ADDRESS TO WORKINGMEN
AND

Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party of San Francisco in Relation to the Present Industrial War.

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

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

CONFLICT BETWEEN THE CAPITALIST AND LABORING CLASSES.

Never in the history of the United States has there been such a direct conflict of interest between the capitalist class and the laboring class as the present. The capitalist class has found itself in a new political form, and the laboring class has also found itself in a new political form. The workingmen, being deprived of the support and aid of their fellow workers, may be more easily subjected to the despotic will and power of their employer; that he may be rendered powerless in opposing long hours of labor and be forced by his necessities to accept the lowest wages. Knowing that at present the working class are strong only in their unions, and that united effort alone makes them able to resist the encroachments of the employers, the Socialist Party declares that it is the duty of workingmen to use in their greedy and infamous desire to reduce wages and lengthen the hours of labor, have determined to destroy that strength and to break up labor unions or render them completely powerless for good by depriving them of those useful weapons—the strike and the boycott. In these attempts the Employers Association has been aided and abetted by the entire capitalist class.

CAPITALIST CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT.
The capitalist class is in full possession of all the executive and administrative departments of this city. The Police Department and all other departments of the city government are merely the tools of the capitalist class, and are used, whenever necessary, to subdue and oppress the laboring class, in spite of the protest of workingmen, and in direct opposition to their welfare. The courts are also subservient to every capitalist command. By their decisions against the eighth hour day and other labor laws, and by issuing injunctions against strikes and boycotts while upholding the Employers' conspiracies and infamous blacklist, the courts have and are shown the existence in the city for the rights of labor and the best interest to their capitalist masters.

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The working class, in its continuous struggle against the capitalist class, cannot expect to receive and not receive any aid or assistance from any department of the city government as now constituted—executive, administrative or judicial. The workingmen must rely upon themselves to preserve their own freedom and independence and to protect their own interest.

The Socialist Party again reasserts the undeniable and certain truth that the only remedy lies in the ballot, and if the workingmen would free themselves from virtual slavery and overthrow their oppressors, they must at once by their votes obtain possession of all the offices, and take complete control of all the departments of the city government. These offices must be filled by class-conscious workingmen who can be relied upon to support the workingman's interest as against the interest of the capitalist class. After the capture of the municipal government, the efforts of the working class must not cease until it has control also of the State and National Governments.

ONLY WORKINGMEN FOR OFFICE.

In view of the preceding known and undisputed facts, the Socialist Party declares that it has not and will not nominate for any municipal, city or other office any one who is not a full recognized and faithful supporter of the Socialist Party. After the Socialist Party declares that this result can be obtained if the workingmen will, in municipal, State and National elections, support the Socialist ticket and elect their own class into the control of all the branches of government, and that it requests your earnest consideration of its platform.

(Continued on page 2)
Decay of Individualism.

A most significant phenomenon of the great steel strike, says the "Portland Oregonian," is the readiness with which non-union men join the union as soon as they are approached. Men who naturally prefer to fight their individual battles for their individual rewards, in a peculiar realm, and who do this steadily in time of peace, change their minds in time of stress and join the ranks of unions, in order to avail themselves, wisely or foolishly, of the benefits and the disadvantages of organized labor.

It is a matter of immense importance in the town of the hour, which is away from individualism, toward communism. Community of interest stamps not only the world of capital, but the world of labor. Trusts are establishing themselves firmer every day, and so are the trades-unions. Each, apparently, has come to stay. We must mitigate their evils and correct their abuses; but destroy them we hardly shall.

How does the union man get the non-union man into the union? Well, he does it in just about the same way in which the trust gets the independent concern into the trust. In each case the tradition of independence has to be discredited and the aversion to communism overcome. In each case persuasion gives place when necessary to threats. Stand alone if you will, says the promoter of the union or the walking delegate of the trust, but it will pay you best to pool your issues with your fellows. United we stand, divided we fall. Why subject yourself to ruinous competition when we can combine for mutual protection? Let us present a solid front to the employer, or the consumer, as the case may be, and in combination be the real competitive force which makes each independent employer or each independent employe a bidder against his companion in industry.

There is no excuse for any to mistake the plain tendency both of labor and of capital. No one who defends the labor trust can object to the capital trust. No one who advocates community of ownership can denounce community of laborship. Each is alike communistic. Each aims to supplant competition with monopoly, each for its own benefit, and for each. Their common purpose is subversion of the order of Nature—the competitive strife in which brains as well as muscles have gathered strength and gained fitness to survive. Hence a conspiracy against the law of free action of supply and demand by an artificial system under which supply and demand shall be arbitrarily regulated or sought to be regulated by boards of officers. It is sheer folly, therefore, for a capital trust to object to the principle of the labor trust, and in so doing the steel magnates are simply making themselves ridiculous. How labor markets its product is of no more concern to them than how they market their product is the business of the wage-earner. Each crowd is tarred with the same stick.

What's the result? The result is bad. Theoretically, it must be, for it reverses the order of Nature. Struggle gives strength, and not the administration of a system of self-preservation, especially in a case where, as in the one under consideration, it is, as little an observation will show, what is the chance for the individual under the communistic regime of the trusts and trades unions? Well, his chance in the old unorganized state seems at all appearances. At least, it is reduced to a minimum. If he wishes to learn a trade, he must take terms from the union. It will tell him whether he can work or not, how long it will take him to learn his trade, how many hours he shall work, how much pay he shall get, when he shall strike and when he shall go back. If this doesn't suit him, if he prefers to go ahead in the old way and make his employer as between man and man, he elects the blessed privilege of being called a scab and having his head broken with a brick, and having women follow him upon the street with missiles and vile names.

If he wants to start a smelter or a steel mill, or an oil refinery, he consults the trust. It will take him in at its own price, tell him whether he can run or not, what line of goods he can turn out, to whom he can sell, over what railroads he can ship, when he can start up and when he cannot.

If this doesn't suit him, if he prefers to go ahead in the old way and make such terms as he can with his help and his patrons, he elects the blessed privilege of being selected by the trust for assimilation. It will buy up his raw material from under his nose, it will compel the railroads to charge him double figures on his goods; it will pursue with vindictive malignity every man that buys from him; it will make prices so low to his customers that he can't run at all and then when it has been performed it will buy out its plant at its own figures, incorporate it in the trust, and he will be wholly independent of all connection with business, unless perchance he can secure a position as the hired man of some trust.

The time is coming if it is not already here, when one man will own or control all the oil fields in the country, and upon his individual fiat will depend the cost of illuminant to every household. The time is coming if it is not already here when every miner in the country will be marshalled under the leadership of one man, and upon his sole fiat any day the mineral production of the country would cease indefinitely. One man will control all the railroads, another all the oil wells, another all the steel and iron plants. In the hands of one man will be vested authority to call out or to send back to work every street-car man in the country, or every telegrapher, or every printer, or every railway engineer and fireman. Men everywhere are sinking their own personalities, signing away their independence, yielding their individual will to a corporate will. It is not mere evidence of progress, it is not a mark of progress; it is not an augury of achievement. It is the reversal of the principle of competitive struggle that has made civilization what it is. Mr. Herbert Spencer has ventured the opinion that this danger will yet be averted by universal education. But since he said this our educational forces themselves are being bound hand and foot by Socialism, fertilized by sentimentalists and led by trust-endowed universities. It is more likely that the danger can only be outweighed through bitter trial, or burned away in the very furnace of revolution.

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W. JAEHNE, Manager.

San Francisco Municipal Convention of the Socialist Party.

The local campaign has begun. The Socialists are first in the field. From now on, the political arena will be a whirl of exciting combats, and not until the bugles sing truce on November 5th and the bodies of the slain and the wounded are born on sod and dust will the exact result be known. There are a few things, however, which it is safe to predict. First, the Socialist vote will be greatly increased. Second, the Democrats stand no chance whatever of carrying their candidates. Third, the Union Labor tickets, which actually come into existence, will have the liveliest kind of a time explaining why the Socialist platform did not suit it.

Getting off well means much in a political as well as in a labor race. In this the Socialist Party has succeeded. An excellent platform and an irreproachable ticket. Heretofore municipal platforms have been hastily and somewhat carelessly drawn. This year our platform is a well-wrought work of art. Every proposition is absolutely defensible from the attacks of the "practical" people and also of importance and helpfulness to the workers. Heretofore the selection of candidates was not performed with the best wisdom, in that some were selected that had not the necessary qualifications to qualify if elected. This year every man nominated can not only qualify, but if elected without doubt would serve creditably to the Socialist party and administer his office with ability.

Every nominee is a trades-unionist, many of them hold positions of trust and responsibility in their respective organizations. The only two exceptions are the nominees for Police Judge, in which case lawyers of five years' standing were selected. The Socialist party, thus starts its local campaign most excellently equipped for the battles before it. It now rests with the comrades of San Francisco to get behind the movement and push it along. The two thousand votes of last fall can easily be increased to five thousand if proper advantage of the industrial troubles is taken and our propaganda energetically pushed. Every one should now put his shoulder to the wheel. Labor is awakening. Nothing is more noticeable than the interest shown in the welfare of the workers. Ours is the task to enlighten that spirit of solidarity, make it truly class-conscious, and weld it into the battering ram of a Socialist vote, with which to smash in the walls of capitalism.

The thirty delegates elected at the Primary election organized Wednesday, Aug. 21st, at the Labor Bureau, with Thomas Bersford chairman and Jos. J. Noel secretary, and Chas. D. Scarper assistant secretary. A committee on platform and resolutions was elected consisting of Commodore Noel, King, Sr., Barduhn, Anderson and Alfons. The business of the business was elected, Commodores Reynolds, Liess, Messer, Lilienthal and Nesbit serving. After a recess of a quarter of an hour the convention heard the reports of the two committees. The report of the Rules and Order of Business committee and the new constitution. After amending so that nominations for places on the ticket made vacant for any cause would be filled by the convention, which should be reassembled by the City Central Committee. The report of the following resolution was embodied and passed with the report as amended:

To the Board of Election Commissioners and Registrar of Voters of the City and County of San Francisco.

The undersigned, the chairman and secretary, respectively, of the local municipal con-
ADVANCE

vention of the Social Democratic Party, here-
after to be known and designated as the "So-
cialist Party" of the City and County of San
Francisco (hereinafter to be called the Social
Democratic Party, to be hereafter known and
designated "Socialist Party"), a municipal con-
vention of said City and County of San
Francisco, held at the City of Indianapolis, Indi-
ana, on July 28 to August 1, 1901, the name of
the National Party was, by resolution duly
adopted, changed from Social Democratic
Party to "Socialist Party"; and,

Whereas, It is deemed advisable to eliminate
from the party designation the word "Democratic",
in view of the fact that there exists a
recognized legal party having such a designation,
and to assume the same designation lo-
cally as that by which the party is to be
known nationally. Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Election Commissioners
of the City and County of San Francisco be
requested to cause to be printed on the official
ballot to be used at the next succeeding munici-
pal election the names of all the candidates of
the party heretofore known as the Social Demo-
cratic Party under the party name and desig-
nation of "Socialist Party." The "Socialist
Party" shall be identified as such by the same
persons as have heretofore composed the So-
cial Democratic Party, and it being the unam-
ious desire of all the members of said Social
Democratic Party to have the party name
changed, if possible, to the official ballot to that
of "Socialist Party"

THOS. BERESFORD,
Chairman of the said local municipal con-
vention of the Social Democratic Party, which
is to be known and designated hereafter as the
Socialist Party.

J. J. NOEL.
Secretary of the said local municipal con-
vention of the Social Democratic Party, which
is to be known and designated hereafter as the
Socialist Party.

The Platform Committee presented a ma-
jority and minority report. The majority re-
port consisted of an address and eight sepa-
rate demurrals, while the minority report consist-
ed of only seven of the demurrals. After a lengthy discus-
sion the matter was referred to a new commit-
tee of five, consisting of Comrades Lies, Bers-
ford, Benham, Walker and Messer. The con-
mittal then adjourned.

Saturday evening the convention reas-
sembled at the Turk St. Temple, Chairman Bers-
ford presiding. The report of the Platform
Committee being at the time in the hands of
the type writer, various resolutions were con-
sidered. When it was desired to publish the
same, it was taken up for consideration. It
proved to be an excellent combination of the
best in both reports of the previous committee.
It was divided into two parts; one, an address
explaining the views of the platform adopted; the
other, a number of demands argued for on all
important points. It met with unanimous approval of
the delegates and was passed amidst considerable applause.

A collection was then taken up, the sum of
$120 being raised and $15.50 more being pledged.

The following amended resolution was passed:

Whereas, The capitalistic government makes a
constant use of the police, militia and regular
army to break strikes, by intimidating, mal-
treating and killing strikers, and the afore-
said armed forces are at all times used to sup-
port the interests of the capitalists, as against
the interests of the workers, be it therefore

Resolved, That no member of the Socialist
Party shall be a member of any armed force
of the capitalist class.

The attitude of the Socialist party toward
trade unions was clearly defined in the fol-
lowing resolution, which was duly passed:

"Whereas, The constant movement of the
working class is the inevitable manifesta-
tion of the class struggle between the capitalist
class and the working class, and is absolutely
necessary to resist the superior economic
power of the capitalists, in order to improve
the conditions of the workingmen and to
maintain their standard of life; and

"Whereas, The daily class struggle carried
on by the trades unions tends to develop in the
Union, Unity, class con-
sciousness and political independence, by or-
ganizing them as a class antagonistic to the
capitalist class;

"Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party,
fully recognizing that the exploitation of labor
will ever remain a monopoly of the capitalists,
takes possession of all the means of making wealth,
nevertheless we declare it the duty of all Socialists
to participate in the struggle of organized
work to improve its conditions under the pres-
cent system.

"That while we pledge our vigorous moral
and financial support to the trades unions in
their efforts to emancipate the working class,
against members of labor organizations, or
any workers who 'scab' on their class at the
ballot-box on election day, by voting to con-
tinue in the hands of the bosses or private
owners, the means of production whereby the
workers are exploited, pauperized and en-
slaved.

"Resolved, That it is the duty of every trade
unionist to take an active part in class-con-
scious political action in the interests of the
capitalist class, by working and voting the full
ticket of the Socialist Party, whose aim is to
mitigate Socialism for Capitalism.

"Resolved, That we recommend all mem-
bers of the Socialist Party to join the organi-
zations of their respective trades."

Whereas, The injunction has become, in
the hands of the judiciary, an instrument by
which the capitalists exercise their absolute
civil and political rights of the workingmen,

"Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party,
in convention assembled, call the attention of
the working class to the fact that our judiciary
is but a servile tool in the hands of the cap-
itist class and hostile to the interests of
labor, and we call upon the working class to
use the ballot in defense of their own interests
by voting the Socialist ticket."

The convention then proceeded to the nomi-
nation of candidates for the November elec-
tion. Comrade J. H. Alfonso nominated Charles Lennon Ames for Mayor
and the nomination was seconded by Comrade
T. E. Zant. There was no contest and the
rest of the ticket was made up. The names in the complete ticket:

Mayor—Charles L. Ames, Painters and
Decorators and Paper-Hangers' Union.
Auditor—N. C. Anderson, Painters' Union.
Treasurer—Osco Seifert, Treasurer of
Craftsmen's and Mechanics' Alliance.
Tax Collector—John W. Berg, Secretary
Brewers' Union.
Recorder—Emil Roach, Organizer Bakers
and Confectioners' National Union.
Coroner—N. J. B. Schultz, also Interna-
tional Typographical Union and City
and County Attorney—Cameron H.
King, 220 Third avenue.

District Attorney—W. C. Shepard, 1236
Market street.

Public Administrator—G. P. Mau-
chateau, International Association, 505 Min-
nesota street.

County Clerk—Scott Anderson, Sign Paint-
ers' Union, 1067 Market street.

Sheriff—John Messer, Cooks and Waiters'
Alcoholic Beverage Control Union.

Supervisors—W. E. Walker, Boot and
Shoe Workers' Union; N. V. Hanson, Mill-
wrights' Union; J. Rosenblatt, Clackmachers;
John Carter, Boiler-makers and Iron Ship
Builders' Brotherhood; Henry Warnecke, Jr.,
Cigar Makers' Union; L. W. Lindgren, Baby's
Lotzin, Boot and Shoe Repairers' Union;
George Guthrie, Plumbers, Gas and Steam
Fitters' Union; George Nesbit, Tailors' Union;
James Maybloom, Cabinet Makers'
Union; L. Van Alseine, Boot and Shoe Re-
pairers' Union; W. Costley, Hachen's Union;
Frank H. Cranford, No. 22 Carpen-
ters' Union; Olaus Gafvert, House Movers'
Union; L. W. Lindgren, Barbers' Interna-
tional Union; Henry Hilker, Barbers' Union;
L. N. Collie, Carpenters' Union, No. 22; Emil
Scharer, Bakers' and Confectioners' Inter-
national Union.

Comrades Alfonso, Culman, Johnson, Liess
and Lyons were elected a Purirty of Elections
Committee.

The following resolution was passed and
Comrade C. H. King, Jr., Emil Liess, G. B.
Benham, W. E. Walker, T. E. Zant and The-
odore Moltor were elected as the committee.

"Whereas, It has come to the knowledge of
this convention that a conference of dele-
gates from the Trades and Labor Unions has
been called for the purpose of inaugurating a
political party, which shall guard the inter-
est of the working class;

"Whereas, The Socialist Party is such a
party and has already obtained legal standing
in this city,

"Resolved, That this local convention of the
Socialist Party appoint a committee of six to
wait upon said Labor Union political confer-
ence, present our principles, platform and nom-
inees, to them and report their action back to
this body.

Comrades J. J. Noe, G. B. Benham, King
Jr., and C. D. Scarpor were elected a commit-
te to draft an appeal for funds for the munic-
icipal campaign.

Five thousand Platforms were ordered
printed and the convention adjourned, after
midnight, to meet Wednesday, Aug. 28th, to
consider such other business as might be
brought before it.

A curious story is now told concerning the
late Mr. Pierre Lottabl. It is to the effect
that the deceased sportsman once wagered—
and the late Lord Randolph Churchill's name
is mentioned in connection with the wager—
that he would get rid of $20,000 in the course
of a year. He was to give none of the money
away; his stipulation was that it should all be
expended in personal gratification. The story
runs that he strove hard to fulfill his obliga-
tion, but that, in spite of most arduous eforts,
he had a balance of $50,000 over when the
period of compulsory self-indulgence was up.
—Clarion.

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San Francisco
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Best Goods, Latest Styles, Lowest Prices.

To Order
SUIT $12.50
OVERCOATS $15.50
PANTS $5.50
and Upwards.
ADDRESS TO WORKINGMEN.

(Continued from page 1.)

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF SAN FRANCISCO.

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

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

**Immediate Demands.**

**THE MAYOR.**

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

**BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS.**

2. (a) The Board of Public Works shall be reformed so that competent workingmen shall manage all the work for the city, whether upon the streets, public buildings or otherwise.
   (b) That all such work shall be done by day’s labor only by contract.
   (c) That employment shall be given to all the unemployed in the city who are citizens of the State over the age of twenty-one years, and who have resided in the city for two years immediately preceding application for such employment.
   (d) No one shall receive as wages less than the minimum standard fixed by the charter.
   (e) If paid at $2 per day, and if employed at any recognized trade or skilled labor such employee shall receive the prevailing trade union wages in the occupation or trade in which he is employed.
   (f) No more than eight hours shall constitute a day’s labor.
   (g) Union labor to be employed in trade which organization exists.
   (h) The streets shall be kept clean and in good condition, sewers constructed where necessary and kept in repair.
   (i) Owners of vacant lots as well as those occupied shall be required to construct and maintain sidewalks in front thereof.
   (j) Playgrounds and parks shall be established particularly in working-class districts.

**BOARD OF POLICE COMMISSIONERS.**

3. (a) The Board of Police Commissioners shall be so reformed as to make it a body of men in complete sympathy with the labor movement and the needs of the workingmen.
   (b) That it will so control and instruct the police that peace and order may be preserved and all kinds of vice rigorously suppressed.
   (c) But they shall not be the tools and hirelings of the interests of the capitalists and shall clearly understand that their first duty is to protect the interests and rights of workingmen and afford safety to all.

**BOARD OF HEALTH AND SANITARY ORDINANCES.**

4. (a) The Board of Health shall provide for proper sanitary supervision and inspection of the city.
   (b) Free medical attendance at free dispensaries, hospitals or homes of applicants with free drugs and medicines.
   (c) There shall also be provided free Orphan and Foundling Association for the care and maintenance of orphans, and homes for women. (d) There shall be rigid enforcement of sanitary conditions for labor and efficient factory inspection. (e) The labor of children under school age shall be prohibited.
   (f) That the city-owned tenements shall be preserved. (g) Free public baths shall be maintained.

**BOARD OF EDUCATION.**

5. (a) The Board of Education shall so control that ample room shall be provided for scholars attending school, and the present overcrowding shall be stopped.
   (b) New school houses and kindergartens shall be provided where necessary.
   (c) Competent and well-paid teachers shall be employed and they shall be secure from meddling of politicians.
   (d) All schools shall be so controlled that if necessary the public can demand the control of them, and if an unwilling or incompetent type of control can be secured.

**PUBLIC UTILITIES.**

6. (a) The city shall proceed to acquire by condemnation, purchase or new construction and in the shortest practicable time all public utilities, such as electric light and power plants, telephone and local telegraph lines and such other industries the ownership or construction of which, at the present time, may, by the vote of the people, be declared in the public interest, and public franchises for such public utilities shall be granted neither the Georgia street railway nor any other private franchise extended.

**INDUSTRIAL ADMINISTRATION.**

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

**USE OF REVENUE FROM INDUSTRIES.**

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

**EQUALIZATION OF SALARIES.**

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

**HOUSES FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE.**

10. (a) The city shall, as fast as is practicable, and as soon as it can raise the money therefor by taxation or bond issue, prepare plans, arrange for the building of a public housing association to acquire and operate and to lease to such persons a tenancy not more than sufficient to return three per cent per annum on the original cost. (b) Workingmen shall be invited to be interested in the success of this enterprise and such other matters as may assist in planning proper and convenient houses.

**PALACE OF THE PEOPLE.**

11. (a) Provision shall be made for the construction of a permanent municipal building of steel frame and fire-proof construction of not less than twelve stories, with all modern conveniences, to be known as the Palace of the People, and to embrace all the features of a Labor Temple and a People's Palace.
   (b) Such building shall be centrally located and shall contain the free public library and free reading rooms, also, chess rooms, bowling alleys, gymnasiums and similar amusements, to be free to the public.
   (c) It shall contain a large lecture room capable of seating comfortably not less than five thousand persons, suitable for the accommodation of political conventions, grand opera, concerts and other amusements.
   (d) It shall contain assembly halls, lecture rooms and head-quarters for the free use of labor, industrial and scientific societies, trades union organizations and political parties, or political organizations of recognized legal standing, and contain rooms for mining, agricultural, industrial and commercial exhibits and museums, and such other accommodations as may be of advantage to the public.

**LICENSE CONTROL OF BUSINESS AND EMPLOYERS.**

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

**REPEAL OF DOLLAR-TAX LIMIT.**

13. The limit of taxation for municipal purposes to one dollar on every one hundred dollars as assessed valuation as now provided in the charter being inadequate and the present time to provide for the wants and necessities of the city and to pay its expenses, that clause of the charter should be submitted to the people for amendment that the limit of taxation may be increased to a sum sufficient to conduct the government of the city properly and carry out the plans proposed for the betterment of the condition of the working-class.

**NO TAXATION FOR SMALL HOMES.**

14. (a) The Legislature should be appealed to by the city government and the people generally for the submission of an amendment to the State constitution which will relieve from all taxation every homestead in which the owner thereof or his family actually resides and which does not exceed in value $5,000, in the same manner as church and Stanford University property is now exempted.
   (b) Household furniture to the amount of $500 shall be exempt from taxation.

**AMENDMENTS TO CHARTER WHERE NECESSARY.**

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

**APPROPRIATION OF CAPITALIST FEEINGS.**

16. The State constitution and revenue laws should also be so enforced by the city assessor, tax collectors and auditors, that all vacant and over-cultivated land should be used and taxed at the highest value of the nearest adjoining land occupied or in use, and all the franchises, mortgages, bonds, property and wealth of the capi-
When the Socialists Capture the City Government.

The best proof of what the Socialists would do if elected to office can be seen when we turn to Europe. The working-class has captured in France a number of municipalities. Everything done in the line of legislation or administration has been done with the object of helping the working-class. No laws to make the rich richer have been considered for a minute. Below is a report from two Mayors in different cities. More will be published next week. They are taken from official reports and translated from the French by Chas H. Kerr.

IVRY.

When the officers chosen by the Parti Ouvrier came to the Hotel de Ville they found an empty treasury and a debt of more than $8,000 contracted by their capitalist predecessors. It had to be paid. In spite of this they carried out the reforms expressed in the party program and at the expiration of their term they leave an available balance of more than $28,000. The municipality of Ivry, in short, and it has a right to be proud of the fact, has fulfilled all the promises it made to the workers who in 1896 gave it their confidence.

It has instituted the school kitchens, creches, municipal dispensaries, gratuitous legal advice and free administrative consultations, munificently supplied with clothing and shoes to the school children, lodging houses, etc. As to the eight-hour day and the minimum wage of $5.00, these things were accomplished the first year.

The expenditures for public relief which, in 1895 were $4,400, have been steadily increased to $10,000 in 1899. The funds at the disposal of the schools, which amounted to $1,200 under the old regime, have been increased by the Socialists to $4,400. Creches have been constructed in the laborers' quarters at a cost of $4,400. Assistance in the form of medicines (by reason of the high cost of drugs) makes it possible for the establishment of municipal pharmacies furnishing goods at cost), has been furnished by the municipal dispensary to the amount of $1,500. The families of the soldiers, who before their entrance into the city roll of the Parti Ouvrier had been reduced to one poorFranc a day, receive today 1 fr. 50 centimes for the wife and 75 centimes for each child. The $1,000 devoted to the purpose in 1895 have increased to $2,500 in 1899.

MONTLUCON.

It was in 1892 that the Hotel de Ville of Montlucun was conquered by the Parti Ouvrier. I do not intend to enter upon what was accomplished by the Socialist administration from 1892-6, because this is still fresh in the memory of all.

It is worthy of note that the department of public relief has been completely organized, that popular kitchens have been established, that there have been periodical free distributions of clothing to school children and that the school kitchens have been installed in the Ville-Sozet, and all this without interfering with the numerous reforms introduced into the municipal services, such as distribution of spring water in populous districts, abolition of personal property tax on families having less than $40 a year, free supplies for school children, eight hour day for city employees and workmen.

The work of the Socialist municipal council, presided over by my lawless predecessor and friend, Jean Dormoy, was so beneficial to the whole population that in 1896 the ticket of the Parti Ouvrier was re-elected entirely of the first ballot, and its ticket on which our opponents combined all their strength, a ticket Republican by courtesy, but frankly reactionary, headed by the Senator Chantemierre. The administration from 1896 to 1900 has persevered in continuing and improving the work of its predecessors, in one sense its own, for Dormoy was still at its head.

If its base of operations was larger, on account of the growth of the city, the difficulties became greater; but the needs of this population of wage-workers. The executive, powerful, instead of being regarded as it was by the old bourgeois mayors, was constantly directed toward the well-being, the convenience and the comforts of the workers.

The sanitation of the streets in the working-class districts was attended to and water was distributed in abundance: washing places were constructed.

Public relief was liberally supplied. School supplies and distribution of clothing, at first restrained by the central government, were fully developed.

The problems of the schools, installed three months ago in a magnificent building, has lecture rooms seating a city of more than 35,000 inhabitants.

A school of design of mathematics applied to industry is annexed to it, and was opened April 22d in the presence of the delegates of all the workingmen's unions of Montlucun.

The new municipal building of the Ville-Gozet was dedicated on the 24th of last September, our friend Jules Guesde presiding. In it is now located the public kitchen already established.

The Socialists, by a bit of work, establish, from a sewer system, the construction of an orphan's home; improved water works, new school restaurants; covered markets, a second public library, etc., all of which are provided for in a bond issue submitted to the Council of State, which may be withholding its approval for political reasons.

Moreover, certain works of ordinary administration have been undertaken, such as a building for the savings' bank, a railway project, the construction of stone dikes on the river, etc. Let me add that the Socialist municipal administration has captured the people so well, that, at the special election of December 26, 1899, made necessary by the death of Jean Dormoy, the candidates of the Parti Ouvrier had no opposition.

Note that from the program of the party, everything has been accomplished without increasing expenditures by a centime, while the highest estimate of the budget for 1900 does not exceed $150,000, and the hospital and the Bureau of Charities have no income outside the city's appropriations. The municipal administration has paid off some old debts left over from the bourgeois administration, notably a sum of more than $8,000 for work on the Lyceum.

I cannot better end than by a tribute to my personal comrade, our departed comrade, Jean Dormoy, to whose memory I leave the honor of these reforms of which the Parti Ouvrier is proud.

F. ROUSSEL, Socialist Mayor.

New York World: The report of the University Settlement Society contains new proof of the persistent tendency of vicious and criminal resort neither referring to the statistics of the last year nor the reports of the previous year. These raids have driven temporarily from haunts that it had hopelessly contaminated and "scattered through other parts of the city" that were comparatively clean. The renewal of this tendency this last year revealed in the Settlement's Society's report call loudly for protection and restraints which it is to be hoped the new law will contain in abundance.
But after money has once taken on the form of currency (coin) it is soon able to maintain an existence of its own, independent of the amount of metal contained in it. The guar-antie of the government that a given coin con-tains a given amount of gold, or its equivalent, suffices under normal conditions to permit the mere symbol of money to figure as the medium of exchange just as readily as the real, full quantity of gold.

The currency of the gold pieces themselves brings this about. Coins during their circula-tion become worn, lose some of their weight; the longer they circulate the greater becomes the difference between their real weight or value and that indicated upon their faces. An old gold piece, for instance, is lighter than one which just came out of the mint, but under normal circumstances both will have the same value as media of exchange.

The difference between the face-value and real value becomes still more apparent in coins made of the baser metals. Very often the baser metals—copper, for instance—form the first or surface layer of these coins. In this case the metal of the core of such coins is later pushed aside by the finer metals. Copper, and, after the universal establishment of the gold standard, silver, too, ceased to be a measure of value, but the copper, nickel, and silver coins continued their function as medium of exchange in small business transac-tions. These small coins correspond to cer-tain weight divisions of gold; the value they represented changed in the same ratio as that of gold. The change in the value of copper, nickel, or silver, did not affect them. It is ap-parent that under such circumstances the metals actually contained within them had no effect upon their function as coins, and that it is possible to determine by legislation just how great a quantity of gold shall be represented by each—copper, nickel, or silver coin. And from here it is only one short step to displace the token made of metal by one made of paper; that is, to legally represent a given quan-tity of gold by a piece of paper. Thus govern-ment paper money originated. Government paper money must not be confused with credit-money (checks, etc., etc.), which originated out of a different function of money.

Paper money can take the place of gold money only as medium of exchange, not as measure of value. It can take its place only inasmuch as it represents given quantities of gold. The same laws which govern the func-tion as medium of exchange of metal money govern the paper money which displaces the metal money. Paper money can never take the place of greater amount of gold than can be actually absorbed by the circulation of com-modities. If one hundred million dollars are required for the circulation of commodities of a country and the government issues paper money amounting to two hundred million dol-lars, the result will be that it will take two $20 bills to buy as much as one $20 gold-piece. In this instance the prices as expressed in the paper money are double that of the gold pieces. Paper money becomes inflated, de-based by indiscernible issue. That has taken place recently in Russia, where for many years the paper money issued by the government constantly has been below the metal-value which it was intended to represent. But the example par excellence of such inflation and depreciation of value of paper money is furnished by the great French Revolution: 45,981 million of francs issued within seven years became utterly devoid of any value what-ever.

$ (Money)). We have traced the origin of the simple circulation of commodities and have seen how, with its development, the functions of money as measure of value and as medium of exchange, are developed. The func-tions of money do not, however, cease there. Side by side with the circulation of commodities there develops the necessity and avarice to hold on to and possibly hoard the money-com-modity—the gold. The peculiarity of money correspond to the peculiarities of commodity-production: just as the one is a form within which commodities are related to one another by independ-ent producers, so is money a social power, not of society, but one which may become pri-vate property of any one. The greater the sum of money one controls the greater one’s social position, one’s capacity to com-trol the products of the labor of others. Gold is all-mighty; it is the only commodity which every one needs, every one takes. Thus, with the circulation of commodities, the desire for the possession of gold, glittering gold, is awak-en, ended again.

The hoarding of money under the develop-ment of the production of commodities not only becomes a passion, but an actual neces-sity. The greater the amount of products turned into commodities, the fewer are pro-duced for self-use, the greater the necessity for the possession of money. One is compelled to buy incessantly, and to be able to buy one must have sold; the production of the commod-ities which I sell takes time. The value of these products depends largely on chance. To be able to continue to produce commodities, to live while I produce, the possession of a cer-tain store of money is necessary. It is also necessary for the settlement of balances dur-ing the occasional sluggishness in circulation. We have seen above that the volume of money is dependent upon the price of commodities, their mass, and upon the rapidity with which they circulate. All of these factors are con-stantly changing, and as a result the amount of money in circulation fluctuates continually. Whence comes the money needed, and whither goes that which becomes superfluous? Howards of money which accumulate at certain points which I call banks, are seized, now give out money, and which thereby help to equate the disturbances which occasionally oc-cur in the process of circulation.

At the beginning of the circulation of com-modities, just as at the beginning of, and all through simple exchange, there are always two commodities directly exchanged for each other, with this difference, that under the cir-culation of commodities the other commodity is always the universal equivalent—the money-commodity. After the circu-lation of commodities circumstances arise through which the sale of the commodity and the receipt of the sum of gold corresponding to its price does not take place at the same time. Occasions arise that make it necessary at times to pay for a commodity before receiv-ing it, but oftener it happens that commodities are produced and money is paid for them, but no commodity is forthcoming in return. This is an illustration to elucidate this point: Let us suppose an Italian silk-weaver of the thirteenth century; the silk consumed by him he gets from the vicinity, but his product—silk-stuffs—are exported into Germany. Before they arrive at their destination the price paid for them is returned to Italy, three or four months elapse. The silk-weaver has finished his product, so has his neighbor, the silk-spinner, from whom he received the raw material. The silk-spinner sells his product immediately to the silk-weaver; but the weaver receives the return for his product after the expiration of from three to four months. What is the result? The weaver buys the raw silk but pays for it at the end of four months. As a result, relations of buyer and seller are altered. The seller becomes a creditor, the buyer a debtor; but money also receives a new function on account of this changed relation. It is in this instance not a medium of exchange of the commodities of one person that is exchanged for money, but means of payment, a means wherewith obligations made at the receipt of commodities may be met. Such obligations may arise from sources outside-of the circula-tion of commodities. The higher the produc-tion of commodities develops the fiercer be-comes the struggle to transform consignments of certain use-values into consignments of money, i.e., into consignments of the form of value in general. Tributes to the state are changed from parts of the products into sums of money, tribute to officials formerly given in product is transformed into money-salaries, etc., etc. The function of money as means of payment now extends beyond the circulation of commodities.

But to return to our silk-weaver! He bought silk from the silk-spinner without being able to pay for it immediately; in money matters, however, as we well know, friendship usually ceases. The silk-spinner says to him self: "What I have in black and white I can carry home and save for future use; words are only words, after all," and consequently he asks the silk-weaver to give him his note for a sum of money equal to the price of the silk, sold to the weaver, payable at the end of four months. The spinner in turn has obligations to meet: certain bills must be paid before the expiration of the four months. Having no ready cash at hand, he pays his bills with the note of the weaver. This note now functions as money; a new sort of paper-money develops: credit-money (Drafts, checks, etc., etc.).

Still another circumstance may arise: Let us suppose the weaver bought silk amounting to $5 from the spinner, who, in turn, bought paper pieces costing $6 for his wife from the goldsmith, who about the same time bought silk-stuffs amounting to $4 from the weaver. The payments all around become due at the same time. All three, the spinner, weaver and the goldsmith, happen to be in the happy position of owing $6 to the goldsmith, but at the same time he has $5 coming to him from the weaver. He pays $1 to the goldsmith and refers him to the weaver for the rest. The weaver, however, has $4 coming to him from the goldsmith, there-
fore he squares his debt by paying the gold-smith $1. In that way, by mutually balancing their accounts, which altogether amounted to $15, $2 was sufficient to accomplish the whole transaction. The transactions of course, are not quite as simple as here supposed. It is true, however, that the payment of sellers of commodities balance each other, at least in part (and that an ever-increasing one) with the development of capitalist properties. The concentration of payments into few places and at given times develops peculiar institutions and methods for balancing accounts; for instance, the virentals during the middle ages in Lyons. Board members may, of course, serve the same purpose and are well known institutions. Only accounts which cannot be balanced must be settled with money. The credit system does away with hoarding as an independent form of acquiring wealth. As soon as the credit system develops it is not necessary to place one’s money in a strong-box or to hide it by burying it in the ground, to see the wealth continue to exist, or even to see it increase. One may lend it out. On the other hand, again, the credit system is capable of producing and storing of large sums of money absolutely necessary. (Pay-days.)

But the saving of such hoards, great or small, does not always succeed. Let us remind ourselves of the well-known case! Henry Ward, having mortgaged his house and sold his horse, he has given his note, to pay after four months, because he hopes that within that time he will have sold his wares. But let us suppose that he cannot find a buyer and consequently can not pay. The spinner depends on the payment; relying upon the ability of the weaver to pay at the due time, he, too, promised to make certain payments; perhaps to the goldsmith, the goldsmith in turn to others; we see that the inability to pay of one, results in the inability to pay of many others. The number affected grows greater the fuller the system of succeeding and interdependent payments and balances is developed. Now let us suppose that it is not only one producer, but a number of them who, as the result of general over-production, are unable to sell the product of their labor—their commodities. Their inability to pay will result in bankruptcy of others, who have already sold their commodities.

The money crisis becomes valueless, everybody calls for "cash," there is a general equivalent; a universal scarcity of money, a money crisis, arises; a money-crisis is the necessary concomitant of every commercial crisis after the credit system has developed to a certain height. These money-crisis prove clearly that under the system of the production of commodities money cannot be replaced by mere promises to pay. Money has two realms of circulation: the local market of the nation and the world’s market. Money takes the form of coins and tokens only within the local market, within a given country, not in the intercourse between nations. It assumes its original shape and form of bars of gold, silver, etc., etc., upon entering the world’s market. So far both silver and gold served as measure of value in the world’s market, while within the realm of the inner circulation of a country only one money-commodity can in reality serve as measure of value.

Anyway, it is self-evident that, since the time the world began to be capitalistic, the unaccountable tendency has been for gold to become the only measure of value even in the world’s market. The main function of the universal money, the world-money, so to speak, is to be a means of payment, for equalizing international balances.

(Continued next week.)

Science and Ideals.

A writer in ADVANCE begins his article on "Social Ideals" with the words: "I know it is not strictly 'scientific' to have ideals, but I frankly confess that I cannot help it." No doubt that is what Artemus Ward used to call "a gawk." But unfortunately there are many who believe a "bit" to be "not scientific to have ideals." According to their temperament and their surroundings they decide, therefore, either to abjure science or to deny their ideals.

As a matter of fact, this is a most absurd position to take. The study of science ought to lead any one to recognize the power of ideals and their perfectly legitimate place in social movements. It ought, also, of course, to show any one the limitations and the dangers of idealism.

What is an ideal? It is the picture which we form in our minds of a state to be attained, an end to be reached—or, at least, to be striven for—an object to which our efforts are to be directed. The very fact of conscious effort, of intention, implies the holding of ideals. Our animal ancestors had the power of forming ideals in but a slight degree, if at all. As a savage, man’s ideals were crude and vague. All through the ages, just in proportion as he learned more and more about the world around him and the world within—that is, just in proportion as science has grown—his ideals have become loftier and more definite and have exerted a more powerful influence on his conduct. In one application of it, that is, simply to say that society is steadily becoming self-conscious.

There is always, as Spencer remarks, "a soul of truth in things erroneous." There is a kernel of truth, at least, a half-truth—in the doctrine we have had so violently preached at us, "that it is unscientific to have ideals." If we forget that each of us is but a part of his class and a part of society, if we forget that man is but a part of the world in which he lives, if we forget that man’s conscious life is but a part of his being and his ethical and intellectual life but a small part of his conscious existence, if we forget that men’s brains are effected by their stomachs, if we forget that their habits are the product of their environment— if, therefore, we fancy that we can make the world over on any plan evolved out of our inner consciousness, regardless of social and other natural conditions and tendencies—then, assuredly we shall have the wrong way to teachings of science. Our ideals must be tested and amended by reference to the tendencies of the real world, else they will mislead us sadly. The mere idealist is a rather futile and troublesome person, who cannot solve the practical problems of life.

But if we bear in mind this limitation of the power of ideals, if we guard against the danger of walking into the pit while star-gazing, then we cannot do better than to hold to our ideals, to guard them jealously, even religiously, to be proud of them and to rejoice in working for them.

"Hitch your wagon to a star," said Emerson. Only be sure you have the right star.

The Worker.

[The article in question was written by Leonard D. Abbott of New York. By accident his name was not added.—Ed.]

Comrades, Attention!

A regular party meeting of Local San Francisco will be held next Wednesday evening, September 4th, at Labor Bureau, 915½ Market street. Every comrade should be present.

An Unbiased Opinion.

A Chicago preacher delivered the following in the course of an address at his church in Englewood:

"The first thing I saw after seating myself upon my porch was nine men working on the street. They are compelled to live in homes with cellars. They are compelled to live in streets that are narrow as alleys, and many of their houses front on the ill-smelling byways. Yet, that man educates his children and works day in and day out without hope or prospect. He proves true to his wife and family no matter how."

"As I looked upon that man I thought of the governing class—the employing class—spending without thought more in one day—yea, often in a minute—than this man earns in a week."

"The laboring man sees and knows this. Then he must stand out of the way while their carriages roll by. He must give way to them on the sidewalk and even stand in the crowded cars while they occupy seats. Yet through it all he is patient, law abiding and thankful. These men read the newspapers. I picture them reading the account given in the Chicago American a few days ago which quoted John D. Rockefeller as paying out $20,000,000 in wages to his employes. He added that for every million paid out he put three millions to his own account."

"What right has the employing class to three-fourths of the product of labor's efforts? How long will this swollen giant stand to be shorn of his just dues? If the employing class does not arouse itself to the responsibility and go out and grapple with this problem before it is everlastingly too late, patience may cease to be a virtue with these 'heroes in jeans.'"

The Possibilities of Socialist Success.

(From a Capitalist Paper)

The Globe-Democrat of Friday, August 16th, contains an editorial on the removal of the Socialist Party headquarters to St. Louis, which says, in part:

"An amount of activity is expected among the Socialists in the next few years. The fact that one of their parties, the one which was led by Debs, polled $8,000,000 votes last November, and that another of them cast 40,000, shows that Socialism has grown to be a force which cannot be disregarded by the leaders of the Republican and Democratic magnates cannot afford to overlook the Socialists' propaganda. They have some adroit leaders; they are aided, for the time at least, by certain business conditions; they are terribly in earnest, and they promise, from their headquarters in St. Louis, to conduct a specially vigorous and intelligent crusade from this time until the close of the presidential campaign of 1904."

This is encouraging. When the capitalist papers make such statements, what must be the situation of the Socialists?"

Twenty-one officers were brought overland by the Union Iron Works Monday. Three went to work. The other eighteen were brought out under false pretenses and refused even to go near the mill when they learned there was a strike on. Good!
OUTLET BREAD AND WORK. I AM A BOILER-MAKER.—"

Before he could proceed farther he was dragged out and placed in prison.

The addition of the one hundred and fourteen special policemen recommended by the Employers' association to the large force already in the field shows where the affections of the Police commissioners lie. What can be expected? The effect of the present agitation, and the fact that the workingmen will wake up and take full possession of it will result in more and more graceless ruffians, graduates from the penitentiaries, to the force, for the express purpose of clubbing the strikers into submission, may be looked for.

"If my father saw me at work," said J. E. Woodburn, "he'd either faint or send me to an asylum." This is the statement of one of the scabs from the State University, who helped unload the bark "William G. Irwin." The time is rapidly coming when the youthful parasite will either have to work or starve. Of course he can have an education, for which all the people will pay as they do now. But after his education is completed, unless he is willing to perform his share of the socially necessary labor, will be shunned or killed at sight of him.

The locked-out Bottlers are receiving $500 per week from the National Executive Board of the Brewery Workmen's Union. There are no doubts that in a very short time the International will be able to pay for all their property and send to the workmen in the bottling shops.

The boycott against Rapp & Sons is being pushed with vigor and is effective. It will be called to the attention of the State Federation of Labor, and provision made to force the Rainier Iger from the market throughout the State.

Our local convention held last Saturday nominated, with two exceptions, a full city ticket, made up of trades-unionists. The two exceptions are candidates for the positions of police judge. The law demands that such nominees must be lawyers by profession. The candidates, if elected, will be entirely satisfactory to the working-class. They have the principles.

Edward Bellamy may not have been on speaking terms with the scientific method; in fact, he may have had occasion to abjure science altogether for the sake of propaganda; but he never interfered with his ability as a prophet. Ten or twelve years ago he wrote, thinking of the future: "Small businesses, as far as they remained, were reduced to the condition of rats and mice living in holes and corners, and courting every notice for enjoyment of existence. The railroads had gone on combining till a few great syndicates controlled every rail in the land. In manufactures every important staple was controlled by a syndicate. These syndicates, pools, trust, or whatever their name, fixed prices and crushed all competition, except when combinations as vast as themselves arose. Then a struggle resulting in still greater consolidation ensued."

Evidently the Declaration of Independence ought to be read oftener than once a year on each Fourth of July. As Robert G. Loucks, Esq., was rendering it at the public exercises yesterday, from memory, a man in the audience listened attentively for about five minutes, and then got up and left, saying: "That fellow is getting off too much Socialism to suit me."

The Pomona Progress.

This is excellent. The "Pomona Progress" is tinctured with that aggressive spirit of capitalism known as the orange-belt brand, and would publish a war to the death of Socialism under any consideration. But the humor in this could not escape the editor. Only the pathos in the statement that the Declaration of Independence is Socialist went over his head. Sore are we men, badly hurt from the score of 1776 that our free-born American citizens are not acquainted with it when they meet it.

We have another reason why class-conscious Socialists should be elected to office. Judge Henshaw of the Supreme Court recently knocked out the law whereby the whole people could enact measures for their own benefit. This law is known as the initiative, and by the direct legislationists and other step-at-a-timers was landed as the solution of the whole problem of labor. This law properly belongs in a Socialist commonwealth, where no man has an option to the body politic and sucks the strength from it. It is a partial means whereby the people may have a larger hand in their own affairs. But this would seriously inconvenience the capitalist class, so the judges, declaring the law unconstitutional and incidentally says, "Thou art a fool" to the direct legislationist, who expects even justice from the governing class. Before anything worth while may be done you must elect class-conscious Socialists to office.

Local San Francisco has entered a new era. Because of the very obvious struggle going on in this city between the working-class and the capitalist class, because of our propaganda and our constructive program, because we stand by the trades unions in their fight for better conditions, because we have thrown our weight against the falling radical judgment, we are making friends among the workingmen and helping to arouse them to a sense of their degradation. Our success, like all success, can be measured by results. In this case, "We won, therefore we were right." For in this broad world of God's it is not right that makes success, but success that makes right. Our methods of kind words and sympathy, a generous pressure of the hand, and material aid when we could afford it, has done more to win workingmen to a consideration of our principles, and eventually to an understanding of the necessity for class-conscious political action, than all the bowing in the face delivered to the same men by our friends of the Suicide Club.

The Old Story of Argument and Exhortation.

"Whatever fosters militarism makes for barbarism: whatever fosters peace makes for civilization. There are two opposed principles on which social life may be organized—compulsory co-operation and voluntary co-operation, the one implying coercive institutions, the other free institutions. Just as far as we are aware of the spirit of great does the coercive regime move pervade the whole society. Hence, to oppose militarism is to oppose return toward despotism. My fear is that the retrograde movement may become
too strong to be checked by argument or exhortation."—Herbert Spencer

These are undoubtedly fine sentiments for this discredited philosopher to express, but what remedy does he offer? There is not a childlike innocence in the country, with just a glimmer of intelligence, who does not quote you Spencer to prove that Socialism is wrong. And when you scratch deep enough the cuticle of the anarchist you will find him as you will find the master of the present wretched system of competition.

The very wars Mr. Spencer deprecates are brought about by carrying his (Spencer's) ideas to their logical conclusion. He advocates this system, which is no more than the principles of competition, and expects to eliminate the policeman by "argument and exhortation." He overlooks the need of the policeman, and until the need is eliminated the policeman will remain. Private property is the pedestal upon which rests military glory, and if one should wish a true focus on Mr. Spencer's conception of private property, let him read the famous ninth chapter of his "Social Statics," supplemented by a reading of his work on "Justice." The supplementary reading is very instructive.

The attempt to slurge genuine co-operative effort, which Mr. Spencer never misses the opportunity of doing, though he holds up a distinction between voluntary and compulsory co-operation, shows his capitalist bias. We have examples enough of his voluntary co-operation. The trust is one. Laws have been passed to restrain this voluntary co-operation, for such co-operation is not for the well being of the trusts. That is, as the trusts are at present ordered—ultimately they will be a benefit. And because this voluntary co-operation leaves private property intact, just as any co-operation leaves private property intact, so such co-operation is injurious to the world-family. We are dealing with facts, not finely spun theories that depend for their adoption upon argument and exhortation.

The voluntary co-operation between Rhôdes, Jameson, Chamberlain and the other capitalists brought about this fearful war in South Africa, as similar wars, including our own inglorious foot-race in the Philippines, were brought about by similar hands, with just throat capitalists, acting along the lines of voluntary co-operation. And the like will occur till, what Mr. Spencer would call Compulsive co-operation, is a fact in human society. An example of what may be expected when this genuine co-operation comes can be seen in the work of the postoffice. Not a war is recorded in history of "the low-browed sullen creatures, half devil and half child," being introduced to the kindly, though emphatic dumb-dum for the sake of selling a postage stamp. There is no private gain from the sale of stamps; in fact, there is actual indifference if one buys or not. There is no waste in advertising these sales. If one needs them. And in the buying he receives more for his money than from any privately run concern in the world.

Yet this is what Mr. Spencer and the little animals he calls compulsory co-operation. The question naturally arises here: Is it not co-operation compulsory in which all the people concur and from which they all receive a benefit? And reasoning from the established case, can it be not supposed such composite co-operation by the working class, when it gets possession of the government and the tools of production and exchange, will be of infinite benefit to society as a whole?

An Artist and the Incentive Under Capitalism.

A sculptor too hungry to finish his masterpiece committed suicide in New York last week. The police said Socialism for this man to continue his work and make glad the eyes of his friends and neighbors would, according to the very paper that records the suicide, be entirely lacking. All incentive for any artist who was not among the chosen of the world would be curtailed under a system which would guarantee a man food enough to live upon, but at its worst it would be superior to this system, almost devoid of art and which kills the men who would make the world something besides a noisy workshop, filled with whirling wheels. The arts under Socialism would flourish, for a greater number of people with the heart hunger for adequate expression, would be able to devote a godly day working in a gymnasium with the glory of success constantly before his eyes. He sees his monument grace the public square; he listens to the plaudits of the generous-hearted men who recognize his genius—and this is his satisfaction. Hope made a fool of him, he danced into the arms of death.

A Wail from Free Trade England.

Every superficial observer of our social conditions, if a politician with leanings toward the Democratic party, when considering the trust question gives the high tariff on imports as the chief cause of unemployment. A writer in the "Contemporary Review" (London) has this to say about one trust that has formed in a country where there is no tariff: "In consequence of our expensive railway fares and the high prices of the aspect of London, with the growing congestion of that city in the streets, and the absence of adequate modern means of conveyance, is approaching the condition of Pekin. Owing to this state of affairs London will rapidly lose its importance as a commercial and industrial center. The intelligent reader will ask: 'Why are our railways allowed to impoverish and suck dry the nation? Why should the country serve the convenience of the railways and not the railways serve the convenience of the country? Why have the railways been given unrestricted powers?' The reason is that the leisure personages composing our different governments and our houses of parliament have learned something about the wonderful advantages of 'Individualism' and of 'Free Competition.' Consequently our governments have given a free hand to the 'individualistic' railways to 'compete among themselves, and to supply us thereby with the cheapest and most excellent service.

Political economy attributes a wonderful result to free competition. Yet it has been the invariable experience of all countries and of all ages that the richer the nation either learn after a short period of competition that it is to their interest to come to terms and form a ring, a trust, or a combination barring competition, or that the most powerful of them absorb all the rest and imposes its extortative terms, as in the case of the telephone company. Our theorists in political economy talk of the blessings of free trade, free competition, etc., and point with horror to the trusts in the United States. Yet the most gigantic and most harmful of trusts in the whole world are to be found—where? In Great Britain.

"Our railway monopoly is a trust in reality, though not in name, with a capital of $1,200,000,000, which demands from the bread winners of Great Britain outrageous rates for the most scandalously inefficient service, destroying thereby the productive industries, the trade of this country, and the physical strength of the population."

More Evidence of Brutality.

Mr. Wittman, Captain of Police, incensed at the judges for daring to hold one of his men in custody for beating innocent people, and wishing to show the balance of the force that they had really nothing to fear, made an attack on an unoffending man who was standing at the door of his lodging house. The captain beat the man to the ground, and not content with this, when the man picked himself up and ran indoors, the police captain followed him to the top of the house and beat him into insensibility. The vicious cuts on the poor fellow's head may result in permanent insanity. Fortunately he was sane enough Monday night to ascertain his beaters, and the arrest. What the outcome will be is hard to determine. Wittman was released on $25 bail. This is almost sufficient evidence that no more than a judicial reprimand will be administered, and probabilities indicate that we will be free to attack other members of the working-class. However, he does not know the fate he is storing up for himself and the capitalistic hired hands behind him. For every blow that has been dropped in Washington, being the present trouble, a thousand will be inflicted on the class that orders the striking. Poor, bleeding humanity will stand just so much of such treatment. The red memory of the French Revolution should give these people pause. The warped and twisted human beings who crawled from their sheltering dens at the smell of blood in France are being propagated in this country. Like causes will bring like effects. We should not be surprised if you can split the heads of unoffending citizens, you can override every law of common decency; but some day the whirlwind of protest will break loose, and all the broken laws, all the broken hearts and the crushing that Captain Wittman and his gang of cutthroats have been guilty of will be as the twittering of half-awakened birds in comparison with it. These burlly brawlers of policemen, clothed with a little brief authority, committing crimes against high heaven enough to make the angels weep, will be dashed to pieces by the fury of the mob—and they will deserve it. Who breaks, pays. They are sowing the seeds of the fury that will overcome them by their unseemly brutality in this strike.

Mass Distribution of Address and Platform of the Socialist Party.

MONDAY, LAERD DAY—VOLUNTEERS WANTED.

All comrades who will devote one or two hours to the cause on Labor Day are requested to assemble at ADVANCE Office, 134 Murphy Building, 1235 Market, on Monday, September 2d, at 9:30 a.m., to distribute manifestos and platform. This is very important and we have a most excellent opportunity. Fifty comrades at least are wanted for this work.

THE ORGANIZER.
Correspondence.

Local San Bernardino held a special meeting recently and elected N. A. Richardson, corresponding secretary, Wm. Gurr financial secretary, and Geo. Holmes (formerly of Los Angeles) organizer. We are getting down to a long and a strong pull under our new and better organization and name. With the help of Comrade J. P. Morgenstern, we are getting the wool from the eyes of many of a sleeper.

N. A. RICHARDSON, Cor. Sec.

Santa Barbara, Cal., Aug. 28, 1901. EDITOR ADVANCE: A most obnoxious cold, affecting my head, throat, and lungs, has forced me to suspend operations for the present. Am in hopes that my stay in the repair shop will be short and that I can keep an engagement to speak in Summerland Sunday. If not, Murray will go alone, so that they will not be disappointed there. We had a small but very enthusiastic meeting in Santa Paula last week, and Ventura, where we had two meetings, gave us quite a welcome. The movement in these parts suffers for the lack of proper organization, but the comrades are doing their utmost to remedy this, and the women of the movement in Santa Barbara are prominently identified with the work. What seems to be lacking is a clear conception of the time necessary to do the job. Pending this, to keep the propaganda going, they have a man in the field going from house to house distributing literature, and soliciting subscriptions to the Socialist papers. Comrade Rogers of the “People’s Paper” does the very best he can here but is one of the “handicapped” in the movement. The comrades will bear with my enforced idleness until I can resume. Fraternally,

JAS. D. ROCHE,
For Murray and Roche.

The Question of Delegates to the Convention.

Editor ADVANCE:—I wish to reply to Comrade Reynolds letter in your issue of the 17th. The matter under discussion has no personal application, and relates solely to the fundamental rights of organized bodies. Consequently, Comrade Reynolds’ bold statement, in relation to the action of certain Locals, that, “as to their choice, it is not Comrade Murray’s right, nor ours, to criticize. I think the State was very well represented by Comrades Costley, Ryan, Spring and Wilshire,” has nothing to do with the case. Nothing in my first letter can be so twisted as to appear to attack any Comrade.

The matter at issue is this, Has the State more power than its Locals, or can a Local override the decision of its State? California decided to send two representatives to the convention, and elected them. Certain Locals defied the State’s mandate and were backed up by the State Executive Committee. Consequently I believe I state the truth in saying that this committee decided to disregard the choice of the State at large.

The result of the committee’s actions more than warrants my assertions, for the man who received the largest vote in the choice of the State’s representatives to the convention was not sent.

Now as to the instructions from the N. E. C. Section 5 reads thus: “Each Local may elect as many delegates as it chooses.” But Section 5 reads: “If one or both Locals elect one delegate, such delegate shall receive all credentials signed by the members of that Local or Locals.”

Here is a plain case. The State decided to vest its representation in the hands of two comrades, as Section 6 provides, and it was the duty of the State Executive Committee to see that these two comrades received such credentials. For just such purposes do we have committees. Fraternally,

JOHN MURRAY, JR.

The Socialists of France control the city government of Marseilles, Lille, Roubaix, Dijon, Montluccon, Ivry, Lyons, St. Etienne, St. Quenten. Bourges, Limoges and Montceaules Mines—cities ranging from 200,000 down, besides hundreds of smaller places. The Socialist vote in Paris was 126,000, and they hold twenty seats in the city government. In Belgium the Socialists increased their vote 140,000 over the vote of four years ago. It is such things in this country that the Appeal will be recording from now on.
A Startling Comparison.

If an Englishman in South Africa chases General De Wet until he—the Englishman—gets hot and out of breath, he goes back to England, gets a decoration and a fancy suit of military clothes.

If a man fighting in the Philippines manages to surprise and shoot a collection of dark-skinned gentlemen, he is well rewarded and loudly praised.

If a man risks his life on a battlefield, engaged in the business of destroying life, there is a reward for him.

There is another army about which we hear less. Is the army of those who, instead of killing for a living, work for a living. Will you read some statistics about that army?

In 1920 there were 4,823 working people killed while at work.

In that same year there were 104,354 working people badly injured while at work.

Isn't that a very respectable list of dead and wounded?

Of those killed on the field of labor—which is considered quite different from the field of honor, for some reason or other—326 were railroad employees, 802 were factory workers, 1,049 were miners, 1,889 were sailors.

No special rewards, no benefits, no glory for the fighters, the wounded or the killed in this army.

Why?

Simply because you can compel a man to work and risk his life for a dollar a day in industry, but you can't do so on the battlefield. Napoleon, and generals crumbled to dust ages before he was born, realized that their ambition demanded that fighting should be made attractive to the fighting man.

The marching soldier has a band marching ahead of him. He has a uniform, and possibly glory to think of.

When the people really become their own rulers, the sages have taught the people to be the master of his nation.

The committee on appraising books in possession of librarian consists of Zant, Appel and Messer.

An appeal for funds to be made to the State at large for ADVANCE. Comrades Noel and Liess committee to draw up appeal.

Picnic to be arranged for benefit of ADVANCE Committee, Liess.

Hereafter the City Central Committee to patronize with its printing advertisers in the ADVANCE.

Comrade Messer, Chairman for Thursday night propaganda meeting.

City Central Committee recommends that the party comrades patronize all merchants advertising in the paper.

Committee to look for hall for City Central Committee meeting, Comrades Noc, Messer and Guthrie.

Joseph J. Noel, Sec.

Donations to ADVANCE: S. & M., $2.50; G. St., $10.

Perverting the Schools.

The government of the country is not at Washington, but in the Stock Exchange on Wall street. The public schools of America, those institutions which men uphold to the eyes of the world, which are spoken of with such pride and fervor on every Fourth of July celebration, the same public schools are now in the control of one great school-book trust, and the trust is in the hands of the capitalists. These men are the ones who decide what your children shall be taught. The teachers must do as they are hidden, and they are always told to do the will of the scoundrels who control them. Even now histories are under consideration which teach the youth of this land that the methods pursued by these scoundrels are good and true, and that the poor laboring man must be kept down because he is ignorant and has no business to interfere in the affairs of his country.

The same capitalistic power which is dominating your public schools, your churches and the literature of your country is the power which is upbuilding and directing the policies of your colleges and universities. It is preparing a way to combat the rising power of Socialism. It is founding and inculcating its own schools of economics, of politics, of religion and of philosophy. It is weaving the bridle and making the saddle upon which, if you are not careful, it will ride back to power even after your first victories have been won.

—George D. Herron.

In their attempts at reducing the working day to its former rational dimensions, or, where they cannot enforce a legal fiction of a normal working day, in checking overwork by a rise of wages, a rise not only in proportion to the surplus time extracted, but in a greater proportion, working men fulfill only a duty to themselves and their race. They only set limits to the tyrannical usurpations of capital. Time who has no free time to dispose of, whose whole lifetime, apart from the mere physical interruptions by sleep, meals, and so forth, is absorbed by his labor for the capitalist, is less than a beast of burden. He is a mere machine for producing Foreign Wealth, broken in body and brutalized in mind. Yet the whole history of modern industry shows that capital, if not checked, will recklessly and ruthlessly work to cast down the whole working class to this utmost state of degradation.—Value, price and Profit, by Karl Marx.

ASTHMA CURE FREE!

Asthmalene Brings Instant Relief and Permanant Cure in All Cases.

Sent Absolutely Free on Receipt of Postal.

Write Your Name and Address Plainly.

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

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

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER.

Rabbi of the Cong. B'nai Israel.

NEW YORK, Jan. 3, 1901.

DRS. TAFT BROS.' MEDICINE CO.,

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

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

Very truly yours,.

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER.

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

DR. TAFT BROS. MEDICINE CO.,

Gentlemen: I write this testimonial from a sense of duty, having tested the wonderful effect of your Asthmalene, for the cure of Asthma. My wife has been afflicted with spasmodic asthma for the past twelve years. Having exhausted my own skill, as well as many others, I chanced to see your advertisement upon your windows on 130th street, New York. I at once obtained a bottle of Asthmalene. My wife commenced taking it about the 12th of November and noted a radical improvement. After using one bottle her Asthma has disappeared, and she is entirely free from all symptoms. I feel that I can consistently recommend the medicine to all who are afflicted with this distressing disease.

O. F. PHELPS, M.D.

Feb. 5, 1901.

DR. TAFT BROS. MEDICINE CO.,

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

S. RAPHAEL.

67 East 129 St., City.

TRIAL BOTTLE SENT ABSOLUTELY FREE ON RECEIPT OF POSTAL.

Do not delay. Write at once, addressing DR. TAFT BROS. MEDICINE CO., 79 East 130th St., New York City.
Platform of the Socialist Party.

(Social Democrat.)

As adopted by the National Convention at Indianapoia.

The Socialist Party of America in National Convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of Socialism. It is the aim of the party to organize the working class, and those in sympathy with it into a political party, with the objects of overcoming the power of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production into collective ownership by the entire people.

Formerly the tools of production were simple and cheaply owned by the workers. Today, by machinery, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalists and not by the workers. This ownership gives the capitalists the power to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

One constructive and practical means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever-increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working-class, and it is divided society into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist class and the working class.

The possession of the means of livelihood gives the capitalist class control over the government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables the capitalists to work vigorously for the maintenance of the capitalist class and the destruction of the working class as a class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual contacts, are alike interested in the upholding of this structure because of the restrictive elements of wealth production. The Democratic, Republican, the Bourgeois public ownership parties, and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalists.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalistic society, if they organize into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the property class. We declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of that overthrow depends upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We therefore consider the utmost importance of the Socialist Party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition, and to elect Socialists to public offices, in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries shall be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages, or the aid of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rate of the cost of living, and the cost of production.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the working class.

3. State or national insurance of working people, in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and old age. Any funds realized from this purpose shall be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The education of all children up to the age of 16, free, and under the control of the working and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.

5. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

6. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

7. But in attempting these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure greater control over the public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

Appeal for Funds.

Comrades of California: San Francisco has just begun a most important local campaign. Conditions were never more favorable for the presentation of the principles of Socialism than now. The class-conscious action of the capitalists in the recent strikes, boycotts and lockouts has indicated to the workingmen the necessity of a revolution of their class to find a solution of their masses, and an illusion of the need of a similar spirit on their part. They have become ready to listen to Socialism and seize on its fundamental truths with surprising avidity. In order to do most effective work it should be done not only in San Francisco. We should strike while the iron's hot. Our propaganda should now be most vigorously pushed, that results may be greatest for the effort expended. For this purpose money is needed. A proper campaign can not be made without funds. So we find ourselvesails to support itself with practically an empty treasury. This is due chiefly to the fact that in addition to the usual expenses of regular propaganda work, the local has been obliged to put over $600 into the support of the national Publicity Committee, and still continue to pay the salary of the editor ($10 per week). This has been absolutely necessary to put the paper in its present excellent condition and has, in consequence, been of great benefit to the entire State. It was through the “Advance” that the State was so well and so quickly organized last fall for the Presidential campaign, and since then to its influence in holding together and invigorating the movement has been invaluable. These results, as we have stated, have been achieved at the expense of constantly emptying the treasury of local San Francisco, and hence we feel justified in urging upon all the comrades in the state to contribute liberally and to the extent that we shall be enabled to spread the word to the 6,000 of last fall to five or six thousand in the coming elections, we appeal to you, comrades, to contribute as liberally as and as quickly as possible. Circumstances and experience have shown us that if we use entertainment, if possible. All moneys should be sent to Oscar Johnson, 49 Sacramento St., San Francisco, Cal., and will be itemized and acknowledged in “Advance.”

Fraternally,

Camerlon King, Jr., Chas. Scarper, G. B. Benham, Joseph J. Noel.

Committee.

Answers to Correspondents.

C. W. Smith (Kenney).—One hundred and thirty-four schools throughout the country were canvassed this year in this country in 1900. (2) Job Harriman is not a lawyer. He is legal adviser for a group of trades unions at New York. (3) It is necessary for you to visit San Francisco to become a Socialist. Read the “Communist Manifesto” and Engels’ “From Utopia to Science” once every week for six months. (4) E. M. Dewey.—There is much more good matter in your letter. It will use up some of your time. Why not apply your energy on the relations of the farmer to Socialism.

“Social Democratic Herald” has moved to Milwaukee, where it will fight for the working class in the future as it has in the past. Wisconsin is one of the best States in the Middle West; her citizens are intelligent and progressive. With the “Herald” to show them how to apply their intelligence and to guide their progressive spirit aright, results that will astonish the country may be looked forward to. Plans are being made to increase the size of the paper and to otherwise make it a representative mouthpiece of the great, united Socialist party. We wish every success to Comrades Heath, Thomas and Edwards in their new field.
Labor's Holiday.

September 5th is set aside by the working class as a day for rejoicing and gladness. It is to be regretted that there is usually an undertone of despair, however, in all the enjoyment and pleasure, for September 1st usually comes after the labor organizations have put in another year of shorter work day and a slight increase of wages, and usually the claims are not allowed. This year is no exception. In fact, the undertone of sadness will be more pronounced than ever before, for the defeats for labor have been more severe and scattered over a larger territory, and that, too, despite the fact that the union organizations were never so strong as now. The silent, persistent, all-embracing power of capital to meet every move of labor and checkmate it must surely be brought home to every working man capable of thought. There has been a commendable development of solidarity by the working class. The feeling that an injury to one is the concern of all will make for the winning of splendid victories in the future.

Without doubt no successful fight can be waged against the capitalist class unless that spirit dominates all ranks of the laboring class, irrespective of the trade or group of trades upon which the battle has fallen. The capitalist class recognizes the necessity for this solidarity; and it goes a step further than the mere recognition. The fight of one group of capitalists is made the concern of all the groups. Even such a large corporation as the Southern Pacific railroad is sufficiently interested in the cooks and waiters' strike of this city to bring men from Ogden for free fare and the railroads running into Ogden are also so much concerned about the destruction of the unions that they bring these same men over their lines from Chicago and other points in the East for half fare. This is the spirit, combined with the government and the railroad companies, that have dragged from the workers, while compelling the same workers to toil for just sufficient to keep them from week to week—the spirit that is the same spirit that makes the victories of the capitalist class so sure, even before they enter the fight. The workers cannot look entirely to this hand and though they may have the solidarity, that alone will not win them everything they wish unless it is used properly. To use this spirit of solidarity every day but one, and that day the most necessary of all the days is a new beginning; it is really what makes their fight against the capitalists a losing one.

But there is, however, a possibility that the spirit of solidarity, of class consciousness, will be put to a proper use very soon. When a class is feeling around, so to speak, for the legs upon which it will stand, there is always a possibility of it报纸ing other legs than its own. The borrowed legs, however, they may become its own legs, will sooner or later be discovered unavailing. Things are always discarded by the rising class at one time or another, unless they are part and parcel of that class. Now the two legs upon which a class stands firmly as soon as it has given sufficient consciousness of its power are the press and the holidays. When you see newspapers spring all over the country voicing the hopes and aspirations of a class, and when you see holidays set apart wherein the class has itself with "by your leave" from the dominant class, you can have some hope for ultimate victory by the rising class. It will not stay in bondage long if it has the strength to break the bonds. Working class newspapers and working class holidays are the legs upon which it will stand upright and look at the sun. And on the sun will be written, "The names of the working class are its enemies every day in the year, including election day." That is the hope. Solidarity is of no avail unless properly used and solidarity can not be properly used till workingmen stand together on election day and vote for members of their class who stand upon a platform made up of principles—principles opposed to everything capitalist.

Labor and Capital Are One.

"Times are hard," said Pickled Chicken.

"Why," said the Rat, "this is an era of prosperity. See how I have feathered my nest."

"But," said the Pickled Chicken, "you have got my feathers."

"You must not think," said the Rat, "that because I get more comfort you get poorer."

"But," said the Chicken, "you produce no feathers, and I keep none."

"If you would use your teeth" interrupted the Rat."

"I will," said the Pickled Chicken.

"You could lay by as much as I do," concluded the Rat.

"If—I" said the Pickled Chicken.

"Without consumers like me," said the Rat, "there would be no demand for the feathers which you produce."—Life.

I see they've discovered oil in Texas.

"What! Did the Standard Oil Company give its consent?"—Puck.

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 trade union men, the only bakery whose bread bears the Union Label.

Every working-class family in the city needs at least one loaf of bread each day. If every reader of ADVANCE would see to it that his wife or housekeeper asks for "Advance" Union Label bread, the success of our Comrades of the Co-operative Bakery will be assured.

The bakery, whose advertisement you find on our last page, is now prepared to fill orders from all over the Mission, and within a few days will be able to take in orders from all parts of the city.

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

GEORGE WIELAND
DEALER IN
Wood and Coal

1685 Howard St., S. F.; Cali.
Bett. 17th and 18th Sts.
Telephone: Capp 815.
Free Delivery to any part of the City.
Orders promptly attended to.

Wm. Scholothan
Dealer in Butter, Eggs and Dairy Produce
731 Shotwell St., bet. 21st & 22nd Streets.
Goods Delivered Free of Charge

Fred W. Klotz
1241 Market near 9th
The best Lunch House in San Francisco.
M. to 8 P.M. Hopper from 1 to 2 P.M.
Regular Meals including coffee, tea, wine or beer, 15 cents.
Nothing but unleavened bread.

H. Warnecke & Co.
CIGAR MANUFACTURERS
2971 Twenty-first Street
Near Folsom
A Good Union Made Cigar.

"The Waldorf"
5 Taylor st.
San Francisco
J. L. HEDRICH, Prop.
Extra Pale, Culumbachi, Sharp Steam on draught.
A Strictly Union Place

Herman Safe Co.
SACRAMENTO STREET
San Francisco, Calif.
Manufacturers of
Fire and Burglar Proof
Sales and Vaults.
Expert Safe Opening and Repairing.
General Iron Work.
Assembled Stock of Second Hand
Safes and Locks on hand.
Phone Red 602.

Bonestell & Co.
PAPER
401 & 403 Sansome st., cor Sacramento st
San Francisco, Cal.

DRINK
Abet Bitters
The only Bitters for a diseased stomach. It cures appetite, dyspepsia, biliousness, constipation, disturbed stomach and clears the head.

H. F. SAHLENDER, Sole Prop.
287 Natoma st.,
San Francisco

Workingmen's Sick & Death Benefit
SOCIETY.

Of the United States of America Branch No.
Meeting every Last Monday of the Month, 8 p.m
The Temple, 117 Turk St.
Secretary: Ernst Postlich, 300 6th Ave.
Physician: Dr. Fred H. Res, Rooms 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, O'Farrell St.
Hours, 9 a.m. and 8 P.M.
Monday and Thursday.
U.S. Residence 610 Fulton, Cor. 5th st.
Hours: Before 9 A.M., 5:30 P.M.
Telephone Jessie 1775

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

TANNERS' Union, No. 9018. Meets Wednesdays at 8:00 p.m., at Twenty-fourth and Potrero Ave. R. H. Koenig, Secretary, 125 Third St. Every Thursday, 8 p.m., at 524 O'Farrell St. H. L. White, Secretary, 533 Kearney St.

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION, International, No. 21 (Compositors). Meets every Sunday, 2 p.m., at 324 O'Farrell St. H. L. White, Secretary, 533 Kearney St.

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION, International, No. 8 (Photographers). Meets first Sunday and 5th Sunday, at 14 Third St., Becker's Hall.


UPHOLSTERS' Union of North America. Carpet Mechanics. Meets every Thursday at 9:00 Market St. John J. Jell, Secretary, 901 Natoma St.

UPHOLSTERS' Union of North America, No. 28. Every Tuesday at 21 City Hall Square. F. A. Rice, Secretary, 127 Precita ave.

UNION DRAGOONS, No. 81. Meets 1st Wednesday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. W. Mal- lard, Secretary, 2606 Mission St.

VINEGAR and Purveyors' Union, No. 8935. Mondays at 117 Turk St. Mary Campodisco, 2952 Scott Place.

WOODWORKERS International Union of North America, No. 147. Picture Frame Workers. Every Thursday, 8 p.m., at 599 Market St. L. Cassel, 2001 Mission St.

WOODWORKERS (Box Makers) Amalgamated No. 152. Meets Mondays, 1150 Mission St. John Coryn, Secretary, 845 Powell St.

WOODWORKERS (Grinders) Union, No. 926. Meets 1st and 3rd Thursday at 137 Turk St. W. H. Shepherd, 1214 Larkin St.

San Francisco Labor Council.

Synopsis of minutes, August 23, 1901:
State committees are out boycotting goods of San Francisco members of the Employers' Association, especially those mentioned in the boycott circular of the Labor Council; Bookbinders' Union, Los Angeles, submit letters sent out by Murphy, Grant & Co., Levi Strauss & Co.'s Advocate, San Francisco, Tillman & Bendel, to the Union on the stand of these firms, blaming the union for the responsible statements and otherwise trying to shield themselves from the boycott; of course the Union is not taking any stock in the statements of these enthusiastic organizations; boycott actively progressing; referred to the Executive Committee. Steam Laundry Workers, San Francisco, state benefit ball for strikers will be held by the Union at Eintracht Hall, Twelfth and Folsom streets, August 31st; urge union men to make this a success, filed. Paper Hangers and Fresco Painters, No. 131, Varnishers and Polishers, No. 134, state they were forced by the San Francisco Building Trades Council, by refusal of Building Trades Council working card, out of the Labor Council; the Union therefore, very reluctantly tendered its resignation from the Labor Council; referred to Executive Committee. Strike situation on the water front unchanged; four sailing vessels left in four weeks; five steamers running in some shape with incomplete and inexperienced crews; a few steam schooners are running with a crew of officers; Collier "Czarina" just discharged; usually takes two days, this time four weeks; jail birds are being used by the Police Commissioners as special police for the Employers' Association.

New Business—Council levied boycott on new Vienna Bakery, No. 911 1-2 Larkin St. ED. ROSENBERG, Sec.

Oliver Wendell Holmes says that when you turn over a large flat stone that has lain a long time in one place you will generally find a nest of wriggling, crawling, squirming "bugs" under it. The "bugs" don't like the disturbance and they immediately scatter to hunt another stone to crawl under. The capitalistic system is a large flat stone that has lain altogether too long in one place. And there are "bugs" under it, and on it and in it. In fact, it is full of bugs. But these bugs propose not only to turn this stone over but to bust it into smithereens. They will revolutionize it. Of course the "bugs" will not like it. They think "things are well enough as they are."—W. A. Corey.

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