NEW TENDENCIES IN AMERICAN SOCIALISM.

That the present moment is a critical one in the history of the Socialist movement in America is commonplace. Every observer has noticed that both within and without the Socialist organizations, the influences that affect the Socialist movement appear to be approaching a climax. Whether this condition will continue to grow more acute for some time to come no one can say. But it would seem probable that the Indianapolis Convention would mark the turning-point. Coming as it does at such a crucial time, this convention will perhaps mark the beginning of the greatest setback it is possible for a movement resting on economic development to receive, or, as we all hope, the date from which the Socialist movement will have shown itself large enough to effectively cope with industrialism, whose rotten ripeness has prepared the way for a new social organization.

One thing is sure, and that is that in the midst of the most tremendous, political, social and industrial chaos the world has ever known, the one center of intelligent evolution is to be found in the developing of Socialist thought. Every field of art, literature, science, music, education, or industry, is feeling the influence of that thought. A delegate from the recent meeting of the National Educational Association at Detroit states that the whole proceedings swung round a contrast between the new pedagogical theory, demanding educational advance and growth, and the capitalistic environment that cramped and deadened all things educational.

The populist party is today but a memory, so far as a political organization is concerned. But the impulse which once led to the casting of a million votes in blind protest against the prevailing Capitalism is becoming more intelligently revolutionary. The suffering of the American farmer during the past ten years, together with the lessons of general economic development, have made the farmers of America ready for Socialism. But the Socialists are not yet ready for the farmers. The majority of Socialist writers and speakers are so hopelessly ignorant of the problems of agriculture that they can only wish to achieve the same goal for themselves, the fusion of Capital and Labor. The Socialists have been forced to the conclusion that the success of their movement depends upon the establishment of a new order, in which the farmers will work and live in harmony with the rest of society.

Millions in America today have been prepared by economic development for the acceptance and understanding of the principles of Socialism. But the Socialists, who should be spending every energy in bringing these principles before the people who are ready, are wasting their time in child-like wrangling. The time is now here for action. If we who are in possession of the machinery of Socialist political parties have not intelligence enough to adjust that machinery to accommodate the new elements that are ready for Socialism, then those elements will force the machinery of their own, and we will be forced to go to work, like our fathers, in the streets of New York. This will mean perhaps years of costly blundering and human suffering, as unnecessary as cruel and costly.

One thing is certain. This fiercely fomenting new wine demands new bottles. A mighty social upheaval, a great political party, an economic revolution cannot be confined within the bounds of a fraternal society for propagandists. The greatest need of the hour is not, as in the past, a training school for propagandists, so much as a political expression of the movement that is already at hand. Questions of dues, officers, constitutions and membership must give way to the larger facts of economic exigency and social evolution. The current revolution has grown too broad in America to be confined within the limits of any lodge-like organization, and any attempt to so confine it will fail with disaster to those who make the effort, as well as to the Socialist party. This does not mean that the office of dues and constitutions are not necessary, for they are of great importance. Those who would seek to dispense with such essentials are employing the baby with the bath. But from now on these things must be looked upon as merely means to an end, and not always the most important means. This is not a question of choice. It will not be by vote, but by social development that this condition will come to pass. When Socialism shall have begun to spread into every nook and corner of the country, when nominations are made in legal primaries by voters whose qualifications are determined by Capitalist law, when success shall have given us the responsibility for official actions as well as the work of propaganda, when, in short, we shall have become a political and social force instead of a mere educational cult, then the fundamental change will have come, no matter whether we have had sense enough to realize it and accommodate the forms of our organization to it or not.

Purity of economic doctrine can no longer be secured through party discipline. The time is even now here when the attempt to uproot economic heresy by personal expositions becomes the broadest of heresies. The purity of Socialist principles must henceforth be maintained by the burning away of all dross in the heat of free discussion. The right and true must be made to triumph, because of their logical power to conquer, and not because of the support of party discipline. This demands the greatest freedom of personal discussion and action within the party. At a time when the Socialists were but a chosen few in a hostile land, when the corrupting influence of Capitalism beat ceaselessly upon each individual from every side, then it was perhaps necessary that those principles be intrusted to the few who would protect them from contamination and preserve their purity. So long, too, as there were confusing, but still powerful, economic classes with conflicting interests, there was pressing danger from those who would steal from the Socialist artery a portion of its weapons, only to bend them into forms that could be used against their rightful owners.
A Lesson in Economics.

A British vessel was once cast away and totally wrecked upon a fertile island in the Pacific, and all on board were lost except one man. The survivor, finding himself the sole inhabitant, did what Englishmen have always been in the habit of doing with islands they have discovered. He set about living off the land and making himself comfortable. He cultivated the soil, and domesticated a few wild goats. Shortly after he had well established himself on the island, an American schooner appeared upon the same shore, with the loss of all except one man. As the schooner went down, the American swam for the shore. When he got his feet on the bottom and began wading toward land, the Englishman, seeing him, ran down to the shore with a gun, calling out, "Hold on there, you can't ashore here. This island is my property."

"Being unarmed, nearly exhausted, and with the Englishman's gun now on him, we fear the worst," said the Englishman. "I was there first and that's mine."

"Yes," said the American, "quite correct—that's true."

"Then you acknowledge the island to be mine?" said John Bull.

"Yes, I acknowledge the island to be yours," said John. "Very well, then. You can come ashore on the condition that you will do my bidding and obey my orders, or you shall be driven back into the sea."

"You may as well do your bidding as stay in the sea, if you wish to live."

The Englishman, in the situation, and realizing that the acknowledgment of his title to the island was equivalent to an acceptance of the relation of master and slave, replied as follows:

"Oh, very well, very well, Samuel. I was not aware that you were a free-born American citizen and not a slave."

"Then you acknowledge the island to be yours."

"Yes, I acknowledge the island to be yours."

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of the Englishman's right to the island and everything on it. It was certainly under no more obligations to do anything in charity for the American than we all are in duty bound to provide for any unfortunate.

One of the results of the revolution on the island. The American, finding the Englishman sitting under a tree, sound asleep, stole upon him, seized his gun and covered him with their bayonets. Johnny Bull found himself looking into the muzzle of a gun. There was no alternative but unconditional surrender.

The American had won the island by conquer and there can deny the validity of his title. He had won it by the ravages and warfare and sufficient reasons for rebellion, and was entitled to all the rights of a victor.

John, being a free-born Briton, protested against being enslaved. Samuel told him that he could not please. He said he would make John just enough to keep soul and body together, but he had no objection to his being. This is Hudson Maxim, in Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly.

**Wasted Energy.**

B. Franklin Smith of Detroit has compiled an estimate of waste labor largely from official sources, which is being widely copied, and deserves careful consideration on the part of those who perform productive labor, for the latter are compelled, under the present planless industrial system, to furnish all the wealth possessed by society and to support the non-producers.

Mr. Smith's investigations lead to the conclusion that in the present social state and methods of government men are compelled to perform work that is not the most productive, and to make money, regardless of ethics, charity, or even the gullows. Many of the schemes are wrought in secret and found to be illegal, as the criminal records show, and many other legitimate businesses are less honest than legalized robbery. It is pointed out that we make very hard work of the "struggle for existence." The reason for this is that we work continually to another's disadvantage and thus waste our labor.

The following is the estimate of waste labor compiled by Mr. Smith, which is by no means complete but includes only the male population:

| Assessor and receivers of taxes | 150,000 |
| U. S. Customs Department | 40,000 |
| U. S. Internal Revenue Department | 35,000 |
| Life Insurance | 1,000,000 |
| Fire Insurance | 105,000 |
| Trust and Loan Companies | 84,000 |
| Banks | 82,000 |
| Land agents, collectors and speculators | 40,000 |
| Superfluous store men and clerks | 350,000 |
| Ticket agents, brokers, etc. | 110,000 |
| Pawnbrokers and money-lenders | 88,000 |
| Advertising and other business | 400,000 |
| Superfluous newspapers staff | 320,000 |
| Law practitioners | 175,000 |
| Office help | 450,000 |
| Drones of wealth, the possessors of comfort, those who sit in luxury and idleness | 250,000 |

There is a total of about 5,000,000 useless non-producers, who are supported by productive labor, exclusive of the great army of the unemployed, and which, as already stated, does not include all branches of wasteful labor. The list might be extended to include another 50,000,000 who ride upon the back of productive labor and subsist upon profits, from the trust promoter and easy political boss and healer, with no visible means of support, down to the shoestring merchant and the jobber in the county jail.

It is easy to see," says Mr. Smith, "that if we all worked in harmony and to the advantage of all, that no one would have to work more than four hours each day to maintain the race in comfort and happiness."

The remedy suggested is "Socialism, pure and simple, as those who now waste their labor could then use their power to produce something."

What this enormous waste of energy could produce if directed into productive channels is a stupendous problem for conjecture. It is a probability that Social Democrats have solved, that is, if they have not already, but the people have not studied this important question to do with no prejudice and from the standpoint of material interest and benefits.

**CARNEGIE'S LIBRARY.**

To Our Friend and Comrade Eugene V. Deb.

There's a quest on the books of dead men's bones, And a splatter of blood over all; There's a rough, ragged hole in each leaf you turn, Like the wound from a rifleman's ball.

There's the last gasp of men shot down at command Of this gracious and generous man; There's the blood and the groan, the grief and the cry You picture it, any who can.

There's a picture of Homestead—will we ever forget How those brave, ragged men were defenselessly slain— Were slaughtered like beasts, like poor hunted beasts, By Carnegie's will and for Carnegie's gain.

Will we ever forget how the mothers and wives In their rags and their woe knelt down in the dust And asked their dead dear child, just as they fell By the rifleman's ball or the bayonet's thrust?

Will we ever forget the blow of the press of the land Made light of the slaughter by saying, "The dead were foreign-born men, who, in impudence, asked For the right to live on their own blood and bread."

Will we ever forget how, in weatshop and mine, The fathers and mothers and children are slain? How virtue is bartered and childhood is crushed By Carnegie's will and for Carnegie's gain?

How the skeleton babies, at the milkless breast, Give their poor little lives to his greed? How the girls on the street and the mothers in rags Are reflecting his generous (?) deed?

And this is his gift, all shining with blood, Curdled with the dreamer's arrogant hand; This is his penceado murderer and lust; This is his jest to the slave of the land.

But the books are not dumb; they have eloquent story To tell you their pitiful story— How the bodies and souls of women and men Have built him his temple of glory.

How the walls are of bones cemented with blood Like the palace of the dreams of the greed Of hearts that have broken for wrongs unwritten These hundreds and hundreds of years.

For these wrongs to our comrades we'll never forget Nor this master of bread with his cunning and greed.

And the gift that he proffers—we scorn it and scorn. For we hold it in keeping with his class and his deed.

ALICE T. SORENSON.
Impressions.

If there is a man with the experience of a man, and able to think as becomes a citizen, who denies that there is at present going on a struggle between economic classes, he serves special nonce as a unique specimen. From New York to California workmen are ranged in an army on one side, while capitalists are ranged in an army on the other. A very conservative estimate of the actual number who would be in the army working at about 200,000; in the other army there are about 200, or at most 500. The 200,000 must obey the slightest wish of the 500 or they cannot work, which means, they must starve. But the five and 500 reeling on the one army could be swept out of existence by the other army in ten minutes. The loss of the five hundred might mean considerable—to their wives. But the 500, to the productive energy of the men, they are keeping in idleness, the loss would be so insignificant they would not be missed the second day, and would be entirely forgotten in a week. The five hundred capitalists in their nobler wheels bound the grave with them and set up a system of exploitation in the hinterland. And how long, think you, would the 200,000 men stay away from productive labor if the five hundred were removed? Would it be long enough to organize themselves and elect a foreman. Then what is it that keeps these 200,000 men idle and separated by only a week or two from the pangs of hunger? The small army of 500 have lashed all the majority of the law. These five hundred represent a class organized to exploit, to drag from another class all the wealth this latter class produces. The organized minority holds the disorganized majority in its section. Their chief weapon is the government. It is established to sustain the organized minority in all its acts. Whatever this minority may do is legal, whatever the majority may do is illegal, and whatever is illegal must be suppressed.

The interests of the army of 200,000 are opposed to the interests of the army of 500. These two armies represent two classes and the interests are exactly the same as the interests of the armies; they are opposed to each other. This opposition does not begin one day and leave off the next. It does not remain in action 30 days in the year, but is extended, on a 365th day. Because the pure and simple trades-union leader and the hungry politician tell you that there is no antagonism between the classes on election day, the 365th day, is no reason why you should be an ass and believe what they say.

Ask yourself this question: If the class to which I belong is opposed to another class, and that opposition is the natural outgrowth of the present system on which we base our society, which no single man is responsible, how can it be that my voting for members of another class, which wishes the present system to continue, is an improvement of my own class? The answer will determine whether you will vote for the Social Democratic Party, the party of the working class, or the Republican or Democratic parties, the parties of the capitalist class. Partisan deference to your pure and simple trades union leader, even when a seeming change of heart comes, because some of his pet schemes have been defeated, or to the hungry politician, spellbinding his way into your affections by the old claptrap phrases about liberty, etc. The man who would betray a principle for temporary gain at one time, will repeat the offence if you give him another chance. Once a traitor, always a traitor.

The recent decision of Judge Sloss on the eight hour law shows wherein a measure passed for the benefit of the working class becomes illegal because it conflicts with the interests of the capitalist class. Everything that could be done to get the working-class and put it in a position where intelligence could be developed is a menace to the continuation of capitalistic rule. There is a threat in the struggle for an eight-hour working day. The working class made the eight hours a reality for this class, and for such results as those of the eight-hour law its social good, that time may be given to it to develop its latent qualities, that time may be given to it to reason and think. It is a very small concession and still be an immediate loss by the capitalist class. For it is well known that a man will do as much in eight hours as he will in twelve, taking the year through. But the use to which those extra four hours might be put is what causes offence to the thinking members of the ruling class. A man with time to read, might read. A man with time to listen to a lecture might attend a course of lectures. What he might hear and read would undoubtedly start him thinking. And from the beginning of history to the present time, the group or class with the government in its control hated the man that could think. Caesar asked who was the fellow with the long ears and hungry look, and when told it was Cassius, answered, "I like him not: he thinks too much."

The man who thinks will always be an enemy of the oppressor, and the decision that the eight hour law is unconstitutional is no more than an expression of fear that the men working eight hours might have time to think.

Another decision that may be of some service in helping to wake up the trades unionist to a realization of his true position, comes from Cincinnati. It was made by Judge Clark of the United States Supreme Court and puts an effectual quietus on picketing. He will be quoted by all the judges hereafter as an authority, for every ruling that makes for curtailing the privileges and limiting the powers of the working class at once elevates the judge making it to the position of a soothsayer, "From precedent to precedent we glide, unto a nobler manhood," as the late poet laureate of England said. The precedent established by this new Daniel come to judgment, that all picketing is unlawful, immoral and wrong." And the learned judge describes picketing "as intercepting and speaking to men while going to or from a factory—ANYWHERE, EVEN MILES AWAY." The last clause takes the decision out of the realm of mediocrity and makes the judge eligible to the United States Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, a story is vouched for by the "Voice" of Germany, tells how the wives and daughters of judges and members of the capitalist class while away the time. Being superior persons, because the economic inequalities of today make lazy people live with an opportunity to indulge their desire to do nothing—superior persons, they must needs seek for a sensation that would stir their jaded nerves. To this end vivisection parties are all the rage among the elite of Paris. There are even attempts to pave how a party of American ladies (?) under the patronage of a few members of the haute ton of the French capital, repaired to a doctor and watched him, with her heart's interest, rip up the belly of a large dog, to show the action of the lungs and heart. The ladies then enjoyed the sight of a half-skinned frog jumping about when pricked by an electric needle, and after being to all

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**ADVANCE**

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Delegates, Attention.

Headquarters Joint Committee of Arrangements, Socialist Unity Convention.

To the Branches and Locals affiliated with the Social Democratic Party, with headquarters respectively at Chicago, Ill., and Springfield, Mass., to the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party, and to the various branches associated with the Independent State Organizations of Socialist Parties--

Comrades: Pursuant to instructions which we have received from our respective National Headquarters, and in conformity with notices issued from the same quarters, the National Unity Convention of Socialist Parties is to be held in Indianapolis, Indiana, on July 29, 1901, we herewith extend you a cordial invitation to attend said convention.

Being instructed to make such arrangements as would conduce to the economy and convenience of the delegates and facilitate the work of the convention, we hereby inform you that said convention will be held in Masonic Hall, corner of Washington Street and Capitol Avenue, and will be called to order at 10 o'clock on the morning of Monday, July 29, 1901.

The Grand Hotel, located at Illinois and Maryland streets, two blocks north of the Union Station, having made a special rate of $2 per day, has been selected by us as the headquarters of the convention.

Cheap rooms and restaurants may also be found in the vicinity of the convention hall, and arrangements may be made to reserve rooms by forwarding instructions to Geo. E. Mills, 1227 E. Court street, or to Wm. Mahoney, 120 N. Penn, street, Indianapolis, Room 18.

A special rate of one fare and a third have been procured upon the following terms: Those attending the convention must purchase first-class tickets between three days from opening of convention, not including Sunday, and must get a certificate from the railroad agent, showing that such ticket was bought to attend the Socialist Convention. These certificates must be presented at convention on 30th day of July, to be signed by secretary and representatives of railroad. Upon fulfillment of these conditions a return ticket may be purchased for one-third the regular fare; provided, that there be at least one hundred certificates representing tickets for which not less than seventy-five cents have been paid.

It is important that at least one hundred certificates be presented in order to get the benefit of the reduced charge, and if not, they shall be sold 100 cents, as speculated in, as the Party is pledged to redeem all such at full rates.

Hoping that your respective organizations will be represented with delegates contributing their wisest counsel to the assembled Socialist forces, we conclude by proffering our labor in the performance of any services which we may be able to render to visiting delegates.

Yours truly,


Letter Box.

The T. P. O. U. A. has made another effort to impress the public with the fact that they are a political party, and that they are not afraid to take sides in the political fights of the day.

The truth of the matter is, that they are not a political party at all, but a Protective Association, and their object is to protect the interests of the working man.

They have made a number of resolutions, which they intend to submit to the various legislatures, and which they hope will be adopted.

The first resolution is to the effect that the government should provide for the education of all children, and that no child shall be compelled to work before the age of 14 years.

The second resolution is to the effect that the government should provide for the maintenance of the aged and infirm, and that no one shall be allowed to starve.

The third resolution is to the effect that the government should provide for the care of the sick, and that no one shall be allowed to suffer want.

The fourth resolution is to the effect that the government should provide for the protection of the working man, and that no one shall be allowed to work under conditions calculated to injure their health.

The fifth resolution is to the effect that the government should provide for the prevention of accidents, and that no one shall be allowed to suffer injury from the carelessness of others.

The sixth resolution is to the effect that the government should provide for the punishment of those who violate the laws, and that no one shall be allowed to escape justice.

The seventh resolution is to the effect that the government should provide for the promotion of science and literature, and that no one shall be allowed to suffer want of education.

The eighth resolution is to the effect that the government should provide for the protection of the rights of labor, and that no one shall be allowed to suffer want of justice.

The ninth resolution is to the effect that the government should provide for the maintenance of law and order, and that no one shall be allowed to suffer want of safety.
CHAPTER I.—THE COMMODITY.

The task which Marx undertakes in his "Capital" is an analysis of the present mode of production, the mode which, since Marx, has become known as the capitalist mode of production. In his work he deviates somewhat from the general laws of nature, which underlie all processes of production; the inquiry into these is not the task of political economy, but of physics and of chemistry. Neither does he attempt to analyze merely the forms of production common to all people, in whose midst an inquiry could bring to light only commonplaces, familiar to every one; such, for instance, as the old phrase that in order to produce man must necessarily have land, tools, food, etc., etc. What he did do, was to examine the laws which determine the movements of a definite form of social production, of the form dominant in and peculiar to a certain period and certain nations; of the form obtaining during the last few centuries among European nations, and nations of European origin, and which is also commencing to establish itself among other peoples, e.g., the Japanese, Hindus, etc. The present capitalist mode of production is essentially different from all other modes. There is, for instance, a clear line of demarcation drawn between it and the Feudal mode which ruled in Europe during the middle ages, or the primitive communal condition of society which existed at a very early period of social development.

Let us look at modern society. We find that its wealth consists of commodities. A commodity is a product of labor, produced, not for the personal use or consumption of the producer or the community with which he is associated, but for the purpose of exchange with other commodities. We see, accordingly, that it is the social quality which stamps a product as a commodity. An illustration will make this point clear: Yarn spun by the wife of a backwoods farmer out of flax grown on her husband's land, worked on by the family of that farmer, is an article of use, but not a commodity. But, if a weaver produces linen out of flax, for the purpose of exchanging the linen with the wheat of a farmer, or, to go a step further, if a manufacturer in his factory, through his workmen, consumes his products of flax daily in order to sell the product, the product is a commodity. It is true that the product will also be an article of use, but one which has a particular social function to perform, i.e., to be exchanged. It is impossible to tell by the line of demarcation it is a commodity or not. Its appearance may be the same when spun by the farmer's wife in the cottage for home consumption as when produced in a factory by a factory-girl who, in all probability, will never use a square inch of it herself. The commodity-character of the linen is discernible to the extent that when washed, it can be told whether it is a commodity or not. The difference is that whereas the linen made for personal use only is not a commodity, 'an article of use,' it is so, as far as it is exchanged. The linen made for sale, and which is exchanged between men, is a commodity, because the linen is of necessity exchanged before it can be sold.

In capitalist society the products of labor take on more and more, the form of commodities. If there are, as yet, products which are not commodities, it is due to the fact that vestiges of former modes of production still survive in a few places. These vestiges, however, are so isolated and so unimportant that one is justified in saying that today all products of labor have taken on the form of commodities.

Since it is impossible to understand the present mode of production so long as we do not understand the character of a commodity, it will be necessary for us to begin with an analysis of commodities. Our subsequent task will then be much easier.

First of all, we think the subject can be better understood if we look at the characteristics peculiar to the production of commodities in contradistinction to other forms of production in that way we shall be able better to understand the point of view held by Marx in his analysis of commodities.

No matter how far we penetrate into the history of mankind, we always find that production has been invariably social in its character, that men in greater or lesser groups combined their efforts in securing for themselves the means of life. Marx explained this social character of production as early as 1843 in his contributions to the "Rheinische Zeitung" entitled "Wage-labor and Capital." "The members of society," he says, "in order to produce, work together in a definite way. For the purpose of production they enter into certain relations with each other, and only within these social relations do they labor upon their environment; only within these relations does production take place. "The social relations of each individual producer, the part taken by each one in the social act of production, differs according to the character of the means of production. With the invention of a new instrument of war, firearms, for instance, there comes a result, as a change of the whole internal organization of the army; there comes a change in the relation in which individuals form and act as an army. Changes occur also in the relations between armies to equip themselves.

"The social relations within which individuals produce, i.e., the social relations of production, change accordingly with the change and development of the means of production. The relations of production in their entirety form what we understand by social relations, i.e., society, the society of any given historic stage of development, the society with peculiar demarcating characteristics."

"A few illustrations will prove what has been said above. Let us take any primitive society, one which occupies a condition, a very low stage of development, yet also forms the means of securing the necessary food-supply; the Indians. Dodge in his book, "The Indians of the Far West," relates the following of their way of hunting: "Since the head and heart are in need of help only occasionally but the digestive system of the stomach are constant, the tribe is usually under the domination of the "third estate." This "third estate" consists of all hunters of the tribe. These hunters form a sort of guild, the decision of which is final, for which they appeal to no authority whatever; and however, only within their own definite jurisdiction. Among the Cheyennes these men are called 'dog-soldiers.' The young and active chiefs are always members of this class. They do not, however, of necessity have command over the other 'soldiers' because of how they are appointed, but only within their own definite jurisdiction. Among the Cheyennes these men are called 'dog-soldiers.' The young and active chiefs are always members of this class. They do not, however, of necessity have command over the other 'soldiers' because of how they are appointed, but only within their own definite jurisdiction. Among the Cheyennes these men are called 'dog-soldiers.' The young and active chiefs are always members of this class. They do not, however, of necessity have command over the other 'soldiers' because of how they are appointed, but only within their own definite jurisdiction. Among the Cheyennes these men are called 'dog-soldiers.' The young and active chiefs are always members of this class. They do not, however, of necessity have command over the other 'soldiers' because of how they are appointed, but only within their own definite jurisdiction. Among the Cheyennes these men are called 'dog-soldiers.' The young and active chiefs are always members of this class. They do not, however, of necessity have command over the other 'soldiers' because of how they are appointed, but only within their own definite jurisdiction. Among the Cheyennes these men are called 'dog-soldiers.'

Great hunting expeditions take place in the fall of every year for the purpose of laying in the necessary meat supply for the winter. Then the 'dog-soldiers' are the lords of the day! Woe to the unfortunate who would dare to disregard their commands! Long before daybreak, when everything is ready, the best hunters depart from the wigwams. If more than one herd of buffalo is discovered, the one selected for the attack is always the one which is farthest away from the rest, against the wind, so that the noise accompanying 'the cull' is not so likely to scare away the rest of the herds. During this time the other hunters, trembling with suppressed excitement, are waiting silently upon their horses in a near-by ravine, concealed from the sight or keen smell of the buffalo. If the herd is in a favorable position for the attack the chief counts of detachment of his hunters and the other, under the leadership of some one appointed by him, and despatches them to the places previously selected. When the leading chief sees that every man is at the place assigned to him, when everything is ready he then attempts, in company with a detachment of hunters, to surround the herd and cut off their retreat. At the proper time he gives the signal and with terrible warwhoops the hunters throw themselves into the fray from all sides. Few buffalo are able to break through the cordon; those that escape are pursued for fear of frightening the herds grazing in the vicinity.
As long as bow and arrow alone were used in the hunt it was easy for each hunter to positively determine which and how many of the game he had killed, each arrow bearing its owner's mark. Whatever he killed was his, aside from a small share which he was compelled to give toward the support of the widows and the dependents of the tribe. If more than one arrow was found in a buffalo, the one which had belonged to the owner of it. If several arrows might have given the mortal wound according to their position, the animal was divided among the hunters, or at times given to the widows and other dependents of the tribe. If more than one hunter in chief, but an appeal could be taken from his decision to the general judgment of the 'dog-soldiers.' The universal use of firearms has made the identification of the dead buffalo an impossibility and consequently the Indians have again become more communistic; the total amount of meat and skins are divided among the tribe according to rules agreed upon previously.

We see that among the Indians production is social; different forms of activity work together to produce the social aim.

Here already we discover the beginning of the division of labor and the plan working together of individuals (of co-operation). According to their different abilities the hunters perform different parts of the work, but they do not determine according to a plan. The result of this co-operation (working together) of different kinds of labor, "the exchange of activities," as Marx calls it in his "Wage-Labor and Capital," the recult of the hunt, is not exchanged, but divided.

Passing on, let us see how well the change wrought in the mode of division as the result in the change in the means of production: the displacement of the bow and arrow by firearms.

Let us now examine a higher form of social production—agriculture—the village commune of India. At present only few remains tell of the primitive communism which once existed in India. According to Strabo, XI, 1, 66, Neaveh, the admiral of Alexander the Great, tells of parts of India where the land was common property, was tilled in common, and where, after the harvest, the result was divided among the members of the commune. Elphinstone states that such communes still existed in some parts of India at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In Java village-communism continues to exist to the extent that from time to time the farm land is divided again among the villagers who regard their share, not as private property, but merely as given to them for use for a stated period of time. In most parts of India, however, farm land has already become private property, and where, after the harvest, the result was divided among the members of the commune. Elphinstone states that such communes still existed in some parts of India at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In Java village-communism continues to exist to the extent that from time to time the farm land is divided again among the villagers who regard their share, not as private property, but merely as given to them for use for a stated period of time. In most parts of India, however, farm land has already become private property, and where, after the harvest, the result was divided among the members of the commune. Elphinstone states that such communes still existed in some parts of India at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In Java village-communism continues to exist to the extent that from time to time the farm land is divided again among the villagers who regard their share, not as private property, but merely as given to them for use for a stated period of time. In most parts of India, however, farm land has already become private property, and where, after the harvest, the result was divided among the members of the commune. Elphinstone states that such communes still existed in some parts of India at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In Java village-communism continues to exist to the extent that from time to time the farm land is divided again among the villagers who regard their share, not as private property, but merely as given to them for use for a stated period of time. In most parts of India, however, farm land has already become private property, and where, after the harvest, the result was divided among the members of the commune. Elphinstone states that such communes still existed in some parts of India at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In Java village-communism continues to exist to the extent that from time to time the farm land is divided again among the villagers who regard their share, not as private property, but merely as given to them for use for a stated period of time. In most parts of India, however, farm land has already become private property, and where, after the harvest, the result was divided among the members of the commune.

The thing of interest to us, in our study in this instance, is the character of the division of labor. Before this time, agriculture was the great means of production. Here we have discovered a division of labor. It takes on a much higher form in our last illustration, the village commune of India.

There are in an Indian village-commune of this latter kind, besides what may be called the Mayor (Ind.: "Patel"), many other officials: the "Karnam," or Matsaddi, acting as accountant, attending to the financial transactions between the commune and its members; the "Talijer," acting as detective, police-officer, etc.; it is his duty also to see that travelers can journey with safety through the territory of the commune; the "Toti," who is the surveyor of the commune; the overseer over the water supply, irrigating ditches, etc.; the Brahmin who attends to the worship of the gods; the teacher who instructs the children in reading and writing; the calendar, the astrologer, who foretells the "luck" and "bad luck" of each member of the tribe for sowing, harvesting, threshing, etc.; then the blacksmith, carpenter, wheelwright, pottery worker, launderman, barber, cow-herder, doctor, the "Devasadchi" (dancing girl) and probably even a "singer."

All of these are officials employed by the commune and have to work for its members. Their compensation consists either in land or in a share of the results of the harvest. Here, too, with this highly developed division of labor, we find social production and division of the products.

Now let us take another example which is probably familiar to everybody: a patriarchal farm household, itself supplying all its own wants. It is a social formation developed out of just such a mode of production as we have pictured in our Indian commune. And here we wish to say that it can be shown that this mode of production has existed at the beginning of the development of all known civilized peoples.

In such a family we find, not isolated human beings, but a social working-together, a unity of all the different activities. Activities differ according to age, sex, and season of the year. Here we have plowing, mowing, milking, tending cattle, gathering wood for fuel, spinning, weaving, sewing, knitting, pruning, etc.; the most diverse activities co-operate harmoniously, are interdependently related to each other; the products of the individual workers, but are divided among them under certain conditions.

Now let us suppose that in such a community of patriarchal farms the means of production have developed to such an extent that less labor is required to produce the means of production. The result of this is that there is no longer a division of the work in the family. But here, too, the productivity of labor is greater than the needs of the commune for tools and weapons, more of these articles have been made than can be consumed.

Suppose a tribe of nomadic herders, should their wanderings, come in contact with our community. They, too, as the result of the increase in the productivity of labor, have more product (cattle) than they need. It is reasonable to suppose that one tribe will exchange its surplus with the other. Before this time, the surplus of the one tribe and the surplus tools and weapons of the other part to this exchange, commodities.

The exchange of commodities is the natural sequence of the development of the means of production to a point where more is produced than the needs of primitive society can consume.

(Continued next week.)

One Emperor—Not Two.

New York, July 24th.—The battle between the giants of finance, J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller, for the control of the great financial depositories of the country, has awakened keen interest, not only in Wall street, but throughout the entire country. On every side the question is heard: "What will be the outcome?" Mr. Rockefeller is keenly watching every move of his rival, Morgan. If he knows what Morgan's purpose is, he is keeping the information to himself. Indians, in general, believe in the strength of the arrow, and the belief that Rockefeller is puzzled by Morgan's recent actions.

From the moment that the Rockefeller interests raised the National City Bank to the $10,000,000 grade and threw into it the power and patronage of the Standard Oil interests, it was evident to observers that the struggle now on was coming.

It was a natural outcome of the position which America only recently assumed—that of the lender of money to Europe and to the world. At this great time in the great financial houses of Europe dominated America, and their representatives in New York were the controlling powers here in all large financial transactions.

Gradually, as America advanced in prosperity and riches, there grew up here banking houses with affiliations reaching all over the country, which dared to undertake to float the stock and bonds of great corporations without asking the consent of European representatives. This is the power that has grown until it no longer does not have to ask Europe what it shall do, but can dictate its own terms. This is the power that can lend Europe hundreds of millions of dollars, organize a billion-dollar railroad, and undertake to build railroads in London and buy up English steamships.

Now the giants that represent these powerful millions are locked in a desperate struggle for supremacy. Morgan and his allies control $175,000,000 of bank capital, and Rockefeller and his allies $170,000,000.
Comrades and friends who have received through the mails four each of the petitions for "Employment of Unemployed" and "Building a Palace of the People," please have them filled and returned to Advance office as soon as possible.

These few words are for avowed Socialists, especially members of the Social Democratic Party. We wish to inquire if you have done your duty during the past week? Have you gained one new member to the party? Have you made one new convert to Socialism? Have you gotten one new subscriber to "Advance"? Have you found it possible to do any of these things? Resolve that next week you will accomplish one.

Yale, Wisconsin, Chicago, Columbus and California. From each of these universities students have scabbed on men strike for better conditions. Just what might be expected! These youths get a class education which teaches them that individual enterprise is the thing, encourage them to seek their own welfare regardless of their fellows, and holds out the hope of ultimately becoming great men, after the manner of the several kinds of plunderers of the public who have ended these colleges. When they finally leave college these intellectual proletarians will learn a few different lessons in the school of life, chief among which will be the lesson of solidarity. Let us ask ourselves if we who have scabbled on the wages of the Overland Freight Transfer in supplying the Department. Unfortunately for the bosses and their Republican and Democratic allies, there are not enough teamsters who will scab to do one hundredth part of the work. Nevertheless, the intent of the capitalist politicians is evident. They are only too glad to protect the bosses in their efforts to break the unions. They will use the powers of the government to provide protection for the property of the capitalists, the source of the capitalists' income; but they take no steps to ensure the laborer in a job, his source of income. On the contrary, they seek to aid the capitalist in depriving labor of the right to work except it works on the terms the bosses dictate. The SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, on the other hand, seeks to take away from the bosses their boss-ship and make work free for all. It seeks to ensure the workingman in the right to earn his living. Therefore it has drafted a petition to the Board of Election Commissioners to be placed on the ballot next November, a proposition for the employment of unemployed citizens. If fifteen per cent of the voters sign this petition the proposition must be submitted to a referendum. This is the way to save this city. By the initiative version of the proposition we will have a weapon in their hands by means of which we can steadily improve their condition, and so strengthen their unions that the capitalist will be forced to submit.

The San Francisco "Call" is rapidly winning for itself the proud distinction of being the representative organ of unscrupulous falsification and contemptible, sneaking, underhanded methods of personal attack is gaining a record that will make the "Call" match the lin wilt divi's face to throw discredit on the Socialist movement. Its latest performance is an attack on our Comrade J. Stitt Wilson, in an article entitled "Herron's Successors." The "Call" editor knew more about it than he is giving himself credit for. "Herron's Coadjutor." Comrade Herron has not laid down his arms nor been driven from the field of the social war, as the "Call" editor will shortly discover. As a matter of fact, Herron is a master of immorality, the "Call" brings in Comrade Wilson and charitably "hopes (?) that Mr. Wilson will not handicap his cult by viewing marriage loosely, or attempting to use political machinery competitively, etc. One thing is sure: The editor of the "Call" needs no stimulus for its inventive powers, the present system certainly affords him much incentive in the art of lying. He has license given him by his own allies, and realizing the necessity of lying more to maintain capitalism he is resorting to such gross and cowardly misrepresentation that the people see through the fraud. Commodore "Spreckel's" should put out a new puppy in the editorial chair of the "Call."

WORTH IMITATING.

If there is one man in the United States admirable and worthy of imitation above all others, that man is John Pierpont Morgan. In the first place, Mr. Morgan is an able man—a man of executive ability and great organizing capacity. He has brains and uses them for his own benefit. He is gradually acquiring possession of the industries. He is organizing and combining them so that they are becoming more and more efficient as wealth-producers. In the second place, the most obvious opposition he has conquered the industrial field for the cause of the trust. The wealth of Wall street he has whipped into line and the impotent rage of the petit bourgeois he has longed to scorn. He is engaged in battle with the last foe, the organization of labor, which he hopes to smash and thus leave his trust complete master of the situation with himself as the directing head. We have said that Mr. Morgan has admirable and worthy of imitation. We mean it. Let the workmen develop the same executive ability and capacity for organization; let them acquire all the industries for their own; let them struggle and force that control over the capitalists; let them conquer the powers of the world and become the rulers. Then indeed, will the world be no longer a Vale of Tears and a Slough of Despond. With Labor's victory, the plundering of the poor will cease; the bitter battle of brothers for the crusts will cease; poverty and enforced idleness will no longer curse the world. On the contrary, Labor's victory will bring into the world a new era of cooperation, plenty and happiness. When fear of poverty is supplemented by assurance of plenty, when worry over tomorrow's income is displaced by the certainty of useful, productive and intelligent toil; the world will be a paradise of human happiness and progress. Let us work for that—let us work for that now.
State together and with their varied experience and different ideas, to secure the best counsel.

The State Organizer has been specified as the Socialist movement for several reasons. In the first place, as an organizer he is likely to be salaried and thus have time to attend the committee meetings. Furthermore, being an organizer he will be acquainted with the practical work of agitation and organization. His experience and actual touch with the movement in his own state will teach him the things needed and advantageous to the organization. He can make a true meeting link between state and nation, but between nation and local as well. As a representative of the state organization, he comes to the committee delegate from the State committee, with its reports and suggestions. Thus the organization is held well together and close relations maintained between all parts. Again, when the State Organizer goes to attend the committee meeting a tour can be easily arranged, and by making the occasion an agitation trip expenses can be reduced considerably, or at least the cost of the trip will be repaid by the propaganda along the line. In a city in which a speech meet will receive a most valuable stimulus from the presence of the best agitators in the active work of the cause. States that could not have been represented every three months could now be visited, and a few states that formerly would find it inexpedient and too expensive not to be represented at least once a year. Thus the National Committee would be really national; it would not be expensive; it would be practical; it would be attractive to members, who, for the most part, would be closer in touch with the party and sensitive to its demands and needs.

The plan also is to consider the stimulating influence of this on the State. It encourages each state to get an Organizer in the field and periodically gives this Organizer the benefit of conferring with his colleagues who are engaged in the same work. When they meet in committee, not only do they arrange for national affairs, but each learns new methods and ideas for work in his own state.

A salaried National Secretary is suggested because of the paper work demands such a position. He should be elected by the National Executive, as they will be best able to pick a man whose peculiar qualifications fit him for such a position. He should be accountable to and form the Executive and most direct means of correcting such errors as he may make.

Chicago is nominated as the place of headquarters as being near the geographical and population center. There are several healthy state organizations within close reach—Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio and Wisconsin, with New York and Pennsylvania not much farther away. So a quarter of a year can be easily obtained. Moreover, apart from the fact of assembling the committee, the city of Chicago offers other advantages. It is the seat of a large, vigorous, and continuous daily activities. The secretary should be situated in some such place. If he is in a small local he must depend more upon his own judgment and resources in matters which come before him. But put him in the midst of a lot of active comrades whose numbers and enthusiasm inspire him, whose numerous councils and suggestions continually aid him, and he will be far more efficient and the national organization will be far more prosperous.

Several other suggestions are made: In regard to dispensing with national organizers, as their work can be done by the State organizers of neighboring states; and the abolition of the 10 cent tax on subscription to party papers by members, a compromise scheme which entails great expense on the papers and work on the party secretaries. A national system of dues stamps is advocated as furnishing the best plan of maintaining a party in the balance of the three grades—national, state and local. In connection with this it may be mentioned that Comrade Harry Ryan of San Jose, delegate for Northern California, will present a plan whereby a national account book system adapted from forms tried in the crucible of commercial and insurance companies. This we greet as an excellent measure; it will simplify accounts.

Delegates and comrades are requested to consider carefully the San Francisco plan and judge it on its merits. We hope that if it is not adopted something better will be.

THE VAIL MEETINGS.

Big and enthusiastic—that's the way to describe the crowds which have greeted our National Organizer, Chas. H. Vail, at each meeting held in San Francisco. There have been four meetings altogether; three at the Academy of Sciences and one at Odd Fellows' Hall, Comrade Vail speaking in San Francisco July 20th, Saturday. That evening and the next he spoke to an audience in the Academy of Sciences that filled the aisles, the platform, and all available space. Monday night Comrade Vail spoke in San Jose, and Tuesday night the big meeting in Odd Fellows' Hall was held. Fully eighteen hundred people crowded into the hall, and all staid until Comrade Vail finished his speech at ten o'clock. Comrade Kennerly presided and the meeting opened with the singing of the Marseillaise.

The chairman spoke for about ten minutes on the program and progress of the Social Democratic Party and then introduced Comrade F. H. Whitney, who entertained the audience with a couple of songs rendered in her sweetest voice. The speaker of the evening was next called upon and introduced as "our National Organizer, the next governor of New Jersey, Comrade Vail". The Comrade stepped to the front he was greeted by prolonged applause. Despite a slight house-ness Comrade Vail spoke with a strong voice, and for over an hour held his audience in rapt attention, interrupted only by frequent applause at his clever epigrams and pointed sum-maries. "Poverty," declared he, "is a social crime," and he proceeded to show that with the enormous capacity for wealth production which is at the disposal of the people, an abundance of goods and services of life might be produced with only a few hours of labor on the part of the able-bodied citizens. Inquiring into the cause of poverty amidst abundance, he showed that it was due partly to the waste of the competitive system which demanded duplication of everything, setting two or three men to do one man's job, and partly to the necessity of supporting the idle, do-nothing capitalists and their host of underlings, and that every man not usefully employed is a burden on those that are." Using familiar illustrations, Comrade Vail showed how organization and cooperation would eliminate the waste of the competitive system and stop the draught on the laborers that goes to the support of the

profit-licees. Concluding, he defined the class-struggle and urged the working men to be true to their class interest and organize under the banner of the Social Democratic Party. In the political powers. He especially urged every Socialist to join the local and do his duty in the warfare against capitalism.

After the lecture Master Ruby Crosby played a cornet solo very successfully, and the Socialist daughter sang with true German melody and enthusiasm of a couple of Socialist songs. The floor was then thrown open to the speaker's questions. Some of these questions were put in good taste and evidenced a sincere desire to get information. Others were asked by the fools and fanatics of the "professors" pestiferous, forlorn hope. These latter included the Haverhill Armory, the Alalla militia, and capitalist indorsement. There was one question, however, to which, although usually asked in other places, was neglected here; it was about the "capitalist job-chasers of San Francisco." They did not mention that Social Democratic errors seem to be like capitalist prosperity—always in another part of the country, off where the people don't know the facts of the case. Despite this, however, everything went off successfully and the meeting only dispersed when, at eleven o'clock, the chairman, having finished the questioning and disburbed the audience. The meeting was most satisfactory from every standpoint. The crowd was large and appreciative. Many strangers were present and gave close attention to the lucid, logical arguments of Comrade Vail; and the Socialists present were greatly enheartened by the great interest shown. It is intended to hold a big mass meeting about August 15th, when Comrade J. Stitt Wilson will return from the South, and on that occasion the Comrades and the Social Democrats, previously to participating in the primaries on August 15th. Whether Odd Fellows' Hall or the Metropolitan Temple will be engaged for this purpose has not yet been decided upon. It will be widely advertised, and every Comrade is urged to spread the news. As a campaigner Comrade Wilson is hard to beat and he is sure to inspire just that enthusiasm and determination which a pre-election meeting needs in order to win.

The reception tendered Mrs. Vail by the ladies of the William Morris Club at Sherman & Clay's Hall was a most enjoyable affair. Miss Bloom acted as chairman. Miss Rosen-thal's violin solos were rendered with an expression and technique that made them an inspiration, and the two songs by Miss Part-ridge lacked nothing in phrasing anddelicacy, which is characteristic of her interpretations.

Mrs. Vail interested the ladies in her talk on "Socialism," as was evidenced by the many who expressed to her personally a desire to know more on the subject:

The reception was given, not only to honor Mrs. Vail, but as a signal propaganda to women who will not usually attend our regular meetings. We believe it will bring good results.

Comrades and Readers: Patronize those business houses that advertise in ADVANCE. By doing so you will help your paper.
STEAM Fitters and Helpers, No. 46. National Association of Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters and Helpers of Southern Pacific, Pioneer Hall, 24th St. R. A. Koppen, Secretary.

TANNERS' Union, No. 9028. Meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m., at Twenty-fourth and Potroo A. R. Kreuz, Secretary, 42 Valley St.

TYPOGRAPHICAL Union, International, No. 8 (Newspapermen). Meets Monday at 8 p.m., 3rd Sunday at 1st Third, Becker's Hall, Thomas Wall, Secretary, 14 Third.


UPHOLSTERS' Union of North America, No. 28. Every Thursday at 1159 Mission St. F. C. Kiefer, Secretary, 127 Prefica Ave.

UNDERTAKERS' Assistants, No. 949. Meets 1st and 3rd Saturdays at 17 Turk St. J. W. Mulady, Secretary, 2606 Mission St.

VINEGAR and Purveyors' Union, No. 8035. Mondays at 117 Turk St. Mary Campodonico, Secretary, 919 9th St.

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

WOODWORKERS (Box Makers) Amalgamated. No. 152. Meets Mondays, 1159 Mission St. John J. Hohl, Secretary, 911 9th St. Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, J. Gallagher; delegates seated.


San Francisco Labor Council.

SYNOPSIS OF MINUTES.

July 19, 1901.

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

CREDENTIALS—Leather Workers, J. Andrews; Garment Workers, Ed. McCormick; L. Trawars, A. L. Yeazell, Alice Brown, Minnie Carey; Stereotypers, J. P. Fitchsimmons; Bakery Drivers, J. Hohl; Samuel Shor; Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, J. Gallagher; delegates seated.

APPLICATION FOR AFFILIATION—Pine Drivers and Bridge Builders' Union, No. 9038 A. F. of L., delegates D. McEachen, E. A. Painter, and C. A. Broome; Rapallo, D. G. of L., delegates W. 0. 9119 A. F. of L., Redwood City, delegate Chas. Hestrom; Baggage Solicitors' Union, delegate S. A. Huchton; delegates admitted, no credentials seated and the third laid over until constitution is presented.

Communications.—The Rammermen's Union requesting assistance; referred to the Executive Committee for action; organized by the withdrawal from Council; referred to Executive Committee. A. F. of L., requesting list of local or national and international organizations of the A. F. of L. not represented in the Labor Council; Secretary instructed to give information. A. F. of L. notice per capita, $5.00, was ordered sent. National Boot and Shoe Workers state Friedman & Rodgers, Battery street, members, request Rice & Hutchens' scab shoes; referred to Executive Committee. Stockton Council, asking certain information about the Pacific Association not filed. Vallejo Council, sending donation, and stating whether distributed or filed.

REPORTS OF UNIONS—Iron Molders still on strike; all iron trades standing firm; in behalf of the Iron Trades Council, thanks sister unions for liberal donations given to the unions on strike. Upholsterers' donation sent to the union strike fund, 25 cents per week per member. Ship Joiners—Favor issuance of paper by the Labor Council, asking that the forms and statements of the L. Brotherhood of Teamsters—Difficulty with the Morton Special Delivery has spread to the Morton Draymen and the Teamsters, would like to have the Teamsters and Bar tenders—Urge union men to ask for the Bar tenders Union card. Picture Frame Drivers—labor troubles by the Council; effective assistance given to the union by Paper Hangers, who issued a notice to all their members that they would give him their support to the council if he could get his job with them; hereby thank this union for such assist ance. Garment Workers' favor labor paper by the Labor Council, are giving weekly dinners on the Iron Trades Council; Urge union men to demand of Clerks the July working card—pale colored paper with gold print, for employees. Donated $150 to the strike fund and assessed members 50 cents per week. Retail Clerks—Difficulty with Schiapparelli store, keeps their store open; urge union men who still hold tickets for the baseball game tendered by Clerks and Glass Co.; ask all clerks to ask for their tickets from them as soon as possible; can be turned in to Business Manager, 26 years; at 8 o'clock meeting of union, Pioneer Hall, also on Friday night at Labor Councill meeting. Wood Sorters and Graders, No. 949—also per member assessment to help strike fund; would increase assessment if required. Cigarmakers—Assessment increased as general A. F. of L. assessment; continue special donation of $90 per week, also regular as sessment to strike fund. Bakery—Co-operative Baker making good progress; keep on their order to place union label on bread; Ruediger & Loeschen, Vienna Bakery, No. 949, is especially antagonistic to the Bakers UNION; urge union men to take note of this; French Bakers succeed in getting one day's rest in seven. Brewers—Agreement securing the eight-hour day and raise of wages signed with Brewers. Prot. Assn., this affects 25 breweries and assures permanency of the eight-hour day in the breweries of the Pacific Coast; now pay 50 cents per member per week to the strike fund; will not double increase. Laundry Drivers—Pay $25 per week to the strike fund. Beer Drivers—A definite agreement with the San Francisco government tomorrow; pay 50 cents per member per week to the strike fund; books and Wepner's go at a good shape; Union needs no outside financial assistance to carry on this fight; thank delegates and union men for their aid and assistance in collection of $10,000 to the strike fund; also levied assessment; difficulty in Nolan's Stable's keyed. Horseshores—Gave $250 to the strike fund. Firemen, Page & Simitoum, operating a factory in a fair way of being amicably adjusted. Milk Drivers—Urge union men to demand the working card in the department. Paid $120 checks to Goldstein's shop on Fourth street still unsettled; delegates requested to report to Board on this place be laid over; granted. Steam Laundry Workers—Sent $20 to the Los Angeles Laundry Workers now on strike. Paid out special donation to strike fund to $500 per week.

REPORT OF COMMITTEES—Executive Committee, t. C. Mcbride sent message on Chinese Exclusion to Epworth League. 2. Sec'y instructed to distribute circulars against unfair laborers. 3. Attorney H. W. Hutton employed to take necessary steps toward the removal of Butcher's outside the city and county limits, action endorsed.

Organizing Committee.—Again call attention to the sufferings of the workers; H. Bohl & Co., manufacturers of the "White Navy" and other brands of tobacco. Organization of Stationary Engine Drivers to meet Thursday afternoon at 1130 Mission street; committee asks delegates to assist this Union in making known this fact to firemen.

Law and Legislative Committee.—Presented to the Board the Council's protest against the acceptance of the Carnegie gift; protest not heeded; the Board held its nose with one hand and pocketed the other.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS.—Council declared boycott on the California Lounge & Mattress Company (W. A. Schrock & Co.) and against the Morton Special Delivery.

The Executive Committee was instructed to take the necessary steps to issue a weekly labor paper as per report submitted three weeks ago. All communications to the unions of the State calling their attention to the crowding out of the union bakers by Chinamen.

NOMINATION FOR OFFICERS.—Additional nominations for several prior nominees declining, the list of nominees stands as follows: Pres., W. H. Goff, vice-pres., M. Casey; rec ord secretary, J. T. Kershaw; treasurer, E. D. Bevan; auditor, W. M. McIlrath; B. W. H. Bohl & Co., manufacturers of the "White Navy" and other brands of tobacco. Organization of Stationary Engine Drivers to meet Thursday afternoon at 1130 Mission street; committee asks delegates to assist this Union in making known this fact to firemen.

WANTED—A steady, reliable man to take care of chickens and able to milk 2 or 3 cows. H. Jantzen, 1624 Webster St., Alameda, Cal.

DOATIONS TO "ADVANCE"—Messe, Moller & Sasse, $2.50.

"PROGRESSIVE ECLECTICISM."—A System of Natural Development: An American 100 years in the making. By G. Crow. 317 pages. 75. 15 cents. Gilt. 25 cents. Address orders to: Cosmian Circle, P. O. Box 434, San Jose, Cal.

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FOR SALE BY
PLAIN TALK AND A PLAIN PROPOSITION.

BY W. E. FARMER.

The organization of the trusts goes merrily on, and the Morgan-Rockefeller combine is leading the universal combination in the universal concentration of capital. This combine has invaded England and now possesses a railway system and ship lines that ply around the world. This is the present and the future combine the world has ever known, representing at least three billions of capital and the combine is gaining strength every day.

The governments of the world are the plain tools of this combine. Its influence upon the commerce and industries of the world is more powerful than all the governments combined. Its will is law in the world and the serfs of its power. Its taxing power is without limit and the income of the owners and managers is beyond the dream of monarchs, emperors and potentates.

It is conceded by all intelligent people that the universal trust is the end of the Morgan-Rockefeller combine, but the people are slow to learn the remedy for the trust, and the means by which the working class can be freed from the despotism of capitalism.

What is called the business element has been driven to the wall. Not that the days of small business men are numbered; that the small dealer can no more compete with the great trust than the ox-wagon or stage coach can compete with the trucks and railroads, but they are so busily engaged in escaping bankruptcy that they do not take time to think about remedying the conditions. These people will not seriously overthrow the standard until they are run through the capitalist mill and the grist falls into the proletarian army. When their business is gone and they are forced to hunt jobs they will have time to think and most of them will realize their condition.

While all these things are going on the pig-headed economic idiots are contending against the expropriation of the property of the trusts for the benefit of the people while they are railing against the expropriation of the wealth of the middle class for the benefit of the Morgans and Rockefellers. The trusts are the small capitalists that use their trusts and this is the end of the small capitalist. Capitalists do not want to have the people own their property. The small capitalists are so muddled as to make them render that is of vital interest and of sociological importance. Much of the wealth made from factory employees who work in uninviting places is bestowed upon colleges and city libraries and liberal education.

This is plain talk and a plain proposition, but this is precisely what all the great Socialists believe and what must come if industrial slavery is to be abolished. If you can take this medicine you are a Socialist. If it is not palatable to you, you are not a Socialist. Any way this is what the working class must come to before it will be able to free itself from economic servitude to capitalism.

"I think that shops should be so equipped as to make them centers of vital interest and of sociological importance. Much of the wealth made from factory employees who work in uninviting places is bestowed upon colleges and city libraries and liberal education." It might, with good advantage, be turned back to its source to pay the debt it owes there."—Charles H. Fitch in "Iron Molder's Journal.

The "Iron Molder's Journal" produces some interesting statistics in regard to the average duration of life in stove-plate foundries. The figures show that the average age in Detroit was thirty-four and one-half years; in Philadelphia, thirty-nine and one-half years; in Louisville, thirty-five and one-sixth; in Quincy, Ill., thirty-seven years; in Reading and Columbia, Pa., and Fort Payne, Ala., thirty-three years. The number who reach the half-century mark continues to follow stove-plate molding is surprisingly small." It estimates that twenty years of life for a molder is a very liberal figure.

When you buy goods always see that they bear the Union Label or are produced and distributed by Union Labor.

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If You Wish Dividends on Your Household Expenses Co operate on the Following Principles.

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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 managers, 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, 1892 Mission street, and get in touch with the movement.
Self-Sacrifice vs. Self-Assertion.

The question is frequently raised as to whether or not the principles of Socialism are identical with those of Christianity.

Now, while it is true that the end sought by the Socialist approaches pretty nearly the ideal that some Christians have in view, yet the methods by which the practical, working Socialist of to-day expects to attain that end is directly contrary to the teaching of the great pattern of the Christian religion.

Jesus taught self-sacrifice, and it is by this road that the Christian preaches to expect to arrive at the goal of happiness. The ordinary Socialist of to-day enjoins the direct contrary; namely, self-assertion. The Christian says: “Sacrifice your desires and endeavor to do good to your fellows.” The every-day Socialist says: “Exert yourself to obtain those things which are desirable for yourself and your fellow-beings.”

Self-sacrifice—Self-assertion! The negative and the positive! By the former evil is frequently avoided; the latter is generally necessary to the accomplishment of good.

“But if you preach the doctrine of self-assertion,” was said to me not long ago, “it will surely have bad results. If I should preach self-sacrifice, I would turn up a family of headstrong children.” Take another illustration. When a soldier enters the army the first thing he must learn is to sacrifice his own will and to obey orders.

I would intimate the reason for this reason in that it is very undesirable that the citizens of a democracy should develop those traits which are considered admirable in children or soldiers. The child is expected to distrust his own judgment and to defer to that of others. The soldier is expected to have no will but that of his superiors. These qualities must be consistently inculcated in the subjects of a monarchy, where the ordinary man is not supposed to have a voice in the regulation of affairs, but the qualifications necessary for the citizen of a democracy are self-reliance and self-respect. The voter in a democracy should be able to draw his own conclusions and to rely upon it. He should exert his own will and depend upon it to obtain for him what he needs or desires. We are not training up a nation of soldiers or children. What we need is a nation of independent, fearless, thinking men.

It is the great weakness of our democracy that its citizens are too much like children, too much self-sacrificing. There is too much self-sacrifice to rely upon the judgment of others and to submit to domination by those above them in point of material wealth. These are the characteristics of good children, good soldiers, good slaves, never of intelligent, self-governing men.

J. R. COLE.

Funds for Circuit Speakers.

Los Angeles, July 21, 1901.

Editor ADVANCE—

Comrade: Local Los Angeles has been appointed by Circuit Speakers Roche and Murray as a committee to raise funds to keep them in the field.

Comrade Murray has furnished team, wagon and everything necessary for an extended propaganda tour through Southern California, and will for a time pay his own expenses. They are willing to give all of their time free, and all that we are asked to do is to pay for Comrade Roche’s actual living expenses.

As both of these comrades are among the best propagandists that we have, we are asking the Locals and Comrades of this part of the State to assist us in helping them out, and to not allow such a valuable chance for propaganda slip by.

For the month of June we report the following contributions, which have been forwarded to the Comrades: P. K. Wood, $1; F. B. Earnshaw, $7; P. D. N., $2; R. W. Bowes, 25 cents; H. G. Watkins, 50 cents; J. O. Henck, 50 cents; A. P. Snel, 50 cents; Local Los Angeles, $4.25. Total, $10.

We hope to make a much better showing for July. Fraternally,

Circuit Speakers’ Committee,
Local Los Angeles, per P. D. N.

Labor Leader Declares for Political Action

Labor Organizer Simonon in a recent letter to “The Galesburg Labor News,” says: “The methods which I have pursued unperturbingly for four years will continue. Wherever a trades union can be organized, I shall organize it, but to hold trades unions to be independent of political action, the chief enunciator of the working class, I cannot do unless I am to obey the command and become a master of others. The trades union is getting to be the views of many other honest, well-informed trades unionists, who have not yet had the courage to voice their convictions, being held in check by ‘bosses’ and conserva-

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The Temple, 117 Turk St.

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The best Lunch House in San Francisco. M to B.T. Supper from 11 A. M. to 1 A. M. in cluding coffee, tea, wine or beer, 16 cents. Nothing but union goods served.

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Extra Pale, Cumbacher, Sharp Steam on draught.

A Strictly Union Place
ADVANCE

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

Austria

For the first time a Socialist takes his seat in the Parliament of Lower Austria. In the election held on July 2d, Dr. Victor Adler, candidate of the Social Democratic Party, was elected in the Tenth district of Vienna. He received 4,308 votes. The victory is the more striking because the Austrian electoral system is a very complicated one, devised for the purpose of giving greater weight to the votes of the land-owners, and other men of wealth. Dr. Adler is the best known and perhaps the ablest member of the Austrian Social Democracy.

Belgium

The Social Democrats of Belgium have issued a manifesto declaring that the government must grant universal suffrage or face a revolution. Great demonstrations are taking place.

The Belgian chamber rejected by 85 votes to 50 the Socialist proposition to organize a national referendum on the subject of universal suffrage. The Socialists declare their intention to obtain their end by revolutionary means. They are convoking the meeting of the general council of the Labor Party. The Radicals refuse to commit themselves to a violent agitation. The Liberals voted with the government on the subject of the referendum.

Italy

The harvest laborers near Ferrara have been out on strike, and several hundreds of workmen from Piedmont were hired to take their places. In consequence of the objections made by the strikers to this, strong contingents of troops were sent down and fired upon 500 of the men, two of whom were killed, the wounded numbering 35. Owing to the efforts of the Socialist deputies and government officials sent down to Ferrara, a settlement was arrived at later, the men being allowed an increase of wages from 10 to 11 1-2 per cent., while the Piedmontese workmen refused to take the places of the strikers. On June 29 the Chamber was prorogued until November. At the final sitting there was a fierce discussion provoked by the Socialists over the troubles at Ferrara. They charged the government with having sent orders that the troops should fire upon the strikers, and the discussion became so fierce that the president closed the sitting. The minister of war on Sunday last sent a formal challenge to the Socialist deputy Ferri for the accusations brought by the latter against the minister.

New Zealand

New Zealand is taking over coal mines, which, Premier Seddon says, will supply fuel for the State-owned railroads and to consumers who care to purchase. The profits of the industry will go partly toward increasing wages, cheapening coal and adding to the public revenues.

Austria

The Australian Socialist League has issued a manifesto in which it says: "In order to give practical effect to the principles of Socialism through the ballot-box, the members of the Austro-German bureau have decided to enter the political field, recognizing that only by these means can the working-class obtain control of the governmental machinery and the aims of Socialism be realized."

Japan

Five of the leading dailies in Japan were suppressed for giving accounts of the organization of the Democratic party in that country. "What's the difference between a Czar and Mikado?"

United States

Social Democrats of Washington held an enthusiastic labor convention.

Socialists of Vancouver, B.C., own a Socialist Hall, built by themselves.

Next Monday the big unity convention of the Socialists will convene in Indianapolis.

New Decatur, Ala. Social Democrats elect the Mayor and a majority of the Board of Aldermen.

There are forty locals in Washington State, whereas there was only a dozen a year ago. The Washington comrades are hustlers.

Reports from every section of the country indicate that the convention at Indianapolis will be the largest and most representative third party gathering since the Populists switched to the doomed road of fusion in St. Louis just five years ago.

Comrade Wm. Costley, who is on the way to the Indianapolis Convention as a delegate from St. Francis, Ill., sent from Chicago that he has been actively engaged in agitating among the colored people, and has every reason to believe that he can start a good movement among them. He has several good men to assist him in his work.

Debs has just closed a successful lecturing tour in South Dakota. S. D. P. V. reports good meetings in Washington State, and J. Stitt Wilson has the same to say regarding California. Strickland and Bigelow are speaking in Illinois towns almost nightly; Greenbaum is in Missouri, and Origo in Ohio. Geiger has been sent into Connecticut, and Herron is also still in the East. Spargo is in New York, and Comrade Leon Greenbaum's agitation tour through New Jersey has been very successful. By the reports given his meetings in the daily press, he has stirred up considerable interest in Socialism.

Labor's Economic Struggle

Notes Showing the Strife Between Organized Labor and Capitalism.

Germany

Worsted mills in Saxon are reported to be closing down. "Overproduction" is given as the cause. The increasing number of unemployed is causing alarm.

Austria

Labor riots are reported from the Austrian province of Galicia. More than one hundred persons on both sides are said to have been wounded in an encounter at Lemberg, growing out of an attempt by the police to stop street parades held in demonstration on behalf of the unemployed. The workers threw up barricades and defied the police. The troops were called in, and charged again and again, using bayonets and bullets. Ultimately the demonstrators were dislodged. Lemberg is strongly guarded by troops, but further demonstrations are expected.

France

A Paris dispatch of July 10th says: "A meeting today of delegates from the various labor organizations convened by the Federal Committee of Miners to discuss the advisability of strike of all the miners of France, adopted a resolution expressing complete agreement in regard to the useful effects of such a strike."

A. Desvigne, in "Le Peuple," gives a terrific picture of the workmen and working women who go from Belgium to France every day to work. They have some of them to take a train at 4 a. m. and do not get home until 12 midday. They work in factories of Ronbaix and other towns, and the worst of it is that though they earn more than they would in Belgium, yet they keep down the rate of wages in these French towns. It is not, therefore, strange that there should be a growing feeling in these French towns against the employment of foreign women.

Great Britain

Official reports from Great Britain state that industrial conditions are going from bad to worse, the latest figures showing that 3 1/2 per cent. of the organized workers are unemployed, with every indication that the number will increase. The increase is encouraging American manufacturers to antagonize unions, and it is charged that several press bureaus are supplying employers with literature denouncing labor. The demands of unions in this country are a menace to prosperity and will tend to destroy the present brilliant opportunities of the American capitalists to seize the markets of the world. This kind of propaganda is being especially agitated among the metal industries. In other words, the American workers are to be driven lower than the "pauper laborers" of Europe, and unions are to be destroyed in accomplishing this object.

South America

In the Argentine Republic, South America, a correspondent writes that Socialism is making splendid progress among the working people. The movement appears to be sprouting in the most unheared of places.

Three papers are published in the Argentine Republic in favor of the trade union movement. Two have strong anarchistic tendencies, and the third advocates Socialism. In two towns only, Buenos Ayres and Rosario, the municipal council is a bare majority, the country being almost exclusively engaged in agricultural pursuits and stock raising.

United States

All the textile workers' unions of Philadelphia voted that no militiamen could remain in their organizations.

Machinists of Kansas City have been injunctioned from speaking to crowds in any way interfering with them.

Miners employed by the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company in Tennessee will not get advanced in wages this month, because "rise in the price of iron was not sufficient to warrant it."

The New York Central Federated Union unanimously voted to endorse Job Harriman, late Social Democratic candidate. Vice-President, like the increased census fact is encouraged to attend to all legal matters in which unions or members thereof may be interested.

The longshoremen have given "trade autonomy" a knockout blow. In their national convention at Toledo they resolved to bring
into their organization every worker along or on the lakes, including seamen, marine engineers and firemen, tugmen, cooks, etc.

For six weeks the Shirt-waist Makers of New York’s “Shirtwaist Strike,” Comrade Lee, editor of the “Worker,” is helping to hold them in line, and incidentally is teaching them what Socialism means.

A judge at Derby, Conn., has gone to the limit. He issued an injunction restraining machinists from doing anything but breathing, and issued an attachment against the strikers, individually and collectively, for $25,000, and a fine of $5,000 or jail hangs over them for violating the order. Machinists still have a chance to votes.

Delegates representing more than 8,000 men in all branches of the leather trade met in Philadelphia, recently and organized the Amalgamated Leather Workers’ Association of America. The body will affiliate with the A.F. of L. Twenty-six unions now chartered by the Federation will be enrolled in the new organization.

The Water Works Board of Cincinnati awarded big pumping machinery contract to Eastern seaboard firm, and now striking machinists are mad to keep the contract out of the hands of organized labor.” Organized labor seems to like being slapped, for union men continue to vote for just such people as make up this Water Board.

By a recent decision the Supreme Court of Ohio practically killed the law compelling convicts to wear convict-made goods to be marked as such. If cost Ohio unions a good-sized bunion of money to get the law through. The capitalist contractors did a song and dance when they heard the decision. There are now few “law labor” left on Ohio’s statute books.

Brewery drivers in Washington, D.C., won the strike on July 4th for higher wages and shorter hours, getting two years’ contract signed. In St. Louis, brewery workers in nearly all branches of the trade now have convicts signed for eight hours a day. Brewery workers throughout the country are, as usual, contributing liberally to striking machinists.

A big cigar factory at New Orleans, which formerly employed 50 cigar-makers, was recently absorbed by the American Tobacco Trust. The 250 men were discharged and girls put in their places. These girls operate machines—the product of which is placed on the market as hand-made goods. The only guarantee against being cheated is to see that the union label is on the box when purchasing cigars.

The Minnesota attorney-general has decided that the eight-hour law does not apply to many State-employes, but merely to mechanics and labor engaged in constructing or repairing buildings, etc., working under contract. This will be a splendid loophole for the courts, when they begin to look wise and kill the law altogether by muddling something about the “freedom of contract.” It’s an old gag.

Oppose the Name “Social Democrat.”

RESOLUTION.

Adopted by Local Sacramento, S. D. P., on June 30th, 1901.

Resolved, That it is the sentiment and firm belief of Local Sacramento of the Social Democratic Party that the name Social Democratic is purely official and the vehicle of the revolution of the working class of this country. Under that name, be it further Resolved, That on all questions of social and political reform the Social Democrats will fight for the free and open election of the representatives of the people, and the direct opposite of the meaning of the name.

Resolved, That we, for that reason, do object to the workingmen’s Democratic Party in connection with our party name. Because we are Socialists, we do object to giving any exprect or pretext at all, whatever, to any one for calling us “Social Democrats.” Therefore, we most strenuously oppose the name, and furthermore, we are opposed to the name that has not the complete word “Socialist” in it, for we love the name “Socialist” and are proud of it, and would be ashamed to hide or shield behind any other name, even though it be that of “Social Democrat.”

We therefore recommend to our Comrades throughout this country, and more especially to our Comrades who will soon be assembled in Convention, that they adopt the name “Socialist Party.”

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the State Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party, and a copy each of the “Worker,” the Organ of the California ADVANCE.”

(Signed.) W. F. Lockwood, Organizer.
S. Edgar Allerman, Rec. Sec.
Randburg, Cal. July 9, 1901.

Do You wish to be an Orator?

Socialists who wish to do something for Socialism should learn how to speak in public.

A great deal of what is said against Socialism is said by people who would be against Socialism if they did not have the chance to express their ideas.

Those wishing to join should address at once, H. H. Lillienthal, 310 Shadrade street, City.

Advance Co-operative Bakery.

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

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

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

GRAND PICNIC

The S. D. P. sections of Oakland and Alameda will have a picnic at Leona Heights, Sunday, July 28th. Comrades from all around the bay are invited, and the route is a beautiful one. The place selected is at least 500 feet in the air, with a broad gauge, get off at Park street, and from there it is a short distance to the picnic grounds. Bring your lunch baskets well filled, and let us have a good Social-in-me!

Comrades and Readers: Patronize those business houses that advertise in ADVANCE. By doing so you will help your paper.
LOCAL OAKLAND, of the Social Democratic Party, holds regular weekly meetings every Thursday evening at 6 p.m. at Keiser’s Hall, 316 16th Ave., Oakland. Address correspondence to J. GEORGE SMITH, Treasurer, 505 Hoyt St., San Francisco.

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO, Sec. of the Social Democratic Party holds regular weekly meetings every Thursday evening at 6 p.m. and donations are requested. Address correspondence to GEORGE SMITH, Treasurer, Hoyt St., San Francisco.

LOCAL ALAMEDA, of the Social Democratic Party, holds weekly meetings every Friday evening at 5 p.m. in the Social Hall, 595 Market St., Alameda. Meetings begin at 6 o’clock. Open discussion follows. Each speaker limited to five minutes; free platform; public invited.

HELP!

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PATRONIZE Barber Shops before 8 P.M. and before 12 M Sundays and Holidays.

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