helpers and Finishers, No. 9106.** Meets Wednesday nights at 1159 Mission St. John B. McLennon, Secretary, 525 Connecticut St.
- CARRIAGE and Wagon Workers International, No. 66.** Painters. Meets every Thursday at 1133 Mission St. T. J. Finn, Secretary, 1622 Mission St.
- CARRIAGE and Wagon Workers International, No. 69.** Wood Workers. Meets every Tuesday at 117 Turk St. Fred Hoese, Secretary.
- CARPENTERS and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood, No. 483.** Meets every Monday at 915½ Market St. A. E. Carlisle, Secretary.
- CIGARMAKERS International Union of America, No. 228.** Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday at 368 Jessie St. J. A. Ramon, Secretary, 368 Jessie St.
- CLERKS International Protective Association, Retail, No. 432.** Meets every Tuesday at Pioneer Hall, 32 Fourth St. Leo. Kaufmann, Secretary, 1084 Golden Gate Ave.
- CLERKS International Protective Association, Retail, No. 410.** Shoe Clerks. Meets every Wednesday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. E. Kelly, Secretary, 28 Kearny St.
- CLERKS Protective Association, Drug, No. 472.** Meets Fridays at 909 Market St. H. Schwartz, Secretary, 1718 Geary St.
- CLERKS, Ship, No. 8947.** Meets Thursdays at 5 Market St. Room 17. W. O. Ferrall, Secretary, 315½ Capp St.
- COOPERS' International Union of N. A., No. 65.** Meets 2d and 4th Thursday at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St. Secretary, W. T. Colbert, 280 Lexington Ave.
- CORE Makers' International Union, No. 68.** Meets at 1159 Mission St., Thursday. Secretary, Walter Green.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 85.** Brotherhood of Teamsters. Meets every Thursday at Teutonia Hall, 1332 Howard St. John McLaughlin, Secretary, 210 Langton St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 228.** Sand Teamsters. Meets every Wednesday, at 1159 Mission St. M. J. Dillon, Secretary, 5 Homer St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 224.** Hackmen. Meets every Thursday at 102 O'Farrell St. John Dowling, Secretary, 27 Fifth St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 226.** Milk Drivers. Meets every Wednesday at Mangel's Hall, 24th and Folsom St. A. Dijean, Secretary, 935 Market St., Room 17.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 256.** Meets at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St., Tuesdays. Secretary, James Jordan, 530 Castro St.
- ELECTRICAL Workers of America, National Brotherhood, No. 151.** Linemen. Meets every Monday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. F. Leonard, Secretary, 1227 Filbert St.
- ENGINEERS, International Union of Steam, No. 64.** Electrical and Steam Engineers. Meets Fridays at Odd Fellows' Hall. W. T. Ronney, Secretary.
- GARMENT Workers of America, United, No. 131.** Meets every Thursday at 117 Turk St. Ed. Corpe, Secretary, 3382 20th St.
- GARMENT Workers Union, International, Ladies, No. 8.** Cloakmakers. Meets every Tuesday at 915½ Market St. I. Jacoby, Secretary.
- GLASS Bottle Blowers Association of the U. S. and Can., No. 3.** Meets 2d and 4th Tuesday at Eintracht Hall, Twelfth, nr. Folsom St. Phil. J. Dietz, Secretary, 1347 Eleventh St., Sunset District.
- GLASS Workers, American Flint Association of the U. S. and Can., No. 138.** Meets 1st Tuesday at 121 Eddy St. H. Johnson, Secretary, 1017 Howard St.
- HATTERS of North America, United, S. F. District.** Meets 2d Friday, January, April, July, Oct. C. H. Davis, secretary, 1458 Market St.
- HORSESHOERS of the U. S. and Canada, International Union, No. 25.** Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday at 909 Market St. John McCloskey, Secretary, 202 Oak St.
- HOTEL and Restaurant Employes, No. 30.** (Cooks and Waiters Alliance). Meets every Wednesday, at 8:30 p. m., at 316 O'Farrell St. W. L. Caudle, Secretary, 12 Carlos Place.
- LAUNDRY Workers' International Union (Shirts and Waists), No. 23.** French. Meets every Wednesday at Universal Hall, 812 Pacific St. J. Dussere, Secretary, 12 Montgomery St., Room 12.
- LAUNDRY Workers International Union, Steam, No. 26.** Branch No. 1 meets 1st and 3d Monday at 1159 Mission St. Branch No. 2 meets 2d and 4th Monday at 1749 Mission St. Secretary, 927 Market St., Room 302.
- LEATHERWORKERS on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood.** Meets every Friday at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St. A. H. Kohler, Secretary, 1519 Polk St.
- LITHOGRAPHERS International Protective and Beneficial Association, No. 17.** Meets 2d and 4th Wednesday, Alcazar Building. R. L. Olsen, Secretary, 1007½ Lombard St.
- LABORERS' Protective Association, No. 8944.** Meets Sundays at 2:00 p. m., 1159 Mission St. John P. Kelly, Secretary, 117 Gilbert St.
- LEAD Workers, Manufacturing, No. 9051.** Meets at 117 Turk St., Tuesdays. Geo. A. Fricke, Secretary, 220 Ash Ave.
- MACHINISTS, International Association, No. 68.** Meets every Wednesday at 32 O'Farrell St. R. I. Wisler, Secretary, 927 Market St.
- MEAT Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.** Meets Tuesday at 117 Turk St. Hermann May, Secretary, 10 Walnut Ave.
- METAL Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass Workers Union of North America, No. 128.** 1st and 3d Monday at 1133 Mission St. J. J. O'Brien, Secretary, 749 Howard St.
- METAL Polishers, Buffers, Platers and General Brass Workers of North America, No. 158.** Brass Finishers. Meets Thursday nights at 1133 Mission St. W. J. Ballard, Secretary.
- METAL Workers International Union, No. —.** Copper Smiths. Meets 2d Saturdays at 117 Turk St. W. H. Pohlman, Secretary, 1128 Sacramento St., Vallejo, Cal.
- MILKERS Union, No. 8861.** Meets 2d Sunday and 4th Tuesdays in March and June at 526 Montgomery St. A. Iten, Secretary, 526 Montgomery St.
- MOULDERS Union of North America, Iron, No. 164.** Meets every Tuesday at 1133 Mission St. Martin G. Fallon, Secretary, 2429 Folsom St.
- MAILERS, Newspaper, No. 18.** Meets 1st Thursday at 102 O'Farrell St. Alfred O'Neil, Secretary.
- METAL Workers United, No. 27 (Machine Hands).** Meets 2d and 4th Tuesdays at 1159 Mission St. D. J. Murray, Secretary, 18½ Ringold St.
- METAL Workers International Association, Amalgamated Sheet No. 26.** Meets Fridays at 121 Eddy St. L. F. Harris, Secretary.
- MUSICIANS' Mutual Protective Union (American Federation of Musicians), No. 6.** Meets 2d Thursday, at 1:30 p. m. Board of Directors, every Tuesday, 1 p. m. at 421 Post St. S. Davis, Secretary, 421 Post St.
- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers, of America, Brotherhood of, No. 134.** Varnishers and Polishers. Mondays at 117 Turk St. J. C. Patterson, 405 Thirteenth St.
- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, Brotherhood of, No. 136.** Meets at 117 Turk St., Mondays. Carl Trost, Secretary, 806 Taylor St.
- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, Brotherhood of, No. 131.** Paper Hangers. Meets every Friday at 915½ Market St. T. J. Crowley, Secretary.
- POULTRY and Game Dressers, No. 9050, A. F. of L.** Meets 1st and 3d Tuesdays at California Hall, 620 Bush St. Thos. W. Collas, Secretary, 31 Essex St.
- PAVERS' Union, No. 8895.** Meets 1st Monday at 120 Ninth St. M. Murphy, Secretary, 1510 Harrison St.
- PATTERN Makers meet at 55 Third St.** E. A. Donahue, Secretary, 55 Third St.
- PRINTING Pressmen's Union, No. 4.** Web Pressmen. 1st Monday at Becker's Hall, 14 Third St. A. J. Brainwell, Secretary, 1814B Mason Street.
- PRINTING Pressmen's Union, International, No. 24.** 1st and 3d Monday at 32 O'Farrell St. W. Griswold, Secretary, 2927 Pierce St.
- PORTERS and Packers, No. 8885.** Wednesday at 117 Turk St. Will T. Davenport, Secretary, 1811 O'Farrell St.
- PILE Drivers and Bridge Builders, No. 9078.** Saturday at 26 Sacramento St. J. V. Beck, Secretary, 922 Natoma St.
- RAMMERMEN'S Union, No. 9120.** 1st Thursday, 120 Ninth St. P. Geraghty, Secretary, 434 Hickory Ave.
- SEAMEN'S Union, International. Sailors' Union of the Pacific.** Every Monday at 7:30 p. m., East and Mission Sts. A. Furuseth, Secretary, East and Mission Sts.
- STABLEMEN'S Union, No. 8760, A. F. of L.** Every Monday at 102 O'Farrell St. Chas. P. White, Secretary, 405 Natoma St.
- SHIP and Steamboat Joiners Union, No. 8186.** A. F. of L. 3d Wednesday at 20 Eddy St. Thos. Westoby, Secretary, 328½ Fremont St.
- SHIP Drillers' Union, No. 9037, A. F. of L.,** Thursday at 1159 Mission St. B. P. Byers, Secretary, 21 Valencia St.
- SHIPWRIGHTS and Caulkers, No. 9162, A. F. of L.** Meets at 1320 Howard St., Monday. Secretary, G. W. Bishop, 59 Converse St.
- STREET Sweepers, No. 9029, A. F. of L.** Meets every Wednesday evening and 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., at 376 Brannan St.; entrance on Third St. Wm. Coakley, Secretary, 1142 Mission Street.
- STAGE Employees National Alliance, Theatrical. (Theatrical Employees Protective Union).** 1st and 3d Thursdays, 2 p. m., at Native Sons' Hall, 414 Mason St. Carl Taylor, Secretary, 414 Mason St.

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

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

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

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

TYPOGRAPHICAL Union, International, No. 29 (Stereotypers). Meets 3d Monday at Shields Building. H. D. Pohlmann, Secretary, care S. F. Chronicle.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our Lecture Course.

The following speakers will appear at the Academy of Sciences Hall, 819 Market street:

Nov. 7th—Anna Strunsky—"Wm. Morris."

Oct. 31st—Cameron H. King, Jr.—Employment of the Unemployed.

Nov. 14th—Frank Simpson—Evolution of the Hired Man.

Nov. 21st—Chas. Van Norden—Fallacies of Socialism.

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

At the coming national convention of painters in Detroit the Chicago union will introduce a resolution reciting that the time has come to endorse the Socialist party, and that the proposition be submitted to a referendum vote.

Amalgamated lodges all over the country are passing resolutions of confidence in Shaffer and denouncing Gompers for the latter's action during the steel strike.

Mrs. Alexander Fraser, another woman orator, has joined the New York Socialists and is doing effective campaigning.

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