THE NEW LABOR PARTY AND ITS OWNERS.

The new Labor Party is the creation of a few men anxious for political jobs and is the creature of the Republican party. Republican politicians mold its destiny, Republican policies bring it into being. Because the editor of the "Examiner" is making a play for boss of the Democratic party in this city, that party is hopelessly split. The factions are at each other's throats, nor will they make peace till one of the other tries "enough." This with the action of Mayor Phelan during the present strike, makes a Republican victory almost certain this year. But to make assurances doubly sure, a few Republicans evolved the great idea of an independent labor party. A sufficient number of the votes that would ordinarily go to the Democratic party will be given to the new labor party, and thereby allow the Republicans to have a sweeping victory. The time was almost ripe for political action by the workers in this city. So many men have heard the Socialists repeat that independent political action is their only salvation, that it was becoming a recognized truth with them. The illustrations the Socialists could draw from every-day history, showing the necessity for capturing the government and wielding its powers for the benefit of the working class could not be escaped, and was fast sinking into the consciousness of the intelligent mechanics. The need of possessing the political power was becoming apparent to the very dullest after they ventured out on the water front and were attacked by the blue-coated minions of the capitalist class. Only the most foolish could have left the Democratic party after officials of that party, elected by the very votes of these most foolish ones, had ordered them to go to work or be clubbed.

And of course it was right the leeches that hang on the working-class and suck its blood, should take advantage of these conditions. They always do. They do it for the sake of a living. It is easier than working. These reactionary citizens indulge in all sorts of jocosity and trickery. They make grand stuff plays. They have clock-faced smiles, shriveled jollies and underhand jolts; the frozen face here, the glad hand there; dignity that is circumscribed by pretense; patronage that is based on a lack of knowledge and all the cheap stage effects that belong to the self-seeking politician, with no more soul than a chimney sweep. And they are leaders of the working class. Can it be wondered at that the enemies of this class say it is like a collection of monkeys that gather sticks to build a fire, and after the fifth stick is placed on the pile forget why they were gathered, when we see such palpable misfits and ward heelers guiding its destiny?

Let us look at the representative men of this new labor party and judge if they are worthy the support of the working class at the coming election. Enough light will be thrown on these men to prove that the new party is brought into being by the Republican party for no other purpose than to insure Republican success in November. Any statement here made will be sworn to before a notary. We challenge the members of the new Labor party mentioned to deny that we have set down:

An incident which might be mentioned as a prelude occurred while the platform committee of the new party was at work at Sixth and Shipley streets. Some one interrupted the committee and straight away they retired where they could have more peace. And more peace was found in the quiet environment of the 29th Assembly District Republican Primary League club meeting room, the key to which one of the platform committee of the new labor party had in his pocket. This incident of itself might mean little, but when taken with the fact that all the leaders of the new party are affiliated with and voted for the same Republican organization, it helps to substantiate the statement that the new Labor party is nothing more than a tail to the Republican kite. The candidate for Mayor, Mr. Schmitz, voted the Republican primary league ticket at the primary election of a few weeks ago, which can easily be understood as a decoy duck when his speech of acceptance is considered. He there stated in face of the very obvious class war now going on in this city that he would appeal to all classes for support.

Another one of this precious galaxy of political stars is Mr. Egan. One could see he was a man of parts after watching him in action on the floor of the convention. This is what the "Bulletin" said of him, and it has been found substantively correct:

"Egan was formerly associated with Buckley in politics. Since the blind man's expulsion from this field of industry ten years ago he has made a number of attempts to get back. This time his plan is said to be to use the new Labor party to that end."

J. J. Daughney is another Republican Primary League hanger-on. He was a candidate of that organization at the recent primaries for the 29th Assembly District. His leadership in the new Labor party was quite evident at the convention... A. J. Gallagher, a photo engraver, also represented the 29th Assembly District Republican Primary League club at the recent primaries. He also voted at the primaries, which vote should have barred him from participation in the new Labor Party convention. But what would that convention have been without Gallagher? Next to Parry he was the convention. It was his. It was designed and executed for the especial purpose of allowing him to show his ability as an orator and a stenographer—that is, when Mr. Parry was not present. And this J. J. Parry, who is Gallagher's only rival, is the most unique figure brought into prominence by the new phase of trades unionism. Every movement and every phrase is studied. Nothing is ever taken for granted by him. He not only knows how to act for his present good, but he keeps a watchful eye on his future welfare. This is evidenced by his joining the Pile Drivers' Union last Spring, in anticipation of just such a move as the present one in the world of labor. He is a cigar dealer, a capitalist in a small way, and he proves it by his service to his friends of the capitalist class, by fighting for the capitalist class, the Republican party. He was also a delegate of the Republican Primary League at the primary election. He received 289 votes.

These are the leaders in this new Labor party. Judge them. Are they the men we should stand by and vote for? Surely not. Delegates to the Republican Primary League cannot be also candidates to a bona fide labor party convention.

If this were a genuine labor party, if it were a party that had come into being for the purpose of uniting the working class at the ballot-box, the Socialists would be fighting for it. If it were a party with principles upon which an intelligent workingman could look with favor, if it were a party out from and superior to the capitalist parties, the Socialists would fight it. But knowing the conditions, knowing that the Republicans designed it to secure Republican success, knowing that old party politicians are in control, the Socialists will fight the new party as long as there is anything left of it to fight. We know the effect of discouraging the workers. We know that every betrayal of the workers by their pretended friends causes despair. We know when the facts concerning this new party become common property that the tendency towards independent political action will receive a setback. The Republican party managers know this, too. And there is nothing they fear more than such independent political action by the working class. Hence their ardent desire, aside from the success they are bound to have this coming election, is to throw back the movement towards independent political action, by just such tricks as is now being played by the new Union Labor party.

The Socialist party stands as the uncompromising enemy of the capitalist system. All
the ill that come to the workers, come from the capitalist system and the hang-on of the system. The leaders of the new Labor party are not the same as those who are running for the same Republican Primary League ticket with Mr. Parry and the others was Harry Peterson of the 18th Assembly District, a most bitter enemy of trade unions and the international labor movement. Belonging to the same party, and a respected member of it, is Otis of Los Angeles, who prints cartoons in his paper, showing Uncle Sam holding an anarchist, a criminal and a trades union hanging on strings, and enquiring where they should be dropped, outside of America. Mr. Symmes, President of the Merchants’ Association, is also a member of the party. Mr. Parry and his friends come from the entire Employers’ Association of the State, including the Scotts, haters of unionism and haters of the labor movement. Not till workingmen and their leaders sever all connection with the political parties of their enemies, can a genuine labor party, pledged for labor under all conditions, be expected to be born. Such a party is the Socialist party. The working class and the working class only, is appealed to. For the Socialists know that not until the workers can stand as the sword of freedom, will that blow be struck. The new Labor party is not capable of striking such a blow. Its principles are weak and absurd and its leaders are members of a political party which stands as the bitterest enemy of the working class.

Capitalist Class Abstinence—the Right to Abstain from Work.

The abstinence to which the producing class has allowed itself to be condemned, makes it the duty of the bourgeoisie to dedicate itself to the overconsumption of the wares produced in surplus by the proletariat. At the beginning of capitalist production, one or two hundred years ago, the bourgeoisie was still an honorable man of orderly and peaceful habits; he was contented with his own wife, at least usually; he drank only when he was thirsty, and ate only when he was hungry. The fashionable passion of excess he left to the gentlemen and ladies of the court. Today there is no bourgeoisie who does not hard himself with capon and mushrooms, and fills up with Chateauneuf, to demonstrate the grace of poetry and the cultivation of the vine; no son of an upstart who does not consider himself self duty bound to increase prostitution, and to mercurial his body, merely in order that the death bringing work in the quicksilver mines may have an object. In his trade, the body is quickly destroyed, the hair becomes thin, the teeth fall out, the abdomen swells, the chest becomes asthmatic, the movements of its limbs stiff, its vitality goes gouty. Others, too weak to endure the strain of dissipation, but equipped with the exquisite dose of phalitise-pseudo-intelligence, dry up their brains like Mr. Lazarus von Hellenbach, the “man without prejudice,” and hatch out thick, soporic books in order to provide occupation for the typewriters and book publishers.

The ladies of the fashionable world lead the ladies of the court. The whole day in changing gowns, that they may try to imitate the play their fairy-like ward-robles, in the preparation of which dressmakers toil till they bring on consumption. For hours they place their heads as if exposition of hair-dressers, who are paid large sums of money to make the most impossible coiffures for them. Tight laced, so decollete that a lieutenant of the guard might blush, and their feet forced into narrow little boots, they spin themselves around at their charity balls the whole night through, in order to get a few dollars together for the costume of the State owners.

The bourgeoisie, in order to fulfill its twofold calling as non-producer and over-consumer, must not only do violence to its modest needs of old, wean itself from the industrious to which it has been accustomed for a hundred years, and, surely, as well as it could ever get to gorging with mushrooms as well as to leadness and dissipation, it must also withdraw an enormous mass of people from productive work in order to create messmates for itself, hence an enormous number of domestic and small servents and menials. To this servant class, the enormouseness of whose numbers characterizes the high-water mark of capitalist civilization, must, furthermore, be added the large class occupied merely in satisfying the costly and senseless desires of the wealthy class; diamond cutters, lace makers, fancy embroiderers, jewellers, fashionable tailors, etc.

The bourgeoisie soon accustomed itself to its parasitical life, despite the evils that grow out of the same, and it now regards any alteration of the status quo with terror. Yet, in the sight of the triffling mode of life to which the working class resignedly subjected itself, and that, the constant sequence of the artificial mania for work, did its aversion increase still more to any imposition of work, and to any limitation of its pleasures. And just at that season, without the least help of which the bourgeoisie had imposed upon itself as a social duty, the proletariat got into its head the notion to compel the capitalists to work! In their simple-mindedness, they accepted as good and as the theories of work promulgated by political parties, which gathered up these loins to make capitalists practise this duty. The proletariat proclaimed the watchword: "Who does not work, shall not eat!" In the year 1813 Lyons rose for "Work or Lead!"; the June insurrections of 1848 claimed the "Right to Work," and the Federations of March, 1871, designated their uprising as the "Revolution of Work."

To these barbaric attacks upon bourgeoisie comfort, who are the bourgeoisie lazy, the Messrs. Capitalists could answer only with suppression by force; but, even if they oppress these revolutionary outbreaks, they know withal that the absurd idea of the proletariat of imposing their gratified idleness, has not been drowned in the ocean of split blood. In order to avoid this calamity, they surround themselves with soldiers, police, magistrates and jails, who all together perform unproductive work. Today the character of modern armies can no longer be doubted; they are "standing" enemy. Belgium, the modern land of capitalism, is an instance of this, that cannot be contradicted; its neutrality is no nonsense; its supropic power, notwithstanding its army is one of the most powerful in proportion to its population. But its glorious battlefields are the plains of the Borinage and of Charleroi. The Belgian officer is accustomed to baptize his sword and to fish for his epaulettes in the blood of the unarmed laborers and miners. The European nations have no militia but paid armies for the protection of the capitalist against the people who work: command them to ten hours of mine or factory work.

PAUL LAFARGUE.

At the last meeting of the central committee of the Socialist Party, 142 New members, among whom were a number of former New Yorkers, were admitted.

PLATEFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF SAN FRANCISCO.

The Socialist Party of San Francisco, in convention assembled, reaffirms the principles of its National and State platforms, and declares that its aim is the organization of the working class, and the overthrow of the entire class system of interests which produces and maintains poverty and misery. The one class can not 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 standard for the class of working class and as an aid to obtaining working-class mastery of the public powers, the Socialist Party pledges its nominees if elected to enforce the following:

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 workmen 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 labor and not by contract.
   (c) That employment shall be given to all the unemployed in the city who are 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 wages less than the minimum standard fixed by the city labor commission.
   (e) That work be done by day, and if employed at any recognized trade or skilled labor such employe shall receive the prevailing rate of trade union wages in the occupation or trade in which he may be employed.
   (f) No monied interests shall constitute a day’s labor.
   (g) Union labor shall be employed in those trades in 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 property owners 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. The Board of Police Commissioners shall be composed of men in complete sympathy with the labor movement and the needs of the working man.

4. (a) That 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 benevolent applicants with free drugs and medicines.
   (c) There shall also be provided free Orphans and
ADVANCE

4

Foundling Asylums, and also invalid and maternity hospitals for women. (d) There shall be neither a permanent unmixed race of labor and efficient factory inspection. (e) The labor of children under school age shall be prohibited. (f) All unsanitary tenements shall be destroyed. (g) Free public bath houses shall be maintained.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

5. (a) The Board of Education shall be so controlled 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-trained teachers employed and they shall be secure from meddling of politicians. Capability and merit, and not political "pull" shall be the only qualifications required. (d) Free school-books and free noon-day meals and full support when necessary shall be furnished to all children attending the public schools. (e) Education of all children shall be compulsory.

PUBLIC UTILITIES.

6. (a) The city shall proceed to acquire by condemnation the necessary land for new construction and in the shortest practicable time all public utilities, water-works, street railways, electric light and power plants, telephone and local telegraph lines and such other industries the community may need and shall seek, at the present time, may, by the vote of the people, be decided upon. (b) No more private franchises for such public utilities shall be granted neither the Geary street railway nor any other present franchise extended.

INDUSTRIAL ADMINISTRATION.

7. (a) All industries shall be managed by the employees, co-operatively under the control of the city administration. 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) funds 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 of the wages of subordinate employees and reduction of the present exorbitant salaries of higher city officials.

HOMES FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE.

10. (a) The city shall, as fast as is practicable, and as soon as it can raise the moneys therefor by taxation or bond issue, prepare plans, procure lots in convenient places and construct neat, commodious, commodious dwelling houses for the lodgment of the working-men and women of the city, letting the same to such persons at a rent not more than sufficient to return three (3) per cent per annum on the original cost. (b) Workmen to be invited to submit plans and suggestions as to the form of construction, desirable locations 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 palace 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 Mausoleum. (b) Such palace 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 public auditorium and concert hall, capable of seating comfortably not less than five thousand persons, suitable for the accommodation of political conventions, grand opera, concerts and other performances. (d) It shall contain assembly rooms and headquarters 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 the instruction of 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 shops, stores, mills, etc., except those for the sale of foodstuffs and each business in the city and such licenses may be revoked or suspended when ever the owner, proprietor or manager of any such business, occupation or place, shall conduct the same in a manner to the prejudice of the public morals or the health, safety or detrimental to the health of employees, or act wrongly or unfairly toward his employees, or toward the public at large or against the interest of the people residing in the city.

REPEAL OF DOLLAR-TAX LIMIT.

13. The limits of taxation for municipal purposes to one dollar on every one hundred dollars of assessed valuation as now provided in the charter being insufficient at 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 conditions of the working-class.

NO TAXATION FOR SMALL HOMES.

14. (a) The Legislature should be appealed to by the city government and people generally for the submission of an amendment to the State constitution which will relieve from all taxation the homes of laborers of which the owner thereof or his family actually resides which does not exceed in value $3,000, in the same manner as church and Stanford University property is now exempted. (b) Hold. 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 as soon as possible submit them to a vote of the people for their adoption.

APPROPRIATION OF CAPITALIST FLEECINGS.

16. The State constitution and revenue laws should also be so enforced by the city assess or and tax collector that all vacant and unused land should be assessed and taxed at the highest rate allowed by law. All land occupied in use, and all the franchises, mortgages, bonds, property and wealth of the capitalist class should be assessed and taxed at the highest value thereof, to the end that the capital class may be compelled to surrender in the form of taxes as large a part as possible of the wealth which they have fleeced from the workers, and that such moneys may be appropriated toward the carrying out of measures for the betterment of the working-class and the final attainment of Socialism, which aims not at mere Reform, but contemplates a complete industrial Revolution.

NO CAPITALIST PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

17. In advocating these palliative measures as ameliorative steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we warn the working-class, capitalist public, ownership movements. They are attempts by the employing class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security for exploitations in other industries and with the end in view of applying the revenues from publicly-owned utilities for the payment of public expenses, thus lessening the rates of taxation on the property of the capitalists, and in no instance are capitalist public ownership movements forward for the improvement of the economic conditions of the working-class.

Imported Under False Pretenses

Fifteen imported machinists, who recently came from Atlanta, Georgia, to the Riddon Iron Works, quit work Tuesday and reported at headquarters of the Machinists' Union on Sixth street. The men said they were dissatisfied with the conditions at the works. When they arrived in Atlanta, they said, they were informed by the agent of the San Francisco firm that the strike here was settled and that the strikers had gone back to work. They found the facts otherwise, they said.

Twenty-four machinists were in the party that left Atlanta for this city. Nine of them on their arrival on Thursday at Point Richmond deserted at the request of the union pickets. The other fifteen said they wanted to improve the conditions at the Riddon Iron Works, and that if they found they were the victims of misrepresentation they would join the cause of the strikers. They kept their promise and are being looked after by the officers of the union.

The Death of a Faithful Class-Conscious Worker.

Be it known by these presents that we, Local No. 102, United Brewery Workers of America, feel a great loss in the death of our Comrade, Harry E. Kelly, knowing him to be a thorough "Union Man" and a faithful brother, always ready and willing to take his place in the front ranks of "organized labor" in its struggle for the triumph of the working-class.

And that we, the members of Local No. 102 do hereby tender our heartfelt sympathy and respects to our sister, the widow of our departed brother, in this hour of her great loss.

WERNER K. KUHL, President.

VALENTINE BRIOTTON, Sec.

Subjects for Stitt Wilson Meetings.

Oct. 6th—"The Rights, Possibilities, and Duties of Labor."
Oct. 8th—"The Present Competitive System Impeached."
Oct. 10th—"Labor's Mastery of Civilization."
Oct. 12th—"The Plea and Program of Labor."
Oct. 14th—"The Last Strike; or, Trades Unionism and Socialism."
Economic and Political Power.

Up to the fifteenth century education and intelligence could be found only among the clergy and monks, who were astronomers, doctors of medicines, painters, agriculturists, etc., and also teachers of the aristocracy. In this way, education and growth of intelligence progressed very slowly, until one Hans Gutenberg invented the art of printing (about the middle of the fifteenth century). From that time on, with greater knowledge, education and intelligence spread among the masses of the people. One result of this revolution was the subsequent discovery of America, which increased commerce and industry, gave a mighty impetus to all kinds of industries, which were formerly of a very primitive kind. Meanwhile, the landed aristocracy were filled with the desire to get rid of the oppressing rules of Emperors and Pope, but were powerless to do anything against them, until the Reformer, Martin Luther, stirred up the minds of the people. Then the aristocracy assisted him in every way, because they found by this religious reformation a way to advance their own economic condition. During the next 30 years nobody cared for or helped in the struggles of the great mass of the people, who belonged to the third class, and when they presented their claims for the betterment of their own economic conditions, even the Reformer Luther cried out, "Knock them over the head; break their skulls; they have no rights to be recognized, and should be content with their condition and obey 'God and government!' Such were the economic and political conditions of the great masses of the people, who formed the third class—slaves in fact, if not in name, producing wealth for their masters and denied the right to express their wishes and demands, much less the right to "vote." The third class entered the legislature and administrative departments of the governments of these European States.

The right to "vote" for the first time was granted to members of the third class, but the fundamental principle of governments was still maintained as it was at that time, no doubt supposed that every white man willing to work could acquire property or land, and get possession of the means of production and distribution.

When, after the war with England, the independent American government was established, the right to "vote" was not granted on general humane principles, because it was deeded to Negro slaves and Indians, who were considered to be of a "lower order!" The claim of the present working class to have a natural right to vote has never been and will never be recognized by the ruling and possessing class, and has never been taken by disfranchise wage slaves. But it would be the interestest folly, and cowardice, if the working class should let the ruling class wring that weapon, placed in their hands by the constitution, away from them, as it is a great folly and cowardice to use that weapon in the interest of the ruling class, therefore oppressing, class. The right and manly way is to hold tightly on with that weapon and use it to further their own interests. But, in the nature of the case, has nothing to do with the interests of the possessing and ruling class. The right to "vote" has been granted, first in this country and later in European States, only under pressure of outside conditions, to add to the power of the government the consent of all the people to keep away any invading hordes of other governments, and under the impression that then propertyless, under the existing flourishing economic conditions, would become owners of property. This flourishing of economic conditions was caused, first, by the discovery of America, and later on by the invention and introduction of steam machinery and other machines driven by steam power. Then, too, that time came into prominence, and the more all industry and commerce flourished, the greater became their economic power, so that even the two classes, the clergy and aristocracy, became willing servants and banner-bearers for this rising third class, which, by its own rising to the position of the all-powerful first class, excluded from its own ranks the hitherto con cealed fourth class, the working or proletarian class.

Of course it was a comparatively easy thing for this now ruling class to get in possession of the political power, formerly held by the clerisy and aristocracy. Under the cry for "Liberty," they could inflame the working people to raid for them the chestnuts out of the fire.

The ever-increasing economic power of the ruling class has changed entirely the economic conditions of the working people, so that in the absence of the former, the mouths of individuals, they are losing, day by day, that which is yet in their possession; and, after a few years, will be homeless and workless paupers.—Humility.

The Locked-out Beer Bottlers.

The Beer Bottlers' Union, Local No. 102, U. B. W., now locked out for nearly nine weeks, had a meeting last night at 1159 Mission street, nearly all members were present. The various committees on boycotting brought in very encouraging reports, in showing that the economic power of the working men, exclusive of the shall, had succeeded in crippling Mr. J. Rapp's business to quite a considerable extent.

The members of this union are standing firm and are determined to win the fight against the tyrannical "Beer Bottlers' Protective Association.

The unscrupulous action in breaking their contracts with this Union, by posting in the various bottle shops of this city a notice which forced the men between their union and their jobs, proves that the bosses are ready, at any and all times, to take advantage of the wage-workers.

This union realizes, that only through organization into a conscious body, separate and distinct from the employing class, ready to insist and fight for their rights, industrially and politically, can they expect to receive fair treatment from the bosses, exploiters of labor.

We take this means of thanking the public at large for the support and sympathy shown us, in refusing to patronize the firms belonging to the Beer Bottlers' Protective Association, and Rainier beer in particular.

Friends and Sisters, remember that the only UNION BOTTLE BEER is put on the market by:

THE ENTERPRISE BOTTLING CO.,

THE WUNDER BOTTLING CO.,

Howard, 121.

THE AMERICAN BOTTLING CO,

phone Bush, 584.

SCHWARTZ WEISS BEER,


V. BRITTON.

Gen. Sec. Local No. 102, U. B. W.

Martin Elliott, one of the old A. R. U. officials, has got in line with the new Socialist party and is doing excellent work in Montana.

Meeting of State Executive Committee.

The S. E. C. of the Socialist party met at 309 Hotel Building, Saturday, Sept 26th, 1903. Present: Anderson, Andrew, Gafvert, Benham, Scott, King, Smith and Reynolds. The minutes of last meeting were approved. The special order—cancelling of the vote on the convention by Secretary as to State convention, to be held at Los Angeles, Oct. 19th—was taken up as the first business. Comrades Anderson and Benham elected tellers. The vote in detail was as follows:

For. Agn't.

20

Alameda

1

Alhambra

5

Benicia

6

Berkeley

2

Lead Beach

5

Los Angeles

47

Oakland

28

Redlands

51

Riverside

14

San Bernardino

24

San Diego

3

San Francisco

9

San Jose

11

Santa Ana.—Sec. reports "Union imous against"—11

Tulare.—refused to vote.

Vallejo.—Sec. reports "Union imous against"—19

Total recorded votes—139

202

The proposition was declared to be lost.


Commissions were appointed as follows:

For dues and supplies: Sacramento, Local, $5; Santa Ana Local, $3; San Diego Local, $3; Chula Vista Local, $10; Alhambra Local, $2.50; Los Angeles Local, $5; Redlands Local, $2; Redlands Local, $2; Riverside Local, $5; Riverside, for membership cards, 25c; San Francisco, $5. Total, $35.55. For delegate Fund: From Santa Ana, $2; from San Diego, $3.50; from Benicia, $2.50; total, $8.50. Bill received from G. B. Benham, for printing 1,000 dues stamps, $4.50; 2,000 membership cards, $8; 2,000 applications, $2; 2 envelopes, $2; 2 circular letters to locals, $5; Referendum, $1; total, $19. Ordered paid.

Treasurer was instructed to remit to Local San Jose the full amount in the delegate fund at this date ($17).

The treasurer was instructed to remit to the National Secretary of the Socialist Party, $25, that amount being one-half of the sale of dues stamps during the month of September.

Comrade Scott Anderson announced that according to the report heretofore submitted there was due him $83 for general labor, work and expenses to Aug. 1st. It was proposed and accepted that the claim be settled by the payment of $40. Warrant ordered for that amount. State Organizer's salary ceased Aug. 1st.

The Secretary was instructed to apply to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, Leon Greenbaum, secretary, for aComrade Scott Anderson announced that according to the report heretofore submitted there was due him $83 for general labor, work and expenses to Aug. 1st. It was proposed and accepted that the claim be settled by the payment of $40. Warrant ordered for that amount. State Organizer's salary ceased Aug. 1st.

The Secretary was instructed to apply to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, Leon Greenbaum, secretary, for a

Carbon copy, two cent.

NOTE.—The vote from Sacramento arrived too late to be counted in the totals. The vote in that city was 15 against the convention,
Advance

Trade Unions and Political Action.

The present activity in the Trade Unions recalls the mind of somewhat similar industrial phenomenon that occurred about fifteen or twenty years ago.

At that time there was great unrest among the workers which was due to the industrial revival following the hard times of 1873.

As is usual during these periods of trade depression many laborers were thrown out of work while the wages of those remaining were reduced and the tenure of their positions rendered even more precarious by the constantly increasing competition of the unemployed.

The combination of the West offered homes and opportunities to many thousands of those who were crushed out in the fierce competitive struggle in the East, and this migration relieved the industrial situation somewhat by extending the struggle for existence over a larger field. The greater number of those who emigrated to the west after the panic of 1873 were from the commercial and industrial classes and the competition within those classes was reduced thereby, but with the opening of new fields the competition among the farmers was greatly increased and resulted in the formation of the grange in the industrial and the greenback party in the political field.

Notwithstanding the competition, the spirit of combination among the workers was still very intense and in an effort to prevent further wage reductions and render their employment more secure the laborers were driven to consolidate their forces and the trade union movement increased in importance.

This movement continued for several years, during which time the various labor organizations, prominent among which was the K. of L., increased their membership enormously.

Many strikes were ordered on various pretexts, the greater number of which were either failures or but partially successful, and many members by thus losing their employment and being compelled to seek work elsewhere were unable or unwilling to continue the payment of dues and dropped out of the organization.

On the other hand, the wave of prosperity that culminated in 1882 increased the demand on the laborers, raised wages to a fair level, and, for a time, and thus rendered the trade union in a measure unnecessary. For these two reasons the unions declined as rapidly as they had arisen, until they were but a shadow of their former greatness. Local and territorial principles of the old trade union was that there should be no politics in the union; that there should be no independent political action by the wage worker. This was their weak point. This is the reason that the great social causes that had mitigated against them, doomed them to inevitable failure. This policy not only allowed the bosses to own and control the tools the workers had to use in their living, but, by giving them no sense of power over the bosses, but it also allowed the bosses to own and control the police, the courts, and the army, all of which were used with crushing effect on the workers when they went on a strike for better conditions.

A Homestead, a Lattimer, a bull pen, a half a hundred fields stained with the workers' blood, tell how relentlessly they have used that power. The injunctions that have been issued to prevent strikes have been meted out to them, and the lives that have been sacrificed on their behalf will not, however, have been in vain if the workers will learn from these high-handed acts of the masters the lesson they so plainly teach. What is the lesson? Is it that before the workers of this nation can redeem themselves from wage slavery, before they can obtain more than a living wage, before they can benefit themselves to any appreciable extent, and they have must take possession of the powers of government, they must vote themselves behind the guns. So long as the capitalist class has possession of the government they will use that governmental power to beat the workers into submission.

The working class and capitalist class have both recognized the value of organization in the industrial field, and while it has its tract unions which have its chambers of commerce, its business men's associations, its corporations and trusts; but the capitalist class has also recognized the necessity of supplementing their economic power with political power, and they have therefore secured control of both the Democratic and Republican parties, and we find capitalists or their lackeys in practically every office from president to dog-catcher, both in Democratic and Republican States, while the laws, whether enacted by Democratic or Republican legislatures, are all made in the interest of the capitalists, and whether interpreted by Democratic or Republican judges and accepted in the interest of the capitalists. When the soldiers are called out, whether by Democratic or Republican governors, the workers are always in front of the guns.

And further, it is necessary that the workers should organize in the economic field to bring better conditions from the employers, yet it is of much greater importance that they organize themselves into a class-conscious political body, that aware of its class interests and the class-conscious of its power, and with a determination to wield it, shall take possession of the government, overturn the present system or lack of system, and establish the Socialist State.

Among the laborers of San Francisco are many who claim to be Socialists, but who have never voted the Socialist ticket. In 1890 we offered you class-conscious Socialists to vote for, but you "wanted something now," and "did not want to throw your vote away," so you voted for Bryan and lost. In 1898 we offered you, in this State, a Socialist ticket headed by Job Harriman, but you "wanted something now," and "did not want it to be thrown away" for Maguire and lost. In 1900 we offered you a Socialist ticket with Debs at the head, but you "wanted something new," and "did not want to throw your vote away" for Bryan and lost.

How long are you going to continue these tactics? How long are you going to vote for what you don't want?

How long will it take you to learn— you, me, the other fellow—how long will it take you all to learn what you want is to vote for it instead of voting against it?

There will soon be a city election, when there will be a Democrat and a Republican candidate, and you will be confronted with two independent political freaks who will seek to ride into power on the backs of the workers. They will all make profound promises before the election and give you a kick after—just what you have been receiving. They will stand for the private ownership of the tools you have to work with. Do you like it? They will represent the wage system, the system we are living under.

Do you like it? If you vote for any of these tickets you are making a mistake. But there will be one ticket, the Socialist ticket, that will stand for the collective ownership of the tools that you use, that will favor the abolition of the wage system; that will represent Socialism, the only system that will enable your children to live a decent life. Do you want that? Then vote for it.

The paragraphs. Choose ye this day whom ye will serve; if capitalism be right, then vote for that; but if Socialism, then vote for that.

FRANK SIMPSON.

Book Reviews

We are pleased to announce Conrade Beresford's latest book, "Useful Principles of Logic." Socialist agitators need this work. It will help them to show that what will aid them in demolishing the arguments of their opponents. There are certain rules, if once learned will be of incalculable help to the comrades all over the country. They are printed in such a simple language that any one can learn them. Once learned, they are rarely forgotten; for in every word combat, even with friends, the logical faculty if developed can be used to advantage. Another good feature of this little book is found in the samples of false reasoning exhibited by opponents of Socialism. Here are a few:

The following is a good example of the way they are often juggled: Carroll D. Wright, in his "Evolution," says that between 1860 and 1890 the increase in the number of persons working in gainful occupations in all industries (in the United States) was 176.07 per cent, while the increase in population was only 16.6 per cent. The fact is that the figures for 1860 included the (then) slaves as part of the population, but not as workers; but in the subsequent censuses they are included as workers, thus making it appear that there were over four millions more people employed than in 1860. (See my book of statistics.)

"The following is a good example of reasoning in a circle: A man stated that "It's no use wasting your time talking Socialism; the condition of the world is not ripe for Socialism." When asked in what respect they were not ripe, he replied, "Oh, the people are not educated up to it." That is, it is useless trying to educate the people because they are not educated; or, in other words, we can't teach them the subject until they know it." 

"Professor Ross delivered a lecture on 'Machine-Production,' and after alluding to the great displacement of labor by machinery, said: 'The remedy was in technical education so that the displaced laborer could learn to manage the machinery.' Is this not deep reasoning for a University professor? Let us assume, for argument's sake, that a machine enables ten men to do as much work as one hundred men without the machine could do. Remedy: the ninety men can get back to work if they learn how to manage the machine.

"Use the following argument when it is claimed that machinery does not, in the long run, displace labor. Why? Two years ago the workingmen go on strike there is always a large number of unemployed ready to take their places. If machinery does not displace labor, where do the unemployed come from, and how is it that, in such a vast country as this, the unemployed numbered 3,543,730 in 1890?"

Many more examples that will be of benefit to the propagandist can be found between the covers of this little book.

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CHAPTER IV.
The Work-Day.

The necessary labor-time and the surplus-labor-time together constitute the, work-day. The necessary labor-time is, under given conditions, always the same for the development in production, the needs of the working-class, etc.—a definite amount. In our illustration we supposed the necessary labor-time to be six hours. The work-day cannot, under any mode of production, be shorter than the necessary labor-time, but under the capitalist mode it must even extend beyond the necessary time. The longer the surplus labor-time, the greater (other things being equal) will be the rate of surplus-value. For that reason the capitalist is forever endeavoring to prolong the work-day as much as possible. Nothing would please him better than to afford brother labor a chance to work 24 hours per day without interruption. This, however, much to his distress, is impossible. The worker "plays out" if intervals for rest, sleep and meals are not granted. Since those intervals cannot be prevented our capitalist can at least strive to shorten them, and by doing so he is inseparable from the worker himself, consequently the laborer himself bodily belongs to the capitalist during the whole period in which the capitalist is entitled to the use-value of labor-power. The worker realizes that the time that the worker uses for himself appears to the capitalist as theft, as theft upon his capital.

But for the very reason that labor-power and worker are inseparable, is it to the interest of the worker to shorten the work-day as much as possible. During the process of production the worker is merely a part of capital; under the capitalist mode of production he becomes a human being again, only after work ceases. Besides the moral motives, there are physical, for shortening the work-day there also exists a material one. Capital ever strives to take even more than belongs to it according to the customs of the exchange of commodities.

If the capitalist buys the daily labor-power of the worker at its value, its use-value belongs to him only for one day—that is, he can use the labor-power to a certain extent only; not enough to injure its reproduction. If, for instance, one buys the yield of an apple tree, and, in order to make a larger profit out of the tree, shakes not only the apples from it but also some of the branches off of it in order to sell the wood, he will violate his contract. The tree will not yield as much fruit the next season; it will finally fail to bear at all; the same condition will arise if the worker is forced to work beyond endurance: the worker gradually loses his strength and activity; he shortens his existence. When, as the result of overwork the average length of life of the worker is reduced from forty years to twenty years, it is equal to saying that capital has, on an average, got the use-value of two days out of the worker within one day; that it has paid for the worker for the labor-power he has not yet done, but took from him that of two. The capitalist urgers the workers to be economical and saving and at the same time forces them to squander the only thing they possess—their labor-power.

We are not concerned with the individual capitalist, only in so far as he is the representative of the capitalist class do we deal with him. No matter what his motive for being what he is, be it personal greed or be it competition, his action must always be as we have pictured it. Here we see an antagonism between the working and the capitalist class. One is constantly striving to shorten, the other to lengthen the work-day. The result of this antagonism between these two classes is a struggle, begun centuries ago, continued to this day and which is of the highest historical importance. It is in this struggle that the proletariat is recognizing the solidarity of their interests; it is this struggle that constitutes the workers into a class—a class which makes the development of the labor movement a political movement. The political struggle resulted in the regulation of the length of the work-day by the government in the normal work-day.

In England the classic ground of modern industry, the causes of this struggle, were developed at an early date, and it was here it first broke out. The English workmen were the champions, not only of the English, but of the whole of the European workers. As early as 1831 English working-class theorists were the first to throw down the gauntlet to the theorists of the capital class. The struggle over the length of the work-day and the causes for that struggle are nowhere better and so plainly as in England, whose press, acts of Parliament, and investigating committee, official reports, especially of factory inspectors, have furnished more material than could be found in any other State; material which Marx, who had then (1860) finished the first part of his capital, presents so forcibly.

Marx presents in detail the struggle for the normal work-day as it took place in England. He quotes from F. Engels in his book, "The Condition of the Working-class in England." This book reaches up only to 1844, while Marx reaches up to the year 1866, but for all of that the records of the struggle over the length of the work-day are full of more than purely historic interest. The condition depicted by them, the tricks, pranks, outrages and excuses of capitalists to prolong the work-day as much as possible, or their attempt to circumvent the laws shortening it; the attitude of the political parties and of the working-class taken relative to these machinations, all that is so typical of capital everywhere, and had been pictured and recorded so accurately and so clearly by Engels, and the same development which took place later on in the European mainland seemed as a mere re-hash of the English process. The conditions which Marx and Engels pictured are to be found still today within our very midst. Not a small portion of the progress made in factory legislation in Austria, Germany and Switzerland is due to Marx's trenchant pen in "Capital."

Yet, the number of thinking members of the bourgeoisie is still so small, and the influence of the working-class so small; and the main impression that a reading of the part of "Capital" which deals with factory-legislation gives is not one of satisfaction, but one which has been accomplished, but one of shame of the colossal ignorance which prevails to this day in factory and labor legislation. A detailed repetition of the contents of "Capital" relative to the workday is impossible in this short work. We recommend to all who are interested in the details of the conditions of the different English industries in which the length of the workday was fixed by legislation, in the details of night work, the relay system, and finally in the details of the struggle for the normal work day, to read carefully Marx's "Capital." Two great general tendencies are traceable in English government regulation of the work-day: From the fourteenth to the end of the seventeenth century laws are enacted for the extension of the work-day; from the beginning of the nineteenth century the tendency is toward shortening it.

At the beginning of the development of the capitalist mode of production capital was unable, by mere force of economic conditions, to force a very great quantity of surplus-labor from the worker. As late as the eighteenth century capitalists complained that laborers would not work more than four days per week, since they could make enough during that time to live upon for the week. In order to force them to work longer, and to work the full work-day, it was proposed to confine beggars, tramps, etc., in a compulsory work-house, which was to be a house of terror. In these "houses of terror," the length of the work-day was twelve hours.

One hundred years later, in 1863, in "the century of humanity," an investigation committee, elected by the British Parliament, reported that seven-year-old children employed in the pottery works of Staffordshire worked fifteen hours per day, week in and week out. Capital no longer needed compulsory work-houses and coercive legislation in order to force surplus-labor from the worker; capital had discovered, into English economy, a weapon against which it was almost futile to struggle.

During the last third of the eighteenth century there developed what might be called races among capitalists to prolong the work-day. Each capitalist considered it his interest to go his fellow-exploiter one better in the measureless prolongation of the work-day.

The working-class determined with terrible rapidity, physically and morally; it degenerated notably from year to year; even the infusion of new blood, caused by the emigration of workers from the rural districts to the factory district, could not stem the process of disintegration. "The cotton industry," said a speaker in the House of Commons in the year 1863, "has been in existence about ninety years. Within three generations of the English race it literally devoured nine generations of cotton workers!"

But that did not concern the manufacturers.

In spite of the rapid consumption of human life there was no lack of available labor-power; new recruits for the English factory district came from everywhere—from the English districts, from Ireland, with German, they came, a welcome addition to the prey of capital. In all countries the rapidly developing capitalist system had destroyed the local industries, had made the worker breadless and homeless.

The manufacturers cared little or nothing for this rapid decay of the working-class;
their aim was to prolong the workday, and they did it regardless of consequences, but there were men whom this state of affairs agitated more than others. These were the English statesmen—the men who did not belong to the class of manufacturers. What was to become of England and of English industries if the English people were to be exterminated by toil? As far as it is necessary for all capitalist states to pass stringent laws against the destruction of forests, so will necessity force them to pass laws against the unreasonable exploitation of the national labor-power. The statesmen who first saw the necessity of the English labor movement—the first modern movement of this kind.

Robert Owen urged the limitation of the work-day by act of Parliament as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, and personally inaugurated a work-day of ten and one-half hours in his factory. The English labor movement, which grew so enormously from about 1820 and which, since 1835, is organized in the Chartist party, won substantial concessions from the English-ruling class. Its main object was universal suffrage and the ten-hour work-day.

With what tenacity and bitterness the laborers who were the capitalists and jurists employed all the shrewdness at their command in order to render null and void all concessions forced from them; what courage and energy were displayed by factory inspectors in their efforts to force those concessions upon the employers. It must here be made of Leonard Horner, whose memory should be honored by every workingman—how the ten-hour work-day was promised to the workers by the "free-traders," and how, when they needed the aid of the workers, and how these gentlemen broke their pledge as soon as the import duties were removed; and how, at last, the threatening attitude of the workers compelled Parliament to ratify the ten-hour work-day for at least certain industries—all of which is presented in detail and with accuracy by the able pen of Marx in his "Capital."

Since 1830 the English labor movement has exerted a definite influence in the defeat of the working-class in Paris, as well as the almost instant suppression of the revolution on the continent was bound to be felt in England. On the other hand the object of the Chartist movement was being accomplished, and the factory inspectors began to revive, it is true, at the expense of the industry of other countries. The English working-class experienced a period of capitalist prosperity and came to believe the interests of English capital and English labor are identical, but opposed to foreign capital and foreign labor. In spite of this, English factory legislation progressed even in that period. A normal work-day has become a national institution in England. Capital is respected, and one would dare any more to raise a hand or voice against it. The men who had fought against its introduction, the capitalist themselves, assume benevolent attitudes and declare the normal work-day to be the very foundation of the superiority of English industries over those of other countries.

The example set by England was soon followed by other European nations. This, of course, was due to the capitalism that had developed within these countries. The law which was of the most far-reaching effect for the workers, however, was enacted in Switzerland on the 23rd of March, 1877. This law fixed the ten-hour laboring day and applies at eleven hours. This goes beyond the English law inasmuch as the English did not protect male adults. But it does not go quite as far as the English law, inasmuch as the maximum of the labor-time is fixed at eleven, not ten hours.

The English law includes smaller work-shops and house industry; the Swiss does not. According to the Swiss law, children below the age of fourteen years are debarred entirely from the workshops. But the combined time of work and school hours for children from fourteen to sixteen years of age must not exceed eleven hours daily.

The first factory law in France was passed in 1841. It fixed the hours of labor for children. This law applied to children of age at eight hours; that of children aged from twelve to sixteen at twelve. But in France, even that miserable excuse of a law only existed on paper, as did the twelve-hour normal labor-day for all shops and factories, which became a law owing to the pressure brought to bear by the revolution of 1849. There were no inspectors to watch the enforcement of the law. Only through the law of May 19, 1874, was the beginning made for real labor protecting legislation.

This law prohibits the work of children under twelve years in certain industries and of children under ten years entirely. The work-day of children from ten to twelve years of age is fixed at twelve hours and that of young persons from twelve to sixteen years old at twelve years. Factory inspectors were appointed to see to the enforcement of the law.

Since June 11, 1885, Austria has a law which fixes the ten-hour work-day for factory workers at eleven hours, there, however, a clause in this law empowering the Minister of Commerce to prolong this by one hour should he deem it necessary; "The clause seems to be a prelate of the law which has taken effect. Children below twelve years of age cannot be employed in regular trades. The hours of labor for "young helpers" is fixed at eight hours.

Germany has the poorest labor legislation of any so far considered. Only children (12 to 14 years) and "young persons" (14 to 16 years) working in factories are protected. The work-time for them is fixed at six hours and ten hours, respectively. The employment of children under twelve years of age in factories is prohibited.

Nearly all States in the United States have laws for the protection of children; some of them also for women and machines and have fixed the labor time at ten hours; Rhode Island at eleven. Employment of children under thirteen is prohibited in Pennsylvania; under twelve in Rhode Island, under ten in New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts and New Jersey. The eight-hours work-day is gaining ground more and more; if not officially, it does so in reality. The same holds good in Australia.

In late years, a more important demand for a reduction of the work-day has taken on more and more an international character. Not only the workers of Germany, Switzerland, France and Austria expressed themselves, but the government of Switzerland itself addressed a note to the different government relative to this question. Switzerland, however, received little encouragement from other governments. However, conditions are arising which make a further shortening of the work-day imperative and which are therefore very promising. There is no doubt that the workers will meet with the same opposition in their endeavor to further reduce the work-day as they did in days and years gone by, that the same laws which were used against it one hundred years ago will be used again, yet that must not prevent the workers from keeping up the fight at all times in all places for an international limitation of the work-day. This is demanded, not only by their class interests, but also by the fact that to be taken from the work-day increases the time during which they can be human beings, gives them more time for intellectual and physical development, enables them to take part in the political and educational development of the world.

(To be continued.)

Henry Georgeism

Ever since Mr. Henry George's book reached the English Radicals, there has been a growing disposition to impose a tax of twenty or thirty dollars a head on the unearned incomes; that is, to dump four hundred and fifty millions a year down on the Exchequer counter; and then retire with three cheers for the restoration of the land to the people.

The results of such a proceeding, if it actually came off, would considerably take its advocates aback. The streets would presently be filled with starved workers of all grades, domestic servants, coach builders, decorators, jewelers, ice-crea-makers, fashionable professional men, and numberless others whose livelihood is at present gained by ministering to the wants of these and the proprietary class. "This," they would cry, "is what your theories taught us to expect in olden times, when we received our wages, which were at least better than nothing." Evidently the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have three courses open to him. (1) He could give the grant back again to the landlords and capitalists with an apology. (2) He could attempt to start State industries with it for the employment of the people. (3) Or he could simply distribute it among the unemployed. The last will be comparatively better than pannem et circennae. The second (starting State industries) would be far too vast an undertaking to get on foot soon enough to meet the urgent difficulty. The first (the return with an apology) would be a reducere ad absurdum of the whole affair—a confession that the private proprietor, for all his idleness and his voracity, is indeed performing an indispensable economic function—the function of capitalizing, however, waste- fully, and viciously, than the whole society incurs his necessarily limited power of immediate personal consumption. And here we have checkmate to mere Henry Georgeism, or State appropriation of rent with out Socialism—G. Bernard Shaw.

Stand Out of Our Sunshine

Stand out of our sunshine, ye parasites classes! Too long we have walked in your shade. Till our backs are misshapen and brows are reflect

The weight that your burdens have made.

Stand out of our sunshine—we are close on your heels

In the race for the birthright you stole;
And the giant of Labor is drawing his chains,
And setting his face for the goal.

And a merry old pace you will find it, too,
As he stretches his limbs for the fray;
You may urge him on, but long you thought him
too tall.

Till he woke in his wrath one day.

You had pierced him with thorns till his body was sore.
You had broken his heart and laughed at his prayer;
Till, heartened and o'ermourned he comes in his wrath—
He comes like a whirlwind and you may beware.

For the prize that he seeks in the whole of the earth,
There are none other things like these things.
Where mankind may straiten his soul to the sun
When the bright of your presence is gone.

—Alice T. Sorensen.

San Francisco.
"I presume you appreciate the advantages you derive from being assimilated by a civilized country," said the interlocutor to His Majesty of Bazo Island. "Yes, indeed," asserted His Majesty. "Why, I got $7,000 damages because of injuries sustained by swallowing the false teeth of the last missionary we put in the royal consommé." —Baltimore American.

It was undoubtedly an evidence of bad manners on the part of the audience at Metropolitan Temple which refused to allow Mayor Phelan to occupy his official position as chairman of the meeting. And what can such howling accomplishing as long as the howlers will go out and vote for the same party and the same principles as Mr. Phelan advocates. Mr. Phelan's attitude is a misleading fact of this strike. The cause is deeper than Mr. Phelan and the cure is deeper than a few howls of derision.

Ideas are of value to ourselves only when they are not expressed. When they are expressed they are of value to others. For this reason Henry Codman Potter, Bishop, whom we have with us at present, under the patronage of J. P. Morgan, argues himself out of court when he regrets that our forefathers permitted the use of freemasonry. Of course, the bishop knows his speech would never invite suppression. He is of the class of men who never endanger their bread and butter by saying what they think.

As we go to press we learn that the local strike is settled. The men return to work at the old conditions. There is no recognition of the union. There is no guarantee that union men will have the least preference over the non-union men. It will be a scramble for jobs, and with the great importance of men that has taken place since the strike the scramble will be something intense. The political significance overtops all else. Governor Gage and his crowd will reap a generous harvest in the coming elections. Some think the strike had been designed for this especial purpose.

We contend for the sacredness of property and property rights. Property is, and should be held sacred. Property rights are inherent. But we must recognize the fact that the claim of sacredness becomes a pernicious absurdity unless we can protect the property, real produced wealth, and unless we have come into possession of it by natural and just methods that deny to no other man his just and sacred claim to the property which he has produced. More legality does not always establish the moral right, and only the moral right is sacred.—St. Louis Financial.

Property is a sacred thing, if you like, but the private ownership of property to the injury of others is not sacred. The exploiter of labor has gained nothing in sacredness because of his ability to exploit. And when one ventures far enough back into the history of the exploiter and sees whereby he got the means to exploit, the last glimmer of sacredness vanishes.

President Roosevelt's Attitude Toward Corporations.

"President Roosevelt is not antagonistic to Wall street, although certain elements in Wall street have been bitterly antagonistic to and distrusted by the President. They are certainly making war on the great manipulators of the stock market or the creators of vast aggregations of capital called trusts; yet some of these gentlemen thought it a very fine thing to make a war on Wall street. President Roosevelt will not carry into the presidency any personal or political resentment. The exploit of shelving Roosevelt has terminated in the elevation of Mr. Well and good. Roosevelt is willing to call things square and begin over again.—Daily Paper.

Of course, he has never dreamed of making war on the great manipulators of the stock market. Why should he? Does he not belong to the party of great manipulators of the stock market? It would be absurd to suppose Mr. Roosevelt as antagonistic to all the traditions of the party upon whose platform he was elected. Did he not sit up nights inventing a political campaign that would be effective fact when brought in contact with a striker's skull than the one formerly used by the police force of New York? Did he do this with the hope of winning the strikers' favor or the favor of the great manipulators of the stock market? Undoubtedly the latter. And, having won that favor, is it possible to suppose he would lose it by opposition to the pet schemes of the great manipulators, etc.

Any one who takes Mr. Roosevelt for a fool holds an ideal of his acquaintance with nature. He poses as bluff and hearty, with a fondness for the bizarre that stamps him at once the ideal of our emotional populace. His continual attention to things small is a sort of political party. The old members of a political party become arbitrary in their methods. They discontinue any change. While on the other hand the young element, acting for prominence and content only with prominence, resents the "fogism" of the ancients, with their out-of-date issues and their lofty bearing. It was to this younger element in the Republican party that Mr. Roosevelt appealed when he termed his party "the young men of the heights of San Juan." It was to trap the insecure suffrage of the little capitalist who was wavering between voting the Republican ticket, because his father had voted it, or the Democratic ticket, because his friends intended voting it, or may be the Socialist ticket, because his reason dictated voting it, that the Republican press bureau gave out the information that Mr. Roosevelt was bitterly opposed to the Wall street money ring.

And to show that Mr. Roosevelt was really a safe man the same press bureau assured the conservative element that the effective policeman's club and the Croton Dam incident spoke louder of security for the money ring than the burning phrases that had been uttered.

The attempt to shove Roosevelt at the Philadelphia Convention was nothing more than a struggle between the older and the younger element in the Republican party. There was no antagonism on a matter of principle, or even tactics. The pretended opposition to the Wall street money ring was finely worked up for campaign purposes and with an eye for the campaign fund. It was nothing serious in it. These things belong to politics as much as the red-fire and the brass band, the interminable volumes of literary hash and the deadly encounters in the campaign.
If the Strikers Don’t Want to Be Clubbed
Let Them Go to Work.

State of California,
City and County of San Francisco, ss.

Personally appeared before me, A. J. Hen-
ry, a Notary Public in and for the city and
county of San Francisco. A. Furuseth, who,
first duly sworn, upon oath, says: I called
on Mayor Phelan, in company with Messrs. M. Casey and E. Rosenberg, on Mon-
day for the purpose of remonstrating against
the violence of the police. During the con-
versation I had been describing to Mayor
Phelan the situation on the city front and
receiving the various outrages committed by
the police. I had stated that the members of our
organizations, who were absolutely sober and
were walking peaceably about their own busi-
ness, were stopped, searched and clubbed
without any cause that they could see, and I
stated that we came to him for some remedy.
Mr. Phelan replied: "I have listened to your
story, and I think you ought to go to work.
The duty of the city government is clear. We
must get the police to capture those who com-
mit such outrages."

Those are remarks which I distinctly recollect. They fastened themselves on my mind to such a de-
gree that later on in the conversation I sug-
gested to him that if there were outrages it
was the duty of the police to capture and
punish those that committed them, and not to act
the part of the village community which pun-
ished the blacksmith who could be spared for the
sins of the baker who could not be spar-
ed. I was not satisfied to capture the bakers and
finally work up an impression in my mind that the clubbing of
peaceable, innocent men would be continued until they would consent to resume work."
A. FURUSET.

(Submitted and sworn to before me this 26th day of September, 1901.)

A. J. HENRY, Notary Public.

Here is the sworn statement of A. Furuseth. There was really no need for the trouble and
expense of going before a notary to prove these things. All one needs to do is walk
along the street at all hours and see the blue-clad creatures of the Merchants' Association
in operation. There is premeditated action all along the line, from the Mayor down to the
nearer "scab" special on the force. "If you don’t go to work, you won’t get a cent. We’re not
content with the clubbing, they wish to say, "If you don’t wish to go, be good to the people.
The State militia is being agitated for. It is to the interest of the Employers' Association,
to break the strike by every possible means. They resort to every possible measure to intimidate
the workingmen. And the workingmen will have to learn some day that the officials elected by
their votes, but pledged to maintain this capi-
talist system, to maintain the principles of the
Democratic and the Republican party, will act
in the best interest of their masters, who have acted in the present strike. There is only one way that
the strikers. Elect class-conscious working-
men to office, pledged to the enforcement of principles opposite to the principles of capita-
lism, opposite to the principles of the Demo-
crat and the Republican parties. These prin-
ciples are Socialist principles. They are the principles of the Socialist party.

Michigan Federation of Labor Comes Out for Socialism.

Whereas, The competitive system has divid-
ed society into two hostile classes, capitalists
and wage-workers; and the possession of the
means of production and distribution of wealth
forces upon each of these classes a constant
struggle for existence, the press, the pulpits and the schools, and
enables them to reduce the workers to a state
of intellectual, physical and social inferiority,
political subservience and virtual slavery; and
Whereas, it is evident to any intelligent
thinker that, as long as one class of people own
all the means of production and another class is compelled to work for wages, there will be always an irremovable conflict between the
two classes, by reason of the fact that the one
class does not produce all the wealth produced
without decreasing the share which goes to the other; therefore, be it
Resolved, That we call upon every wage-
worker to join the trades-unions and study the
question of trusts and monopolies, with a view
to the collective ownership of the same by the
working people, in order that the class strug-
gle may be eliminated and the worker secure
the full product of his labor; and that all the evils which the system of pri-
ivate monopoly may be abolished.

The growing distrust of those leaders of or-
ganized labor who proclaim their allegiance to
capitalist political parties was manifested in a
statement made by H. Wright, an able and
tried worker, who has for years been one of the
bene of trades-unionism, although the
Michigan Federation has been comparatively
free from the class of leeches who prey upon
the labor movement and seek to make the
bystanders believe that their failures are due
to political perfecrion. The resolution reads:

Whereas, During the ordinary course of
events every effort is being made by working-
men, led by their ablest minds, to form organ-
izations for the protection of the em poor-
ments of capital; and

Whereas, Capital is perfectly aware of the
menace a compact and efficient organization
on the part of labor is to the special rights
and privileges which they now enjoy; and con-
sequently place every temptation in the way
of our leaders by offering them lucrative political
positions as officials, either elective or appoint-
tive, as well as on the stump during political
campaigns;

Resolved, That any officer of this Federation
accepting the appointment to a political office
from, or taking the stump for a capitalist poli-
tical party, at once sever his connection with this Federation, and his office shall be considered as good and suf-
cient reason for declaring such office vacant forthwith.

Seeking a Prison Paradise.

The following incident shows more vividly
the condition of Italy than pages of statis-
tics.

"The Prato of Ugento has a pitiful story to
tell about the eagerness with which desti-
tute peasants look forward to a term of impris-
onment. Three young women from Allisto
are now waiting their turn in the prison at
stealing olives on a estate belonging to the
municipality. The pinched and starved features of the defendants, the eldest of whom was
barely twenty-five; their ragged clothes, and
their hope to escape from imprisonment
excited the sympathy and pity of the kind-
hearted magistrate, who, though unable to ac-
quaint them, sentenced them to the minimum
penalty—viz., three days. Then a tragic scene took place. Bursting into tears, the prisoners flung themselves at the magistrate’s
feet, imploring him to give them the shelter
of the prison for at least three months.

"With the touching ingenuousness of chil-
dren, they told how the theft had been a pre-
conceived affair in order to escape the terrors
which the winter (a particularly bitter one this
year) held in store for them, and how they had
expected to feed on the stolen olives until they
had planned the whole scheme, assuring them that, according to the penal code, they would be sentenced to
three months at the very least. And now the
poor girls saw their dream of prison-paradise
with its bed and blankets, and its daily soup,
and bread and meat twice a week—a princely
fare, vanishing like a mirage before them just as they thought themselves on the point
of entering the blessed portals. They were ruth-
lessly deprived of their bliss of honesty
and squalor to slave and suffer, and they made
one last desperate stand against their fate.

"The poor magistrate actually had to sus-
tain a judicial discussion with the would-be
victims. December 3rd. [Study all the
heroes who were led away sobbing in a bro-
ken-hearted manner, as if they saw stretching before them the long vista of weary winter
days, with its attendant train of cold, hunger,
and dishonor. For it would be useless to deny
them the Characteristic, for they were most de-
morating influence upon the peasantry, fa-
vorizing the revival of long-forgotten medieval
rights and customs (I allude to the jest primae noctis), which the petty lords of the land are nothing loth to exact from their serfs and
to return in order to ascertain the aid of
in kind. Irrigation, discouragement of vine-growing, development of corn-growing, suppression of usury, of real-estate, demolition of the remedies which the writer suggests—"Famine
and Its Causes in Italy," in "Monthly Re-
view.”

Our Lecture Course.

The following speakers will appear at the
Academy of Sciences Hall, 819 Market street:
Oct. 31st—Anna Strunsky—"Wm. Morris."
Nov. 7th—Cameron H. King, Jr. —Employ-
ment of the Unemployed.
Nov. 21st—Chas. Van Norden—Fallacies of Socialism.
Nov. 28th—James F. Morton—The Novel-
list as Prophet of Social Change.

How else can any government guarantee
liberty to men save by providing them a means
of labor and of life without dependence? And
how could that be done unless the govern-
ment conducted the economic system upon
which employment and maintenance depend?
Forms of happiness—so far as happiness
depends on all upon material facts—is not
bound up with economic conditions? And
how should an equal opportunity for the
pursuit of happiness be guaranteed to all save by
a guarantee of economic equality?—Equality.

"There is a large class," a New York Su-
preme Court judge is quoted as saying, "I was about to say, majority, of the population
of New York and Brooklyn, who just live, and
to whom the rearing of two more children means inevitably a boy for the penitentiary and a girl for the brothel."

ADVANCE
A Dream of Wild Bees

A mother sat alone at an open window. Through it came the voices of the children as they played under the acacia-trees, and the breath of the hot afternoon air. In and out of the room flew the bees, the wild bees, with their legs yellow with pollen, going to and from the acacia-trees, droning all the while. She sat on a low chair before the table and darned. She took her work from the great basket that stood before her on the table: some lay on her knee and half-covered the books she read there. She watched the needle go in and out; and the dreary hum of the bees and the noise of the children’s voices became a confused murmur in her ears, as she worked slowly and more slowly.

"Then the bees, the long-legged, weep-like fellows who make no honey, flew closed and closer to her head, droning. Then she grew more and more drowsy, and she laid her hand, with the stock- ing over it, on the edge of the table and leaned her head upon it. And the voices of the children outside grew more and more dreamy, came now far, now near; then she did not hear them, but she felt under her heart where the ninth child lay. Bent forward and sleeping, she was dreaming about her head. She had a weird brain-picture; she thought the bees lengthened and lengthened themselves out and became human creatures and moved round and round her. Then one came to her son, yellow, with a hand on his shoulder. If I shall touch him he shall be as I."

She asked, "Who are you?"

And he said, "I am Health. Whom I touch will have always the red blood dancing in his veins; he will not know weariness nor pain; little ones long laugh to him."

"No," said another, "let me touch; for I am Wealth. If I touch him material care shall not feed on him. He shall live at the man and sinews of his fellow-men, if he will; and what his eye lusts for, his hand will have. He shall not know 'I want.'" And the child lay still like lead.

And another said, "Let me touch him; I am Fame. The man I touch I lead to a high hill, where he can stand up and see the world. When his name is not forgotten, his name rings down the centuries, each echoes it on to his fellows. Think—that to be forgotten through the ages!"

And the mother lay breathing steadily, but in her eye she expressed his her."

"Let me touch the child," said one, "for I am Love. If I touch him he shall not walk through life alone. In the greatest dark, when he puts out his hand he shall find another hand by it. When the world is against him, another shall say, 'You and I.'" And the child trembled.

But another pressed close and said, "Let me touch; for I am Talent. I can do all things—that have been done before. I touch the soldier, the statesman, the thinker, and the politician who succeed; and the writer who is never before his time, and never behind it. If I touch the child he shall not weep for failure."

And the child trembled, seeing the bee flying, touching her with their long tapering limbs; and, in her brain-picture, out of the shadow of the room came one with sallow face, deep-lined, the cheeks drawn into hollows, and a mouth smiling wistfully. He stretched out his hand. And the mother said, "What are you?" He answered nothing; and she looked up between his eye-lids. And she said, "What can you give the child—help?"

The man who had been playing, there wakes up in his blood a burning fever, that shall lick his blood as fire. The fever that I will give him shall be cured when his life is cured."

"You give wealth?"

He shook his head. "The man whom I touch, when he has picked gold, he sees suddenly light over his head in the sky; while he looks up to see it, the gold slips from between his fingers, or sometimes another passing takes it from him."

"Fame?"

He answered, "Likely not. For the man I touch there is a path traced out in the sand by a finger which no man sees. That he must follow. Sometimes it leads almost to the top, and then turns down suddenly into the valley. He must follow it, though none else sees the tracing."

"Love?"

He said, "He shall hunger for it—but he shall not find it. When he stretches out his arms to it, and would lay his heart against a thing he loves, then, far off along the horizon he shall see a light play. He must go toward it. The thing he loves will not journey with him; he must travel alone. When he presses somewhat to his burning heart, crying 'Mine, mine, mine, my own!' he shall hear a voice—'Return! renounce! this is not thine!'"

"He shall succeed?"

He said, "He shall fail. When he runs with others to the goal behind him. For strange voices shall call to him and strange lights shall beckon him, and he must wait and listen. And this shall be the strongest, far off across the burning sands where, to other men with their eyes on the future, he shall see a blue sea! On that sea the sun shines always, and the water is blue as burning amethyst, and the foam is white on the shore. A great land rises from it, and he shall step upon it, the mountain-tops burning gold."

The mother said, "He shall reach it?"

And he smiled curiously.

She said, "It is real?"

And he said, "What is real!"

And she locked up between his half-closed eyelids, and said, "Touch."

And he leaned forward and laid his hand upon the sleeper, and whispered to it, smiling; and this only she heard—"This shall be thy reward—that the ideal shall be real to thee."

And the child trembled; but the mother slept on heavily and her brain-picture vanished. But deep within her the antenatal blood, that had been a dream. In those eyes that had never seen the day, in that hollow shaped brain was a sensation of light! Light—that it never had seen. Light—that perhaps it never should see. Light—that existed somewhere?

And already it had its reward: the Ideal was real to it.

OLIVE SCHREINER.

London.

An Urgent Appeal.

Comrades of California:

Local San Francisco has a very important and a very difficult campaign now on. For the past year the formation of trades-unions and the consequent intensification of the class struggle has roused a distinct class spirit amongst the workingmen of this city. To enlighten that spirit, to teach these workingmen that nothing but solidarity is needed, but that their united action must take the form of Socialist politics, it is to be of any real benefit to them—such is the task cut out for us this coming month. The task would have been easy and the Socialist vote would easily have risen to five or six thousand were it not for the formation of a fake labor party. This so-called Union Labor Party, notwithstanding its principles are conservative and capitalistic, will draw heavily from the radical sentiment which has been created by our agitation unless we can, by the written and spoken word, lay bare the false pretences and foolishly inadequate program it has made. We need money. We must have funds to put before the working people of San Francisco the reason why the Socialist Party is the only genuine workingmen's party in the field. Every effort possible is being made to beat us back, by persecuting some, by endeavoring to seduce others, and by using a few fool fanatics to make it appear that we are divided, to disconnect us from our strong base. The Union Labor Party is being manipulated by the Republicans to head off the Socialist movement. If it surpasses the vote of the Socialist Party, if it takes away our supporters and polls a large vote, this election, it will undoubtedly attempt a State organization and the entire Socialist movement in California will be retarded by this new buffer for the capitalist class.

The Union Labor Party is designed by the capitalists to use the workers as a new Delilah to shear the locks of the Samson of Labor. Shall this be, comrades? We appeal to you to strengthen our hands against the enemies gathering about us. Give us your money and your labor, your strength, your influence for the cause of truth and justice. Enable us to save our fellow-workers of San Francisco from the false charms of this new political seductress. Save yourselves and the State from the strongest and most formidable opposition of a rival for the support of the radically inclined electors, by crushing it in its beginning and destroying its chance of winning office, which is the only real tie that binds together those leading it. We can defeat it if we have your aid. We can swing into our own ranks all who so far have been misled by the Labor Party. We can double our vote and establish ourselves firmly in a position from which we cannot be beaten and out of which we cannot be tricked. Send us your contribution. Send as much as you can possibly afford and send it immediately, to Oscar Johnson, 45 Sacramento street, San Francisco, Cal. Creditt for all money will be given in nine little columns.

Fraternally,

CAMPAIGN EXECUTIVE COM.

C. H. King, Chairman.

Thos. Bersford, Sec'y.

Party Meeting.

EDITOR ADVANCE:—At a regular meeting of the party, with Comrade Appel in the chair, the following business was transacted:

1. Comrade Noel has resigned as Secretary of the Propaganda Committee. Comrade Scott Anderson elected to succeed him.

2. Six applications for membership were received.

3. Comrade J. M. Reynolds will be chairman of the next propaganda meeting.

4. Comrade Culman will be leader at the next propaganda meeting.

5. Comrades Costley and Emil Leiss were elected as Directors of ADVANCE.

6. Comrade Holmes of Los Angeles has been invited to do propaganda work during the campaign in San Francisco.

7. It is stated by our agitators that the proposition to hold a convention in Los Angeles was lost—the total vote being 245 against and 139 for.

8. Financial Secretary reports receipts of $64.25.

Finally,

B. P. OBER, Sec.
ADVANCE

16. GEORGE STEIN,
Vice President of Bakers and Confectioners'
International Union, No. 24.
17. HENRY HILKER,
Bakers' International Union, No. 148.
18. GEORGE NISBET,
Tailors' Union, G. W. A., No. 131.

Minutes of the Labor Council.

Bottlers—Continue fight against John Rapp
& Son, agents and bottlers of Rainier beer.
Cooks and Waiters—Would call special at-
tention of delegates that the boycott is still
on against Owens & Starr's restaurants and
against Johnson. Musicians—The New Cen-
tury Club's dance on Saturday evening,
at Australian Hall, to be given with
scab music. Laundry Workers—Gave
a baseball game on Sunday, September 29th,
at Sixteenth and Folsom streets for Long-
shoremen. Ship Joiners.—Also reporting for
the City Front Federation, state that all the
Unions of that Federation are still on strike;
determined to stay out until victory is won;
police are committing daily and nightly out-
rages upon union men; policemen in private

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trial bottle of Asthmalene received in good condition. I
cannot tell you how thankful I feel for the good derived from it. I
was a slave, chained with putrid sore throat and Asthma for
many years. I despaired of ever being cured. I saw your adver-
tisement for the cure of this dreadful and tormenting disease,
Asthma, and thought I had no means of getting it; but, re-
solved to give it a trial. To my astonishment, the trial acted
like a charm. Send me a full-size bottle."

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER,
Kabbi of the Cong. Bnai Israel.
NEW YORK, Jan. 3, 1901.

Drs. Taft Bros. Medicine Co.,
Gentlemen: Your Asthmalene is an excellent remedy for
Asthma and Hay Fever, and its composition alleviates all
troubles which combine with Asthma. Its success is astonishing
and wonderful.
After having it carefully analyzed, we can state that Ast-
malene contains no opium, morphine, chloroform or ether.
Very truly yours,

REV. DR. MORRIS WECHSLER.

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

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

DR. TAFT BROS. MEDICINE Co.,
Feb. 5, 1901.

Gentlemen: I was troubled with Asthma for twenty-two years. I have tried numerous reme-
dies, 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 I have been afflicted. I am now in the best of health and doing business
every day. This testimony you can make such use of as you see fit.

S. RAPHAEL.

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

The Working Classes.

Below are extracts from "Vorwaerts" of our late Liebknecht’s posthumous writings:

"We must not narrow down too much the term ‘working classes.’ I have often said in speeches, in writings, and in the press that under that name I include all who live exclusively or principally by their labor, and who do not live on interest—i.e., on the results of labor produced by others. Thus, in the ‘working classes,’ I include not only workers in all kinds of trades and employers and pupils and students and all poor families in the suburbs from which a considerable portion of the hour’s wage is sent to the student and earner for daily living."

The class of wage-earners is the one which is most directly exploited; it faces those who exploit it, and, as it is concentrated in factories and workshops, it tends to become active, and to join the working-class army. That—and we must frankly admit it—gives a revolutionary character which no other part of society has in the same degree.

"Each wage-earner is either a socialist or can become one. The workmen in the national workshops of 1848 in France were the first who became Socialists, though the bourgeois Government of 1848 thought they could use them against the Socialist proletariat. In the same way we see that the trade unions which were founded by the agents of the German ‘bourgeoisie’ to fight against workmen have either ceased really to exist or else have been permeated with Socialist ideas. The working-class is led to Socialism by its environment and by all the conditions of its existence. These conditions compel him to think, and as soon as he thinks he becomes a Socialist.

But if the wage-earner suffers most and worst by the system of capitalist exploitation the lower middle classes and the peasant proprietors are also seriously affected by it, though less directly and less openly.

The crisis affecting the whole of German agriculture is seriously injuring the peasant proprietors, and the economic conditions are destroying small capitalists. Now the peasant proprietors and the middle classes do not understand that our class is the minority of the majority of our countrymen.

"It would be ridiculous and absurd to assert that in order to realize our aims we ought to have handy at once a ready sealed majority. But it would be still more absurd to believe that we could ever carry out our plans if we have the majority against us.

This is an error which French Socialists have dearly paid for.

No one could have fought better than the workmen of Paris and Lyons [alluding to risings in the reign of Louis Philippe, 1830–1848].

"But each struggle only ended in a bloody defeat, in sanguinary repression by the victors and in the long exhaustion of the proletariat.

"The French proletariat has not yet sufficiently recognized the necessity of organization and of propaganda, and that is why it has been, up till now, always defeated. The lesson of the Commune seems fortunately to have been of service to the proletariat. Our French comrades work energetically at organization and demand a great deal of attention to propaganda, especially in the country districts. German Socialists have understood for a long time the importance of propaganda and the necessity of winning over the middle classes and the peasant proprietors.

"Only an insignificantly minority of our comrades have demanded that the Socialist movement should be limited to wage-earners. The fiery and theatrical phrases of those fanatics of the class war" really hid a feudal and reactionary architecture.

"This hyper-revolutionary, theatrical Socialism which only appeals to the ‘honed-horny sons of toil’ has two advantages for the cause of the revolution."

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of reaction. First, it limits the Socialist movement in Germany to a class which is not numerous enough to accomplish a revolution, and secondly, it furnishes an excellent means of frightening the great mass of the people who are half-indifferent, especially the peasants and the lower middle classes, which have not yet formed an active independent political party.

"We must not ask a man, Are you a wage-earner? But we must ask him, Are you a Socialist?"

"If we limit Socialism to wage-earners it cannot conquer. But if it is understood by the whole of those who work and by the moral and intellectual elite of the nation, then its victory is certain."

"Why must we suffer persecution? Why are we assaulted by the police?"

"Because we are still weak."

"And why are we weak?"

"Because only a small portion of the people understands Socialist doctrines."

"And ought we, who are weak, to become weaker by rejecting thousands because chance has not side the wage-earners? If we do so we betray our party."

"We must not narrow the bounds, but we must expand our limits. That should be our motto. The circle of Socialism must get larger until we have converted our foes and made them our friends, or at all events until we have disarmed them."

"And the mass of indifferent men, who in peaceable times have no political influence, but who on election decide the day, must be informed of the aims of our party, and then they will not fear us and will not be bounded on us by the Government."

"All legislative measures which are supported by us should have as their object the proof that Socialism can serve common interests and that we are not the bogeys which we are represented to be."—London Justice.

LABOR'S ONLY REMEDY

If the men now on strike will use some of their leisure to consider the odds against them they will see that no small part of the power of their enemies is derived from or supported by their political influence. The trust has tremendous authority in all official circles. It was not mere accident that led to the selection of a former attorney of the Carnegie company as Attorney-General of the United States. The utter failure of successive Attorneys-General for the past twelve years to put the Federal anti-trust law to the test has been without deliberate action to that end by the trusts—for, mark you, all trusts are as one when the purpose to control the Government is concerned. When six years ago the Democratic party, in defense of the subversion of its leaders to monopoly, declared war on trusts, the trust magnates who had been in its organization deserted it to a man. They are still out, and now as the party as a whole opposes trusts. Sometimes they try to come back—as in Ohio—but only in hope that once readmitted they can turn the party again to the service of plutocracy. We use the word "plutocracy" for the sake of illustration. If the Republican party should throw off the yoke of the plutocrats and return to the principles of Lincoln, we should find the well-organized army of trusts fighting them as they now fight it. The trusts, with all their myriad of hangers-on, are in politics just as much as Croker or Quay.—Pilgrim.

Two Socialists have been arrested in Cincinnati for speaking on the streets.

SECRETARIES OF LOCAiS IN CALIFORNIA

Benicia, good standing, Wm. Gnauck.
Riverside, good standing, A. B. Lee.
Colusa, good standing, Frank Wufl.
San Bernardino, good standing, N. A. Richardson.
Long Beach, good standing, George Steen.
Tulare, good standing, Wm. Carpenter.
Vallejo, good standing, R. A. Patterson.
Santa Ana, good standing, E. S. Nash.
Los Angeles, good standing, A. F. Snell.
Alameda, good standing, J. C. Stamler.
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From our readers the following back numbers of ADVANCE: 363, 354, 356 and 365. By sending them to our office you would greatly oblige the Manager of ADVANCE.

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

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TYPOGRAPHICAL Union, International, No. 21 (Compositors). Meets last Sunday, 2 p.m., at 52 O'Farrell St. H. L. White, Secretary, 233 Kearney St.


UPHOLSTERS' Union of North America, No. 28. Every Tuesday at 7 City Hall square. F. A. Rice, Secretary, 137 Precita Ave.

UNDERTAKERS' Assistants, No. 9040. Meets 1st Wednesday at 102 O'Farrell St. J. W. Maloney, Secretary, 2666 Mission St.

VINEGAR and Purveyors' Union, No. 8235. Mondays and Tuesdays at 117 Turk St. Mary Campodonico, 2545 Scott Place.

WOODWORKERS International Union of North America, No. 3. Picture Frame Workers. Every Thursday, 8 a.m., at 909 Market St. L. Casel, 2901 Mission St.

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Large numbers of Japs are being hired in British Columbia to work in the mines of the Yukon at the rate of $1 per day. This is about one-fifth of the rate commanded by white labor in the Klondike district within recent times.

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LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO Sect of Democratic Party holds regular weekly meetings every Thursday evening at a hall and economic subject at a meeting of the Socialist Hall, 6 Market Street. Meetings begin at 8 o'clock. Open discussion follows each lecture. Questions answered; free platform; public invited. Admission free.

LOCAL ALAMEDA, of the Social Democratic Party, holds open educational meetings every Friday evening in room B, Teckler Building, 14th and Park Street. Free discussion, question, etc. Everybody welcome. Address communications to J. C. STAKER, 2011 Encinal avenue.

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