

# ADVANCE

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## The War Between Capital and Labor. The Remedy.

Fellow Workingmen:—We are confronted with a serious crisis in the labor movement in this city. The capitalist class, our bosses, have organized with the avowed determination to destroy our organizations. They have thrown down the gage of battle, declaring we must abandon our trades and labor unions. Let us answer, brothers, blow for blow!

We denounce as enemies to humanity these men who seek to destroy our trades unions, that they may have us divided and at their mercy, who skulk like cowards behind the shield of the secret Employers' Association. These men are the true representatives of the capitalist, the employing class. They are those who grow fat and prosperous through our arduous toil and many privations. They are those who do no useful labor themselves, but live from the profit they make out of the labor of overworked and underpaid men, women and children. They are those who are deaf and blind and senseless to all considerations of humane sentiment, and seek only to acquire gold, no matter whom they sacrifice in their insatiable greed. We know them; we know their class.

They have organized to destroy our organizations. They have declared war upon us. They have inaugurated a class war between themselves, the capitalist class, on the one hand, and us, the working class, on the other. Let us not be cowards, brothers! Let us take up this gage of battle! Let us fight this fight out!

What does this attack upon our unions mean? Why do the organized capitalists seek to destroy organized labor? It is because they hope to reduce the workingmen to a condition of powerless, helpless servitude. They are striving to destroy our unions that they may reduce our wages and lengthen our hours of work and seize all the benefits of the increased productivity of our toil. They seek to keep us from any share in the temporary prosperity of the country and to perpetuate our conditions of misery, toil and want. We must be sacrificed to their greed for gold.

This shall not be! Civilization, Progress, Humanity, demand of us, fellow-workmen, that this infamous conspiracy to subjugate labor shall not succeed.

We are the producers of the wealth of the world, brothers. We are the builders of the civilization that exists about us. The factories, the mills, the shops, the stores, the railroads, the wharves, the machinery, the tools, the food, the clothing and the buildings—all these are our handiwork. Labor has created them all. But these capitalists that now attack us own these things. We toil long hours at hard labor and receive for our pains barely enough to live upon. But these capitalists, whose only work is working us, live in opulence off the product of our labor. They have taken the wealth we made and insolently de-

mand that we shall not seek to prevent this exploitation, continuing to lessen the amount of which we are plundered.

Not only that, but they invoke the powers of the government against us. They have made the courts so subservient to their will that the most arbitrary and tyrannical methods are employed to defeat our efforts to maintain even our present poor standard of living. Decision after decision comes from the courts of the land, always hurting labor, always helping the capitalists.

The prevailing rate of wages" law is knocked out by a Democratic judge in New York; the eight-hour law is declared unconstitutional by the Republican Judge Sloss in San Francisco. The blacklist is declared legal in Illinois; the boycott is declared to be criminal in Kentucky. Injunction after injunction in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri and other States is issued against picketing, boycotting, or persuading a man not to scab. One decision is made authority for another and aggression follows aggression. In San Francisco it has become a crime to say that that labor-skinner, Johnson, runs an "unfair" house.

Police, militia and federal soldiery are held in readiness to support the organized bosses in any new invasion of our rights. No matter how just our cause may be, the armed force of the capitalists' government is held in readiness to sacrifice our liberties and our lives, to protect the property of the capitalists. Thus, brothers, does the ruling class proclaim that manhood is less to them than mammon; that labor has no rights which they are bound to respect.

The Social Democratic party calls upon you, fellow-workingman, to fight back. We must find the weakest point in the armor of our enemy and relentlessly attack them there. To fight most successfully, we must not remain merely defending our present poor condition. We must boldly attack the real source of the bosses' power.

We have not far to look for the source of the capitalists' power. We see it displayed on every hand in the shape of the be-starred and blue-coated police. It is the legal power.

The capitalists have control of the government. All the laws are capitalist laws. Such laws as look toward aiding labor are either ignored by capitalist executives or declared unconstitutional by capitalist judges. The fundamental law of the present social system is a capitalist law, the law of private property.

Why are there capitalists? Why must we work for them, or go without work—starve? Because men have a legal right to own the means of producing wealth. This law the capitalists have taken advantage of. As a class, they own and control the means whereby the workingmen live. If we do not work for them we cannot work at all. They have power to

give or deny us the means of living. They use this power to make us work for less than the full product of our toil. They offer us this choice: To work for them, give them the full product of our toil, keeping only enough that we may be able to come to slave for them on the morrow; or else to starve. We are obliged to accept their terms, modified only slightly by our combined efforts in strikes and boycotts, during which we, ourselves, undergo great hardships, hoping to inflict such loss upon our masters that it will cheaper for them to accede to our small demands.

The Social Democratic party denounces as utterly wrong the law which allows one class to acquire possession of the means whereby the people earn their daily bread.

To this iniquitous law we attribute the many evils which afflict society today.

It makes the few the masters, and the many slaves. It makes millionaires and trust-magnates, on the one hand, and penniless wage-workers and mendicants on the other. The property of the few makes the poverty of the many.

Under its operation liberty becomes a sham, the necessaries of life being under the control of a few who may combine and withhold from a whole community its food supply if it does not obey their command.

This law and all the subordinate and supporting laws are the cause of the misery and degradation of large portions of the people.

Competition among workingmen is fostered to keep down their wages and to prevent the shortening of their hours of labor.

Combination among the bosses is fostered to continue free competition among the workers by destroying labor organizations.

Under the capitalist laws the capitalists are plundering the people of more wealth than they can give back in all their libraries and gag-law universities.

Under the capitalist laws they are amassing billions of dollars of wealth from the workers. They are organizing and consolidating their forces, and are preparing to hurl their strength upon all working-class organizations, to crush them out of existence, that no menace to the absolute domination of the mighty trust may exist.

The Social Democratic party calls upon you, fellow-working men, to organize and wage an unremitting war against this capitalist conspiracy to enslave the American people. The issue is clearly defined. Organized capital seeks to subjugate organized labor. There is a class-struggle on and no permanent peace can be made until either the bosses have thoroughly subjugated the workers, or the workers have overthrown the power and domination of the capitalists.

This struggle must be carried on in the political field. All the laws now made are capitalist laws, aiding and supporting the bosses

in their tyrannical acts. All the powers of government are used to aid capital in the enslavement of labor. For labor to get justice these laws must be changed, these governmental powers captured.

This is the purpose of the Social Democratic party. We call upon you, fellow-workers, to unite with us. Strike at the source of our foe-man's power—the law which gives him the right to possess and control the means whereby we earn our living. Strike at the ballot-box for the abolition of all capitalistic laws. Strike for workingmen's laws.

The Republican and Democratic parties alike support the bosses. Neither of them attack the source of the capitalists' power. Neither take any measure to effectively curb the growing strength of the enormous combinations of capital. Both have judges on the bench who decide against labor, because the laws are capitalist laws, and both have had Mayors, Governors, and Presidents who used force of arms to break up a strike, though the lives of workingmen be sacrificed to that end.

The Social Democratic party proclaims that it is a party of labor. It exists to fight the political battles of the working-class. It aims to destroy the capitalist class, to abolish classes. To the capitalist law of private property in the means of life, the Social Democratic party is unalterably opposed. It seeks to do away with that law, and with all capitalist laws. It seeks to make the means whereby the people earn their living. The property of the people as a whole; to be managed collectively for the general good. It seeks to make such laws that no man will be able to make three thousand others work ten hours a day for his private gain. It seeks to make such laws that no man or combination of men may deny others either work or food. It seeks to make workers' laws, to establish the workers' republic—the co-operative commonwealth.

Fellow-workingmen, we call upon you to strike at the ballot-box, where your numbers overwhelm the capitalists. Since they have declared this war upon you, strike back with all your force, and wipe the aspiring dictators from their places of power and plunder. Vote the Social Democratic ticket and aid in that social revolution which will witness an end to capitalist rule, and see the workers, the producers of wealth, the owners and managers of the product of their labor.

Socialism contains the settlement of all the economic problems of government. No one will quarrel about the effect of a tariff when there are none to benefit by its operation. No one will care about whether gold or silver is given the preference when both are kicked aside and the place of money is taken by certificates of credit which expire if not used within a certain time. The trusts will not bother people when all business is in the hands of a trust composed of all the people acting through their government. Strikes will be a thing of the past when, instead of masters and servants we shall have none but partners. Discontent will disappear when there are none to envy and none to be envious, but all and each are equal. The liquor question will not trouble when saloons are done away with and whatever liquor is sold will be sold by the State. The suffrage question will no longer engage attention when every intelligent person has equal power in government and equal rights under that government. In act there will be nothing left to quarrel about and the thousand years of peace will have come. And Socialism is nearer being realized than most people think. It is the one burning question before the people today, and any unforeseen event may bring it to the front for adoption almost any day now.—Labor Paper.

### A Hint for Trades Unionists.

The following resolution, adopted by the Executive Board of District No. 24, United Mine-Workers of America, should be studied by every trade-unionist.

Evidences of this kind are coming before the trades unions of the country every day and impressing upon them the necessity of carrying their trades union principles to the ballot box on election day if they are ever to obtain laws for the benefit of their class.

To the Miners of District No. 24, U. M. W. of America—Greeting:

Whereas, the miners of Michigan did unanimously declare themselves in favor of asking the Michigan Legislature to pass a law to protect their lives and interests in the mines; and

Whereas, The said Legislature has defeated the miners' bill, which was introduced by Rep. John Henry of Saginaw; therefore, we deem it advisable to give you a clear understanding of the reasons the bill met its death, and give you advice how to secure beneficial legislation in the future.

History of the bill: The bill was presented to the Legislature in the house of representatives, and our organization used every method in its power to have it enacted into law.

It cost the organization \$420 for labor and expense of representatives of the union who were sent to Lansing to use their efforts in behalf of the bill. According to the arguments produced for the bill, and according to all rules of right and justice, the bill should have become a law. It meant defeat because the present Legislature is a thoroughly capitalistic one. Its members hold office simply to protect the interests of the capitalist class. One thing we miners must learn (and the sooner the better), that it is a waste of time to beg Legislatures, as constituted at present, to pass laws beneficial to us. The capitalist has full control of the law-making powers of our governments; likewise the executive and judicial powers.

A law in the interest of the capitalist class now finds speedy passage; one in the interest of labor meets early death. The judiciary, in addition to issuing all kinds of injunctions against labor, hunts up all labor laws which may have gotten upon the statutes, and declares them unconstitutional. The executives order out the militia and also the regulars (when necessary) to shoot down our brother workingmen and break up their strikes. All this is done because the capitalists wish it. Yes, they are committees for the capitalist class.

What should workingmen do in the face of these conditions? Why, elect your own men to office. If the Michigan Legislature had been composed of class-conscious workingmen, who were sent there to protect the workers against the enemies of labor—the capitalist class—then the miners' bill would not have met defeat, nor would any labor measure be turned down. Labor's interests have been cared for.

We issue this advise to you because we believe we will not have done our full duty unless we did so. We believe laboring men can get laws passed in this way much quicker than by begging the capitalists for them. When you begin to do this, the capitalists, fearing they will lose the entire labor vote, will pass some laws trying to appease labor. And when the labor party becomes a power, the workers will not have to spend their hard-earned money trying to get laws, nor lower their dignity by begging the capitalists to do something which they should do themselves.

Having the greatest numbers they should rule.

Workingmen, arise from your knees and demand your rights. Demand the full product of your labor! Remember, if workingmen would be free they must themselves strike the blow.

Stephen Corven,

Sec. United Mine Workers of Amer.

### Ten Labor Reasons.

Here follow ten reasons why you should vote for the Social Democratic party.

1. Because it is easier to vote than to strike. The injustice that leads to strikes originates mainly in bad legislation. Lodge your complaint in the ballot-box.

2. Because workingmen constitute seventy-five per cent of the population, create all the wealth, and are entitled to representation by men of their own class. We suffer as a class; we should vote as a class.

3. Because a workingman understands better the wants of the wage-earners than they can possibly be understood by a representative from other ranks of society. The butterfly can not understand the feelings of the toad under the harrow.

4. Direct Labor representation wherever adopted has been a success. New Zealand is a country without paupers.

5. Because the old parties are political bosses, who manipulate elections and rule the country for the benefit of themselves and their friends, the capitalists. We want self-government.

6. Because workingmen have given more study to economic questions than men in the upper classes, and have more definite and correct notions of what legislation is needed for the betterment of society.

7. Because politics with the old parties has deteriorated into mere party strife, and the well-being of the people at large apparently is a matter of secondary importance.

8. Because it is the strongest and only effectual protest we can make against the centralization of the wealth and resources of the country in the hands of a few to the impoverishment of the many. Labor creates all value; why does it not possess it?

9. Because Labor has a constructive ideal of co-operation, as opposed to the destructive ideal of competition held by the capitalists.

10. Live well; there will be peace and harmony on earth. Think well and vote as you think.

A young Viennese lady had obtained "Doctor Pascal" from a circulating library. Her father thought it unsuitable reading for a young girl, and forbade her to read it. However, his conscience was not quite at rest, and he wrote to Zola himself, asking for his advice, "to which the contending parties (father and daughter) would bow." To this curious request Zola made this reply: "I do not write for young ladies, and I do not think that every kind of reading is good for brains which are still in process of development. You are perfectly right to guide the education and culture of your children as you think right, and they owe you obedience. When they grow older, and mix with the world, they will read what they please."

Mayor Agara of Fairbury, Ill., suggested to the National Convention of Glass Bottle Blowers, which met in Milwaukee, that efforts be made to organize the school teachers of the country into unions. He declared that the text-books used in the public schools teach erroneous ideas regarding labor, and proposed three objects for the teachers' unions, as follows: To use only those text-books bearing the union label; to endeavor to aid text-books which look upon labor problems from the laboring standpoint; to increase teachers' wages.

## The Labor Question.

The labor question, as it is called, for the want of a better name, is simply the question as to whether this world shall, in the near future, be a free democratic world with equal rights and opportunities for every citizen, or a world ruled by a few.

It is not a new question, but a new phase of a very old one, as the rights of labor are the rights of man. Within the last generation the danger to human liberty has manifested itself in the power of wealth concentrated in the hands of the few and the disposition to use that power oppressively and arbitrarily for the advancement of their interests and the virtual enslavement of the laboring masses.

As we look around we see enormous concentration of capital in all branches of industry, and the natural results are plain. With the increase of population, the pressure of competition becomes greater; opportunities are lessened and the gap between the rich and poor is widened. The old-time boast that certain prosperity and success awaits every honest, industrious and thrifty man, has been sadly falsified by the pressure of recent years. It seems to me we have become habituated to the idea of pauperism; that we do not regard the social changes taking place as being utterly antagonistic to democratic institutions and fatal to liberty itself. Thanks to the subject matter and discussions that have agitated the restless and intelligent minds among the laboring people, to all appearance we are on the verge of a great crisis. Political freedom cannot long exist with industrial slavery. The wine of free democracy cannot be placed in the old bottles of social inequality and caste privilege without disaster. A new system must be established where the rights of man are put above the dollar.

An industrial revolution has already begun and the lines are being clearly defined. The division of contestants will, therefore, follow in the coming struggle. Labor has had its armed conflicts with desperate and starving members in its ranks, and the armed cowards of capitalism. They have become so frequent of late that they attract but little attention.

Labor has seen that in nearly every case the judiciary are in concert with capital. Injunction upon injunction has been issued against labor, labor law after labor law has been declared unconstitutional, and the right of labor to self-defense has been denied, yet some people ask, "Why is this unrest among the people?" In view of all this they will advocate that the interests of capital is the interest of labor. Consider how shallow such arguments are. Observe the markets of the world and we cannot help noticing that nearly all fluctuations of prices in any industry are based upon the assumption of getting cheap labor. Naturally capital is in the field to procure labor as cheaply as possible. With such contrary interests, how can we accept their argument?

A class of observers have, as long as possible, ignored this dissatisfaction among the laboring classes, but now they seek to belittle it. They claim that it has always been a failing of the laboring class to complain, consequently it amounts to nothing. The poorest of observers can plainly see that the discontent of our day is due to enlightenment.

The negro population during the period of slavery were not allowed a paper or book, for the slave-holder knew that the more ignorant they were kept the better they could be managed. So it is in our day; capital knows that as long as they can keep the common herd in ignorance, just so long will they be willing to slave for an existence. The av-

erage working man has, at all events, the rudiments of a common school education. If he will but read the newspapers he will learn something of the great truth, of the mutual dependence on each other, of the different forms of industry and the workings and mechanism of exchange and transit.

He begins to understand that the "Labor Question" is not simply a difference between himself and employer as to the amount he ought to receive as wages, but that there are hundreds of other considerations entering into the subject. If he be an intelligent and thoughtful man, he is able to trace the various causes of social and industrial evils, to know why this growing inequality exists. He will know how he is robbed and by whom. Such is the education which advanced the working man, enabled him to recognize the necessity of organization and, naturally, it followed. Never in the history of the world was there a parallel to this thoroughness of organization which now exists among the laboring people. The idea of union of labor has taken firm root, the trades-unions are answering their purpose in defending the rights of their members, and they will combine into big industrial combinations of all industries just the same as capital. It is not a struggle between individual men, but between combined wealth and combined labor. The lines of battle will not be drawn upon the old lines of striking for advancement of labor. It is a struggle in which the intelligent vote will represent the arms. The intelligent laborer realizes that strikes and boycotts are but defensive weapons and that only temporary relief can be gained through them. He also knows that the working class possesses political rights and is coming to the conclusion that to use those rights is their duty and for their best interests. "The means of an ample and absolute redress of every wrong is within their hands." Labor is just awakening to a dim consciousness of its political strength. Hitherto, like a shorn and blinded Samson, it has ground in the prison house of partyism, the mock and sport of its despoilers. The time approaches when the aroused giant will put forth his long-wasted energies and level to dust the strongholds of oppression.—N. A., in Iron Molders' Journal.

## An Ideal Republic.

BY LEON GREENBAUM.

"Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you" is a refrain which the world has heard for thousands of years and which we are accustomed to hearing regularly every Sunday and irregularly at any other time. Competition for the private ownership of capital, causing political and economic inequality, renders the Golden Rule impossible under existing social conditions. The foundation of the Golden Rule will be political and economic equality, without regard to sex, race, color, creed or previous condition of servitude.

The objection is made to woman suffrage, that woman's place is in the home and not at the ballot-box. In view of the fact that her home may be blighted if not destroyed by child labor, pestilence, wars and panics, all the results of misgovernment, it seems to me highly essential that women should have a voice in making the conditions that will always affect and may at some time deprive her of her home. It is not the quantity of brains that commands respect, but quality. People should not forget that Empress Wu rules 400 million Chinese; that the late Queen Victoria misruled two-thirds of the world's population just as successfully as King Edward, her suc-

cessor. I believe that if the women of this country had the ruling of it tomorrow they could not give us a worse government than men are giving us today.

No cumbersome, unwieldy electoral system will prevail in our Golden Rule Republic. The services of 5,000 men for one year would put a telephone in every home in the United States, and we could take a vote on any important question within five hours. Give me the services of the building trades, usually idle one-half of the year, the labor of millions of skilled and unskilled workers who are always in periods of enforced idleness with the services of competent architects and superintendents and in one year I will erect a home in this country for every family equal to any that you can erect today for \$5,000.

But what about the tramp, the drunkard and the degenerate? The tramp and the millionaire, the two extremes of society—the products of a class struggle, which will disappear with the abolition of the struggle. The degenerates exist among the rich as well as the poor, and the abolition of poverty on the one hand and—on the other hand disproportionate wealth so abnormal that it corrupts, will tear up by the roots, the evil of economic inequality, which is the seed of degeneracy.

Drunkenness is not the cause of poverty, but poverty is the cause of drunkenness. We have good people, sincere, no doubt, who advise the workmen to quit drinking, smoking, chewing and not to marry imprudently. Abstinence from drinking, smoking and chewing and the total discontinuance of marriage by the workmen would enable them, under competition for wages, to work for less and the capitalist class would reduce wages accordingly.

The Hindoos and Chinese are the most temperate and thrifty workers in the world and among the poorest in the world and among the poorest in level of living. Give us the Golden Rule Republic, and the saloon, distillery and brewery will pass away to parts unknown. Make life worth living and men won't drown it in drink. Raise men in an evil environment and they will be evil men; raise men in a pure and good environment, and they will be good.

Socialism means a great change in our homes, the doing away with wasteful effort and drudgery, and the devotion by woman to a higher life of culture, art and refinement. What of the farmer? He will not be turned out of his home unless it be to turn him into a better one.

The Golden Rule Republic is the end in view, but what of the means to the end? We will never obtain Socialism by voting the Republican and Democratic tickets. These parties are owned and controlled by the capitalist class, who are satisfied with existing conditions and will always legislate in their own interests. One cannot defeat the enemy by walking into the enemy's camp. The only means by which we can obtain the Golden Rule Republic is through a class-conscious, working-class political party. By class-consciousness I mean an economic consciousness—no more and no less; a consciousness by the working class of their own economic interests, and that under capitalism the interests of the one class cannot be reconciled with interests of the other. The question is, Shall we go forward to a greater and higher civilization, or shall we relapse into barbarism?

When the capitalist class give charity balls for the poor, they haven't even got the charity to invite the poor to attend.

## ADVANCE

### Pro Muratori--The Strikers' Funeral.

(The following poem was written by Ada Negri, the Italian poet, on the occasion of the funeral of one of the striking stonemasons of Milan. It was printed and distributed in thousands of copies, one of which was transmitted by the author to Miss Agnes Tobin of this city. The translation here given was done by Mr. Melbourne Greene of Berkeley.)

A sordid car that, lowest of the low,  
Bearest ungarlanded  
The mason's humble bier approaching slow  
The dwelling of the dead,  
Like to a king's car on to that repose  
Thou goest, that is for aye:  
The train is glorious that with thee goes  
Far more than man can say.  
Ten thousand are they, yet serene and clear,  
Almost as one they seem.  
Upon the serried crowd one grand idea  
Shines like a lightning-gleam.  
Intrepid-mates of hunger, strife and toil,  
(Powerless their will to dull)  
Despite their faces' pallor, vestments' soil,  
Superbly beautiful.  
These unarmed soldiers in a new Crusade  
Follow the aged dead;  
Let no wild cry, no shouting shrill upbraid  
That silence calm and dread.  
"O comrade, thou who in our passion's flood  
Within the arms of thine,  
Merged with us all in conflict harsh, yet  
good,  
Diedst, hoping in that Sign—  
"Turn back thine eyes—behold thy comrades here  
Attendant on thy pall.  
They never can destroy us, brother, where  
We stand together all  
"Linked fast by faith in the Ideal we seek,  
We shall renew the world.  
Not ours the birthright of the crushed and  
weak—  
The dead stone, blindly hurled;  
"Furibund gesture, fire's blood-red gleam,  
The howl of maddened glee!  
We are the silent, the majestic stream  
That flows on to the sea!  
"We are the glacier lifting, still and white  
Its front against the sky,  
That, inch by inch rending the mountain  
height,  
Glides on inexorably.  
"Our only penny and our last poor lot  
To-morrow will have sped;  
But fear not, Comrade, for our hearts faint  
not,  
Although we want for bread.  
"What tho' our wives and little children  
faint?  
The ever-holy Right  
For which we strive is far above their plaint,  
Their misery. Let us fight!  
"How distant still—alas, the long remove—  
Toil's victory untold,  
Mid songs of children radiant with love  
Beneath a dawn of gold!  
"How many victims must the way endure  
From stone and thorn ne'er free,  
In this unequal warfare, this obscure  
And endless agony.  
"Of weariness that seeks a comfort sped  
Of paltry earnings' scathe,  
Of hard dry loaf—alas, O Comrade dead,  
Sleep, sleep thou in thy faith!  
"We are ten thousand told about thy  
form—  
To-morrow millions more;  
And this our wrath is no mere passing  
storm,  
Heavy with flash and roar.

" 'Tis an advance in slow and ceaseless  
power,  
Shoulder to shoulder bold,  
Undaunted, day by day and hour by hour,  
Tranquil and uncontrolled!

" 'Tis breathless beating of the living mass  
With heavy hammers' shock,  
Disintegrating as the moments pass,  
The backbone of the rock.

"Austerely above the fallen in the fight  
Strew violets, one by one,  
And forward, forward thro' the murky  
night,  
On toward the rising sun!"

### The Social Ideal.

I know that it is not strictly "scientific" to have ideals, but I frankly confess that I can not help it. Of course, we most of us recognize that the great world is pursuing its course regardless of what your ideal or my ideal may be. Yet, after all, we cannot but cherish more or less definite hopes of what society may one day become, and in so far as we exert any influence upon the thought of our time we influence and shape the nature of the society that is to be. It will be a sorry day for our Socialist movement when it loses its idealism. Every idealist ought to be a Socialist; every Socialist must be an idealist, whether he is conscious of it or not.

It is impossible in a few words to adequately describe the glorious ideal of Socialism, to which the men and women of our movement are consecrating their lives today, with a whole-heartedness and a self-sacrifice almost unparalleled in the world's history. We can only say that it is the mightiest ideal that ever stirred the heart of humanity. We can only say that it is essentially revolutionary, and that it represents conditions. In place of strife we shall have rest and fellowship; in place of misery, happiness; in place of inequality, equality; in place of ugliness, beauty.

What appeals to one first of all in this new life is its comfort and security. There will be no more of this mad, heartless scramble for wealth, no more of this mean, sordid commercialism. Our life will be sane and normal. We shall no longer conduct society on the principle of the herd in the pig-sty, but rather in the spirit of kindly altruism and the recognition that an injury to one is an injury to all. We shall not need to think very much about the physical and material side of life at all. A few hours of pleasant labor, organized in scientific fashion on a national scale, will produce enough—and more than enough—to satisfy every human need.

My soul rises up within me to greet the wholesomeness, the equality, of this new epoch in human history. As I dream of it, I feel like one transported from some pestilential swamp to a mountain summit, with its bracing ozone, its splendid panorama. Think of the petty and nauseous stupidity—the utter woodenness—of so much of our life today, with its snobbish castes and grades into which we so solemnly divide ourselves, its so-called "higher" and "lower" classes. Consider, on the one hand, the butterfly life of the ball-room; on the other hand, the drunken soddenness of the saloon. What inspiration it gives us to even think of these things swept from the earth forever! What joy it is to know that we shall one day have a society of real men and women, instead of (too often) dolls! The world will never realize the pitiful life that has been going on through the long centuries, until Socialism produces a new race of men.

Socialism will mean simplicity. It will mean that we deliberately turn our backs on the

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myriad shams around us. The luxuries of today—the twelve-course dinners, the two hundred dollar dresses, the multitude of servants—are simply signs of disease. It is hard to say which is the more detestable, the overbearing conceit of the plutocrat, or the cringing servility of the flunkey. How pleasant it is to think of the society of equality, enthroning honesty, simplicity, fellowship and relegation to the ash-heap the pompous shams and the silly "respectability" of today!

Lastly, Socialism will mean beauty. I am sure that one of the first things men will turn their attention to, after the nightmare of capitalism has passed away, will be the beautification of their environment. We will no longer be able to tolerate for an instant the wretched shabbiness and sordidness of modern commercial life. We will put our souls into the architecture of our towns, and make them an ornament to nature, instead of a blot upon it. Everything in those days—from the cup and platter to the steamship—will be worth admiring. We will make the world a garden of beauty.

To my mind, William Morris' "News From Nowhere" is the most beautiful picture of the ideal society ever planned by the mind of man. And I think one might search long without finding anything to equal the exquisite charm of his verses:

Then all Mine and all Thine shall be Ours,  
and no more shall any man crave.  
For riches that serve for nothing but to fetter  
a friend for a slave.

And what wealth then shall be left us, when  
none shall gather gold,  
To buy his friend in the market, and pinch  
and pine the sold?

Nay, what?—save the lovely city, and the little  
house on the hill,  
And the wastes and the woodland beauty,  
and the happy fields we till.

The homes of ancient story, the tombs of the  
mighty dead,  
The wise men seeking out marvels, and the  
poet's teeming head.

The painter's hand of wonder and the marvel-  
ous fiddle-bow,  
And the banded choirs of music—all those  
that do and know.

For all these shall be ours and all men's nor  
shall any lack a share  
Of the soil and gain of living, in the days when  
the world grows fair.

### California Items.

Comrade Emil Rougk was elected by the bakers Organizer for the Pacific Coast. He is one of the most aggressive trades unionists and sincere Socialists in the city.

Comrade J. Stitt Wilson is creating somewhat of a sensation in the South. The "San Diego Sun" and the "Tribune," both capitalist sheets, devote about half a column to him after every lecture. The Socialist paper of San Diego, "The Chieftain," never misses the opportunity of getting the laugh on them, by hinting that Mr. Wilson's principles are the principles of the "Chieftain," after they admit there is some truth in Mr. Wilson's arguments—"I told you so." There will be greater admissions as the truths of Socialism begin to make themselves felt, and there will be still greater reasons for the quiet smile of the "Chieftain's" editor.

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

### A Word from an Unexpected Quarter.

Should an American workman read a set of resolutions similar to the following, and learn that they had been presented to Congress, the chances are he would have a fit. These resolutions were introduced in the British House of Commons lately by J. Keir Hardie, the workman member of Parliament:

"That, considering the increasing burden which private ownership of land and capital is imposing upon the industrious and useful classes of the community, the poverty and destitution and general moral and physical deterioration resulting from a competitive system of wealth-production which aims primarily at profit-making, the alarming growth of trusts and syndicates, able by reason of their great wealth to influence governments and plunge peaceful nations into war to serve their interests, this house is of opinion that such a condition of affairs constitutes a menace to the well-being of the realm, and calls for legislation designed to remedy the same by inaugurating a Socialist commonwealth founded upon the common ownership of land and capital, production for use and not for profit, and equality of opportunity for every citizen."

Perhaps when we send a machinist to represent us in Congress we may get resolutions like the above, not only introduced, but passed. It may seem a long way off, but it is nearer today than it was yesterday, and if we only keep on educating ourselves it will be nearer still tomorrow.—Machinist Journal for June.

### The Awakening.

Wouldn't it be a fine thing if all of us could read aright the lessons contained in ancient fable. The man who warmed the viper in his bosom; the fool who summoned the genii he could not control and which destroyed him, are but types of the fools who have existed since the foundation of the world, and who try to handle forces of which they are ignorant. They are but types of our modern plutocrats who would compare mankind to a patient donkey, fit only to bear without complaint ever increasing burdens, or to a gentle cow, which may be milked forever without being properly fed. Humanity is not such a donkey or such a cow. Humanity is the most explosive and the most destructive force in the world and woe be unto those who carry their experiments too far. For them there is a rude awakening some day and they will be fortunate if it is not as it was in France but a hundred years ago, at the end of a rope, the other end of which was thrown over the nearest lamp-post. Well may the plutocracy be afraid of the combinations it has formed for no one can safely predict what the end will be.—Ex.

### Why We Are Personal.

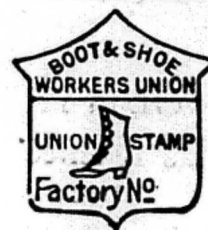
"Men blame us for the bitterness of our language and the personality of our attacks. It results from our position. The great mass of the people can never be made to stay and argue a long question. They must be made to feel it through the hides of their idols. When you have launched your spear into the rhinoceros hide of a Webster or a Benton, every Whig and Democrat feels it. It is on this principle that every great reform must take its text from the mistakes of great men. God gives us great scoundrels for texts to anti-slavery sermons."—Wendell Phillips.

A general party meeting will be held next Wednesday evening, August 8th, at Labor Bureau hall, 915½ Market street. Every Comrade should attend, as business of the greatest importance will come up.

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# Karl Marx' Economic Teachings.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated for the "Advance" by Kaspar Bauer.

(Continued from last week.)

## CHAPTER I.—THE COMMODITY.

After technical development has reached a certain high, primitive communism becomes a hindrance to further development. The mode of production demands an extension of the circle of social labor. But since the different communes were independent from and at times hostile to each other, the extension of this circle was impossible by simply extending the planful communistic labor; it could be extended only by the exchange of the surplus of the products of the labor of the commune.

We are not now examining the effect upon the mode of production within the commune produced by the exchange of products—the interaction, as it were. We are not now examining how the production of commodities became the act of independent private workers, who themselves privately owned the means of production and the product of their labor. What we do wish to examine and explain is the following: Commodity-production is a social form of production, a form which is inconceivable without social relations, a form which really means the extension of social production over the old boundaries within which the preceding form of productions for use obtained. But the social character of this form of production is not yet revealed.

Let us take a potter and a field laborer, in one instance as members of an Indian communistic village, in the other as producers of commodities. In the first instance both are working for the community; one gives to the commune his pottery, the other the fruits of the field; the one receives his share of the fruits of the field, the other his share of pottery. In the other instance each one pursues independently his individual work; each one labors not only for himself, but (and perhaps to the same extent as before) also for the other one. They afterwards exchange their product and possibly one receives as much pottery and the other as much of the fruits of the field as before. Apparently there is no material change, and yet these two processes are fundamentally different.

In the first instance it is apparent to every one that it is society which connects the different activities, which lets one work for the other and gives to each one that share of the product of the other to which he is entitled. In the second instance, each one apparently works for himself and the way and means by which each one obtains the product of the other seem to be due, not to the social character of their product, but to the qualities of the product itself. It appears now as though the pottery worker and field-laborer are not working for each other, as though pottery and field products were not necessary products for society. Instead, it appears as though there dwelt within pottery and farm products a mysterious quality, which under certain conditions brought about exchange. The relation of the persons with each other, the relations as determined by the social character of labor, receive under the domination of commodity-production the appearance of relations of objects. As long as production was carried on directly by the commune it was determined and planned by society, and the relations of the producers appeared in well-defined lines. As soon, however, as production became an in-

dividual, a private act, carried on independently, and became thereby *planless*, the relations of the producers to each other was not of their own determination, henceforth these relations developed independently of the desires of the producers, the social powers grew over their heads. They appeared to waive the view of past centuries as the laws of God; they appeared to later "enlightened" centuries as laws of Nature.

The qualities attributed to the real form of commodities appear mysterious as long as they are not explained in their relation to the producers. As the fetich-worshipper attributes qualities to his fetich which do not in reality exist in its make-up, so to the economist a commodity appears as a real object, endowed with unreal qualities. This is what Marx calls "the fetichism which sticks to the products of labor as soon as they are produced as commodities, and which consequently is inseparable from the production of commodities."

This fetich character of commodities—and as we shall see later, also of capital—Marx was the first to recognize. It is this fetichism which makes the qualities of commodities so hard to understand. It is impossible to arrive at a clear conception of commodity-values without understanding this fetich-character of commodities. For that reason the chapter in "Capital" entitled, "The Fetich-Character of Commodities and Its Secret," is of especial importance and every reader of the book should give it due consideration. And yet, it is just that chapter to which scarcely any attention is given by either the opponents or followers of Marx.

### 2. Value.

Once clear on the fetich-character of commodities, their analysis is comparatively easy.

As we have seen, commodities are produced in order to be exchanged. This necessitates that they by their qualities satisfy human desires. Whether these desires spring from the brain or stomach makes no difference. No one would exchange one product for another unless the other were an article of use. A commodity therefore must be an article of use, it must be a *use-value*, and must possess *use-value*. The use-value of it is determined by the physical qualities of the commodity. Wealth consists of an aggregation of use-values. Use-values form the material basis of wealth, no matter what its social form may be. Use-value therefore is not peculiar to commodities alone. There are use-values that are not commodities (as we have seen above: the products of primitive communist societies). There are use-values which are not even the product of labor, e. g., fruit in a primitive forest, water in a river, etc., etc. There are, however, no commodities that do not possess use-value.

As soon as use-values become commodities, i. e., are exchanged with each other, we find that exchange always takes place in a certain quantitative relation. The proportion in which commodities exchange is called their *exchange value*. This proportion may change with time and place. At a given place and at a given time, however, it is a given quantity. If we exchange 20 yards of linen for 1 coat and, at the same time, 20 yards of linen for 40 lbs. of coffee, we can be sure that 1 coat must also

exchange for 40 lbs. of coffee. The exchange value of the coat appears entirely different if the coat is exchanged with linen than when exchanged with coffee. But no matter how different the exchange value of a commodity may appear, at a given time in a given place there always lies at the bottom of it one common property. An illustration drawn from the domain of physics will make clear this social phenomenon. If I say a body weighs 16 kilogram, or 32 lbs, or 1 russian "pud," I know that at the bottom of all these different expressions there is one certain property: a certain *weight* of the body. Likewise with commodities: one certain property lies at the bottom of the many different expressions of exchange value, and this property is *value*.

We have now arrived at the most important category of political economy.

"What determines the value of commodities?" that is the question! Without its solution the workings of the present dominant mode of production cannot be understood.

Let us take two commodities: wheat and iron. No matter what their exchange relation, it can always be presented in a mathematical equation: For instance, 10 bushels of wheat equal 3 tons of iron. It is however a well known postulate that mathematical operations can always be carried out with equal qualities. I can, for instance, subtract 2 apples from 10 apples, but never 2 nuts from 10 apples. Accordingly, then, there must be something that both the wheat and the iron have in common; and that something is their *value*.

Is this common something an innate quality of commodities? As use-value they are exchanged, because they have *different innate* qualities. These qualities *cause* exchange; they can not, however, determine the proportions in which it takes place.

If you leave the next value of commodities out of consideration, you will find that they have but one quality in common: *They all are products of human labor*.

But, if you leave the use value of commodities out of consideration, you also leave out of consideration the different forms of human labor which have produced them. Then they are no longer products of spinners, weavers, carpenters, etc., but products of one common homogeneous labor power. *And as such they are values*. Accordingly, a commodity possesses value only because it is the embodiment of human labor. But how can we measure the magnitude of this value? Through the amount of labor (that is, the amount of that which creates value) contained in it. The amount of labor again is measured in *time*, by its *duration*.

If the labor necessary for the production of an article determines its value, it might seem that the slower and more unskilled the workman, the more valuable the product would be. We will not fall into that error, however, if we bear in mind that we are dealing with social, not with individual labor. Let us remember that the production of commodities is unthinkable outside of social relationships. The total labor-power of society, which is embodied in the sum total of the values of all commodities produced by that society, counts here as one homogeneous mass of human labor-power, composed, though it be, of innumerable individual units. Each of these units is the same

as any other, so far as it has the character of the average labor-power of society and takes effect as such; that is, so far as it requires for producing a commodity no more time than is needed on an average, no more than is socially necessary. The labor time socially necessary is that time required to produce an article under normal conditions of production and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at any given time. If the productivity of labor changes, we find that the socially necessary labor time and, consequently, *value* changes also.

"Let us again take up the illustration of the Indian primitive village commune. Within it, let us say, two blacksmiths are engaged in making the tools necessary for farming. Let us assume that an invention increases the productivity of their labor so that, from now on, one blacksmith can, in the same time, produce as much as the two could formerly. Henceforth but one man will be engaged in making farm implements, while the other will probably be set to work making weapons, etc. The productivity of farm labor remains the same. Just as much labor as formerly must be expended on the fields in order to satisfy the needs of the commune. Every member of the commune will receive his share of farm products as they did formerly. Yet a difference exists: the productivity of smithing has doubled. Where prior to the increase in the productivity of that particular labor, *two* shares of the farm products went to smithing, now but *one* goes to it. The change in the relation of the different activities in our illustration is very simple, easily understood; but it becomes mystical as soon as smithing and farming are brought into relation, not as smith-work and farm-work, but as the products of each of these activities. The change in the productivity of smithing appears then as a change in the relation of exchange of the products of blacksmith work with other products, as change in its value.

Ricardo discovered the fact that the magnitude of the value of a commodity depended upon the amount of labor expended in its production; but he was not able to penetrate the *social* character of labor, the character hidden in the value-form of commodities, that which Marx calls the "fetichism of commodities." Nor did he determinedly separate the value-forming side of labor from the use-value-forming side. We have already explained the fetich-character of commodities. Let us now follow Marx in his examination of the two-fold character of the labor embodied in commodities.

At first sight a commodity presents itself to us as a complex of two things: use-value and exchange value. The raw material, out of which commodities are made, are furnished by nature; its exchange value is created by labor as is its use-value. By what process does labor create exchange value and by what process use-value?

We have seen that, on the one hand, labor appeared as the productive expenditure of one homogeneous human labor-power; on the other hand, as definite human activity with a definite aim. To be productive expenditures of one homogeneous labor-power is the common quality of all productive human activity. To be definite human activity, with definite aim, it differs with the many forms of productive activities. It is true that blacksmiths' work and farmers' work are both expenditures of human labor—power in general—but each differs from the other in its aim, its mode of operation, its subject, its means and its result.

The definite, human activity, with a definite aim forms the *use-value*. Its differentiation forms the basis of commodity-production.

Commodities are exchanged only because they are different from each other. Wheat is never exchanged for wheat, or shoes for shoes, but shoes are at times exchanged for wheat. Use-values can stand in commodity relations to each other only when qualitatively different, useful labor is embodied in them.

The difference in commodities, as exchange values is, on the one hand, not a *qualitative*, but a *quantitative* difference. Commodities are exchanged because, as use-values, they are different; they are brought into certain relations and equated in the act of exchanged, because, as values, they are alike. Labor as a definite activity, with a definite aim, and in its qualitative differences, cannot form exchange-value; only in as much as it is the expenditure of one homogeneous labor-power can it, and does it, form exchange value. As such, the different activities are not *qualitatively*, but only *quantitatively* different; that is, in forming exchange value all work is figured as common, average labor-power, as simple expenditure of human labor, as it exists in the average human organism. Skilled labor, in this relation, figures only as multiplied simple labor. A small quantity of skilled labor is equated by a larger quantity of common or unskilled labor. The process which determines the relation of the different kinds of labor to each other is, owing to the character of commodity production, a social process—unconsciously so, however.

The causes which let skilled labor appear as multiplied unskilled labor are also social in their character—there are few subjects upon which so many unsound, even ridiculous, views are held as that of value. Marx himself corrected quite a few of these mistaken views.

One error often committed by both the followers and opponents of Marx is to confound value with wealth. The words, "Labor is the creator of all wealth," are often attributed to Marx. Whoever has followed us so far in our work will readily see that that sentence stands in direct contradiction to the basis of Marx's views. Value is an historical category, applicable only to the period of commodity-production; it is a social relation. Wealth, on the other hand, is something material, is composed of use-values. Wealth is produced by all modes of production; there is wealth in which no labor is contained; wealth which is furnished directly by mother nature. There is no wealth which came into existence solely as the result of the expenditure of human labor. "Labor," says Marx, "is not the sole source of wealth. 'Labor is the father and the earth the mother of wealth,' as Wm. Petty puts it."

With the increase in the productivity of labor (other things being equal) the wealth of a nation increases. Nevertheless, an increased quantity of material wealth may correspond to a fall in the magnitude of its value. The magnitude of the existing values will remain the same if the amount of labor expended in their production has not changed. A good season increases the material wealth of a nation, yet the value of the harvest of this good season may not be greater than the value of a previous comparatively poor season.

(Continued next week.)

#### Special Notice.

Comrades who have petitions filled are requested to return them to the Organizer or Secretary, either at any propaganda meeting, or at the ADVANCE office. New blanks can be obtained at the same places. Keep at it. Ten thousand names are needed. Get both petitions signed at once. The success of these propositions means much to the local movement.

#### A Contrast.

Under competition, men, women and children will always need to compete with each other to do the work of the world, making poor homes or none at all, uneducated children, and multiplying houses of prostitution, penitentiaries and jails. Competition engenders rivalry, and oftentimes hate and desire for revenge. Competition is responsible for adulteration, deception and cheating of all kinds. Competition makes penny-a-liners among those who earn their living by the pen, and "daubers" among those who earn their living by the brush. Competition brings out shoddy clothes and adulterated food. Every sort of so-called dishonesty in business can be traced directly to the doors of the competitive system, which demands that men should make all they can with as little expense as possible.

Socialism, by guaranteeing to every man a well-furnished home for himself and family, education for his children, and recreation for all, would engender love for each other and genuine desire for co-operation in everything. It would bring out the best work of the best men, and make the worst men ashamed to do mean things. It would remove nearly all necessity for cheating and lying, which is generally attributable to "business." There would be no stealing, for all would have enough. Under such circumstances very few would refuse to work—they'd starve if they did—and jails, penitentiaries, and houses of correction would be demolished and the materials used in the erection of houses of education. The best that is in men would be brought out to bless them and add to the opportunities of those who are to follow.

"Whosoever is content to scoff at the new gospel—Socialism—is a fool. Whosoever treacherously stifles it is a criminal."—People's Paper.

#### The Increase of Wealth.

It is sometimes said that during this grotesquely hideous march of civilization from bad to worse, wealth is increasing side by side with misery. Such a thing is eternally possible; wealth is steadily decreasing with the spread of poverty. But the riches are increasing, which is quite another thing. The total of the exchange values produced in the country annually is mounting perhaps by leaps and bounds. But the accumulation of riches, and consequently of an excessive purchasing power, in the hands of a class, soon satiates that class with socially useful wealth, and sets them offering a price for luxuries. The moment a price is to be had for a luxury, it acquires exchange value, and labor is employed to produce it. A New York lady, for instance, having a nature of exquisite sensibility, orders an elegant rosewood and silver coffin, upholstered in pink satin, for her dead dog. It is made; and meanwhile a live child is prowling bare-footed and hunger-stunted in the frozen gutter outside. The exchange value of the coffin is counted as part of the national wealth; but a nation which cannot afford food and clothing for its children cannot be allowed to pass as wealthy because it has provided a pretty coffin for a dead dog. Exchange value itself, in fact, has become bedeviled, like everything else, and represents, no longer utility, but the cravings of lust, folly, vanity, gluttony and madness, technically described by genteel economists as "effective demand." Luxuries are not social wealth; the machinery for producing them is not socially useful labor; the men, women and children who make a living by producing them are no more self-supporting than the idle rich, for whose amusement they are kept at work.—G. Bernard Shaw.

## ADVANCE



The Official Organ of the Socialists of the Pacific Coast.

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

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

In bundles of not less than five copies, per week, 1 cent per copy.

"The stainless honor of our navy" seems to be in need of laundering a bit.

Comrades, attend to having the petitions you received through the mails signed. One hour will do it. Please return to this office when filled.

Because we are overcrowded with work, Comrade Liess resigned as editor of ADVANCE, and will devote all of his time to the business management of the paper. Comrade Noel was elected to the editorship.

One of the good things which Comrade Vail said while speaking in this city was, that the capitalists pull the wool over the workers' eyes that they may shear it off their backs. Do you vote with the blinded and fleeced?

Why should Mayor Phelan employ policemen at one hundred dollars a month and horse furnished, to ride behind every truck and wagon in the city, when the non-union men could be protected by soldiers at thirteen dollars a month? Besides, the soldiers would look better!

The editor of the "North End Review," an organ of the boss that tried to be, Abe Ruef, objects to the kind of English used by some Socialist agitators. Well, if the grammatically correct gentleman will become economically correct, we will be glad to place him on our speakers' list.

We would urge the locals in the southern part of the State to keep that Circuit Speakers' fund well supplied. There are enough Socialists down there to keep Comrades Murray and Roche in the field all the time. This should be done and the results of their agitation will have a most beneficial effect on the movement and vote.

The Employers' Association has thrown down the gage of battle to the trades-unions of this city. They have announced their determination to wipe out the trades-unions in San Francisco. If they persist in this determination they will find that the spirit of revolt against their tyranny will manifest itself in a form more terrible to them—a great Social Democratic vote.

We repeat our request, printed a few weeks ago, that every local not desiring to be classed among the dead, select some comrade who will faithfully report the progress of the movement in his vicinity. "Advance" is the official organ of the State of California and wishes to publish all the news. We can only do this if the comrades send the items. Are you of the quick or the dead?

If you are a working man, you earn your living by selling your labor-power in the open

## ADVANCE

market. Hence, if there be any competition in that market, your wages will be ground down. Competition always lowers the price of an article to be sold. If you wish to get more for your labor-power you must stop competition. You must combine, co-operate. This is possible only under Socialism. Vote the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ticket.

One week Judge Sloss declares the eight-hour law unconstitutional; the next week he declares, "in the absence of legislation in regard to amount of wages and hours of labor, the court cannot distinguish between what is 'fair' and what is 'unfair.'" Therefore he decides that any terms men can get to work for are fair and to charge a "master" with being unfair is a malicious, libel a criminal act, which he enjoins the cooks and waiters not to do. Judge Sloss is a bright young capitalist judge.

By the time we go to press the Unity Convention will have adjourned. We can believe that only a strong, unified organization will result. If so, the movement will leap forward with even greater speed than during the past six months. Let every comrade resolve to do his share. Our propaganda can never cease till victory is won. Our cause is yet to be won until the co-operative commonwealth is established. We must be forever at it, battering away the walls of capitalism with relentless vigor. Only thus may we hope to conquer. On with the battle, comrades!

The acceptance of Carnegie's library fund is followed by the announcement that large numbers of children cannot find room in the public schools, owing to the Board of School Mis-Directors' failing to use their funds properly. This Board is composed of two Republicans and two Democrats. We can warrant that no Socialist Board would allow such a condition to exist. The untaught children will be able, however, to admire Carnegie's library as it looms up in mocking beauty thro' our morning fog, when hereafter they are trudging to work in the early hours of the day.

The "Chronicle" delivers itself of the opinion that political talk and threats on the part of workingmen, in their strife with organized capital, is very foolish. "The questions at issue between labor and capital are purely economic and should have no political significance." Suppose we replied that the tariff and free silver, and all other such questions dealing directly with the methods by which people get their incomes were purely economic, and should have no political significance? The "Chronicle" is a capitalist paper. What it endeavors to dissuade the working-class from doing is very likely just the thing they ought to do for their own benefit. Vote the Social Democratic ticket.

The regular subscription of "Advance" is now one dollar. Those unable to pay this may subscribe for half a year at fifty cents, three months for twenty-five cents. One of the very best books translated from the German language. "Karl Marx' Economic Teachings, will run in the paper. This is an effort to popularize the great work, "Capital," considered the well-spring of modern Socialism, by Kautsky. There is no sacrifice of truth in this attempt to make the masterpiece understood of the people unable to take a university course. The translation is the exclusive property of "Advance." All who wish to understand Marx without a teacher should subscribe at once. Back numbers furnished till further notice.

## The Convention.

As we go to press we learn that the capitalist papers are at their old trick of misrepresenting the Social Democratic Party for the purpose of causing division. No reports from the convention now in session at Indianapolis should be credited till they appear in the party papers. If you wish to be on the side of truth and at the same time preserve your temper, take all statements that the convention has shelved Comrade Debs, and denials of the same, and explanations of the attitude of the different factions towards each other, with several grains of salt.

The delegates to the National Convention were sent there to make peace, to patch up, in some manner, the rent in the Socialist movement in this country that has caused us innumerable heart-aches and our enemies uncontrollable joy. If the delegates do their duty; if they fulfill the wishes of the common members of both wings of the Social Democracy, we shall present an unbroken front to the capitalist foe.

If there is any one sincerely sick of the inane and childish bickerings that have caused us to be suspicious of each other, it is the true and faithful Socialist. Let us have peace. Let us have a united party.

## Another Lockout.

The bottlers of the city have been locked out by that anonymous organization, the Merchants' Association, and told to give up their union. To give up their union really means to give up the short-hour work-day and the increase of wages wrested from the bosses by the men who had sense to make their fight a united one. Fortunately, the members know that to give up their organization means to give up these few rights, these few privileges won by them, and refuse to obey the dictation of the Merchants' Association. They are sturdy fellows, these bottlers, and will stick together till the last. It is impossible for the bosses to win this particular strike or lock-out at the present time. All the would-be non-union men are engaged elsewhere. The bottlers have merely to wait and their jobs at the old terms will be offered them, together with an apology from the Merchants' Association for being rash.

## Impressions.

San Francisco seems to have been selected by fate and the Scotts as the battlefield whereon the doughty capitalists and equally doughty labor leaders should perform feats of valor. An admiring and perspiring world looks on in wonder. Every move of the capitalist is scanned closely by his antagonist and an effort made to array the army of the workers to meet the onslaught. Where the enterprising labor leader builds a breastwork, the capitalist, however, has so many guns to train on the defenses that capitulation is imminent at any time. Chief among the "Long Toms" of the present warfare and one capable of fearful execution in the ranks of the proletarian army, is undoubtedly the judge, with his injunction mandate. If he could be removed and the force that is back of him, there would be no question of the ultimate outcome, so far as the strikers are concerned. But he cannot be removed. The judge with his injunction is one of our institutions. He is an outgrowth of the economic conditions. He is upheld by the dominant class and in turn upholds the dominant class by his every act and speech, causing all things not in harmony with the interests of this class to be illegal.



The State is the organized control of the minority over the majority. The judge is a part of the State and every decision that curbs the ambitions and curtails the power of the working-class—the majority, in this instance—becomes also a part of the State. You can see in the rulings of any judge compelled to deal with strikes that half-humorous contradiction of a thing being right and wrong at the same time. A black list by the masters is perfectly legal, but a black list by the men is malicious libel. A master can boycott his workers, causing them to suffer even to death by hunger and be within the law, but the workers cannot boycott the master, though he suffer no bodily discomfort, without insulting every statute for the preservation of society.

And the judges who give these decisions that injure the working-class, limit its freedom and curse it with the curse of injured justice, these judges were elected by the votes of the very men upon whose wrists they rivet the manacles of serfdom.

Judge Sloss, a Republican, representing the Republican party, hands down a decision that robs the strikers of their most effective weapon. Two years ago Judge Daingerfield, a Democrat, representing the Democratic party, handed down a decision in the case of the striking printers exactly parallel. Is it not possible you, striking Cooks and Waiters, Machinists, Bottlers and Teamsters, see that the government, as it is now run, whether the men who run it come from the Republican or the Democratic parties, is against you all the time. Can you not see that you must wake up if you would preserve the trifle of freedom left you and take full possession of the government and run it for the benefit of your own class. If you wish a further exhibition of the indignities that are heaped upon your class, watch the actions of the police in this present strike. They are brutal and overpowering, with a fondness for using their clubs out of all proportion to the excuse for drawing them. Last Monday, at the corner of Fourth and Mission streets, a non-union teamster was stalled by balky horses. Men and boys gathered round and laughed at his efforts to move the load. They did no more than laugh, yet the blue-coated servants of the capitalist class, who are appointed by a Democratic mayor to guard the non-union men, rode like fiends into the crowd, slashing right and left with their clubs and laying every one within reach a senseless heap on the pavement. Six men and two boys had their heads split open; one may die.

The judges tell you it is illegal to speak to a man who takes your job, even miles away from the factory—this is picketing. They also forbid you to mention the word "unfair" above a whisper. Now the police, under the direction of a Democratic mayor, order you not to laugh unless you wish a split head.

Does your blood not boil with indignation, fellow-workingmen? Can you not feel the passion of hatred for the whole accursed capitalist system. Yet you voted for the system. You voted for the Democratic mayor and the Republican judges who uphold the system; and unless you wake up to the fact that the class struggle extends to the political field as well as the industrial, and vote for members of your own class, you will be just as badly off next year, and all the years to come, as you are this, with the added misery of seeing yourselves gradually robbed of the very power to make you free—the ballot. Don't forget it. A class that feels secure enough to insult you with such impunity as the capitalist class insults you, through its mayors and judges and

police, will not stop at curtailing the few privileges you now possess.

One of the chief factors in upholding the present unholy condition of things in the industrial and political world is ignorance on the part of the working class; and one of the aids to this ignorance, and the chief one outside of the union that forbids political discussion, is undoubtedly the newspaper. More uncontrolled and stupid lies are retailed by the press of this city than possibly anywhere else in the world. We are a city of prigs and sycophants. Every man who achieves the distinction of throwing together a phrase or two that will please the people stands ready to sell himself, body and soul and pen, to the first scurvy knave with a wallet. We have such journals as "Town Talk," which panders to the vitiated appetites of the aristocratic demi-monde, raising its voice in protest against the aggressions of the working class. The editor took a course of rhetoric in some female seminary where they say "species" when they mean "kind," and indulges in other phrases that give evidence of an instinct for "fine writing" to hide his lack of originality or genius. It was laughable, a few weeks ago, to watch him place his English on dress parade in the effort to refute the argument of all Socialists and educated men, that labor produces all wealth. It was evident the gentleman had never been on familiar terms with economics of any school. He termed the labor theory of value a "species of insanity," and went at the demolishing of it much as a dainty miss would cross a muddy street—in fear and trembling lest her skirts be soiled. When he learns that there are other value concepts floating around loose he may be tempted to take a fall out of them individually, or may be collectively. We hope he may. His "species of insanity" will undoubtedly become subjective instead of objective. If we were certain God had made him we should say, Let him pass for a man.

Less laughable, because dictated by keener spite, and, if you please, by more character, are the three editorials scattered around gratuitously by the "Wasp," a villainous sheet, without even the redeeming feature of clothing its asinine productions in the garb of young ladies' seminary rhetoric. This moribund thing helped Judge Sloss make up his mind that the word "unfair," bawled out in front of a restaurant or anywhere else, is malicious libel.

Beneath a wretched cartoon showing the workers labeled members of the "independent order of free lunch grabbers," three editorials are electroplated that were written by some one filled to the neck with the virus of capitalism and hatred of the working class. Among other things contained in the vile effusion is the usual attempt to arouse the spirit of free Americanism against European methods. This is an old dodge that has worked almost as well as religion to divide the workers. The reference to the boycotters having all the dialects of Europe, scented by garlic and sausage, together with the statement that the boycott is un-American and unpatriotic, are springs to catch woodcock. The incarnation when every foreigner was an enemy is happily passed. The solidarity of labor, irrespective of nationality, is recognized by the workers, and the anger of the "Wasp" can be traced to this circumstance. Americans, Germans, Irish, English and Jews who have only their labor power to sell, and nothing more, soon recognize that they have a common enemy in the man who would buy it so cheap as to leave them without manhood and honor. "Divide and rule" is a good maxim, but the historian of ideas will have one failure to re-

cord against this idea because of the further failure of the concomitant idea, "Ignorance is a blessing."

### A Criticism from Japan.

We take genuine pleasure in printing the following criticism of western civilization, which recently appeared in a Japanese review, "The Toyo," published at Tokio. Notice the intimate knowledge the writer has of we "superior" people:

"Think of the moral Occident, that wonderfully straightlaced Occident that connives at Armenian and Macedonian massacres; spends millions in crushing and stamping out two sturdy little republics, fighting for bare independence; stabs, shoots and assassinates its monarchs; gives over the streets of its greatest cities, after nightfall, to the unquestioned rule of the 'demimonde'; is forever trying to bully weaker nations into ceding portions of their territory, and, in broad terms, goes about with a Bible in one hand and a gauntlet in the other; of which the ranting, all-knowing, hard-drinking, preaching, racing, Louis XIV 'redivivus,' Kaiser Wilhelm II is the truest type.

We do not stab our female monarchs nor do we act so as to compel our great emperor to live in a steel-lined study or travel in a bomb-proof train. We acknowledge the truth of the imputation that we are not Caucasians. Yet there is no quarter of our largest cities that is not as safe at night as it is in the day time. Our restaurants are not flooded with bawds after dusk, nor are even our cheapest theatres houses of assignation. We do not go into boasting ecstasies after a victory over a weaker foe, nor do we make idols of our admirals and generals one day to revile them the next. We do not encourage and foster the bearing of illegitimate children, nor is the State ever willing to pay a premium on the rearing of fatherless boys. We do not lynch even the vilest offenders, nor have we—we confess it to our shame—ever once burned a murderer at the stake. We admit that we are, on the whole, a Buddhistic nation. Yet we have never undertaken a propaganda of this creed with cannon in the background to enforce religious arguments; we cannot boast of a Jesuitical society yearning to confound Church with State; nor have we, to our humiliation be it said, ever had an Inquisition wherein to teach the gospel of peace and love by means of thumb-screws, the rack and the wheel. We hasten to plead guilty to the accusation of being Japanese, Asiatics of the Asiatics. Yet we do not seek to enrich ourselves at the expense of weaker people. We do not talk justice and act unjustly. Nor do we permit our soldiers to rape defenseless women, kill helpless infants or loot the habitations of powerless non-combatants.—Social Democratic Herald.

### Contributions for Vail Meetings.

The following amounts were contributed by Comrades and friends to make our National Organizer, H. E. Vail's visit to San Francisco a success: Ruskin Club, \$25; Mr. Coward, \$5; Mr. Pake, \$5; Mr. Culman, \$5; Mr. Reynolds, \$2.50; Mr. Hildebrand, \$1; Mr. Trew, \$1; Mr. Rosenblatt, \$1; Mr. Bardhun, \$1; collected by Cameron King in hall from Mr. Ober and others, \$6.

J. J. Noel, Sec.

From the telegraphic reports we learn that the convention at Indianapolis has retained the immediate demands, assures State autonomy, and adopts the name "Socialist Party." Harmony prevailed.

## Correspondence.

Santa Ana, July 25, 1901.

Editor Advance:—On the Coast road, between San Diego and Santa Ana, there are few towns, and none of any size. Nevertheless, we found a most enthusiastic body of Socialists waiting to receive us at Del Mar, where a Sunday picnic had been arranged for our benefit. Some of the comrades drove as far as twelve and fifteen miles to take part in the gathering, at least half of them being Germans and comrades of many years' standing. Songs were sung and recitations given, winding up with a hot debate between the speakers and a democratic office-holder, who did good service by opposing us.

I must not forget to record the enthusiastic wind-up to our San Diego meetings. For our last evening in the city the plaza had been obtained, and its band-stand lighted by electricity. Chairs were obtained for the ladies, and the crowd addressed by Comrades Helphingstine, McKee, Roche and myself. Comrade Mrs. Anna F. Smith was present and made a short telling speech, showing her wonderfully-preserved energy and revolutionary spirit.

At Oceanside we met a chilling frost, from the fact that everybody goes to bed in that town at 7:5.

From Oceanside, almost to Santa Ana, a distance of fifty miles, we drove through a desert. Not a natural desert, but one of those caused by private ownership; several hundred thousand acres belonging to two or three landlords. Many miles have to be driven without water, and the county road bashfully skirts three sides of a five-thousand-acre grain field, instead of saving half the distance by a cut across. Not so with the railroad, however; that corporate interest sails along in a straight line and an easy grade, leaving the general public perfectly free to compete on a road twice as long and seven times as hilly.

But in Santa Ana we have found balm for all our wounds, and our experiences here are worth recounting in detail.

On Tuesday, Roche and I commenced advertising a series of three street meetings; Roche distributing handbills and I parading the streets with a banner displayed from my wheel. Roche struck oil first: A dozen of men were discussing religion on the main street corner, and were nothing loth to take up Socialism instead, denouncing us as disturbers of the pace in no mild terms. After the town Marshall had twice cleared the sidewalk of the gathering crowd, we concluded the impromptu meeting by offering to pay our most determined opponent, L. D. Gowen, \$5 to debate the merits of Socialism with us at a street meeting, to be held the following night. The challenge was accepted with great eagerness.

The City Marshall, evidently fearing the Social revolution about to break out in Santa Ana, then warned us that he would break up any meeting that threatened to block the streets and advised us to hire a hall.

The first night's propaganda meeting was most successful, a large crowd attending to whom we advertised the debate for the following night. Just before we opened up a constable stepped up to us, and said he had orders to prevent us from speaking on the main street. "What," we demanded, "cannot we speak on the same corner that the Salvation Army is occupying?" "That's orders," said the gentleman in blue, and so, fingering the few dollars in our pockets, and wondering if it was sufficient bail money, we proceeded to speak from the Salvation Army corner. Nothing happened, however, and the official bluff failed in its effect.

Wednesday night saw a crowd of men and women, on foot and in carriages, gathering long before the appointed time; the affair had been well advertised in the daily paper. Roche was chosen to represent our cause, and Gowen opened by affirming "that Socialism was not for the best interests of the people."

It is needless to recount his arguments, nor the brilliant reply made by Roche; sufficient to say that the crowd blocked the street until ten o'clock, and long after the debate had ended continued to pour questions at us as to the why, how and when of Socialism.

Tonight we have a final meeting, and then on to Orange, Anaheim and Fullerton.

John Murray, Jr.

Oakland, July 29, 1901.

Editor ADVANCE: I am a bald-headed Socialist, with a grievance and a catarrh which I want to air in your columns. It all came about with Comrade Vail's visit to Oakland—at least, the grievance and the catarrh did, but not the bald head—that was previous. It was this way: I had been anticipating Comrade Vail's visit for weeks, and on the evening of his lecture I notified my wife to commence dressing half an hour earlier than usual, so that we might be in time to get a good seat. This we managed to do nicely, but the hall was fast filling up as I adjusted my anatomy to the chair with a feeling of satisfaction that I had got there.

Presently a comrade, whom I used to have a good opinion of, persuaded me, on some slight pretext, to go into the lobby for a few moments, and on endeavoring to regain my seat I discovered—to quote from the local newspaper of the following day—that "every seat was occupied and all available standing room filled," an unconverted heathen sitting beside my wife in my chair.

I badly wanted my hat, but the thought that it was lying in my wife's lap, and that it would be a hint to the heathen that she was another's, consoled me somewhat as the gentle zephyrs of the lobby played about my bald head. Just about this time I realized that a well-devised scheme was in operation to inveigle Comrades out of their comfortable seats in order to accommodate strangers, so it mollified me a little to know that there were others.

I had meant to write an extended report of Comrade Vail's address for the ADVANCE, but am unable to do so because I did not hear it; whether you will be sorry for this or not, I don't know. But I could hear enough to know that the telling points of the speaker were numerous and frequent, and were responded to by heartiest applause every time. The audience was quite carried away by the speaker's arguments and eloquence, and he, too, by the enthusiastic appreciation of his hearers. It was a great meeting, and the enthusiasm displayed evidences the remarkable growth of Socialist feeling in Oakland. I helped, after the collection, to count the nickels, dimes, quarters, halves and dollars—there were some of each—and the total was commensurate with the attendance, which was the best proof we could have of the genuineness of the applause which greeted the speaker. Local Oakland is alive.

Fraternally yours,

T. H.

Santa Ana, July 23, 1901.

Editor ADVANCE: Some months ago the comrades of Local Los Angeles discussed the proposition of sending delegates to the National Convention, and took the initiative in proposing that two delegates be sent from California—one from the North and one from the South. This was done in order that we

might avoid that pitfall of moneyless parties—representation by those who had the money to travel instead of those who had the confidence of the party.

It must be plain, to all those convinced of the correctness of democratic action, that the only sane method of representing California at a Socialist Convention would be to send those Comrades who had received the most votes for the position. But what do we see now—the two Comrades thus chosen, Ryan and Roche, being offered \$11.25 by our State Executive to travel upon to Indianapolis, while the three Comrades who received the smallest number of ballots, go in their stead. Surely, we need not hold up Belgium as an awful example, where capitalists may vote twice to the workingman's once.

Local Los Angeles, of which I am a member, has done a most remarkable thing—forced its own individual choice upon the convention after demanding that the State's choice be represented. I can see no difference between an individual—through the power of money—forcing himself upon the convention and a Local, by the force of a dozen votes, cramming their man down the throat of a State.

The State Executive has "decided to disregard the choice of the State at large." So it says. How much further is this thing to go? Suppose our National Convention should also decide to disregard the choice of the States at large, would it not have good precedent from California? Verily! Unity and a peace at any price spirit has taken possession of our officials who do not represent the Social Democrats of the State of California.

JOHN MURRAY, JR.

[Comment: While Los Angeles introduced the resolution to send a delegate from the Northern and one from the Southern portion of the State, it still reserved the right to send a delegate to represent that Local of itself. The chief difficulty in the way of carrying out Los Angeles' idea was the element of time. San Francisco Local recognized this, and voted against the proposition almost unanimously. Comrades Spring and Ryan and Costley are not among the well-to-do of our party. So far as we know, they are thorough proletarians, and the democratic spirit received no set back by their journey to the convention. If we had had more time there is no doubt more than \$11.25 would have been collected for the delegates' expenses from all over the State. As it is, depending upon voluntary contributions, or what amounts to the same, and, as before stated, handicapped by lack of time, the best that could be done, we believe, was done.—Ed.]

— Editor Advance—Comrade:—Oakland Local held a very large and enthusiastic meeting Wednesday, July 24th, Comrade Vail being the speaker. So successful was the meeting, from all standpoints, that the comrades seem to awaken somewhat to a better interest and a more earnest effort.

About a dozen applications resulted, with promise of more to materialize in the near future. The general opinion prevails that could such speakers be obtained about once a month regularly greater good would result than from holding more frequent meetings with less able speakers.

Arrangements are being made to secure Comrade J. Stitt Wilson for a series of three lectures, to take place early in August.

The First Annual Basket Picnic given by the Oakland and Alameda Locals and the Karl Marx Club of Golden Gate was held last Sunday at Leona Heights, the comrades and friends attending making a joyous, sociable gathering of quite large proportions. The members

clustered in groups to enjoy their various eatables, until the bugle sounded for them to gather around the speakers who were about to address them. Comrade R. A. Dague of Alameda acted as master of ceremonies and introduced Comrade Andrew of Berkeley, who entertained us with his usual force and ability. Comrade Wilkins followed with what he termed a "sermon," and showed he had lost none of his old-time fire and force as a speaker by dealing "body blows" to the capitalist system, on behalf of the weak and the afflicted and those who have not the command of language to speak for themselves.

There was singing by a Mannerchor, composed of comrades from San Francisco and Okland, also cornet solos by Comrade Scheithe of Oakland.

Altogether, considering the short preparation, the absence of any financial aid from the Locals and the small amount of advertising done, the picnic was a decided success and establishes a precedent for others greater and more enjoyable to follow.

Special credit is due to Comrades O'Connor and Forster, who furnished hot coffee all day, free of charge, thus adding greatly to the enjoyment and pleasure of all.

The Committee of Ways and Means of Propaganda are busy scouring the names of people to whom the ADVANCE will be sent free for three months, after which their subscription will be solicited and the paper sent to others.

At the last meeting of this committee it was voted to send the ADVANCE to one hundred persons for three months, as soon as names were secured.

With assurance of an honest intention to report our efforts on this side regularly, and in a more condensed form in the future, I remain, Fraternaly yours, O. H. PHILBRICK.

### Special Party Meeting, July 31st.

At the Special Party meeting held July 31, 1901, thirteen new members were admitted.

It was moved to rent Metropolitan Temple for J. Stitt Wilson on his return; carried.

Comrade Ober was elected to Auditing Committee.

The resignation of Comrade Liess as editor of ADVANCE; accepted. Comrade Noel was elected to fill the vacancy. Comrade Liess will devote all his time to the business department of ADVANCE.

The resignation of Comrade Noel as Organizer was accepted.

A motion to rescind the action of City Central Committees in Mr. A. R. Andre's case was carried by a vote of 15 to 14.

The following candidates were elected to nominate municipal candidates, and were pledged to support candidates of the party meeting and platform of the Social Democratic party: 28th District, Comrades Dunn, and Hatch; 29th District, Comrades Zant and Appel; 30th District, Comrades Lindgren and Schmolowitz; 31st District, Comrades Beresford and Molature; 32d District, Comrade Lotzin; 33d, Comrades Bardhun, Lutge and Guthrie; 34th District, Comrades Schau and Postler; 35th District, Comrades Hyman and Postler; 36th District, Comrades Liess, Senner and Scarper; 37th District, Comrades Lilienthal and Noel; 38th District, Comrade Reynolds; 39th District, Comrades Alfonso and Walker; 40th District, Comrade King, Sr; 41st District, Comrade Dubrow; 42d District, Comrade Kern; 44th District, Comrade Nesbit; 45th District, Comrade Messer.

Comrades Johnson, Noel and Liess were elected a committee to fill vacancies, and to file names of candidates.

Receipts of the evening, \$30.60.

Joseph J. Noel, Sec.

### Where are the Rights?

The courts have decreed that an organized worker, who tries to resist the encroachments of the exploiter, has no right to address a non-union workingman with a view of pointing out to him that to do anything contrary to interests of the organized workers is detrimental to his own interest, is violating the law. Having declared that boycotting is illegal and blacklisting is legal, that picketing and conversing with non-union men is illegal, and that to become a slave to the employing class is legal, the judicial representatives of capitalism should cap the climax by ordering the class-conscious union men to vote the old party tickets or stand in contempt of court. To insist that wage-workers should exercise their political prerogative and relegate to oblivion the tools of capitalism, is far more dangerous than to boycott and picket when strikes are on, and must not be tolerated.—Cleveland Citizen.

### Why Not Boycott These Judges?

Is it not about time, considering the long list of injunctions and court decisions, all against labor and in favor of capitalist interests, for the machinists, the printers, the cigar-

makers, the miners, the workmen of all trades to unite in a new boycott—a boycott on the two old parties who put these judges on the bench to knock out labor laws and enjoin strikers? November 5th is the day for this big boycott. Fifty thousand organized machinists, 30,000 organized printers, 30,000 organized cigarmakers, 200,000 organized coal miners—think what a class-conscious strike and boycott at the ballot-box would mean.—Brewers' Journal.

### Answers to Correspondents.

J. R. (in the field).—The circulation of "Appeal to Reason" is about 160,000. The article of two weeks ago should have stated, "read by at least 300,000 people." That was the intention.

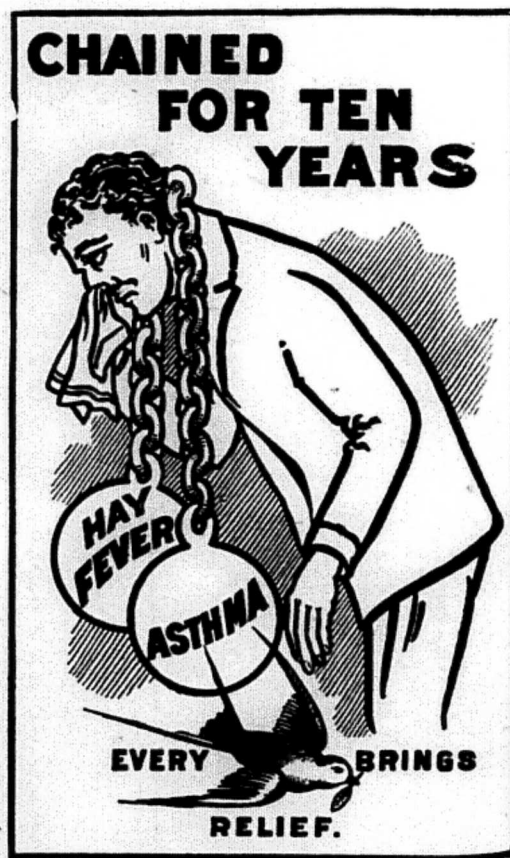
Work was resumed on the Pennsylvania Railroad Company's new Arcade building at Fifteenth and Market streets, Philadelphia, the strike having been declared off by the Council of the Allied Building Trades. It was definitely settled that no non-union men should be employed on the building, and that a new set of painters should be employed in place of the non-union men.

# ASTHMA CURE FREE!

Asthmalene Brings Instant Relief and Permanent Cure in All Cases.

SENT ABSOLUTELY FREE ON RECEIPT OF POSTAL.

Write Your Name and Address Plainly.



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

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

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER.

Rabbi of the Cong. Bnai Israel.

NEW YORK, Jan. 3, 1901.

DRS. TAFT BROS.' MEDICINE CO.,

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

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

Very truly yours,

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER.

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

DR. TAFT BROS. MEDICINE CO.,

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

Yours respectfully,

O. D. PHELPS, M.D.

DR. TAFT BROS. MEDICINE CO.,

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

Home address, 235 Rivington street.

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

Feb. 5, 1901.

TRIAL BOTTLE SENT ABSOLUTELY FREE ON RECEIPT OF POSTAL.

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

## San Francisco Trades Union Directory

- BAKERS and Confectioners International Journeymen, No. 24. Meets 1st and 3d Saturdays, at 117 Turk street. Marcel Wille, Secretary.
- BAKERS and Confectioners International, Journeymen, No. 106. (Drivers). Meets every Wednesday, 6:30 p. m., at 117 Turk street. Herman Vogt, Secretary, with Liberty Bakery, cor. Jones and O'Farrell streets.
- BAKERS and Confectioners International, Journeymen, No. 117. (Italian), 117 Turk street. Marcel Wille, Secretary, 117 Turk street.
- BAKERS (Cracker) and Confectioners International, Journeymen, No. 125. Meets 1st and 3d Monday at Garibaldi Hall, 423 Broadway. C. E. Pursley, Secretary, 2109½ Mason St.
- BARBERS International Union, Journeymen, No. 148. Meets every Monday, 8:45 p. m., at 32 O'Farrell street. I. Less, Secretary, 927 Market street, room 207.
- BOOT and Shoe Repairers Union, Custom. Meets 2d Sunday, 2 p. m., at 909 Market street. G. W. Lewis, Secretary, 100 Olive avenue.
- BOOT and Shoe Workers Union International, No. 216. Meets every Monday at 909 Market St. F. Maysenhelder, Secretary, 522 Eighth St.
- BOOKBINDERS Protective and Beneficial Association. Meets 1st Friday at 102 O'Farrell street. L. G. Wolfe, Secretary, 765 Fifth St., Oakland.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of, No. 25. Meets 2d and 4th Thursdays, at 102 O'Farrell street. H. McNesby, Secretary, 320 Harriet street.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders, Brotherhood of, No. 205. Meets 1st and 3d Friday at Potrero Opera House, Tennessee St. John Honeyman, Secretary, 831 Texas St.
- BOILERMAKERS and Iron Ship Builders' Helpers, No. 9052. Meets Wednesdays at 121 Eddy St. Walter J. Cullen, Secretary, 1320 Harrison St.
- BLACKSMITH Helpers (Machine), No. 8922. Meets Tuesdays at 102 O'Farrell St. John Quigley, Secretary, 142 Silver St.
- BLACKSMITHS, No. 168, Ship and Machine, International Brotherhood of. Meets Fridays at 102 O'Farrell St. G. Clarke, Secretary, 62 Rausch St.
- BREWERY Workers International Union of United, No. 7. Branch 1 meets 2d and 4th Saturday; Branch 2 meets 2d and 4th Thursday; at 1159 Mission St. Ludwig Berg, Secretary, 1159 Mission St.
- BREWERY Workers, International Union of United, No. 102. Bottlers. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday, 8:30 p. m., at 1159 Mission St. A. R. Andre, Secretary.
- BREWERY Workers, International Union of United, No. 227. Drivers. Meets 2d and 4th Monday, 8:30 p. m., at 1159 Mission St. A. R. Andre, Secretary.
- BROOMMAKERS International, No. 58. Meets 1st and 3d Thursday, at 1159 Mission St. Geo. F. Daley, Secretary, 3514 Twenty-sixth St.
- BLACKSMITHS International Brotherhood of, No. 99. Carriage and Wagon. Meets every Wednesday at 117 Turk St. W. W. Clarke, Secretary, 320 Lexington Ave.
- BLACKSMITH Helpers and Finishers, No. 9106. Meets Wednesday nights at 1159 Mission St. John B. McLennon, Secretary, 525 Connecticut St.
- CARRIAGE and Wagon Workers International, No. 66. Painters. Meets every Thursday at 1133 Mission St. T. J. Finn, Secretary, 1622 Mission St.
- CARRIAGE and Wagon Workers International, No. 69. Wood Workers. Meets every Tuesday at 117 Turk St. Fred Hoese, Secretary.
- CARPENTERS and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood, No. 483. Meets every Monday at 915½ Market St. A. E. Carlisle, Secretary.
- CIGARMAKERS International Union of America, No. 228. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday at 368 Jessie St. J. A. Ramon, Secretary, 368 Jessie St.
- CLERKS International Protective Association, Retail, No. 432. Meets every Tuesday at Pioneer Hall, 32 Fourth St. Leo. Kaufmann, Secretary, 1084 Golden Gate Ave.
- CLERKS International Protective Association, Retail, No. 410. Shoe Clerks. Meets every Wednesday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. E. Kelly, Secretary, 28 Kearny St.
- CLERKS Protective Association. Drug. No. 472. Meets Fridays at 909 Market St. H. Schwartz, Secretary, 1718 Geary St.
- CLERKS. Ship. No. 8947. Meets Thursdays at 5 Market St. Room 17. W. O. Ferrall, Secretary, 315½ Capp St.
- COOPERS' International Union of N. A., No. 65. Meets 2d and 4th Thursday at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St. Secretary, W. T. Colbert, 280 Lexington Ave.
- CORE Makers' International Union, No. 68. Meets at 1159 Mission St., Thursday. Secretary, Walter Green.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 85. Brotherhood of Teamsters. Meets every Thursday at Teutonia Hall, 1332 Howard St. John McLaughlin, Secretary, 210 Langton St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 228, Sand Teamsters. Meets every Wednesday, at 1159 Mission St. M. J. Dillon, Secretary, 5 Homer St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 224, Hackmen. Meets every Thursday at 102 O'Farrell St. John Dowling, Secretary, 27 Fifth St.
- DRIVERS' International Union, Team, No. 226. Milk Drivers. Meets every Wednesday at Mangel's Hall, 24th and Folsom St. A. 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 915½ Market St. I. Jacoby, Secretary.
- GLASS Bottle Blowers Association of the U. S. and Can., No. 3. Meets 2d and 4th Tuesday at Eintracht Hall, Twelfth, nr. Folsom St. Phil. J. Dietz, Secretary, 1347 Eleventh St., Sunset District.
- GLASS Workers, American Flint Association of the U. S. and Can., No. 138. Meets 1st Tuesday at 121 Eddy St. H. Johnson, Secretary, 1017 Howard St.
- HATTERS of North America, United, S. F. District. Meets 2d Friday, January, April, July, Oct. C. H. Davis, secretary, 1458 Market St.
- HORSESHOERS of the U. S. and Canada, International Union, No. 25. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesday at 909 Market St. John McCloskey, Secretary, 202 Oak St.
- HOTEL and Restaurant Employes, No. 30. (Cooks and Waiters Alliance). Meets every Wednesday, at 8:30 p. m., at 316 O'Farrell St. W. L. Caudle, Secretary, 12 Carlos Place.
- LAUNDRY Workers International Union (Shirts and Waists), No. 23. French. Meets every Wednesday at Universal Hall, 812 Pacific St. J. Dussere, Secretary, 12 Montgomery St., Room 12.
- LAUNDRY Workers International Union. Steam. No. 26. Branch No. 1 meets 1st and 3d Monday at 1159 Mission St. Branch No. 2 meets 2d and 4th Monday at 1749 Mission St. Secretary, 927 Market St., Room 302.
- LEATHERWORKERS on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood. Meets every Friday at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St. A. H. Kohler, Secretary, 1519 Polk St.
- LITHOGRAPHERS International Protective and Beneficial Association, No. 17. Meets 2d and 4th Wednesday, Alcazar Building. R. L. Olsen, Secretary 1007½ Lombard St.
- LABORERS' Protective Association, No. 8944. Meets Sundays at 2:00 p. m., 1159 Mission St. John P. Kelly, Secretary, 117 Gilbert St.
- LEAD Workers, Manufacturing, No. 9051. Meets at 117 Turk St., Tuesdays. Geo. A. Fricke, Secretary, 220 Ash Ave.
- MACHINISTS. International Association, No. 68. Meets every Wednesday at 32 O'Farrell St. R. I. Wisler, Secretary, 927 Market St.
- MEAT Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated. Meets Tuesday at 117 Turk St. Hermann May, Secretary, 10 Walnut Ave.
- METAL Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass Workers Union of North America, No. 128. 1st and 3d Monday at 1133 Mission St. J. J. O'Brien, Secretary, 749 Howard St.
- METAL Polishers, Buffers, Platers and General Brass Workers of North America, No. 158. Brass Finishers. Meets Thursday nights at 1133 Mission St. W. J. Ballard, Secretary.
- METAL Workers International Union, No. —. Coppersmiths. Meets 2d Saturdays at 117 Turk St. W. H. Pohlman, Secretary, 1128 Sacramento St., Vallejo, Cal.
- MILKERS Union, No. 8861. Meets 2d Sunday and 4th Tuesdays in March and June at 526 Montgomery St. A. Iten, Secretary, 526 Montgomery St.
- MOULDERS Union of North America, Iron, No. 164. Meets every Tuesday at 1133 Mission St. Martin G. Fallon, Secretary, 2429 Folsom St.
- MAILERS, Newspaper, No. 18. Meets 1st Thursday at 102 O'Farrell St. Alfred O'Neil, Secretary.
- METAL Workers United, No. 27 (Machine Hands). Meets 2d and 4th Tuesdays at 1159 Mission St. D. J. Murray, Secretary, 18½ Ringold St.
- METAL Workers International Association, Amalgamated Sheet No. 26. Meets Fridays at 121 Eddy St. L. F. Harris, Secretary.
- MUSICIANS' Mutual Protective Union (American Federation of Musicians), No. 6. Meets 2d Thursday, at 1:30 p. m. Board of Directors, every Tuesday, 1 p. m. at 421 Post St. S. Davis, Secretary, 421 Post St.
- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers, of America, Brotherhood of, No. 134. Varnishers and Polishers. Mondays at 117 Turk St. J. C. Patterson, 405 Thirteenth St.
- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, Brotherhood of, No. 136. Meets at 117 Turk St., Mondays. Carl Trost, Secretary, 806 Taylor St.
- PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, Brotherhood of, No. 131. Paper Hangers. Meets every Friday at 915½ Market St. T. J. Crowley, Secretary.
- POULTRY and Game Dressers, No. 9050, A. F. of L. Meets 1st and 3d Tuesdays at California Hall, 620 Bush St. Thos. W. Collas, Secretary, 31 Essex St.
- PAVERS' Union, No. 8895. Meets 1st Monday at 120 Ninth St. M. Murphy, Secretary, 1510 Harrison St.
- PATTERN Makers meet at 55 Third St. E. A. Donahue, Secretary, 55 Third St.
- PRINTING Pressmen's Union, No. 4, Web Pressmen. 1st Monday at Becker's Hall, 14 Third St. A. J. Brainwell, Secretary, 1814B Mason Street.
- PRINTING Pressmen's Union, International, No. 24. 1st and 3d Monday at 32 O'Farrell St. W. Griswold, Secretary, 2927 Pierce St.
- PORTERS and Packers, No. 8885. Wednesday at 117 Turk St. Will T. Davenport, Secretary, 1811 O'Farrell St.
- PILE Drivers and Bridge Builders, No. 9078. Saturday at 26 Sacramento St. J. V. Beck, Secretary, 922 Natoma St.
- RAMMERMEN'S Union, No. 9120. 1st Thursday, 120 Ninth St. P. Geraghty, Secretary, 434 Hickory Ave.
- SEAMEN'S Union, International. Sailors' Union of the Pacific. Every Monday at 7:30 p. m., East and Mission Sts. A. Furuseth, Secretary, East and Mission Sts.
- STABLEMEN'S Union, No. 8760, A. F. of L. Every Monday at 102 O'Farrell St. Chas. P. White, Secretary, 405 Natoma St.
- SHIP and Steamboat Joiners Union, No. 8186. A. F. of L. 3d Wednesday at 20 Eddy St. Thos. Westoby, Secretary, 328½ Fremont St.
- SHIP Drillers' Union, No. 9037, A. F. of L., Thursday at 1159 Mission St. B. P. Byers, Secretary, 21 Valencia St.
- SHIPWRIGHTS and Caulkers, No. 9162, A. F. of L. Meets at 1320 Howard St., Monday. Secretary, G. W. Bishop, 59 Converse St.
- STREET Sweepers, No. 9029, A. F. of L. Meets every Wednesday evening and 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., at 376 Brannan St.; entrance on Third St. Wm. Coakley, Secretary, 1142 Mission Street.
- STAGE Employees National Alliance, Theatrical. (Theatrical Employees Protective Union). 1st and 3d Thursdays, 2 p. m., at Native Sons' Hall, 414 Mason St. Carl Taylor, Secretary, 414 Mason St.

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

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

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

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

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

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

UPHOLSTERERS' Union of North America, No. 28. Every Tuesday at 1159 Mission St. F. A. Rice, Secretary, 127 Precita Ave.

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

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

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

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

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

### A Lesson for Workingmen.

The working-class of St. Louis, says the Missouri Socialist, has the finest example possible of the harmonious working of the capitalist class against the working-class, whether the capitalist in question belong to the Democratic or Republican parties, in the passage in the City Council on last Friday evening of the bill making appropriations for the expenses of the city government. The bill as passed was the result of a bitter fight between the Council and House of Delegates, which had lasted for over three months, over an item in the bill setting aside \$102,000 for the payment of the posse comitatus, which was used to break up the great street-car strike of last summer, and which accomplished the purpose of its organization in the murder of three unarmed workingmen on Washington avenue.

The House of Delegates was opposed to this item, not out of any feeling for the working-class, but out of fear that they would not get the votes of that class for re-election, and further, because in "holding-up" that item they hoped to wrest some patronage from the mayor and other heads of departments. The Council, on the other hand, which is composed of seven Democrats and six Republicans, was unanimous in its support of the measure.

As a result of their fight the city employes were not paid for over three month, the city institutions were getting in an embarrassing situation, owing to the lack of money.

As a result of the complaints which this action brought, and a few shrewd political moves on the part of the House members, the Council finally yielded and passed the bill with the posse comitatus item left out. It was the statements of the Council members in explaining their votes on this bill which brought out their capitalist class-consciousness.

There were eight members present when the bill came up for passage, five Democrats and three Republicans.

Mr. Boyce, Democrat, was the first one who voted. He stated: "I vote for this bill; without the posse item, against my conscience. To the men who composed that posse, we owe the restoration of order at a time when we were practically in the throes of revolution."

Mr. Gibson, Democrat, was the next to cast his vote. He arose to his feet, and with true capitalist oratory, told of the outrages of the striking mob and lauded the work of the posse who succeeded in restoring order."

Mr. Hodges, Republican, in casting his vote, made this remarkable statement:

"The deputy sheriffs who made up that posse were brave men, who took their lives in their hands at a time when the city was going through scenes worse than any which were witnessed during the French revolution and the Paris Commune, and by their heroic efforts restored order."

One after the other the members of the Council made similar statements in explanation of their votes, and Democrat and Republican was lost in the capitalist spirit which pervaded them.

How will the working-class of this city relish such statements; how will they reckon with these men and with the class which they represent.

"Brave men!" Is a brave man one who will rig himself out in a rough-rider suit, arm himself to the teeth and swagger up and down the streets frightening women and children?"

Is a "brave man" one who will fire into a crowd of unarmed and defenseless workingmen?

Let the working-class answer the question, and answer it in no unmistakable terms.

"Scenes like the French Revolution?" surely they were. Workingmen goaded on by oppression had revolted against their masters and demanded a little more bread out of all which their labor created. But, unlike the French Revolution, there was only one class armed, and that the capitalist class. "Like the Paris Commune?" Very much indeed; unarmed workingmen were fired into by the capitalist class hirelings very much as was done in the times succeeding the Commune.

It is this concerted action between capitalists regardless of party, when their power of exploitation is threatened, which it is desirous of bringing to the attention of the working-class, in order that they may become class-conscious as are their masters.

The Socialist declares that it is necessary for the working-class to become thus class-conscious if it is ever to wrest from the capitalist class that to which they are entitled, the full product of their labor. The Socialist also desires to impress upon the working class that their class-consciousness must be carried to the ballot box, the only place where they are stronger than the capitalist class, and forever put an end to capitalism and all its capitalists, its French Revolutions, its Paris Communes, its "brave men" and its posse comitatus.

J. P. Morgan has settled future railway wars by appointing a board to conduct Northern Pacific affairs composed of one member of each of the five great railway interests.

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2. An admission fee of one dollar and a payment of five dollars upon a share constitutes a membership.
3. Profits and interest may be applied on the unpaid share.
4. Shares are \$100 each, and each member can hold only one share.
5. Each member has only one vote.
6. Each member is eligible to office.
7. Shares are all transferable. (With the consent of the Board of Directors.)
8. Interest is allowed on all share capital. At present at 8 per cent.
9. All the members of the store hold regular meetings for the election of officers, reports of manager and auditing of accounts. Officers under bonds.
10. All employees are employed by the Board of Directors.
11. The net profits are divided among the members in proportion to the purchases of each.
12. All trade is done on a strictly cash basis.
13. Goods are sold at market rates.
14. Only pure and reliable goods are handled.
15. Liquors are not sold.
16. Arrangements are being made so the members will get reductions on purchases besides groceries.
17. Believers in Union.
18. Call at store, 1896 Mission street, and get in touch with the movement.

## Labor's Political Struggle

Notes Indicating the Progress of the World's Socialist Movement.

### Germany

The first Socialist has just been elected to the Legislature of Prussia. He won in the district of Lichtenberg, and now something new will be heard in Kaiser Wilhelm's pet stronghold.

### Switzerland

City Council election in Zurich, Switzerland, resulted in the Socialists winning 32 seats, about one-fourth, despite the fact that the old parties combined against them in many districts.

### Holland

The municipal elections in Holland have resulted favorably to the Socialists. In a few places Socialist candidates were directly returned; in many other places they came in for the second ballot with fairly good chances.

Along with a tremendous increase in their popular vote, the Socialists of Holland captured seven seats in Parliament, an increase of three, and there is a big chance of winning in two or more districts. Better still, the anarchistic movement in Groningen has been smashed and a Socialist school teacher now represents the district. The tide continues to rise.

During the recent elections the followers of Domeia Nieuwenhuis, the Christian anarchist, rendered the bourgeois party good service in fighting the Socialists. The latter have challenged the government to grant universal suffrage, with especial reference to the women. The Clericals are reported to have intentions of enfranchising the women, hoping thereby to use their votes to counteract Socialism. Socialists are not afraid, however, believing that the women, like the men, will more readily accept Socialism when experience with the ballot has taught them who are their real friends.

### Belgium

During the recent noisy session in the Belgian Chamber, a capitalist party member excitedly declared that if the workingmen went on strike and attempted to force the concession of equal suffrage they would be shot down by the militia. "And I promise you," shouted a Socialist deputy, "that I will shoot the general who gives the order to fire!"

In the Belgian chamber of deputies, the Socialists interrupted the session by singing the "International" and the "Marsellaise" when the capitalist representatives tried to side track the demand for universal suffrage; and desks were pounded and books thrown about. Finally the president adjourned the meeting. The Belgian comrades pledge themselves to renew these obstructive tactics till their demands of one man one vote and one woman one vote are complied with. A general strike may be called to aid this bit of working class legislation.

### France

A bill introduced in the French Chamber of Deputies recently which proposed voting 80,000,000 francs for the Chinese expedition was opposed by the Socialists. Sembat, a Socialist deputy, delivered an important speech, which showed the inconsistency of the religious associations in France, while protecting and encouraging them in China.

The town of Lyons has now abolished octroi duties and has raised the money required by

direct taxation, and Roubaix proposes to do the same thing. Both these towns have Socialist municipalities.

### Japan

Following in the footsteps of the locomotive engineers, the machists in Japan have declared in their national convention that Socialism is the aim and object of every trade union.

### United States

Comrade E. Val Putnam has been re-elected editor of the "Missouri Socialist."

Representative James F. Carey has finished a successful agitation tour through Maine.

Union miners of Colorado are earnestly taking up the cudgels for the Social Democratic party, and they have secured Debs to make several speeches in the state next month.

The new Republican United States Senator from South Dakota, Mr. A. B. Kittredge, will be right at home in Washington. He is the paid attorney of the railway trust, and when the Legislature passed a law four years ago to prohibit the railway corporations from charging passengers more than 3 cents a mile, and compelling them to fix a maximum rate for freights, Kittredge succeeded in tying up the whole state up to date, and the case is now before the U. S. Supreme Court. The people of South Dakota are getting what they voted for, and it serves them right.

## Labor's Economic Struggle

Notes Showing the Strife Between Organized Labor and Capitalism.

### Australia

There is alarm in Austria among the manufacturers over the damage accruing to their business through American competition. Deputy Baumann has been commissioned by the representatives of the boot and shoe trade to question the Lower Austrian Diet as to what that body intends to do with regard to the threatened invasion of the Vienna market by an American syndicate. The local boot and shoe men consider that American competition menaces the very existence of the whole local industry.

### Norway

Bjornsterne Bjornsen, the eminent Norwegian author, has written a labor play which has been produced with great success in Paris and Berlin. It is called "Beyond Human Powers," and is receiving much attention from critics. A play will soon be produced in one of the large New York theatres based on the great miners' strike.

### Canada

A proposition to request the clergymen of the city to preach a labor sermon once a month was voted down by the labor council of Montreal, Canada. Adverse action on the question was due to the fact that the council believed the cause of labor would be injured by the preachers because of their lack of information on the problems of the day.

### United States

Blanket injunction was hurled over machinists of Lyons, N. Y.

Machinists of Lockport, N. Y., had a blanket injunction slapped on them.

Striking laundry workers of Los Angeles, Cal., have organized a co-operative company and opened a laundry of their own.

Farm hands in the West are reported to be organizing into the Thrashers' National Protective Association, which threatens to revolutionize conditions on the farm and make two shifts a necessity. Over 3,000 members are already enlisted.

The injunction issued by Judge Edwin B. Gager, of the Superior Court at Derby, Conn., against the striking machinists, is one of the most sweeping judicial orders ever made in any part of the country. The workers are prohibited from boycotting, from inducing business men not to deal with the non-unionists, from "congregating or loitering near the premises of the plaintiff, or in other places with intent to interfere with the employes of the plaintiff," from picketing or patrolling the factory of the plaintiff, or from making loud or boisterous noises near the factory.

Between fifty and sixty thousand sweatshop employes in New York and vicinity are now on strike against the intolerable conditions of their slavery. Just watch the vast amount of assistance they won't get from the "Consumers' League" throughout the country.

A hobo (tramp) writes to the Chicago Times-Herald regarding the widely advertised wages of \$3 a day for harvest hands in Kansas. He says it is a fraud. The little middle-class capitalists offer \$1.25 a day when you arrive in emigrant coaches at "special" rates. If you don't go to work, merchants in small towns refuse to sell you anything to eat. If you do go to work, you are compelled to start at 3:30 in the morning and toil until 8:30 in the evening. Your food consists of fat pork and corn bread, and when pay day comes, after the harvest, the little capitalist would-be plutocrat has a list of "extras" to deduct, and you draw less than a dollar a day. Then, when you leave, the railroads charge 3 cents a mile, and if you "bum" your way the marshals in small towns rob you outright. It is a great bunco game, and the daily newspapers are the "cappers."—Cleveland Citizen.

## The Next "Review."

Tolstoi is perhaps the most interesting character before the public at the present moment. His teachings are criticised from a wholly new point of view by B. H. Brumberg in the August number of the International Socialist Review. The writer is himself a Russian and subjects the writings of his fellow-countryman to one of the keenest criticisms they have ever received by setting them in clear-cut opposition to the doctrines of socialism. H. Lagardelle, editor of the leading French socialist magazine, describes the various socialist parties in France and gives the first authentic account, as yet published in English, of the French Socialist Congress at Lyons. Other articles are paganism and socialism by Peter Burrowes, a report of the work of the socialists at the Detroit Conference of Reformers by the editor, A. M. Simons and a reply to Herman Whitaker's criticisms of the socialist propaganda. The Foreign Department contains a graphic account of the struggle being made for universal suffrage by the Belgian socialists, which seems to be approaching perilously close to the point of revolution. The socialists openly boast that the army is on their side and recent events where the military fraternized with Socialists at the gathering they were ordered to disperse would seem to justify their claims. The International Socialist Review is published by Charles H. Kerr Co., 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, at \$1.00 per year; 10 cents a copy.

**San Francisco Labor Council.**

SYNOPSIS OF MINUTES.

July 26, 1901.

The meeting was called to order at 8 p. m., President W. H. Goff in the chair. Minutes of previous meeting approved.

Application for Affiliation.—Tobacco Workers' Inter. Union, No. 74, delegate, Leo Indig; approved and delegate seated.

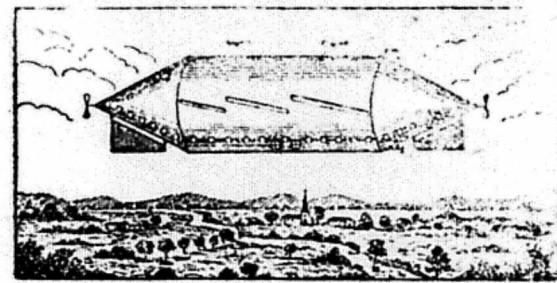
Reports of Unions.—Box Makers: All locked out except 20 men; locked out because they refused to renounce the union; referred to New Business. Core Makers: Still on strike; ball August 10th, Odd Fellows' Hall, to raise funds. Theatrical Employes: Statement in papers about contemplated strike untrue. Bakers: Fight still on against Ruediger & Leosch; Advance Co-operative Bakery making good progress; urge patronage of same. Milk Drivers: Expelled a member for scabbing on Teamsters. Cooks and Waiters: Injunction issued by Judge Sloss against Union will not hamper the Union in its fight against the non-union restaurants. Barbers: Difficulty with Goldstein, Fourth St., still on. Machinists: Strike still on; attempts at settlement so far have failed. Shipwrights and Caulkers: Still on strike. Shoe Clerks: 6 o'clock closing movement progressing, 220 out of 260 laid off on account of Teamsters' lockout. Photo Engravers: Making good headway in unionizing shops. Butchers: Union in first-class shape. Retail Delivery Drivers: Stand ready to support the Brotherhood of Teamsters when called upon to do so. Sailors: Water Front Federation appointed a committee to attempt to adjust Teamsters' strike. Picture Frame Workers: Boycott against Sanborn, Vail & Co. is becoming more and more effective. Brewers: Report from the Brewery Workers and Bottlers' Union that all the Bottlers in San Francisco excepting those employed by the Enterprise Brewery have been locked out; assessments on working members were immediately levied to support locked-out men. Iron Trades' Unions reported still on strike.

New Business.—Lockout of Box Makers was referred to the Executive Committee with instructions to confer with that Union tomorrow night and then give instructions how to act. Delegate W. McArthur introduced the following resolutions, which were adopted by 97 ayes and 2 noes: "Whereas, Organized labor of San Francisco and vicinity now finds itself menaced from every quarter by a secret body known as the Employers' Association, with the purpose of destroying the trades unions, thus denying the members thereof the right to combine for their own protection and the advancement of the industrial interests of the community; and, whereas, the trades unions now existing have at all times in the past exerted all possible means to insure amicable relations between employer and employee, and in the event of dispute to bring about a restoration of harmony by conference, conciliation and concession; and, whereas, the Employers' Association has persistently rejected those steps and now seems determined to pursue its policy of strife and destruction in wanton defiance not only of the undeniable right of the workers to form and maintain their organizations, but also the public peace and well being; and, whereas, the dangerous and unlawful motive of the Employers' Association is proved by its forcing by threats of retaliation and ruin employers who are well disposed toward their employes to make unjust and impracticable demands upon the latter, with the deliberate purpose of creating a rupture between the parties; therefore, be it Resolved, That the San Francisco Labor Council declare the Employers' Association to be a men-

ace to the peace and prosperity of the community; and be it further Resolved, That until said Employers' Association makes formal declaration of its purposes and official personnel it shall be regarded as having no legal or moral right to exist and as having no claim to recognition or support from any source, public or private; and be it further Resolved, That the San Francisco Labor Council pledges itself and urges a like declaration by each of its constituent bodies, to stand firm to the principles upon which we are organized, the first of which is the right of workers in all callings to combine for mutual help, as individuals and organizations; and be it further Resolved, That we reaffirm our position as favoring the adjustment of all existing and future disputes by means of conference between the parties involved or their representatives, and we call upon the press and public to bear witness that failing acquiescence in this purpose by the employers concerned, the responsibility for the continuance or expansion of the present strikes, lock-outs and boycotts must be laid upon that party which has proved itself unapproachable to reason and unamenable to the appeals of common humanity." The following motion was adopted: "Moved that the executive committee hereby stands instructed to take defensive, and, if forced, offensive action to protect the affiliated unions against the arbitrary action of the Employers' Association."

Good of the Council.—Delegates spoke on the necessity of active co-operation of the union men of this city in resisting the encroachments of unfair employers and of the necessity to wherever and whenever possible purchase goods bearing the union label. Special attention was called to the unionizing of Bohls & Co.'s Tobacco Factory, San Francisco, manufacturers "White Navy Plug Cut," "Seven-Up," and other brands of tobacco. Delegates of the Cigarmakers' Union also urged exclusive buying of union label cigars.

Ed. Rosenberg, Sec.



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RETAIL TRADES COUNCIL.

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

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

Reports of Unions:

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

Bottlers: Progressing nicely; business is very good.

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

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

Steam Laundry Workers: Progressing nicely.

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

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

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

Meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,  
A. Dijean, Sec.

LOCAL OAKLAND, of the Social Democratic Party, holds regular weekly lectures every Thursday evening, 8 p. m. at Becker's Hall, 918 Washington st. Admission free. Address, correspondence to J. GEORGE SMITH, 212 Hearst Bld'g, San Francisco

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

LOCAL ALAMEDA, of the Social Democratic Party, holds open educational meetings every Friday evening except first one of month which is devoted to business, at 2424 Central ave. room 8. Address communications to J. C. STAMER, 2061 Encinal ave.

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