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THE REFORM OF THE REVOLUTIONISTS.

That European lover (?) of Marx and Engles, Mr. Bernstein, who would emasculate "Capital" and "The Manifesto" and from "Utopia to Science," finds many willing intellectual parvenues in America ready to echo his criticisms, ready to restate his idiocy with all the dignity of "superior persons." One very recently in a book entitled "The Passing of Capitalism" said that without a knowledge of astronomy and sociology and epistemology and several other sciences of which the author showed his ignorance, including the very commonplace science of language such as one learns of in an eighth grade grammar school, without the knowledge of these sciences it would be impossible to say a word for socialism—that is a word one could stand by from day to day. And even if one should stand by any discovery he might make for twenty-four consecutive hours there would be danger of the cry of dogmatism ringing in his ears. This is the club the intellectual (?) people use with some effect on the weak-kneed. If you quote Marx you are dogmatic. If you repeat an economic truism you are dogmatic. If you suggest that there is a class struggle going on in society you are dogmatic. If you stop to consider if the action or the thought came first—the only point being considered in the philosophical world to-day—and you have the temerity to suggest that possibly the action came first, you are not only dogmatic, but you are anti-Christian, an enemy to justice, a hater of truth. It is suprising how narrow and bigoted these "broad minded" people are. From their talk they wish to embrace the whole world but are actually only content to hug themselves.

One journal in the middle West has been making a serious effort to convert its readers into the belief that a defeat and a practical retraction on the part of Bernstein at the late socialist convention in Germany was a glorious victory for Bernsteinism. If our memory serves us right Mr. Bernstein's reactionary tactics were endorsed by four delegates out of a possible two hundred. And because of this "heavy" endorsement Bernsteinism must forthwith be an issue in America. And to make it an issue, the Socialists who stand for tactics that are uncompromising, the tactics that are for organizing the working people into a class conscious body are "bloody revolutionists" "catastrophic socialists" etc., etc., with their eyes so firmly fixed on the "ultimate aim" of socialism they cannot see the opportunities of the present. It would be well to ask these gentlemen what they mean by "opportunities of the present". The opportunities of the present are so closely allied to their Bernsteinism that without the German disturber there would be such an issue in America as he stands for. Political success about sums up what these people mean by "opportunities of the pres-

ent" They think the Populist movement was not altogether a failure; a few at least secured office. And hoping the lightning might strike them or some of their friends, they are ready to veer the Socialist party around to any wind that will blow them a few votes. The socialists who display more anxiety over the progress of the proletarian movement than over a momentary victory at the polls, also think the Populist movement not altogether a failure. It made a Steunenberg and a Bull Pen possible. And reasoning from that point of vantage, they ask wherein Steunenberg would act differently if elected on a compromise, middle class ticket, if ever the word "Socialist" were substituted for "Populist."

The fate of workingmen would be as much to be regretted from a party representing the middle class as it is at present from a party representing the grosser capitalists. In fact, the small producer is a more sincere enemy of the working class than is the corporation and the trust. His economic need drives him on to be a more villianous exploiter. The "cockroach" business man and the sweater tear the heart and soul out of the workers in the effort to become respectable (?) enough to be invited to a social function of snobs and parasites. And the party that would be of these people and stand for their ideals would tear the heart and soul out of the proletarian movement in the effort to be considered snfficiently respectable, sufficiently conservative to elect one of their men to office.

The phrase under which the American Bernsteinites intend to do their fighting is "economic evolutionary." But they give no assurance that even this will not become a dogma, much as it may embrace and little as it may mean, to the dilletante of the future. It is paving the way for false issues and compromise the logic of which will be eventual security in the Democratic Party or some other petit bourgeois radical party such as we already see in Cleveland and St. Louis.

Only last week Grover Cleveland at the dedication of the Carnegie Library in Pittsburg, used the phrase "economic evolutionary" and the question naturally arises here, wherein Bernstein's thinking differs from Cleveland's, despite the fact that Cleveland sent the National Guard to Chicago during the A. R. U. strike.

There was a positive demand for Grover to extend a helping hand which he did by sending the troops at a crucial period in the development of railroad history, else we might not have the gigantic railroad combine, which, contradictory as it may seem, according to Bernstein and his followers is an evidence of economic evolution and decentralization of wealth at the same time.

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THE PRESENT SYSTEM GUAR- ANTEES LIBERTY, Etc.

As an illustration of the extent a man may use his manhood under this commercial system the recent action of the Market street Railway Company is excellent. The conductors and gripmen had the audacity to organize a union. Now, unions are abhorrent to Market street Railway stockholders and Mr. Vining, as a result the spotters were set to work and every conductor and gripman with a spark of manhood is watched as though he were a criminal. There is no redress. By the word of a moral coward, one who degrades himself to betray a member of his own class or to suit a whim of Mr. Vining's, a faithful upright workingman may be thrown on the street, without a chance to earn the very necessities of life. Here is proof from the pen of Richard Cornelius, president of the local Street Railwaymen's Union.

"A highwayman who holds you up at night at the point of a pistol and takes from you your money is no worse, as far as audacity is concerned, than the company which puts its hands into the pocket of a poor helpless employee and takes from him generally \$6 or \$8 by suspending him three or four days without even giving a hearing as to whether he is guilty or deserving of the same—just because the company has the power to do this without using a gun to do it.

"We have in our possession records of thirty-five suspensions, ranging from one to ten days—of one John McDonald, regular motorman on Fillmore street, who has been a faithful employee of this company for eight years; who has never cost the company one cent in damages; who has been hounded by these spotters and traitors among his own class, just because he was a man who was open and above board in his sayings and actions, a man with the courage of his own convictions, not afraid to say that his soul was his own. He was, consequently, not a favorite with Mr. Vining, because the only favorites Mr. Vining recognizes are what we call "stool pigeons"—men whom he can hire to pose to your face as your friends and knife you from behind—men who have through Mr. Vining's abuse been whipped into subjection or into being moral cowards. These are the two kinds of favorites, and the only kind that are recognized by this company.

Following are among the McDonald suspensions:

(1)—Reported at car house thirty minutes ahead of report time, signed register; went over to restaurant to get a cup of coffee; returned again three minutes before time to take car out; was informed that he had violated order 333, leaving car house after signing register; suspended three days, or equal to a fine of \$7.50

(2)—Talking to a young lady; suspended one day, equal to a fine of \$2.50.

Next is this letter from Mr. Vining:

Mr. J. McDonald: The manager wishes to express his sincere appreciation of the faithful work performed by you during the heavy travel of last week. The work has been very severe and exacting, requiring the most active, careful and zealous efforts, and, in some instances, has been necessary for longer and later hours than usual.

This has all been performed cheerfully, faithfully and zealously, with that degree of carefulness one would exercise in a business exclusively his own. Thanks are but a poor return for such services, but our men may be interested in knowing that their work is neither unobserved nor unappreciated.

(Signed.) Yours truly,
E. P. VINING.

That is what the company puts in your pocket for faithful and profitable services. But the very next letter Mr. McDonald receives is a suspension of three days, or equal to a fine of \$7.50 for not stopping for a passenger whom he did not see.

On November 15th Mr. McDonald was taken off a day and called to Mr. Stein's office to answer for the terrible offense of being seen in the company of union men.

On November 6th McDonald visited Frank's Billiard Hall at the corner of Powell and Eddy streets, for the purpose of delivering a key to a brother-in-law who works there. While there he took a glass of sherry, and for this offense he was also called to account and accused of being an excessive drinker. For this little affair they pretended to discharge him, when the only reason he was discharged was because he kept company with men who were discharged for belonging to the union."

A GRAND OPERA MANAGER AND HIS ARTISTIC DEVELOPMENT.

Ashton Stevens called on Grau and discovered how this beautiful system develops the highest artistic qualities in a man. Stevens asked the manager of the song birds what he thought of an endowed theatre and received the following reply:

Why talk of national or municipal opera houses for whose support the people would be taxed against their will? The American people are not ripe for them. Opera here is a fashion. A great, expensive, social function, and I provide for it as such. I am a business man, and opera to me is a cold-blooded business proposition without an ounce of artistic sentiment or any other kind of sentiment in it. If opera depended on the musical people, the real opera lovers, as you call them, the people who want music for the music's sake and hold the score to be greater than the voice and vogue of the men and women who sing it—well, then it would be time to treat this operatic question seriously. But I am sorry to be compelled to say that the social side of opera is as important as the artistic side, if, indeed, not more important; and that under the present conditions the social kind of opera is the only kind that will go."

Here we have all this fuss and feathers and carriages stretching for a mile just that a few parasites of both sexes may chatter during the entre act. Is it not enough to drive the ghost of Wagner to drink? And this is the effect on Grau himself. He says:

"I have never discovered a voice in my life. I have raised a few obscure European artists to something like international fame and taught them the difference between \$2,000 a year at home and \$25,000 over here, but they were "discovered" long before I heard them sing a note. Besides, I am not musician enough to 'discover' anything in the musical line. I have never given the first production of an opera. I never examine scores. Remember that I am a business man, and opera is nothing but cold business to me. I seldom attend a rehearsal of my own productions, except maybe to put in a half hour at the final one."

"I notice that you attend your own performances and spend more time in your box than you do in your office," said Stevens.

"Yes that is true; and when I am over in Europe I go to the opera nearly every night—to grand opera; that is my business. I never go to the theatre; I never go to a comic opera. I never went to anything but comic opera when I was in that line of business. I fit my tastes to my business. In my office in New York or in the hotel when I am traveling I spend from 9 in the morning until 8 at night managing the details of my business. I have seen but two performances of Gilbert & Sullivan pieces in all my life. One was "The Mikado" and the other, I believe, "Pinafore." My life is one steady grind in the same old-rut, and I don't mind confessing that I am glad to be so nearly through with it."

The last line sums up the whole business. He is glad he is almost through with his life, glad that he is done catering to the vulgar, noisy, unartistic commercially successful. There's a lasting commentary on the members of the class controlling the wealth of the country in this. He was never high, his soul was never larger than the mold that would hold a dollar, but he is weary of it. The people he had to serve did not have it in them to reach a height and pull him up, they are artistically low; their souls are as mean as the dollar-clipping capitalist system, with its stupid social functions.

The Paramount Issue Not In Running Order Yet.

Max Popper told the braves of the Iroquois Club of this City about his recent Eastern trip. He called on William J. Bryan at his home in Lincoln, Neb., and learned from him, that it was too early to prophecy what would be the paramount issue in the next Presidential campaign. This was to be expected. The big men of the country have not yet come together to decide upon the issue that workingmen shall swear at each other over and parade for and vote for under the inspiration of flashes of red fire and a brass band. But they'll get around to it; at present they are too busy squandering the wealth the workers have produced in the past to annoy themselves about a little thing like a paramount issue. They must have some time for recreation,

Scattered about among the cheap lodging houses of the city are 200 laborers who came here from Point Richmond on Wednesday. They say that the Santa Fe Railroad has discharged all the white laborers at Point Richmond and employed Japanese. The white laborers were getting \$1.75 and the Japanese are now being paid \$1 per day.

NATURAL SELECTION, COMPETITION, AND SOCIALISM.

BY HERMAN WHITAKER.

OF late years a decided change has taken place in the nature of the criticisms directed against the socialist philosophy. The objections now being brought forward are mainly biological. The change is partly due to the prowess displayed by the socialist economists in defense of their theories, and partly to their unanswerable criticisms of the existing social order. Their antagonists have been compelled to adopt a new line of attack. The battle has been shifted from the field of economics to that of biology. The brief for the defense has been handed over to the biologist.

Whatever judgment current opinion may pass upon the socialist philosophy as a whole, it must certainly be admitted that in the field of pure economics the socialists have more than held their own. And this might have been expected. Political economy is the science of human affairs; it treats of the production and distribution of wealth, states the economic laws that govern the production and exchange of commodities, and tries to reduce the business of society to an orderly basis. Just as the careful housewife adjusts her expenditure to her income, so the economist endeavors to influence legislation to like ends. The orthodox political economist is, therefore, essaying the impossible. He is trying to build up an orderly synthesis from a disorderly aggregation of objects; and, as a correct line of reasoning depends upon the establishment of an exact correspondence between thought and things, his efforts must necessarily prove futile. The systems of production and distribution must first be brought into harmonious arrangement before a true science of political economy can obtain.

The socialist economists, on the other hand, have made a complete analysis of the present system. In their investigations of the nature of value they laid hold of the only property possessed by a commodity that could, under a reasonable system, serve as a measure of value. Starting with the fundamental proposition that labor creates all exchange value, they have elaborated a logical science of political economy. It is, therefore, not at all surprising to see the the orthodox economists retiring from a contest in which they must necessarily be worsted.

Perhaps, in the present state of our knowledge, a complete answer to the biological objections to Socialism cannot be given. Experiment alone is capable of furnishing the final answer. There is, however, a provisional answer, which can cover all but the theoretical objection. The argument of the biological critics, briefly stated, is as follows: The socialist philosophy, though apparently logical and consistent when judged from an economic standpoint, is in contradiction to the laws of life. Its exponents are fruitlessly contending against a law of nature; they are founding their social structures on beds of sand. Man reached his preeminent position in the animal kingdom, the biologist argues, by reason of his cunning, his ferocity, and his imitiveness. In the struggle for existence, these qualities—which he shares in common with the tiger and the ape—have served him well; they have made him the superb animal he is. His prehensile thumb, his curiosity, the ferocity with which he resents injury, his sociability, and his wonderful capacity for seizing anything that will help him in the struggle for ex-

istence have secured his primacy and make him the lord of creation.

The physical and mental characteristics that distinguish man from all other animals are the accumulated results of a process of natural selection continued through long periods of time. Originally, they were simply favorable variations, brought into existence by a happy combination of the sexual characters of parents—the results of a process of sexual selection. The individuals in which these favorable variations were developed to the highest degree would be most favored in the struggle for existence, and accordingly would survive and reproduce their kind. Of their offspring, those in which the favorable variations were again the most prominent would survive; and so, by adding the variations together, generation after generation, natural selection would eventually produce them fully developed as exhibited in man. Therefore, says the biologist, since the qualities that secured for man his primacy among animals are the accumulated results of a selective process that preserved the individual possessing them in the highest degree, he will retain that primacy just so long as the selective principle continues to operate; but any lessening of the rigid selection will be instantly followed by degeneration, and ultimately by extinction.

In the course of social evolution, continues the biologist, the old form of natural selection—which simply secured the survival of the physically fit—took on a new form. It changed to industrial competition, which secures the survival of the kind of man best suited for the building up of a civilized society. Brute force gives way to intellect, and ferocity to cunning; but the old struggle for existence—caused by the fecundity of Nature—still goes on. Socialism, therefore, says the critic, is suicidal. It proposes to abolish industrial competition, which is at the same time the form of the struggle for existence that created the organization of the social structure upon which socialism depends for its existence, and the incentive that moves to action the units of society.

Here, then, is the point at issue: is industrial competition the selective principle that created our society? The socialist says no. Such a theory cannot be reconciled with the fact that in all countries man progressed from a low to a high type before the advent of industrial competition, or that in some countries a high degree of civilization has been reached without its aid. In his opinion, industrial competition is an injurious product of modern times: He asserts, moreover, that its tendency is to lower the mental, moral and physical standards of the race, to cripple the consuming power of the community, and to lower the scale of living; and that eventually it will, if allowed to pursue an unrestricted course, involve both capitalist and laborer in a common ruin.

The critics of socialism, in answering this indictment, acknowledge the cruelty of competition regarded from an individual standpoint—but nevertheless maintain that it is necessary and inevitable, and that the ultimate good derived from its operation far outweighs the present evil. The form of the struggle for existence that obtained in medieval times might, in their opinion, have been continued forever without the production of the kind of man re-

quired for the building up of a highly-organized society; that if continued forever it could only have produced a more gigantic knight—an exaggerated Coeur de Leon. They do not believe that any analogy exists between the civilized societies of to-day and the mushroom civilizations of the past. These latter, they assert, were simply the last stages of a patriarchal system in which a small class, after subjugating the remaining members of their society, had taken to themselves all the knowledge and culture of their times. These civilizations were based on chattel slavery; as President Jordan of Stanford very aptly puts it, "the physical perfection and culture of each Greek were made possible by the labor of ten slaves."

A comparison will show that no analogy exists says the biologist. The old civilizations were founded on slavery: ours is based on freedom of contract; in ancient societies rigid caste lines separated the classes: in ours men pass constantly from one to the other—the sons of the laborers of one generation becoming the lawgivers of the next; the civilizations of old were simply extensions of the patriarchal system: ours is the result of industrial evolution. In olden times all the knowledge and culture of the day were reserved for a select few. The industrial evolution of modern society, with the introduction of machinery into all branches of industry—with its steam power, its cheap newspapers, its cheap books, its cheap magazines, its free libraries, and its free schools—has made possible to all the pursuit of knowledge. "He who runs may read." The toiler of to-day enjoys privileges beyond the reach of a king of former times. There could be no advance on these earlier civilizations without a change in the form of the struggle for existence, says the critic; and, as a result of economic causes, it changed—to industrial competition.

Now, though the line of reasoning thus put forward against socialism seems both logical and convincing, it contains several erroneous conclusions. The statement that industrial competition is responsible for the organization of society is certainly untrue. This organization dates back to the time when, following the line of least resistance, men found they could produce more, working at special occupations and exchanging their commodities, than when each worked for himself at a variety of occupations. The organization of society must be attributed to the specialization of industry, with its accompanying system of exchange. First the simplest division of labor, the learning of handicrafts; then the gathering of the artisans into guilds, the associations of the guild-masters and the rise of the trades-unions, the inception of the factory system and its gradual development, the gathering of large groups of workingmen into factories and the integration of masters into corporations and trusts: these are the steps by which the organization of society was effected—from first to last due to the specialization of industry. Consequently, the objection that the abolition of competition means the disorganization of society falls to the ground.

The arguments of the biological critics of socialism might be strictly true were their application restricted to cabbages and potatoes; but applied to man they are worthless. Man is not a vegetable, passively subject to the action of natural forces and reaction automatically upon them, but possesses a power of consciously reacting upon environment and partially molding it to his will. By virtue of this power he becomes, as it were, the architect of his own fortunes—the builder of his own physical, mental, and moral structures. It is therefore necessary that he have an ethical standard—that the conscious molding of environment may have for its ultimate aim the production of the highest type of man. The biological criticisms of socialism are therefore lacking, inasmuch that they have not taken this power into consideration.

Looking at the question from another point of view, an examination of existing society will show that the unconscious, unregulated action of social environment has actually resulted in the setting aside of natural selection. This has been replaced by a perverse social selection, which divides society into at least four distinct classes. It preserves first the man of wealth—gained perhaps by no exertion of his own—who may or may not be possessed of the physical and mental attributes that would insure his survival under other conditions. As he is able to buy better brains than his own to manage his possessions, he is secure in the survival of his family; while the practice of tying up large estates in trust for the benefit of improvident heirs still further sets aside the operation of natural selection. The efforts of the "fool killer" are rendered abortive. In the middle class, the keenest and generally the most unscrupulous trader survives. In the working class, the man with the strongest body and most slavish disposition is the one favored in the struggle for existence. And in the slums, normal persons, dragged down by hard conditions, are slowly exterminated, leaving the beggar and the thief to propagate their kind. It cannot be said that natural selection is responsible for the existence of any of these, or that they approach the type we should choose for our standard.

Looking at the question from still another point of view if we allow, for the sake of argument, that industrial competition is synonymous with the struggle for existence, we shall find ourselves placed in a very peculiar position. We shall be obliged to assert that ninety-five per cent of the business men of all countries are "unfit." Statistics compiled by the best authorities show that ninety-five per cent of all business enterprises become bankrupt. This enormous percentage of failures must then prove one of two things: either that ninety-five per cent of all merchants engaged in business are unfit, or that an injurious selective principle, which does not discriminate between the fit and the unfit, has arisen during the evolution of society. The latter hypothesis is probably the true one. The fact that many men, after failing in business once or twice, eventually succeed can be explained in no other manner. What confidence can be placed in an automatic selective process that changes its judgement so readily? How can a man who has been twice pronounced unfit by industrial competition suddenly become fit? The only answer that can be given to such a query is, the man was always fit. Conditions, favorable or unfavorable, decided the question of his success or failure. Much evidence may be adduced in support of such a theory.

A hundred years ago the business of society was carried on by a multitude of small manufacturers, small storekeepers, mechanics, and farmers. Business failures were few and far between, and the commercial crisis would not for some time to come startle the world by its repeated visits. Now, judged by the standard of the biologist, the majority of the business men of civilized countries were at that time fit. Judged by the standard of the economist, free competition, in a community of small producers possessing a world's market, could not produce the evil results ascribed to it to-day. Competition between two small merchants with a world to exploit is a very different thing from competition between a small merchant and a gigantic trust, between a blacksmith and an implement factory, between a laborer and a steam shovel. Judged by the standard of the biologist, ninety-five per cent of modern men of business are unfit. Judged by the standard of the economist, the centralization of capital, the concentration of industry, and the social effect of machinery have simply made it impossible for them to remain in business. They cannot compete.

The great selective principle of the biologist—industrial competition—is apparently in danger of abolition long before the socialist gets his innings. The gradual transformation of the methods of production and distribution must eventually end in the death of competition. The copartnership of two individuals in a commercial enterprise is the entering wedge; competition is destroyed between them. The amalgamation of such firms into corporations is a further step in the process that finds its logical end in the trust. A national and international agreement between the trusts is the last step in the process that wipes competition out of existence, and with it the selective principle of the biologist and his objection to socialism. If, though not at all likely, the commercial system could be developed to such an extreme, society would then become an industrial oligarchy ruled by trusts.

A legitimate objection to the line of reasoning thus put forward must now receive consideration. While it is certainly true that competition is gradually being killed by the business of society passing into the hands of trusts, it is equally true that competition among their employees still remains. It therefore must be shown that under socialism some incentive to exertion would take the place of this form of competition. The complete domination of society by the trusts, with the destruction of industrial competition between them, does not necessarily involve the disintegration of society. So long as competition developed commercial and mechanical ability among the employees of the trusts, the business of society might be carried on for an indefinite period—provided no other disturbing factors entered into the calculation. Kings by divine right and their descendants ruled the world for many generations without any essential alteration of their characters. And in like manner, industrial oligarchs might rule the world for long periods, provided the selective principle that formed the units of their society continued to operate. It is then absolutely necessary that in a collectivist society some incentive should move to action the masses of the people—that great majority who live always in the present invariably preferring a small amount of proximate happiness to a large amount of ultimate happiness.

The exponents of socialism are addressing themselves to this task; they are trying to bring their economic theories into harmony with the laws of life. The old-time revolutionary beliefs have given way to an evolutionary synthesis. The modern socialist recognizes the fact that great social changes are worked out with much travail through long periods. Confident of the ultimate realization of his hopes, he is content for the present to demand such political and economic changes as will better the immediate condition of his fellow-men. Along with this he asks for the perfection of the machinery of government and the State ownership of those industries which have attained national importance. These necessary steps taken, he leaves to the future to decide what next shall be done.

(To be continued.)

THE REFORM OF THE REVOLUTIONISTS.

(Continued from first page.)

And Grover and Bryan stand for just such tactics in America as Bernstein and his four adherents stand for in Germany. They meet every question and consider it well that they may possibly enlarge it to the dignity of a "paramount issue" upon which they can ride into office. We might go back of this trick of Cleveland's and Bryan's and say it is commendable, it is in conformity with a natural law, for it is no more than the struggle for advantageous position and the struggle for advantageous position is no more than another phase of the struggle for existence. But the question with the Socialist Party is: What good does the "paramount issue" do the working class as such? In other words, of what concern to the working class is a squabble between the capitalists? Will taking sides advance the cause of the wage earner and help thereby the destruction of the wages system? Is it not a fact that because the workers have paid too great attention to other

people's affairs they have left themselves without brains to consider their own. High and low tariff divided them splendidly, so did free silver. Expansion also helped forward the "economic evolution" and there was no lack of enthusiasm for or against it by the workers, but what good did it do the working class per se,

In France the Socialist party is in a frightful condition because the French Bernstein thought the Dreyfus affair a fine thing to focus the attention of the working class on. In England the pro Boer agitation has sapped the energies of the movement and caused considerable dissension and it may be mentioned here that Bernstein, while the London correspondent of "Vorwaerts", did every thing in his power to urge the German Empire into the same unholy business of cutting the throats of weaker peoples and, furthermore, this idol of the middle west journal has been accused by London "Justice" of being promised a position at the Rand mines for his articles in "Vorwaerts." Nor has there been an apology or a retraction published by "Justice" so far. This is the way all opportunitists wind up. The logic of all opportunism is to get all you can and get it HOW you can. But taking "economic evolution" as a guide and flanked by a knowledge of astronomy and chemistry and grammar a la La-doff, it may be possible to deal with "paramount issues" as they develop or are developed by the "superior persons" in our political world. We may take sides over Schley and murder each other over looping the loop when these superior persons decide that the controversy is of sufficient importance to be considered politically. So, too, the reduction of taxes for the benefit of the working class may cause a division in our ranks for the greater glory of "economic evolution." And another delightful prospect lies in store for us in America when we make up our minds if Marx meant a mental or a physical revolution. The middle west journalist would make the latter an issue even now only fortunately so many of our superior socialists in America are in doubt who Marx was. They cannot find his name among the families that came over in the "Mayflower" and are therefore to be excused from caring what kind of a revolution he meant. But the argument will eventually come, nevertheless. At present these guides of the working class are too busy or they are not yet in the Socialist movement.

This phrase of Bernstein's, "economic evolutionary" is nothing but a phrase and may mean much or little according to one's point of view. If one is a self centered mediocre with neither originality or brains it may be a good thing to have around to bring one into prominence. One may as well be different that way as any other. And being different sums up the genius of the American followers of Bernstein. There is an itch for leadership, of course, that impells these people to the front but it takes more than an itch to make a leader. One thing should give them pause, if only one: The movement is not sufficiently large to allow the principle to be thin; the surface upon which the principle may be spread, so to speak, is not great enough, hence the failure of Bernsteinism at this stage in America. The middle west journalist should consider the proper psychological moment, as the novelists would say, before he makes a break that entails so much.

Party Meeting.

Comrade Culman in the chair, Chairman of next Propaganda meeting, Comrade John Messer; Reader A. Culman; Critic, Geo. Holmes. The Secretary is requested to publish the minutes more fully in the ADVANCE. The State Executive Committee is requested to immediately call a special meeting to submit proposition for a convention to a referendum vote of the locals. Delegates to Convention will be elected next meeting night, Nov. 27. Members will please take notice. The Financial Secretary is instructed to issue lists for the purpose of raising funds to send delegates to the Convention. A Committee was elected to draw up instructions to delegates. OBER, Sec'y.

KARL MARX' ECONOMIC TEACHINGS.

BY KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated for "Advance" by Kasper Bauer.

(Continued from last week.)

Low wages are a direct hindrance to the introduction of machinery; consequently low wages are also from this standpoint a disadvantage for social and economic development a disadvantage for social and economic development.

The only society under which the system of machine-production i. e. the machine, can fully develop and unfold is a society in which the conflict between capitalist and laborer is removed.

3. THE PROXIMATE EFFECTS OF MACHINERY ON THE WORKER.

In so far as machinery dispenses with muscular power, it becomes a means of employing laborers of slight muscular strength, and of those whose bodily development is incomplete, but young limbs are all the more supple. That mighty substitute for labor and laborers was immediately changed into a means for increasing the number of wage-laborers, by coralling, under directory of capital, every member of the workman's family without distinction of age or sex. Compulsory work for the capitalist took the place, not only of the Children's play, but also of the free-labor, at home for the support of the family: "The labor of women and children was therefore the first thing sought for by capitalist who used machinery."

The re-action of this was to be of sad consequences for the working-class, economic, social and moral deterioration was in store for it.

Until now the value of labor-power was determined not by the cost of the maintenance of the individual adult worker alone, but by the cost of maintaining the worker's family, whose provider he was.

Now, however, when women and children were drawn to the labor-market and were offered opportunities to earn something, it did not take very long until the value of the labor power of the father or husband was divided among all members of the family, i. e. that the earnings of the entire family were now no greater than that which formerly was earned by the father alone. This tendency of the value of labor power is rapidly followed by a corresponding movement in the price of labor power, i. e. in wages. Gradually the whole family must, in order to exist, work for wages; must not only furnish labor, but also surplus labor for the capitalist. Thus we see that machinery does not only tend to increase the material for exploiting human beings, but that at the same time it also increases the rate of exploitation.

This does not exclude the possibility of a certain nominal increase in the earnings of the workers family. If, for instance, the father, mother and two children work where formerly the father alone earned the living, the total wages will, in most cases, be higher than that which the father alone received before. But the cost of living will also have increased. Machinery means greater economy within the modern factory, but machine industry does away within the dwelling of the worker, for the woman who works in a factory cannot at the same time be expected to be a good housewife. Economy and putting all the necessaries of life to their best use within the household becomes an impossibility.

Formerly the worker sold only his own labor power, now he becomes a slave-dealer, inasmuch as he sells wife and child to the factory. Our capitalist hypocrite who is so fond of publicly decrying these "bestialities" forgets that is he himself, who has produced them, exploits them and who, under the beautiful inscription "Freedom of

labor." would immortalize them; while the great truth, that the restriction of labor of women and children in English factories is the result of the efforts of the adult male worker, speaks for itself relative to "bestiality" of the parents of the working children and give the lie to our benovolent masters.

Marx gives numerous proofs of the withering effects of factory work upon women and children. We will leave proofs furnished by Marx for this time, and take some from a later period, from a book by Singer: "Inquiries into the social conditions of the factory-district of Bohemia." (Leipzig 1885) The data contained in that book enable us to make a comparison of infant mortality in a country which practically knows nothing of modern industry: Norway, with that in districts where modern industry is highly developed, and where up to the publication of the book, modern industry has not been hampered by laws protecting labor. We mean eastern Bohemia.

The rate of mortality in Norway (1866-1874) was 1063 out of every 10,000 infants of both sexes up to 1 year of age. Compare these figures with the following, taken from highly developed industrial districts. In Bohemia the death rate of every 10,000 infants between birth and 1 year of age is:

in	first year of existence
Hohenelbe	3026
Jablonz.....	3104
Braunau.....	3236
Frantenau	3475
Reichenberg, and surroundings..	3805
Friedland	4130

We see that infant mortality is 3 to 4 times as great in factory-districts, as in Norway, a country left so far behind in "progress!" This great mortality on the part of the infants of factory-districts must not, as Malthusians are wont to do, be ascribed to over-rapid increase in population. Quite to the contrary, the birthrate in those districts is remarkably low. In the Bohemian district investigated by Singer the birth-rate is 35 births per year for every 1000 inhabitants, against 42 in Germany and over 40 in Austria.

Besides this physical and moral deterioration the transformation of human beings into mere machines for the production of surplus value, resulted also in an "intellectual desolation—a state of mind clearly distinguishable from that natural ignorance which keeps the mind fallow without destroying its capacity for development, without endangering its natural fertility.

One "blessed result of the excessive addition of women and children to the ranks of the workers caused by machinery is this: it helps at last to break down the resistance which the male operatives in the manufacturing period continually offered to the despotism of capitalism. "Blessed result!"

What is the purpose of machinery? Why does the capitalist introduce them? In order to ease the burden of his worker? Perish the thought! Machinery is used for the purpose first of increasing the productiveness of labor and thereby cheapen commodities, then to shorten that part of the work-day during which the worker produces the value of his own labor power so that the other part, the part during which he performs surplus labor may be increased. We have seen that the productiveness of machinery is inversely proportional to the value trans-

ferred by it to the product.

And this part of the value of the machine (the part given up by it to the product) because smaller the greater the mass of product turned out by the machine; the mass of product however becomes greater proportionately to the duration of the period during which the machine is in use. Does it make any difference then to the capitalist, whether this "working-period" of his machinery is distributed over a period of 15 years with a daily use of 8 hours or whether it extends over only $7\frac{1}{2}$ years with a daily use of 16 hours? Mathematically considered, the time during which the machinery is in use, is the same. But our capitalist figures otherwise.

He looks at the proposition like this: During $7\frac{1}{2}$ years with a daily use of 16 hours, the machinery transfers no greater value to the total product than in 15 years with an 8 hour workday; however in the first case the machinery reproduces its own value just twice as quick as in the second instance, and therefore places me in the fortunate position to pocket just as much surplus-labor in $7\frac{1}{2}$ years as I could otherwise in 15—leaving out of consideration all other advantages which the prolongation of the work-day gives me:

Furthermore: My machinery wears out, not only when in use, but also when standing idle and exposed to the influence of the elements. If it rests it rusts. And this sort of wear is loss pure and simple, which however I can avoid the more I can shorten the time during which it stands idle.

And also this I must not forget. In these days of continual technical change, of invention and improvement I must expect daily that my machine will lose value owing to a cheaper and better one being invented. Therefore, the quicker I can let reproduce its value, the smaller is the danger of this fatality.

This danger is the greatest where machinery is introduced for the first time in a certain branch of industry; there new methods follow each other in rapid succession, for this reason the endeavor on the part of the capitalist to prolong the workday is especially great in new industries.

Our capitalist continues. My machinery, my buildings etc. represent a capital of so and so many thousands of dollars. If my machinery rests, my whole capital is idle. The longer, therefore, I use my machines, the greater is not only the value derived from them but also the value of that part of my capital invested in buildings, etc., etc.

There is one more consideration with all of these, one of which the capitalist as well as his learned adviser, the political economist, is scarcely conscious. Nevertheless it is of considerable consequence. The capitalist introduces machinery in order to save wages (variable capital); in order that a worker may produce within one hour just as many commodities as he formerly did in three or four. Machinery increases the productivity of labor and does thereby prolong the surplus labor-time at the expense of the necessary labor-time, it increases the rate of surplus value. But machinery can accomplish this result only by decreasing the number of workers employed by a given capital.

The use of machinery transforms a part of capital which formerly was variable, i. e. capital which was changed into living labor, into machinery. i. e. constant capital.

We know however, that the mass of surplus value is determined, first by the rate of surplus-value and second by the number of workers employed. The introduction of machinery into modern capitalist industry tends to increase the first factor of the mass of surplus-value by decreasing the second factor. Therefore there is an innate contradiction in the use of machinery for the production of surplus

value. This contradiction forces capital to equate the relative decrease of the members of exploited workers by increasing also the absolute surplus labor and by prolonging the workday as much as possible.

So we see that the capitalistic use of machinery produces a whole chain a new, mighty motive for the measureless prolongation of the workday. It also increases the opportunity of the capitalist that prolongs it. Since it is possible for machinery to keep on running continually, the only barrier that capital finds in its attempt to prolong the workday is the fact that the worker, the human servant of the machine, becomes tired and exhausted, and that occasionally the worker makes an attempt at resistance, which resistance capital breaks by drawing into production the more submissive element of women and children and also through the industrial reserve army composed of workers thrown out of employment by machinery. In this way machinery clears away all barriers, moral or economic, which made for a shorter workday and, though machinery be the most powerful means for the shortening of labor time, becomes a never failing instrument to convert the whole life-time of the worker and his family into labor time for the exploitation of the worker,

Marx closes the chapter in which he propounds this with the following words: "If," dreamt Aristoteles, the greatest thinker of antiquity, "every tool, when called upon, or even of its own accord, could do the work that begs it, just as the creations of Dardalus moved themselves, or the tripods of Hephaetos went of their own accord to their sacred work, if the weaver's shuttles were to weave of themselves, then there would be no need either of apprentices for the master-workers, or slaves for the masters." And Antiparos, a greek poet of the time of Cicero, hailed the invention of the waterwheel for grinding corn, an invention which is the elementary form of all machinery—as the giver of freedom to female slaves and of bringing back the golden age. "The heathens, yes the poor heathens!" They understood, as the learned Bastiat and, before him the still wiser MacCulloch have discovered, nothing nothing of political economy or Christianity. Among other things they could not in their benighted state, understand how machinery might become the surest means to prolong the workday,

They, perhaps, excused the slavery of one on the ground that it was a means to the full development of another. But to preach slavery of the masses, in order that a few low and half-educated parvenues might become "eminent spinners" "extensive sausagemakers" and influential shoe-black dealers"—to do this they lacked the benevolent bump of Christianity."

The more the system of machinery and with it a class of experienced machineworker develops, the greater becomes the rapidity, the effort required and the intensity of labor. This increased intensity of labor however is possibly only as long as the workday is not prolonged beyond a certain limit, just as at a certain stage of development an increase in the intensity of labor is possible only by a proportionate shortening of the workday. As far as the continuous, regularly repeated labor is concerned, Nature itself emphatically calls out: Thus far and no further.

During the beginning of modern industry in England the prolongation of the workday and growing intensity of factory-work went hand in hand. As soon as the gradually surging revolt of the working-class compelled parliament to shorten compulsory the hours of labor, and to begin by imposing a normal workingday on factories proper—just as soon, consequently as an increased production of surplus value by the prolongation of the workday was once for all put a stop to—from that moment capital threw itself with all its power into the production of relative surplus-value by hastening on the further improvement of machinery.

(To be Continued.)

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THE STRIKE OF THE IRON TRADES.

The striking iron workers continue to make gains and it appears now that it is only a matter of a short time before the strike will be at an end, with victory resting with the unions.

A settlement was made yesterday by the men with five foundries and to-day union molders will return to work therein on the nine-hour basis, with an increase of 2½ cents per hour in their wages.

The concerns that acceded to these demands are McCormick Bros., the Western Foundry, the Mechanics' Foundry, the Liberty Foundry and the Enterprise Foundry. These Shops have been practically tied up for nearly five months. The business done by these foundries requires only molders. About sixty men will return to work.

There are now about eighty-five machine shops, foundries and iron works that are fully unionized, running on union time and paying the union scale. Less than twenty shops are still fighting to maintain the old conditions. The strikers say that they are prepared to remain out for months, if necessary, to bring these firms to terms. The men feel that they will soon be back in all the shops, working nine hours, with possibly the exception of the Union Iron Works. The fight with the Scotts may last somewhat longer, but the strikers believe that it is only a matter of time before the Union Iron Works will concede their demands.

The Scotts are good Republicans and friendly with the Administration. Because they made millions on government contracts in the past they are in a position in the present difficulty to put up a strong fight. It should not be forgotten by the strikers that these same Scotts entertained the late President McKinley while he was in San Francisco and that the petition presented by the labor council for intervention by the president was consigned to the waste basket. And, furthermore, that President Roosevelt will be the guest of these same people when he comes to the West, and if there are any petitions they will receive the same fate as the one presented to Mr. McKinley.

Is it possible the truth can escape the workers much longer: that the government is a government of the capitalist class and as long as they are content and vote representatives or stool pigeons of the class into power there is absolutely no chance for them to be anything more than poor degraded creatures, begging from a master the chance to earn bread. Study what Socialism has to offer you. You see what you get from the capitalist system, do you think it could possibly be worse than under the competitive system?

Shall Advance Be Local?

A small person in the South with a peasant intellect and a soured soul displays considerable anxiety because "Advance" refuses to be local. If we had a rural constituency it might be well to make ourselves narrow and provincial but having almost fifty percent of our subscribers beyond the confines of California it behooves us to know more about our subject than, for instance, he does about

Oliver Goldsmith and the "people who chased him through the hovels of Europe" and to write accordingly. When one can be no more than local it is small credit for him to circumscribe his field. This is the position of the critic and it chaffs him. It might be well to ask this person while we are talking about it, what he means by "powress" as given in the "advice" And when that is answered many other questions of like import will be ventured for his entertainment and our education.

THE MEDITATIONS OF MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS HANNA.

(WRITTEN AT KOHOMO, IND.)

Let me but control the supreme court of a country and I care not who writes its songs.

This is the modern rule of life; If you are humble you will be considered insignificant. If you are insignificant you will be friendless. If you are friendless you will be unsuccessful. If you are unsuccessful you will be d—

What does it profit a man to gain strength of character, wisdom and learning if he suffers the loss of the Standard Oil Company's esteem?

The peculiar thing about my career and one in which I show commendable superiority over my competitors, is that I am not only my own Messiah, but I am my own prophet also. This saves expense. A modern John the Baptist would demand a palace car.

When I was young—very young—I made a practice of looking inward at my soul once a year. Lately—well I am always very busy.

The chief economy in political economy is to buy your senatorship as cheap as possible.

If some of these wise paragraphs in our own party only knew what difficulties they throw in the path of a state by constantly referring to the Trusts they would be more careful. I repeat for the benefit of posterity that there are no Trusts. Deial is our only safeguard. True, it suggests the Christian Science method of solving problems, but I am not so sure that Mary Baker Eddy would not make a successful senator.

The witty rascal who said that conscience is the opinion of one's grandmother helped me over a high place. I thought conscience was—well, never mind what I thought it was.

I think the world would be a comfortable place to live in if only the working classes would appreciate our kindness to them. Do we not give them work?

I find that it really makes little difference what is the issue in a political campaign as long as the appropriation for brass bands and red-fire is sufficiently large. This makes me have entire confidence in the dear people.

The difference between a statesman and a politician in America is that the statesman comes from Ohio.

There has been much talk about the golden rule lately. This is a mere fad. I never talk about it; I practice it. That is why I am rich.

The Republican party stands for Socialism tempered by common sense. I furnish the common sense.

More than half of the unsuccessful move around with their heads in the clouds and their worst fault is blaming the world for stumbling when it is their own feet that go awry.

Be virtuous and you will not only be lonesome, you will be poor.

If I am not for myself for whom am I. If I am for any-body else of what good am I.

In these days of competition the man who, because of some fine sense of honor, does not adapt himself to circumstances and takes all he can get, is one who prefers walking with crutches to walking with sound legs.

I wonder why agitators prate of workingmen's hovels? Was not Diogenes content with a tub. The only unfortunate thing about Diogenes was his familiarity with his superiors; he ordered Alexander out of his sunshine. To permit such evident disrespect of established authority to pass unrebuked oftentimes leads to a revolution.

Every comrade having a campaign list should make it a point to return the same at once. There is a deficit in the campaign fund that must be straightened up.

Delegates to State Convention will be elected next Wednesday evening at Labor Bureau, 915½ Market St.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE "APPEAL."

The Post Office Authorities have swooped down on the "Appeal to Reason". We pause in our virtuous indignation against assistant Postmaster Madden to say that we have suspected the "Appeal" of many things, but never of having a doctored subscription list. Can it be true? Out here the "Appeal" is read much as the shilling shockers are read in the land of G. Bernard Shaw and Hyndman. Personally we know that two hundred men in and around Pinole would not sleep nights if the "Appeal" did not come on time. Summer would stop, so would Winter. In fact, all the seasons would go awry.

It is absurd to mention that not one of these two hundred men at Pinole is a Socialist and our vote there is represented by zero. But that is a trifle. Think of having a publication—a socialist publication with a circulation of 250,000, or is it 2,500,000 or twice that many. It is two weeks since I saw the paper and cannot keep track of the figures. And now Madden. Alas!

Base born churl and Sycophant.
 Tool of Tyrant, Capitalistic knave.
 Dost know how life without "Appeal" would be?
 Would'st rob us of our weekly consolation.
 And our hope
 Of putting an effectual Kibosh on the system.
 That breeds such things as you?
 Would'st tear our Wayland from
 The Broader path of truth unto the narrow path
 where lies the lie
 Which he must tell and swear to?
 Never! Avant! A bas!
 He does refuse the vile
 Condition—
 He'll do the thing vicariously, by petition.



AN EDITOR SEES THE LIGHT.

In a recent issue of the Photo Beacon, a publication devoted to photography, the editor, F. Dundas Todd says the following editorially:

NEW BOOK BY THE EDITOR.

"The editor has written a new book, which has nothing at all to do with photography. For twenty years he has bothered himself with the question, What am I here for? and only lately found an answer. If you are interested in what he thinks about life in general, get the book, but unless you can stand some pretty hard knocks do not read it. It contains among other things, a very clear definition of morality, consideration of which provides the absolute proof that socialism is coming, and shows the ideas of the anarchist and communist to be absurd."

This is worth while and may be expected from every true and honest man who stops and asks himself what he is here for.



THE WAY IT IS DONE IN AUSTRIA.

Because of property and other qualifications the workers, in Austria who are slightly more class conscious than in America, cannot elect half as many men as their capitalist enemies, though they may poll twice as many votes. The following is a report of the recent election:

	Votes	Elected	If Proportional Representation existed:
Socialist Party	799,262	10	58
Young Tchechs	578,622	53	42
National Tchechs	525,558	5	38
Old Germans	462,813	21	34
Clerical Germans	350,700	37	25
Christian Socialists	288,353	22	21
Liberals	169,298	39	12
Independent	157,964	61	11
Mixed Parties	2,421,088	185	162
Total	5,753,858	423	423

There are 48 Socialist papers in Austria eight of them dailies. The trade Unions have fifty papers that are under the control of the Socialists.

NOTES FROM EVERYWHERE.

Official count of the Socialist party vote in Ohio is not yet known. Sixteen counties heard from polled total of 6,054 or 1,300 more than last year.

Fred Strickland will take the field as organizer in Ohio the first of the year.

The official returns of the election do not materialize. Patience is one of the things the Socialists can practice for a few weeks longer.

The National Committee has elected the following temporary committee on municipal affairs in accordance with the decision of the Indianapolis convention, A. M. Simons, Secy., of the committee, Chicago, Victor L. Berger, Milwaukee, Wis., Job Harriman, New York, Emil Liess, San Francisco, John C. Chase, Haverhill, Mass.

The National Committee has issued charters to local branches at Lakeland, Fla., Livingston, Mont., Oklahoma City, Okla., Kingfisher, Okla., De Soto, Kans., Mineral, Kans., Concordia, Kans.

The National Committee is about to arrange a western agitation trip for Jno. C. Chase of Haverhill, Mass.

Jno. M. Work of Des Moines, Ia., has been elected National committeeman from Iowa.



NO CLASSES?

It was the star night of the opera season in the city for the greatest songsters of them all was billed to sing. In front of the theater and for blocks away fine carriages with their well groomed lackeys hugged the sidewalk waiting their turn to deposit their occupants. The Grand Opera House was a blaze of light and down the marble steps and over the canopied sidewalk a carpet was spread lest the daintily slipped feet of the great ladies should come in contact with the street, while obsequious policemen lined up on either side seeing to it that they were not jostled by any of the common herd. Carriage after carriage rapidly deposited its burden of fair women and fine men until a gorgeous stream of humanity swept up the marble steps and into the temple of song.

There were rare and splendid costumes that represented more than a kings ransom in the olden time, and many times many fortunes were prisoned in the gems that flashed from brow and bosom. Shimmering laces worth more than their weight in gold fell over white shoulders and over trailing robes of richest fabric. It was a radiant sight this stream of gay clad happy humanity—not one in that great throng was hungry—not one was tired—not one was homeless or distressed lest the morrows rent could not be paid, for had not we the kind, patient slaves seen to it that these gay glad people should be royally gowned and housed and provided with the means of enjoying this musical feast while we, the slaves and care-takers of these precious representatives of the wealth we have produced, stood, a great mob of us, on the other side of the street and jostled each other for the privilege of seeing with what fine appreciation these grand dames and gentlemen enjoyed the blessings we had so unselfishly bestowed upon them. We stood there in the thick fog which damped our scanty clothing and a strangely contrasting throng we were.—Standing in the gloom and drizzle and chill of the night hungrily watching the joy we could not share; old men and boys, young girls and gray haired women, and every one with the unmistakable insignia of the class to which he or she belonged ineffably stamped upon the face, the dress, the bearing; for who can deny that generations of toil with its accompanying heartaches and anxieties, its withering discouragements and distress leaves its impress upon children of men from generation to generation. Sallow faces, pinched features, stooped shoulders and hands meant to be beautiful, but gnarled and knotted by toil out of all semblance of nature's intent. You could see by the hungry longing in homely and haggard faces that there was many a soul in that shabby throng born with the divine love of song and music yearning unutterably for the joy of hearing the great songsters. Why was it denied them? Near me stood a girl in workday clothes, with such a look of longing on her fair young face that I was impelled to ask "would you like to hear the great singers?" "Oh so much, so much," she answered, while tears filled her eyes, "but it costs so much and we did not have the money," As I saw the poor child's disappointment, I recalled the reason and in my heart I hated more bitterly than ever the cause that makes such distinctions possible.

ALICE SORENSON.

THE MAN CARLYLE HONORS.

Two men I honor, and no third. First, the toil-worn Craftsman, that with earth-made Implement laboriously conquers the Earth, and makes her man's, Venerable to me is the hard Hand; crooked, coarse, wherein notwithstanding lies a cunning virtue, indefeasibly royal, as of the Sceptre of this Planet. Venerable, too, is the rugged face, all weather-tanned, hesoiled, with its rude intelligence; for it is the face of a Man living manlike, O, but the more venerable is thy rudeness, and even because we must pity as well as love thee. Hardly-entreated Brother For us was thy back so bent, for us were thy straight limbs and fingers so deformed; thou wert our Conscript, on whom the lot fell, and fighting our battles wert so marred. For in thee, too, lay a god-created Form, but it is not to be unfolded; encrusted must it stand with the thick adhesions and defacements of Labor; and thy body, like thy soul, was not to know freedom. Yet toil on, toil on; THOU art in thy duty, be out of it who may; thou toillest for the altogether indispensable, for daily bread.

MODERN CANNIBALISM.

In the days of cannibalism the strong devoured the weak—actually ate their flesh. In spite of all laws that man has made, in spite of all advances in science, the strong, the heartless, still live on the weak, the unfortunate, the foolish. True, they do not drink their blood or eat their flesh, but they live on their self-denial, their weariness and wane. The poor man who deforms himself by toil who labors for his wife and children through all his anxious, barren, wasted life—who goes to the grave without ever having a luxury—has been the food for others. He has been devoured by his fellow-men. The poor woman, living in the bare lonely room, cheerless and fireless, night and day, to keep starvation from her child, is slowly being eaten by her fellow-men. When I take into consideration the agony of civilized life—the failures, the anxieties, the tears, the withered hopes, the bitter realities, the hunger, the crime, the humiliation, the shame—I am almost forced to say that cannibalism, after all, is the most merciful form in which man can exist.

It is impossible for a man with a good heart to be satisfied with this world as it is now. No man can truly enjoy what he really earns—what he knows to be his own.—knowing that millions of his fellow-men are in misery and want.

When we think of the famished we feel it almost heartless to eat. To meet the ragged and shivering makes one almost feel ashamed to be well dressed and warm—one feels as if his heart were as cold as their bodies.

In a world filled with millions and millions of acres of land waiting to be filled, when one man can raise food for hundreds; yet millions are on the edge of famine. Who can comprehend the stupidity at the bottom of this truth?

Is there to be no change?

Are the laws of "supply and demand," invention and science, monopoly and competition, capital and legislation always to be the enemies of those who toil? Will the workers always be ignorant and stupid enough to give their earnings to the useless? Will they support millions of soldiers to kill sons of other workmen? Will they always build temples and live in dens and huts themselves? Will they forever allow parasites and vampires to live on their blood? Will they remain the slaves of the beggars they support? Will honest men stop taking off their hats to successful frauds? Will industry in presence of crowned idleness forever fall upon its knees, and will the lips unstained by lies forever kiss the robbers' and impostors' hands? Will they understand that beggars can-

not be generous, and that every healthy man must earn the right to live? Will they finally say that the man who has had the privileges with all others has no right to complain, or will they follow the example set by their oppressors? Will they learn that force, to succeed, must have thought behind it, and that everything done, in order that they may succeed, must rest on justice?—Robert G. Ingersoll.

A BOYCOTT OF AN UNFAIR HOUSE.

Messrs. Owens & Starr, conducting restaurants at No. 9 Sixth St., and on 9th St. near Market, having agreed to discontinue patronizing Ruediger and Loesch's Bakery, No. 107 to 111 Larkin St., are, as far as our Union is concerned, stricken off the unfair list.

We want to thank the members of all unions for the support they are giving us in this fight.

We again would like to impress on you that this fight means to us nothing less than the keeping of our one day of rest a week, a thing every human being is entitled to, and a thing our Union has been fighting for for the last 40 years.

Ruediger and Loesch are trying to work their men seven days a week again and are employing nothing but non-union help. The following is a list of some of their customers (restaurants and branch bakeries) who refuse to quit patronizing this unfair establishment:

Lafrenz Restaurant, 1129 Market, Jim's Creamery 690 Fourth St., Magnolia Restaurant, East near Market, Restaurant 1650 Market, Graff's Branch Store, 2861 16th St., near Folsom, Branch Store 386 Utah, Wrs. Wasserman's Branch Store, 530 Castro, Kroeger's Grocery, 22nd and Shotwell, Branch Store, 3012 16th St., near Mission, Swain's Restaurant, Mason near Eddy, Restaurant No. 8 and 10 Hayes St., Green's Branch Store 15th and Noe.

Again thanking you for your kind assistance and trusting that you will continue the same, until this unfair firm is willing to work their men under Union conditions.

Yours fraternally.

Journeymen Bakers & Confectioners Int. Union, No. 24,
Emil Schaerer, President. Marcel Wille, Secretary,

Concert and Entertainment.

The New Dramatic Society of this City has arranged a Concert, Dramatic Entertainment and Dance as a Testimonial to Miss Edna Herold, (daughter of comrade Chas. Herold), and William G. Sass, to take place at Saratoga Hall, 814 Geary St., Thursday Evening, December 5th, Miss Herold is a promising Lyric Soprano, and a host of Volunteers will make the occasion a memorable one both artistically and socially. The admission fee will be 25 Cents.

THE TRUTH OF IT.

Did it ever occur to you, Mr. Carnegie, that we are entitled to homes of our own with such requirements of civilization as baths and books and the leisure to benefit by them? If order is heaven's first law, justice must be the second, which you know is almost lacking in present industrial methods. Were it not so one man would not be GROANING UNDER THE WEIGHT OF \$200,000,000, while those who have earned it live in abject want during their working years and are pauperized when they are no longer able to work. If to die rich is to die disgraced, what is it to live rich, with these ghastly wrongs crying to heaven for vengeance all unrighted?—JOHN M. ROGERS, in Retail Clerks Advocate.

The European edition of the New York "Herald" asserts that a group of American capitalists, headed by John D. Rockefeller and others, interested in traction companies, have practically secured control of the Paris Compagnie Generale la Traction, which owns a number of lines entering Paris.

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 subcommittee 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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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,

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Home address, 235 Rivington street.

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67 East 129 St., City.

Feb. 5, 1901.

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

A PROTEST.

I have been reading in your issue of Nov. 2nd, the article "Stitt Wilson Invited to Debate". And also the contribution of G. B. Benham; and the question forces itself upon my mind, is it judicious to introduce the discussion of religious questions into the columns of a periodical devoted to the advocacy of Socialism? There are all phases of religious beliefs among the friends of Socialism; and many who are not believers in any system of religious thought; and I am somewhat surprised that any one interested in the cause of Socialism should desire Mr. Wilson, or any other advocate of the cause, to lay aside his effort in its behalf to discuss any other question. It is very generally understood that Mr. Wilson is devoting himself to the advocacy of economic reform, and Socialists, either religious or anti-religious, would have cause to feel disappointed, to put it mildly, if he should abandon the work he came into this state to do to discuss the question as to whether or not Christ taught Socialism. One would think that those who realize the importance of the success of that cause would be rejoiced that Mr. Wilson was making converts (as he surely is) even though his arguments are not such as they would accept as good. Mr. Wilson believes that according to the teachings of Jesus a great change is necessary in the matter of producing and distributing the necessaries, luxuries for the health, comfort and enjoyment of the people of the country, and world: and believing that Socialism is the best means of enabling the producers of necessaries and comforts to enjoy the result of their industry, he cites Him as one of the accepted authorities. And why should any one object? Those who do not accept Jesus as good authority, will, of course give no heed to that portion of Mr. Wilson's lectures. Mr. Wilson is not a man of one idea by any means, and, as it seems to the writer, uses such arguments, authorities and facts as are calculated to prove convincing to all thoughtful persons, christian or non-christian.

Although the writer has never been a member of any church organization, she does believe that if professing Christians really believed in the practicability of His teachings, there would be no need for the advocacy of socialism. If they did as they would be done by, if they returned good for evil, and endeavored to have His will done on earth as they believe it will be in heaven, there would be neither extreme poverty or excessive wealth; even those who are born inefficient and shiftless would, through the spirit of brotherly love and service taught by Jesus, be taken care of so they need neither cheat, steal or starve. But she would never attempt to convert a materialist or Ingersolite by referring to His teachings. When endeavoring to convince anyone of the desirability or importance of any proposition, wisdom would prompt one to use such arguments and illustrations and authorities, as the party to be influenced by them will accept as good and reliable regardless of personal opinions or sympathies. Nothing has been more encouraging to the writer than the fact, each day more apparent, that ministers of the Gospel and professing Christians are beginning to realize that to be a Christian truly, requires the application of Christ's teachings in every day affairs and dealings. And she is more thankful than she can express when ministers of His gospel seeing the wrongs, injustice and want of regard for others, are brave enough to insist on the application of the principles which as professed of religion they are bound to obey and respect. Should not we who believe that the advocacy of socialism is the most important work to be done, welcome and encourage every co-worker from where ever he may come and with whatever arguments, facts or authorities he employs, and of whatever class of minds his words are convincing? Ask only that he be honest, conscientious and true? When you shape an education, when little children no longer are required to work in mills or mines, when the heritage of education, sunlight and the joys of childhood, when human dignity is reduced to a minimum, then will there be time to discuss and decide religious differences. But for the present let us speak and work uninterruptedly for the establishment of socialism by means of which to "establish peace on earth and good will among men."

M. V. L.

[We think the writer of this a bit beside the mark, nevertheless, as this is a movement where all may speak, the high and mighty and the very least, the communication is printed. Mr. Wilson's comment on the religious discussion. He said that socialism was the logic of Christianity. Mr. Benham questioned this. The editor thinks if Mr. Wilson had the right to propose his theory, Mr. Benham had the right to except. As far as opening the columns of ADVANCE to this discussion is concerned such would not be the case. The debate would have taken place in the hall where the original lecture was given that brought up the question, or any where else suitable to Mr. Wilson.]

Letter Box.

D. Y., Redlands.—Critics are plentiful in our movement. Some are more ignorant and impertinent than others.

Local Alameda of the Socialist Party holds open educational meetings every Monday evening in room 11 Methodist Block, corner Park St. and Central ave. Free discussion, questions, etc. Everybody welcome. Address communications to Allan A. Crockett, 1610 Walnut St.

I. Less, who was candidate on the Union Labor ticket for Auditor, is reported in the daily press as having absconded with considerable money belonging to the barber's Union of which he was secretary. When we made our fight against this fake party we knew what the outcome would be. The Mayor-elect has stated that he is a Republican after being elected on a labor ticket. Now Mr. I. Less has taken a plunge into space with the money of the unions. Both are criminal. The one got money under false pretenses, the other got votes.

AN EDUCATIONAL COURSE.

Elections in this city and elsewhere show how easily many so-called Socialists can be sidetracked and misled into voting for pretended reform and so-called Labor Parties etc.

This weakness is almost entirely attributable to a lack of scientific knowledge.

It is therefore with pleasure we announce that Comrade Thomas Bersford has, at the request of several comrades, decided to start an educational course.

The idea of the course is to explain simply and clearly the teachings of modern experimental science. The course will include following subjects: Cosmology, Nebular Hypothesis, Descartes' theory of Vortices, Gravitation, Heat and Light, Evolution, Geology, Biology, Paleontology, Embryology, Psychology, Political economy of the colleges, The Physiocrats, the Laissez faire and the Marxian schools. Value, supply and demand, Marginal and Marxian theories of Value, Capital, Surplus Value, Crises, Money and Materialistic vs. Idealistic Conceptions. Politics, Laws and Ethics, Anarchism, Single Tax, Bimetallism, etc. Grammar and Punctuation, Composition, Logic, Rhetoric, etc. We strongly advise our local readers to take up this course. Comrade Bersford possesses, in an abnormal degree, the faculty of clear and concise expression; while his books "Useful principles of Logic," and "Scientific Socialism" prove him to be a close student. Comrade Bersford's address is 609 Stevenson St.

BOOK REVIEWS.

We are in receipt of "Unaccepted Challenges", by Father McGrady, of Kentucky. Our revered knight begs everybody from Archbishop Corrigan down to a man named Smith to have a bout with him and he will pay for the hall. There are not a few good arguments for Socialism in the little book and a clear conception of the difference between our movement and the anarchist movement may be gained. "Unaccepted Challenges," Price 5c. Published by Standard Printing Co., Terre Haute, Indiana.

Socialist Party Campaign Fund.

Previously acknowledged: \$344.10. Emil Schaerer, \$1; S. Seller, \$1; Renner \$1. Total \$347.10.

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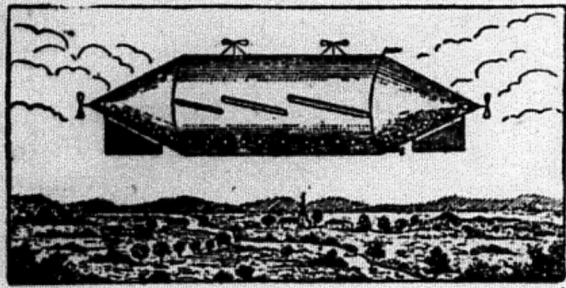
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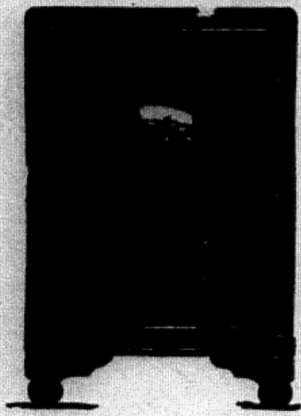
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San Francisco Trades Union Directory

- BAKERS and Confectioners International Journeymen, No. 24.** Meets 1st and 3d Saturdays, at 117 Turk street. Marcel Wille, Secretary.
- BAKERS and Confectioners International, Journeymen, No. 106.** (Drivers). Meets every Wednesday, 6:30 p. m., at 117 Turk street. Herman Vogt, Secretary, with Liberty Bakery, cor. Jones and O'Farrell streets.
- BAKERS and Confectioners International, Journeymen, No. 117.** (Italian), 117 Turk street. Marcel Wille, Secretary, 117 Turk street.
- BAKERS (Cracker) and Confectioners International, Journeymen, No. 125.** Meets 1st and 3d Monday at Garibaldi Hall, 423 Broadway. C. E. Pursley, Secretary, 2109 1/2 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.olph 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 915 1/2 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, 315 1/2 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. Dijeau, Secretary, 935 Market St., Room 17.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 256.** Meets at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St., Tuesdays. Secretary, James Jordan, 530 Castro St.
- ELECTRICAL Workers of America, National Brotherhood, No. 151, Linemen.** Meets every Monday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. F. Leonard, Secretary, 1227 Filbert St.
- ENGINEERS, International Union of Steam, No. 64.** Electrical and Steam Engineers. Meets Fridays at Odd Fellows' Hall. W. T. Ronney, Secretary.
- GARMENT Workers of America, United, No. 131.** Meets every Thursday at 117 Turk St. Ed. Corpe, Secretary, 3382 20th St.
- GARMENT Workers Union, International, Ladies, No. 8.** Cloakmakers. Meets every Tuesday at 915 1/2 Market St. I. Jacoby, Secretary.
- GLASS Bottle Blowers Association of the U. S. and Can., No. 3.** Meets 2d and 4th Tuesday at Eintracht Hall, Twelfth, nr. Folsom St. Phil. J. Dietz, Secretary, 1347 Eleventh St., Sunset District.
- GLASS Workers, American Flint Association of the U. S. and Can., No. 138.** Meets 1st Tuesday at 121 Eddy St. H. Johnson, Secretary, 1017 Howard St.
- HATTERS of North America, United, S. F. District.** Meets 2d Friday, January, April, July, Oct. C. H. Davis, secretary, 1458 Market St.
- HORSESHOERS of the U. S. and Canada, International Union, No. 25.** Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday at 909 Market St. John McCloskey, Secretary, 202 Oak St.
- HOTEL and Restaurant Employees, No. 30.** (Cooks and Waiters Alliance). Meets every Wednesday, at 8:30 p. m., at 316 O'Farrell St. W. L. Caudle, Secretary, 12 Carlos Place.
- LAUNDRY Workers International Union (Shirts and Waists), No. 23.** French. Meets every Wednesday at Universal Hall, 812 Pacific St. J. Dussere, Secretary, 12 Montgomery St. Room 12.
- LAUNDRY Workers International Union. Steam, No. 26.** Branch No. 1 meets 1st and 3d Monday at 1159 Mission St. Branch No. 2 meets 2d and 4th Monday at 1749 Mission St. Secretary, 927 Market St., Room 302.
- LEATHERWORKERS on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood.** Meets every Friday at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St. A. H. Kohler, Secretary, 1519 Polk St.
- LITHOGRAPHERS International Protective and Beneficial Association, No. 17.** Meets 2d and 4th Wednesday, Alcazar Building. R. L. Olsen, Secretary 1007 1/2 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, 18 1/2 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 915 1/2 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, 43 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. F. 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, 328 1/2 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 Son Hall, 414 Mason St. Carl Taylor, Secretary, 414 Mason St.

TEAM 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.

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

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

POGRAPHICAL 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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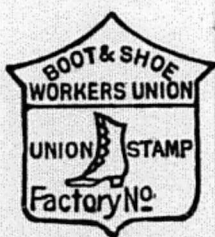
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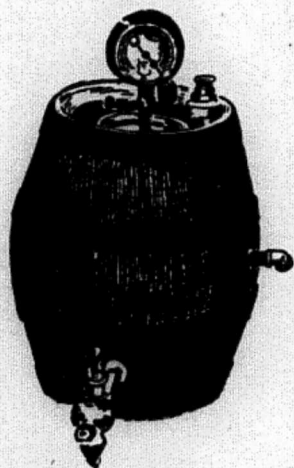
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