THE REFORM OF THE REVOLUTIONISTS.

It is to be admitted that Karl Marx did not say the last word for Socialism. He left his monument a trifle incomplete and with all the provision his scientific knowledge granted him he was not absolutely correct when he delved into the future. His worst fault was considering his enemy (the capitalist system) weaker than it really was. The capitalist system is more flexible than the old warrior imagined it, hence his inaccuracy as a prophet of social change. But the failure of Marx as a prophet in no way lessens the value of Marx as a scientist nor does it detract one jot or tittle from the truths, as truths he uttered. Nevertheless, because the father of scientific Socialism left his work in such shape that an elaborator could add not a little to the knowledge held on the subjects treated by him, he left the socialist movement in the sorry plight of being the prey of the first phraseur that ventured to question his deductions. Of course the phraseur could not be an enemy from the outside, but rather one who held a position of affection in the hearts of the rank and file through sacrifice, valiant service, etc. In fact he might be what Hyndman, of England, would call a third rate person, to be entirely successful. And his very mediocrity would impel him on to become a “reformer” of the revolutionists. For seeing that nature had made his limitations as an elaborator emphatic enough to be conscious even to himself, what greater reason could exist for considering himself a heaven-born critic.

Now, every proposition of Edward Bernstein is nothing more or less than a negation of the same proposition by Marx and Engels. A negative propaganda is not a lasting propaganda and a leader that has no more than a collection of “it is not true” to offer will not long remain a force. It is the positive declarations of Marx and Engels that give the Socialist movement its vitality in the world today, much as that vitality is disappated fighting petit bourgeois reformers within its ranks. Bernstein declares that wealth is spreading. If you please, that wealth is decentralizing. It is by a strange coincidence that another petit bourgeois radical, Peter Kropotkine, said exactly the same thing and went into the dens of White Chapel and into every rut hole in the slums of England, where a sweater held his slaves in bondage to prove his contention.

It is almost childish to go into a consideration of this question in America. We know approximately how much wealth is produced in the world and where it goes. In Vandervelde’s “Collectivism” one can learn who owns the tobacco shops Kropotkine and Bernstein both love as being evidence of the spread of wealth and the increase of the middle class. The very shallow, among them a few American lovers of Bernstein, accuse the facts in the foregoing case of being a plea for the philosophy of misery. This argument is worthy of them and worthy of nothing else.

Another negation of Bernstein’s is of course the class struggle. He stamps it a false theory and says the working class cannot emancipate itself. The theory of the class struggle may be false, but the actual pulsating fact or condition has been here in San Francisco only so very recently that we have merely to refer to the back files of Advance to prove it. The chronicle of every day events prints the thing so large that even Bernstein could read it. For instance, the secretary of the Waterfront Federation went from one officer to another and from one judge to another for protection for the members of his unions and found them all members of the capitalist class, standing by the capitalist class until he reached the foreman of the Grand Jury, whom he found to be the president of the “Employers Association” and was a very organization engaging himself in a life and death struggle. If any further evidence may be needed than this to show how the capitalists are conscious of their class interests and entrench themselves ready for every battle one need only turn the page in this present issue of Advance and read Comrade Carey’s speech. And also an answer might be found in that same speech to the contention that the working class cannot help itself. With a working majority in the Massachusetts under Carey’s leadership a constructive program would evolve in the first session of the house. For further proof that it is a struggle between classes we refer to Gumplowicz the sociologist and an enemy of Socialism. This Austrian has said the last great word (though not the final one) on the matter of the struggle between groups. He proves conclusively that there is group life, that the group evolved from the simple horde but he falls into the error that progress is caused by this struggle between these groups an error not a few Socialists fall into and attribute their original discoveries to Marx.

Marx said emphatically that progress is determined by the perfection of the tool. But that progress is relatively only for the group owning the tool, hence the struggle arises between the economic groups for possession of the tool. This is an adumbration of Marx, but it is essentially true. And right here it may be well to pause and consider the different theories of progress. Marx’s theory is already stated, so also the theory of the sociologist and there remains but one other, the old church theory of revolutionizing a man’s thoughts to improve the world. Denying the truth of both Marx and the sociologist it is left for Mr. Edward Bernstein to take refuge in the theological way of thinking. Being a Jew (the writer says this with all due respect) and a good bourgeois radical what else could be expected from him. His emotions would impel him to think himself a superior person, a Messiah and a thousand Talmud saturated ancestors beckon him into a con-

(Continued on Page 9.)
DOCTORS LICENSED TO MURDER.

Six thousand new doctors receive diplomas in this country every year.
Only about sixteen hundred die annually.
We ought to have enough doctors before long.
These six thousand new doctors are all "REGULAR," duly licensed physicians. They do not include various separate would-be medical men, the osteopathists, Christian Scientists etc.
Practicing physicians feel alarm at the great number of doctors turned out, and at the inevitable competition in the race for patients.
We do not share this alarm. We only wish that of ten doctors practicing at least seven could be driven out of business and the remaining three subjected to proper supervision at the hands of a competent medical board.
There are undoubtedly more incompetent physicians in the United States than in all the rest of the world put together.
There are also in the United States more murders committed by doctors through ignorance than in all the rest of the world put together.
We recall three cases that have recently come under the observation of this writer:
Doctor No. One treated a man for the grip. He ordered his wife to feed him well, to keep him warm at night and so on. The treatment for the grip continued until a friend of the sick man insisted that another doctor should be called in. This doctor was a high-class practitioner, a man distinguished in his profession. He examined the sick man and said:
This man is dying of typhoid fever. It is too late to do anything for him. He will be dead very soon.
The man was dead within twenty-four hours.
Was not the physician who had treated him for the grip and starved him with harmful food an actual murderer through ignorance?
Doctor No. Two told a well-known New York business man, residing in the country, that his daughter, who complained of a pain in the stomach, was suffering from appendicitis. She must be cut open at once and her vermiform appendix removed.
The father fortunately took her to New York, that she might have the best surgeons to do what was necessary. These surgeons examined her for a day, and then said to the father:
Your daughter has indigestion. There is nothing the matter with her but a stomach ache. Take her home.
If the original doctor had been permitted to operate, he might have committed a murder through ignorance.
Doctor No. Three treated a patient for some months without knowing what was the matter with him. The doctor said that his symptoms were due to dropsy; that he needed a toxin, and finally, after the patient had lost fifty pounds in weight, at the rate of almost two pounds a day, he was advised by his doctor to take a sea voyage of a month.
A friend, not a doctor, with the most casual knowledge of medicine, told him appearance and sudden loss of flesh indicated kidney trouble.
The patient asked his doctor if there was anything wrong with his kidneys. He was assured that there was not.
He was persuaded, however, to see another doctor, a competent physician. This doctor discovered that the man was in the last stage of kidney disease.
The patient died within a week, and the doctor who had been treating him and taking his money had not the slightest idea what was killing him. This man had a wife and four children depending on his labor and might have lived many years with proper care.
He was murdered by ignorance.
The system of licensing doctors is atrocious and dangerously stupid.
A mere lad, after a certain course of study, proves that he possesses a certain amount of theoretical knowledge. He does not prove that he is capable of handling a general practice, and proves nothing except that he has a little memory, and that for a certain number of years he has been studying more or less intelligently.
He receives his diploma and is turned loose upon the community to kill or cure as luck will have it.
Half the time his practice depends, not on his knowledge, but on his accomplishments and his ability to wheedle women. There are dozens of over-paid specialists who are not fit to care for a cow with the colic. They simply know how to flatter a nervous woman, how to tell her that they are amazed at her patient endurance of a husband who does not understand her, or some nonsense of that kind.
Every doctor should be compelled to file a report of his cases. When he takes charge of a case he should be compelled to file his diagnosis.
When the patient dies a physician paid by the public should ascertain the cause of death and compare this with the original diagnosis.
At the end of the year every doctor's record should be passed upon. The three doctors mentioned above and others like them should be promptly deprived of their degrees, and they should be compelled to earn a living in some field which would not involve murdering their patients in return for their fees.
This is from the "Examiner" and is of excellent matter, There is the entering wedge of the state, the whole people, demanding protection for one of its members. At present a doctor is responsible to only one person, the patient, and it is a responsibility easily removed. A wrong diagnosis does it.
But there is another factor to be considered in the turning loose of these squires of dames on the community. What can be done with an additional six thousand every year? They must be cared for, they must be housed and clothed and fed. It is necessary that they get money and to get it they will resort to more contemptible shifts than pressing the fingers of nervous women. Think, too, of the lawyers, the engineers, the journalists that are being crowded into the industrial arena. They all imagine themselves superior persons, the vorticaries of heaven, as far above the man who works with his hands as they consider Rockefeller above themselves. Only a few, relatively will find a niche waiting forthem on graduation. Their diplomas will not give them visible returns. In spite of themselves they will be compelled to think the average worker a pretty good fellow, for they will need his help in the revolution for bread. And thus it goes.
We shall soon be in the same position as Germany, where the professional men with diplomas and no practice are a menace to the government.

SOCRATES ON DEATH.

Let us reflect, and we shall see that there is great reason to hope that death is a good, for one of two things:
Either death is a state of nothingness and utter unconscionableness, or, as men say, there is a change and migration of the soul from this world to another. Now if you suppose that there is no consciousness, but a sleep like the sleep of him who is undisturbed even by the sight of dreams, death will be an unspeakable gain for eternity is then only a single night. But if death is the journey to another place, and there, as men say, all the dead are, what good, O my friends and judges, can be equal to this? If indeed when the pilgrim arrives in the world below, he is delivered from the professors of justice in this world, and finds the true judges who are said to give judgment there, Minos and Rhadamanthus and Aeacus and Triptole-
Yea, doctors, who have learned Socialism by a bitter experience, never weary of telling us to-day, to-morrow, in and out of season, that humanity itself hurries onward to decay if men remain in the present conditions of existence and work; that all your medicaments must be powerless against diseases while the majority of mankind vegetate in conditions absolutely contrary to those which science tells us are healthful; convince the people that it is the causes of disease which must be uprooted, and show us all what is necessary to remove them.

Come with your scalpel and dissect for us with unerring hand this society of ours, fast hardening to putrefaction. Tell us what a rational existence should and might be. Insist, as true surgeons, that a gangrenous limb must be amputated when it may poison the whole body.

You who have worked at the application of science to industry come and tell us frankly what has been the outcome of your discoveries. Convince those who dare not march boldly toward the future what new inventions the knowledge we have already acquired caries in its womb, what industry could do under better conditions, what man might easily produce if he produced always with a view to enhance his own productions.

You poets, painters, sculptors, musicians; if you understand your true mission and the very interests of art itself, come with us. Place your pen, your pencil, your chisel, your ideas at the service of the revolution. Figure forth to us, in your eloquent style, or your impressive pictures, the heroic struggles of the people against their oppressors, fire the hearts of our youth with that glorious revolutionary enthusiasm which inflamed the souls of our ancestors; tell women what a noble career is that of a husband who devotes his life to the great cause of social emancipation! Show the people how hideous is their actual life and place your hands on the causes of its ugliness; tell us what a rational life would be if it did not encounter at every step the follies and the ignomies of our present social order.

Lastly, all of you who possess knowledge, talent, capacity, industry, if you have a spark of sympathy in your nature, come you, and your companions, come and place your services at the disposal of those who most need them. And remember, if you do come, that you come not as masters, but as comrades in the struggle, that you come not to govern, but to gain strength for yourselves in a new life, which sweeps upward to the conquest of the future, that you come less to teach than to grasp the aspirations of the many; to divest them, to give them shape, and then to work, without rest and without haste, with all the fire of youth and all the judgment of age, to realize them in actual life. Then, and then only, will you lead a complete, a noble, a rational existence. Then you will see that your every effort on his path bears with it fruit in abundance, and this sublime harmony once established between your actions and the dictates of your conscience, will give you powers you never dreamt lay dormant in yourselves.

The never-ceasing struggle for truth, justice, economic freedom, and equality among the people, whose gratitude you will earn—what nobler career can the youth of all nations desire than this?

It has taken me long to show you of the well-to-do classes that in view of the dilemma which life presents to you you will be forced, if courageous and sincere, to come and work side by side with the Socialists, and champion in their ranks the cause of the social revolution. And yet how simple this truth is after all? But when one is speaking to those who have suffered from the effects of bourgeois surroundings, how many sophisms must be combated, how many prejudices overcome. How many interested objections put aside:

It is easy to be brief to-day in addressing you, the youth of the people. The very pressure of events impels you to become Socialists, however little you may have the courage to reason and to act.

To rise from the ranks of the working people, and not to devote oneself to bringing about the triumph of Socialism is to misconceive the real interests of the working class, to give up their cause and their true historic mission.

—Appeal to the Young.

HOW THEY MAKE DOLLS AND UNMAKE MEN.

A visitor to a German doll factory describing the process of manufacture, says the following:

We passed through the rows of workmen standing at the long tables, and entered the burning room.

It opened out on to a court yard and the doors stood wide. Yet as we entered a hot breath swept toward us and in a minute we were enveloped in the heat. Thickened atmosphere, that issued in blazing breaths from the three monster furnaces that occupied the middle space of the great room. The ovens were cooling down. Already some men and a few women were going in and out of the little black opening where bricks had been picked out of the great cylindrical furnace, carrying stacked piles of the hot and blackened molds in their arms—so hot that from the woolen cloths with which they held them they issued a sickening odor, and it seemed almost as if the chests on which the burdens rested must shrivel beneath that singeing load. The overseer turned to us.

"Try and enter the oven yourself," he said. I walked toward the furnace and stooped beneath the little door. A wave of searing heat overwhelmed me and I staggered quickly back from that breathless tell. "My God!" I cried, "how can human creatures bear it?" And still that slow file marched in and out with an unwavering and imperturbable regularity. I handed a "trinkgold" to one of the men as he passed me. He was a small dark man with eyes that glared fiercely from out of the gaunt framework of his face.

"Thank you," he whispered hoarsely. His voice was almost gone.

"Can you give that man nothing else to do?" I asked the overseer.

He shook his head.

"No," he answered. "He understands this part of the work best, and, besides, some one must do it."

"Yes," I answered, "I suppose so. But that man is evidently in the last stages of consumption."

"Oh, I guess it is not so bad as all that," said philo- sophic Mr. Klops. "And you must not think it is the work that does it. It doesn't happen often, and when it does there must be some hereditary or constitutional weakness."

It may be. But the conditions are certainly favorable for the developing of such tendencies.
A DIALOGUE.

Recently, during a trial in one of our courts it became necessary for the judge himself to question a witness, and the following colloquy took place:

Judge—Are you a married man?
Witness—No.
Judge—Have you any dependent upon you for support?
Witness—Yes; a large number of them.
Judge—are they disabled physically or mentally from supporting themselves?
Witness—No, they are fully able as I to support themselves.
Judge—Then why do you support these able-bodied persons?
Witness—Because the customs and arrangements of our present state of society force me to,
Judge—These persons, doing no manner of useful work, and you a poor man, having nothing but your labor, are compelled to give part of it to them?
Witness—Yes, I am forced to divide by giving them three-fourths of what I produce.
Judge—Is there no way to get rid of these human leeches?
Witness—Not at once; for nearly all society, especially these leeches, as you call them, insist that this is a natural state of affairs and has always existed; they are eternally ding-donging in my ears that, were it not for these leeches I could not work at all, and death would immediately overtake me. But in the near future we will be able to rid ourselves of them, when they will have to live off their own sweat.
Judge—if you should die, would not these leeches have to work?
Witness—Oh, no, they hold in reserve a vast number who are about to be overtaken by death from enforced idleness and they would think it a God-sent privilege to toil in support of these leeches.
Judge—Would you please give me the names and addresses of these leeches?
Witness—Though it is solely from my labor that their lives are made a continual round of pleasure, still they have the brutal ingratitude to refuse to live in the same locality as myself, as often they will not condescend to live in the same country, and as my constant toil enables them at their pleasure to change their climate, scenery and society, I cannot give you their permanent address. For apparent reasons they do not want to be known by their real names, but insist on being known by their noms de plume.
Judge—but what are their names in fact, for I am going to have them arrested before the bar of justice, these ravagers of society?
Witness—Their real names are Capitalists.
Judge—Mr. Sheriff, hustle this witness out of the court room; he's a wicked Socialist.—C. R. Davis, in Tri-State Unionist.

MILLIONAIRE IMPOSTORS.

The successful author or artist who, by his pen or brushes, makes from five to ten or even twenty thousand dollars a year, is pitied and looked down upon by the millionaire who has either inherited his money or earned it in business.

Millionaires can be found among the leisure or commercial classes only. No literary man or artist, however celebrated, has ever left more than what a millionaire would call decent poverty.

Shakespeare, Milton, Racine, Moret and Corneille died poor. Subscriptions had to be raised to keep Lamartine in his old age. Tennyson and Victor Hugo died well off, but their fortune was a mite compared to that of the average aristocrat or plutocrat.

Now, let us imagine an artist or a novelist to do on a huge scale what Rubens and Alexander Dumas the elder did on a small one.

Let us imagine that, instead of having an ordinary sized studio or study he has an enormous one, capable of comfortably accommodating a thousand good artists or writers at work.

Let us imagine that all these men work under his supervision, that he even gives a finishing touch to every picture himself, that he advises every writer himself, supplying ideas of plots, denouncements, etc., and that he finally signs all the pictures and all the novels.

Let us say that he will pay handsomely every artist or writer who works under him, at least one-half of what he receives.

It is possible that, at the end of the year he will make two or three million dollars. I may have exaggerated the possible number of workers for argument's sake, but I maintain that he could make over one hundred.

Why doesn't he do it? Simply because he would be called an impostor if he did.

Well, will you tell me why a man should not be called an impostor who, being perhaps unable to weave an inch of silk properly himself, can employ ten thousand people who can and whom he pays two or three dollars a day for work which is worth five or six dollars, and which he sells at such a price; but he is not called an impostor, he is called a commercial genius.

"I long to see the masses raised intellectually," says a writer in the London "Spectator," "but it is not to be done by raising them out of their class."

To send a youth into a university by the slums and bring him out by the wealthy suburbs is only to make prigs and leave the masses just as they were.

I long to see the day when the most respected men of a community will be the workers, when a man, however highly educated he may be, will be proud to work with his hands as well as with his brain.

I should like to see education so cheap that university men might be proud to be found cutting stones and laying bricks, and I hope the Scottish-American universities may tend that way.

When the educated commoner returns to his class, that class will be raised, and not till then; and, being raised, he will see through the fraud of modern society and stand it no longer.

MAX O'RELL

WHY WORKINGMEN SHOULD BE SOCIALISTS.

Workingmen should become Socialists because they are the class of men who have everything to gain by the inauguration of Socialism. The present system of wage-slavery which Socialism is intended to succeed is more cruel, degrading and immoral than any system of slavery that preceded it. It robs the working man of social rights by unjustly depriving him of wealth his labor produces except enough to enable him to subsist, and propagates another generation of slaves to create wealth not for themselves but for their masters, the capitalist class, that they may enjoy fabulous fortunes and revel in luxury while the producers of all wealth are on the point almost of starvation.

Why is the class that produces all wealth on the verge of starvation? Because the capitalist class owns the tools of production, owns the means of communication, transportation and distribution, owns the soil, and the workers possessing none of these, are compelled of necessity to sell their power, talent and possessing no power, talent or brains, to the capitalist, who by reason of the competition among workingmen, (competition ever made more and more keen by the invention of labor-saving machinery and consequent displacement of labor) are able to dictate the price of that labor-power and keep it down to the bare cost of maintaining the human frame from which it is derived. In spite of the organizations of hundreds of trade and labor unions, organized on the economic field not to abolish this system, but to obtain a little more of the wealth they have produced the capitalist class is still able to set the price of labor at the lowest mark.

According to the government statistics of 1890 the laborer only received about 17 per cent of the wealth he produced and the statistics of 1890 will show that he receives even less to-day.

Workingmen, look back over the scenes of some of your battles with the capitalist producing classes, through political action. Once the working class secures control of the entire government through the socialist party, that party will use the powers of government in the interests of the working class, will abolish the present capitalist system of production and inaugurate the socialist form of production and distribution, under which classes will be eliminated, under which there will be no more multi-millionaires and paupers, no masters and slaves.

Workingmen, wake up from that deep slumber into which you have fallen, study the question of scientific socialism and there can be but one result—you will be a socialist. Put your shoulders to the wheel of progress and help the brave men who are struggles for freedom. You owe it to yourself, to your families and to your class. Stand by the Socialist Party, your own friend and liberator.

MISSOURI SOCIALIST.

A meeting of the Board of Directors of "Advance" takes place this Saturday evening at 618 Merchant Street, at 8.00.
THE ELECTION RETURNS.

In New York City despite the "reform" cry and the other clap-trap used to hoodwink the working class, the Socialist vote shows an increase. Incomplete returns from Manhattan gives 6764 for mayor, last year it was 6587 for governor in the same district. There is bound to be an addition to this when the complete official returns come in. The whole state shows a gratifying vote. The "Volks-Zeitung" says more than one thousand votes have been added since last year. In Rochester, Sieverman for alderman received 780 against 962 for the Democrat and 928 for the Republican Candidate.

In Brooklyn the vote was 2342, last year it was 2212.
Baltimore, Md., gave 500 votes. Because of failure to comply with some technicality of the law, the name was not on the official ballot.

Massachusetts, out of 34 of the larger cities and villages rolled up a vote for Governor of 6634.
Haverhill, of these, gave 1145.
John C. Chase, candidate for Senator received in his district 1837. The Republican who was elected receiving 2456.

In Webster, Mass., there was an increase of about 100 per cent.

In Adams the same was repeated.
In Malden the vote was 377.
In Brockton the Socialist vote for Governor was 827.
Rockland district returned comrade Macartney to the Legislature.

Haverhill also returned Comrade Carey to the legislature.

The returns from New Jersey are not definite, though a large vote has been polled in protest against the capitalist system.

The Socialists of Kearney, New Jersey, made a gain of 113 votes in eight months. It was 54 last Spring, now it is 167 and the increase comes despite the prohibitive measures against street speaking.

The "Clarion" of Haverhill claims that Comrade Sieverman was elected alderman at Rochester. We give the report for what it is worth.

Cincinnati has a gain of 2010 votes over last year.

THE COMRADE-

The second number of "The Comrade" is here and is an improvement over the first number, which is saying considerable. The illustrations are capable of satisfying the most fastidious taste. One especially, a black and white study of a miner, is worthy of all praise. Strength and pathos are blended in it and all the stories of sunless holes under the earth come to the mind and the hopelessness of the patient toilers there while looking at it. An allegory after a conception by Walter Crane is also worth while and the illustrations for William Morris' "News from Nowhere," are commendable. Among the articles Leonard D. Abbott's appreciation of Edward Carpenter and another by John Spargo, "The Struggle between Anarchism and Socialism" are excellent in treatment and matter. Almost enough praise to be lavished on William Morris' "News From Nowhere" already. For that reason we shall merely say that for purity of style it can scarcely be equaled in the English language. It will run in the pages of "The Comrade."

Next month a story by the new Russian meteor, Gorki will be published.

The Coast Seamen's Journal is apologizing for the fact that the working class elected a Mayor. Whereas it is an historical fact that it should give great joy if the mayor were of the working class and was conscious of the fact.

PARTY MEETING.

Regular party meeting held Thursday evening Nov. 13th. Comrade Leiss in the chair. Three applications for membership received. Comrade King Jr. was elected chairman of next propaganda meeting, Comrade Berford elected reader for next propaganda meeting. The office of the old propaganda committee has been declared vacant. A new propaganda committee of five has been elected as follows: Comrades King Jr., Johnson, Greer, Burrell and Whys. Comrade Holmes was nominated as National Committeeman by acclamation. Committee of three, Comrade King Jr. Noel and Berford, elected to confer with Liberty Branch in regard to unity of both branches.

It was resolved that the party demand of the State Executive that all its members residing in San Francisco pay their dues to Local San Francisco or resign membership from the State Executive. Los Angeles was recommended by unanimous vote as the seat of the coming convention and that the date for holding same be Dec. 15th.

That we protest against the action of the State Executive recommending untried Socialist to the county locals in the following resolution:

Whereas, the State Committee, of California, have through the columns of Advance announced that they were taking steps to send Stitt Wilson and colleagues on a lecture tour through the state, and
Whereas, the said Stitt Wilson and colleagues are not party members and do not talk straight and scientific socialism and
Whereas, propaganda that is not scientific and class conscious can only be to the detriment of the party and result in confusion and dissertation in our ranks, therefore, be it
Resolved, that Local San Francisco protests against the action of said committee as being reactionary and against the best interest of the party.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

TO THE STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

COMRADES:-

In accordance with the provisions of the National Constitution, you are hereby informed that the first annual meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Party will be held in the city of St. Louis, Mo., at 10 A.M. on Friday, January 24th. 1902 for the transaction of the affairs of the national organization.

Arrangements will be made by us for the reception, entertainment and meeting place of the National Committee, particulars of which will be published in due time in the socialist press.

In view of the requirement that the expenses of the National Committeemen in attending this meeting, shall be paid from the national treasury, the respective state and territorial organizations are expected to enable us to meet this provision by faithfully sending us their regular monthly proportion of national dues.

As most of the national committeemen are likely to be effective speakers, some of them of national reputation, it is likely that they would accept invitations to speak at certain points on their route to and from St. Louis, under an arrangement whereby the organizations, tendering said invitations would defray at least part of their travelling expenses. The adopting of this plan would tend to reduce the expenses of the national organization (of the meeting of this National Committee), while utilizing said gathering, to inaugurate a period of agitation meetings through the country.

We take occasion to impress the comrades with the importance of the meeting as the views of the national committeemen and the measures which they adopt, must serve for the guidance and instruction of the Local Quorum and the undersigned.

Yours fraternally,
LEON GREENBAUM, National Secretary.
KARL MARX’ ECONOMIC TEACHINGS.

BY KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated for “Advance” by Kasper Bauer.

(Continued from last week.)

CHAPTER IX

1. The development of machinery. The division of labor within the factory, while it leads to a modification of handicraft labor did not eliminate it. The skill of the handicraft worker remains, on the whole, the basis of manufacture and, this skill, considered though it may be, enables the detail worker to maintain a certain independence toward the capitalist. His place, vacated today cannot be filled tomorrow by anyone else, and his service is absolutely essential for the continuation of the process of production, as we have illustrated with the manufacture of pins. And the workers themselves are so well aware of this advantage that they try to maintain in manufacture these characteristics of handicraft by maintaining the old habits of handicraft, such as the apprenticeship, etc. This attempt on the part of the workers may be observed even today in industries that until now are run along the lines of manufacture. Here too lies the secret of the many successes of the trades union movement.

The joys of one are the sorrows of the other. “Throughout the whole manufacturing period” writes Moors, “there may be heard the complaint over the lack of discipline of the worker. Even had we not the testimony of contemporaneous writers that, from the beginning of the 16th century to the beginning of the epoch of modern industry, the attempt of capital to take to itself the whole labor time of the factory workers was unsuccessful that factories are short-lived and that with the immigration of the workers when they leave one country and establish themselves in another, the simple fact at hand would speak volumes.”

It is easy, therefore, to understand the cry of agony to which an anonymous pamphlet of the year 1770 gave vent: “Workers should never think themselves independent of their superiors.” Order must be established one way or another, and order was established. Manufacture itself created the prerequisites therefore. Manufacture brought forth the hierarchically divided workshop for the production of complicated instruments of labor, and the product of the division of labor in the factory resulted in MACHINERY.” The machine, however, administers the coup de grace to the reign of handicraft.

Wherein differs the machine from the tool of the handicraftsman? by what process is the instrument of labor transformed from a tool into a machine? In this, that a mechanical apparatus, which needs only to be placed in the corresponding motion, now performs with its tools the same operations as the worker with his tools did before. Whether the motive power is furnished by a human being or in turn comes from another machine makes no essential difference. We must bear this in mind, for there is an erroneous conception that machines differ from tools in that they are propelled by a force of nature beside man, such as animals; water, wind, etc. The use (employment) of such motive powers is much, very much older than machine production. We need only to remind our reader of plows drawn by oxen or horses, Animals, wind, water-power, etc., have been used at an early period as motor power by man, for instance, in the turning of mills, pumping water, without that fact resulting in a revolution of the mode of production; even the steam engine, as invented at the end of the 17th century did not bring about an industrial revolution, which, however, was brought about by the invention of the first tool or working machine of importance—the spinning machine. (John Watt in 1736) Nothing is more absurd than the old fable about steam being discovered by the accidental observation of a boiling tea-kettle. The ancient Greeks, 2,000 years ago in all probability were already familiar with the power of steam, but they did not know what to do with it. Later it was used for all sorts of mechanical tricks. The invention of the steam engine is, however, the product of a real, definite, mental endeavor, based upon prior experiments and was possible only after manufacture had furnished the technical prerequisites for its production, especially a sufficient number of skilled mechanics. And furthermore it was possible only when the need for a new motive power had aroused interest in it. This was the case when the “working machine” was invented. To get that out of it this machine needed the application of a more powerful, more uniform, functioning motive power than had existed formerly. A human being is a very imperfect instrument for continuous, uniform activity and besides that too weak. The horse, which is stronger, is not only too expensive but it can be used only to a limited extent in the factory, besides that it also has the abominable quality of having a head of its own at times. The wind is too fickle and uncontrollable and even water power used extensively during the manufacturing period, sufficed no longer, since it could not be increased at will; during certain seasons of the year it gave out (at times at least) entirely and above all, it was confined to a certain locality. Not until James Watt, after many an endeavor, had invented his second so called double-acting steam engine; and for his invention he found the technical powers as well as the cash in the industrial establishment of his partner Mathias Boulton; not until then was found the motor which begot its own force by the consumption of coal and water, whose power was entirely under man’s control, that was mobile and a means of locomotion, that was urban, and not like the water wheel, rural; that permitted to be concentrated in towns instead of, like the water-wheels, being scattered up and down the country; that was of universal technical application, and little affected by local circumstances. (Marx page 229) And, as a matter of course, this higher perfected motor power react upon the ever further development of the work machine.

All fully developed machinery consists of three essentially different parts: The motor mechanism, the transmitting mechanism and finally the tool or working machine. We have just considered the motor mechanism as mechanical power of the whole mechanism. The transmitting mechanism, which consists of fly-wheels, shafting, cog-wheels, pulleys, straps, ropes, bands, pinions, and gearing of all sorts, regulates the motion, changes its form where necessary, as for instance, from linear to circular or divides and distributes it among the working machines. These two first parts of the whole mechanism are there solely for putting the working machines in motion, by means of which motion the subject of labor is sized upon and modified as desired.

The tool or working machine is that part of the machine with which the industrial revolution of the 18th century started, and to this day it constantly serves as such a starting point, whenever a handicraft or a manufacture is turned into an industry carried on by machinery. It
is, at first, either a more or less altered mechanical addition of the old handicraft instrument, as is the case with the power loom, or the organs fitted to the frame of the machine are old acquaintances, as spindles are in a mule, needles in a stocking loom, knives in a chopping machine, etc. The number of the implements which one working machine sets in motion simultaneously, is at the very outset free from the barriers that hem in the tool of the worker.

Since one motor-mechanism by means of the proper arrangement of the transmitting mechanism can simultaneously set in motion a great number of working machines the detail (single) work machine falls thereby to merely an element of machine production. Where a single working machine turns out the whole product, as for instance the power loom, there reappears in the workshop based upon machinery (the modern factory) the simple cooperation, inasmuch as a number of similar work machines work simultaneously in the same place side by side and with each other. The whole process, however, is here based upon a technical oneness of the whole system, because all the machines receive their impulse simultaneously and in an equal degree from the pulsation of the prime mover. These numerous machines are now merely organs of the motive mechanism.

A real machinery system, however, does not take the place of these independent machines until the subject of labor goes through a connected series of detail processes that are carried out by a chain of machines of various kinds, the one supplementing the other. Each detail machine supplies raw material for the machine next in order; just as, in manufacture the direct co-operation of the detail laborers establishes a numerical proportion between the special groups, so in an organized system of machinery where one detail machine is constantly kept employed by another, a fixed relation is established between their numbers, their size and their speed. The collective machine becomes more and more perfect the more the process as a whole becomes a continuous one, that is, the less the raw material is interrupted in its passage from its first form phase to its last, or in other words, the more its passage from one phase to another is effected, not by the hand of man, but by the mechanism itself. If this mechanism performs without any help of man whatsoever, all movements necessary for the preparation of the raw material so that man merely has to put on the "finishing touches" as it were, we have then an automatic system of machinery: which, however, is again susceptible to constant improvement in its details, is plainly shown by the invention of an attachment to the power loom which automatically stops the machine if a single thread breaks. As an example, of both, continuity of production and of the carrying out of the mechanical principle, we may take a modern paper mill.

The steam engine invented by Watt, as well as the other earlier inventions were, however, practical only because those inventions found, ready at hand a considerable number of skilled mechanical workmen placed at their disposal by the manufacturing period. The first machines were constructed by handicraft mechanics or manufacturers. As long, however, as machines owed their existence to the personal skill and strength of workmen which as yet were half artists, machines were not only very expensive—a point which is always carefully taken into consideration by the capitalist—but the extent of their use, i.e. the development of modern industry depends also upon the increase in the number of machine builders, whose trade was difficult to learn and whose number, for that reason, could not be increased at will.

But besides this, at a certain stage of its development, modern industry became technically incompatible with the basis furnished for it by handicraft manufacture. Every step forward, the increase in size of the machines, the greater complications, multiformity and regularity of the details of these machines as they more and more departed from the model of handicraft, the use of a more suitable, but harder to manage, material, as for instance, iron in place of wood, met everywhere with the greatest obstacles, which even the system of the division of labor of the manufacturing period could not overcome. Such machines as the modern printing press, the modern power loom and the modern carding engine could never have been furnished by manufacture.

A radical change in the mode of production in one sphere of industry involves a similar change in other spheres. Spinning by machine made weaving by machine a necessity, and both together made the mechanical and chemical revolution that took place in bleaching, printing and dying imperative. The revolution in the modes of production in industry and agriculture on the other hand, made necessary a revolution in the means of communication and transportation. Modern industry with the ceaseless activity and rapidity of production must be able to secure its raw material without the loss of time must be able to throw its products quickly and in large quantities upon the markets, it must be in a position to attract or repel at liberty great masses of workers, etc. For that reason the radical change in ship building, substitution of steam for sailing vessels, of railroads for omnibuses, of the telegraph for special messengers. But the huge mass of iron that now had to be forged, welded, cut, bored and shaped, demanded on their part gigantic machines, for the construction of which the methods of the manufacturing period were utterly inadequate.

Modern industry had, therefore, to create a basis suitable for its own being, by means of taking the machine in hand and making machines by machines. It was not until it did this, that it built up for itself a fitting technical foundation and stood on its own feet. For that, however, it was necessary to produce the strict geometrical forms such as accurate straight lines, plans, circles, cylinders, cones and spheres and produce them by machinery.

This problem was solved by Henry Maudsley in the first decade of the last century by the invention of the slide-rest a tool that was soon made automatic and was applied to other constructive machines besides the lathe for which it was originally intended. Thus, it became possible to produce the geometric forms of the individual parts of machinery, with a degree of ease, accuracy, and speed that no accumulated experience of the hand of the most skilled workman could give.

It is not necessary to waste many words over the gigantic machines necessary for the making of machinery. Who has not heard of the monster works of our foundry, steel-mills, etc., of those powerful steamhammers, which, weighing tons upon tons, pulverize with one stroke whole granite blocks, but the action of which can be controlled in every detail? And indeed, every new day tells of progress in the system of machinery, tells of its extension over new areas. In manufacture, the division of labor was still largely subjective, the detail process was adopted to the person of the worker; within the system of machinery, however, modern industry possesses a wholly objective productive organism, in which the laborer becomes a mere appendage to an already existing material condition of production. Co-operation, the submersion of the isolated worker by the socialized one, is no longer accidental, but it is a technical necessity dictated by the instrument of labor itself.

THE VALUE TRANSFERRED BY MACHINERY TO THE PRODUCT.

The machine, just as the simple tool, is constant capit-
ADVANCE

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THE GRAND OPERA.

Have you been to the "Grand Opera," you workingmen? Have you heard Emma Eames put the birds to shame at twenty dollars a minute? You haven't, well, what have you been doing with your money? You work. Plenty of people who never did one day's labor in their lives were there, and enjoyed it, too. Perhaps it is just as well you did not go. You would interfere with the happiness of your betters. You would insist on Emma Eames or Mine. Calve or Gadski singing "Goo Goo Eyes" and the chorus doing a cake walk. Your art, like most American art, finishes on a high note or a syncopation.

But you'll learn when, you have leisure. It is in you to experience every wave of emotion, to have large hope and generous inspiration from listening to the European song sparrows, but first you must be master of your own lives and your own souls. You must attain to the dignity of real men. Meanwhile the following story which has so much pathos in it as humor may not be amiss.

A gent'eman, says "London Tid Bits" took a country friend to the opera one night to hear the "Meistersinger" performed.

He was very anxious to see the effect of Wagner's glorious music on the countryman, and watched him keenly during the rendering of the overture, which, grand as it is, is a little noisy, more especially when thhe bang of the drums and the clang of the cymbals occur at intervals.

But the countryman's face remained absolutely unmoved. At last the Londoner could bear his friend's indifference no longer.

"Doesn't this glorious volume of sound affect you? he said.
"Oh, not in the least," was the calm reply; "you forget I'm a boiler-maker."

This is the way most of you are, and with your own consent. You are tone deaf. Your souls are tone deaf.

ANARCHISM AT OUR DOORS.

"This is the situation in Chinatown to-day. A murder has been committed by a member of one of the tongs. The victim was a member of another tong. The murderer is doubtless well known to both tongs and to the heads of the Six Companies. But instead of delivering him over to the police authorities to be dealt with according to the laws of the land the rival tongs and the representatives of the Six Companies and the Chinese Merchant Association meet together for the express purpose of settling the matter among themselves on the basis of a cash consideration. The Italian and Sicilian Mafia is time disappears from American soil when its members learn that there is a law here which controls the actions of men and whose penalties will fall on the perpetrators of any vendetta which that organization may order executed. But the Chinese can neither be brought to respect our laws nor taught to subordinate themselves to our judicial institutions. This fact, in itself ought to be sufficient to keep the race forever barred out of the country."—

Here are the Chinese as utterly oblivious of our laws as was Christ of Caesar's laws. They care not if "shoot slow" Sullivan be alive or dead. It is a simple matter for them to deny government; they are not conscious of its existence. In all such matters they touch close upon the position taken up by the humble Nazarene and yet they are not content. There is enough anarchism in Chinatown at present to suit even Johann Most, but somehow the Millenium is just as far from Dupont street as from any other section of the Country.

A CLASS - CONSCIOUS SPEECH IN LEGISLATIVE CHAMBERS.

Representative Carey who has been re-elected to the legislature in Massachusetts made a speech when the body, of which he is one of the most aggressive members, was considering the advisability of leasing the Boston & Albany railroad to the New York Central that should be remembered by every workingman in the country. It is a credit to him and it is a credit to the Socialist movement. He said:

"I do not rise to discuss at this time the merit of public ownership of this road, or the advisability of leasing it to the New York Central, nor to consider the practicability of a referendum on the question. I will leave those matters for future consideration. I rise only to cite a little history, and to bear witness that the conscious members of the working class never forget.

"In 1893 the employees of the New York Central went on strike. For what? Why, to enforce a law of the state of New York regulating the hours of railroad employees. "One of the managers of the road was colonel of a New York regiment. His regiment was called out. To enforce the law? No, to repress the strike." What, then, became the situation? This: A state law violated; the employees of the railroad forced to strike in defense of the law. The manager of the road, responsible for the violation, colonel of a regiment,—the capitalist governor calls out the regiment of which this manager is colonel,—and we have the spectacle of a state law defied and violated, and the militia acting under command of the violator to crush, to kill, those who were fighting for the law's enforcement.

"Because of this, I say to you, Mr. Speaker, and through you to the citizens of Massachusetts: 'REMEMBER BUFFALO.' And when you ask me to vote to place the workers employed by the Boston & Albany railroad within the reach of the blood-stained hands of the New York Central, I say NO!

"I say further that though years have passed since that crime was committed, though the blood and tears shed by my class in that struggle for right and progress have long been dried, though the pitiless feet of time have blotted out the signs of that contest, though such wrongs are common, though the dead heroes of labor's war may be unknown, though some forget—I tell you Sir, that those for whom I speak have made this scene and others like it a part of their very being. Every pulsing thrub of their heart repeats: 'REMEMBER BUFFALO.' Every drop of blood surging in their veins carries with it the memory of those scenes of the murder of the working class.

"While such scenes occur and recur—and they will continue to recur so long as capitalism reigns—we, the proletarians, WILL NOT FORGET. And when those who have wronged us ask me for power, I say: 'No, I will not guide your gory fingers where our helpless children play.'"

Good News comes from Berlin, Germany. In the Stadtrat (the city council) thirteen socialists and three Liberals were elected. This is a gain of eight for the Socialists.
THE REFORM OF THE REVOLUTIONISTS.

(Continued from first page.)

firmation of the belief. The church has always stood for a
bastard democracy, the democracy of the intelligent (?)
the rule of the better bred and the smooth spoken.
The supreme aim of the IDEA has been dear to it, for upon
that rested its own economic security. It was mere avat-
ism, then, when Bernstein returned to a belief that all eco-
nomic changes and political changes and all other changes
are brought about by a series of thought waves. It is re-
turn, it is true, to all fathers of all classes. If we are to
overlook the necessity, the economic necessity for a
change in society, and breaking from that safe mooring it
is at once launched on a sea of troubles. It is thus easy for
him to deny that capitalism is not preparing the way for
Socialism, and that the movement of the working class
ings and because of the trust we know that people are
seriously considering what's to be done with it. And
the only answer is Socialism.

(Continued next week.)

We refuse to bear the bones of the buried, but nevertheless
we wish to say that “Shoot Low” Sullivan has infinitely more
respect as a corpse than he ever had as a police captain.

Local San Francisco voted unanimously that Los
Angeles be recommended as the place to hold the State
Convention and further recommend that Dec. 15th be the
date.

Delegates to convention will be elected at next party
meeting, Wednesday evening at 9:15 Market st.,
Every member should be present.

Because of a printers mistake last week, we failed to
credit George D. Herron’s able article “A Menacing
Friendship” to “The Social Democrat” of England.

The postman brought us “The International Socialist
Review” just as we were going to press. The contents
this month are as follows: “The Problem of the Negro”
Clarence S. Darrow; “Count Beromed and the Unemploy-
ed,” Ella Wheeler Wheeler Wilcox; “The Co-operative
Movement in Belgium,” Louis Bredan; “Opportinism in
Practuce,” by “Parvus”; “The Trade Unionist Regnant”
(Toam) Frederick Irons Bamford; “The Charity Girl”
Caroline B. Femberry.

HOW THE GOVERNING CLASSES WRITE HISTORY.

It has been truly said that “man makes God in his own image.”
No less certain is it that the dominant class of every age makes
the morals of that age in its own image, and dictates its moral
judgments on men and movements as it suits its purpose. The attributes
right and wrong as applied to actions and events simply mean that
those of the dominant class are right and wrong, as such, to be,
to the material interests direct and indirect of the class that is
economically, socially and politically dominant during the period
in question, or, as sometimes happens, in that immediately
 succeeding it.

In the Hebrew Scriptures we have indications pointing plainly to the
false character of the biblical chronicles, known as well as
a British jingo editor how to blacken the adversaries of the con-
quering race and its ruling priestly caste whose interests they repre-
sented in their chronicles. It is a commonplace of our Secularist
friends that the Biblical hero, judged even by the standard of bar-
baric ethics, still often remains the Biblical villain is sometimes not so bad after all. Similarly in the Greek historians
we have plenty of evidence of moral judgments dictated by class-
bias. When Herodotus in his history on all the records was not
uninfluenced by the fact that this philosophical worthy owed his
fate partly, at least, to the fact that he had been something like a
traitor of the democracy of his time, he appears to have been
from the sentiments of Athens—in favor of the Athenian Patriciate. It has
not been unusual that the history of the period belonged to the latter party
the story might have been differently told. The democracy of the
moment in the ascendant used their power to rid themselves of an
enemy.

Turning to Roman history, it may be asked why the Gracchi have
come down the stream of history as respectable patriots, seeing that
they were both victims of a crooked, unscrupulous, and unconscionable
Roman possessing classes. The answer is, I think, to be found in the
fact that their legislation, although undoubtedly among other things
a product of the scramble for power, was done under the incitement of
the Roman aristocrats, yet also largely tended to consolidate the new
and subsequently the middle class, the “equestrian order,” economically
and politically—a sort of class to which the battle to dominate privil-
edge and greed, had not yet been invented.

The cases indicated, whether in the East, or in Greece, or in Italy,
represent more or less sporadic and unconnected effects of class-
bias. The first conscious and determined attempts to culminate a
popular leader dangerous to the status quo of the possessing classes are
to be found in the accounts given by Cicero and Sallust respec-

O. Belfort Bax, in London “Justice.”

tively, of Catiline and his “consirpacy.” To the honor of Professor
Bax it is said, that he was the first to point out the real historical
significance of Catiline and his movement, to rescue the name of
the great champion of the opposite cause and clear the charges
from the foul abuse of his official criminals. Cicero and Sallust, of
course, had taken a brief for the privileged classes, the
“corrupt” oligarchs of Rome and the “tyrants” of Greek city-
center, and in which debauches like Pompey and “austere” hum-
bings like Caligula hug each other in their fear lest the order of so-
ciety should fall when they and their circles would be displaced.

As just as now we see the wealthy pleasure-loving man-about-town and
the “aesthetic” representative of the Nonconformist conscience embrac-
ing each other in the expansive boom of modern capitalist explo-
itation.

Passing on to imperial times, we find the early Christians who repudiated the subsequent theory that Riches can make a man of honor and
privileged classes, to-wit, the Catholic hierarchy, painted by the Church
historian as injured lambs, whereas it requires a very little reading to see in many cases that these same lambs were often the
exercised against the Christians were provoked by their own violent
and arrogant conduct. The attitude of the state towards the
Pagan accounts of these matters not been destroyed by Christian
real, doubtless a very different light would be thrown at least on some of
the “persecutions.”

A clearly defined class-standpoint is less marked during the earlier
Middle Ages, when the lines of class demarcation often cross and were
always less sharply accounted in certain directions than in the
later classical or in modern times.

With the rise of the modern capitalististic system, however, even in
its very beginnings, the conscious attempt on the part of the domi-
nant classes to hocus pocus history and determine the verdict of contem-
poraries and posterity by means of shrieking abuse of their enemies
assumed a very prominent place, w.hich was of course of the
interests of the decayling feudal and of the rising middle class come
to collision. Thus, throughout the reformations movements those
which were official Protestantism, in a sense, the reforming
middle classes, have come down history belauded and with the
official stamp of representability attached to them, but were_idee othen
such as the Anabaptist movement, which was compelled to the
interests of the “common man,” the peasant and handicraftsman alike,
against both Catholic and Protestant, feudal noble and wealthy
individuals. Just as in a Prince nowadays and about enough when he
is being shot at by His Majesty’s troops (which is more enough), but actually because of the
eyes of the patriotic British press a treacherous and brutal ruffian,
so the Anabaptist, tired out with years of seeing his companions let
themselves be tortured and suffered, as the next as the
ventures to raise his hand in self-defense, and in so doing may
be the representative of class-authority, assumes, under the pen of
the official chronicler of history, the guise of a man of
unparalleled in human annals. As the capitalist system has ad-
hanced, the trick of hocus-pocus history, contemporary and other, in
the classes of the capitalisticas and the middle class with which they are allied, has become a part of the
equipoise of the journalist carrying the day.

The French Revolution is a case in point. The treacherous schemes
of Royalists, Boulle’s massacre at Nancy, the “white terror,” are
all in the natural order of things, as much as the
Marat, oh, horror! What bourgeois writer was ever shocked at the
systematic slaughter of National Guards by the Versailles Govern-
ment in 1871, or at the subversive extortions orders of thousands of men, women and children in Paris? What
bourgeois writer was not shocked at the execution in reprisal of
Dantzig company by the authorities for the murder of persons?
What British imperialist editor, in his zeal for capitalist expansion in South Africa, had a word of disapproval for the
cold-blood murder by Britishers of native populations? What
did Dr. Livingstone say to it? What British imperialist editor was not fired with indigna-
tion at the alleged reprisal on British wounded after Vlakfonte?

So the story might be told throughout history in all its details.
The dodge of the dominant class journalist and his-

zioni has served its purpose hitherto only too well. It is high time it was exposed for all expose. The documents of the docu-

tized classes of every age wish to reserve to themselves the mo-

oments of killing those opposed to them whenever it suits their

purpose. Such killing is all right, “necessary,” “inevitable” in the
general way, or, at the very worst, shows an “excess of zeal” in the
instinctive. The privileged classes want themselves by their
agents to be able to kill and yet keep whole skins themselves, thus
as the heroes of capitalist expansion in the Boudan under Kitchener
and the State liked slaughter. The movement on the part of
the bourgeoisie, to shoot properly, themselves carefully sheltered from behind machine-
guns at long range. Their emotion of pity, an undiscoverable
good that when he does people as well as those (that the
sight of the rich, swells to Gargantuan proportions and its howl renders heaven
with the rest of them or their righteous wrath in his skin in return. The
fact is, no revolutionary party or weaker race has ever
any act against a dominant class or a powerful State with which it has
left itself in contact, which has taken up to' the
broad and oftentimes a hundredfold more atrocious, and hence
which has not been more than more worthy the class or State, with
their sneaksmen endeavor to make their own imaginations
up against ghosts of more or less vague and unconscious masses,
propose for their own purposes. How obedient the non-class-
conscious masses are to the behests of their pastors and masters in the
matter of emotion, we know very well of the few who
are some poor, misguided fanatic who has shot some pillar of State, and
who already in the hands of Justice, will vent itself in heroic
attempts to lynch him with pettern prey. It is safe to say
bit can be worked up even to an effective protest when it is
a question of shooting down blank or firing at blanks.
expressing indignation at any crime committed in the name
of law and established order. Moral: Let all fighting
revolutionary parties and weak States snap their fingers at these "public opinion"
and devote their sole attention to inspiring a wholesome fear in
their antagonists.

E. Belfort Bax, in London “Justice.”
Marx' Economic Teachings.

(Continued from 7th Page.)

It creates no value itself, but only transfers its own value to the product it helps to beget.

It must be pointed out that while machinery always enters into the labor process as a whole it enters into the value creating process only bit by bit. That is true also of the simple tool yet, the difference between the original total value and that part of value transferred by the machine to the product is much greater than with the simple tool, for being made from more durable material it has longer life and its employment, being regulated by strictly scientific laws allows of greater economy in the wear and tear of it parts and in the materials it consumes; and lastly, because its field of production is incomparably larger than that of a tool.

Given the difference the value of the machinery and the value transferred by it in a day to the product the extent to which this latter value makes the product dearer depends upon the size of the product. Mr. Baynes, of Blackburn, in a lecture published in 1856, estimates that each real mechanical horsepower will drive 450 self-acting mule spindles, or 15 looms for 40 inch cloth, etc. The value transferred to the product by such wear and tear is very minute as we can readily see; the daily cost of one horse power and the cost of the wear and tear of the machinery set in motion by that power is distributed in the first instance over the daily product of 450 mule spindles; in the second over 200 throttle spindles, etc.

Given a machine's capacity for work, that is the number of its operating tools, or where, as with the steam hammer, it is a question of force, of the amount of its force, the amount of its product will depend on the velocity of its working parts. The amount of value which the machine transfers to the product, depends, at a given rate of value transference, upon the total value of the machine itself. The less labor it contains, the less value it imparts to the product. If its production costs as much labor as its application saves, then the only thing that takes place is a mere change of work but no increase in the productivity of labor. The productiveness of a machine is, therefore, measured by the human labor power it replaces. It is, therefore, not at all in conflict with the principle of machine production, that on the whole, in comparison with commodities produced by handicraft or manufacture, the amount of value due to the instrument of labor under machine production increases relatively, i. e. in relation to the total value of the product, while absolutely it decreases.

From the point of view of cheapening the product the limit for the application of machinery is given in that its own production (the production of machinery) costs less labor than is replaced by its application. But capital, as we have seen long ago, does not pay for the labor actually expended, but only the value of the labor employed; therefore the limit to his using a machine is fixed by the difference between the value of the machine and the value of the labor power replaced by it; since the actual wage of the laborer at one time sinks below the value of his labor power, at another rises above it differs in different countries, epochs and branches of industry—it is possible for the difference between the price of the machinery and the price of the labor power replaced by it that machine to vary very much, although the difference between the quality of labor requisite to produce the machine and the total quality replaced by it remain constant. But it is the former difference alone that determines the cost of producing a commodity to the capitalist and though the pressure of competition influences his action. And hence it comes that occasionally machines which prove themselves profitable investments in one country, are never used in some country. In the United States for instance, machines for breaking stones have been invented and employed, which will never be used in the old world for the reason that there the proletarian which performs that sort of labor is paid so small a portion of his work, that the use of machinery would increase the cost of production for the capitalist.

(To be Continued.)

THE PEACEFUL INVASION OF THE PHILIPPINES.

All the literary hacks in the country went into ecstasies over the peaceful invasion of the Philippines when six hundred teachers sailed for our island possessions on the transport "Thomas." That was three months ago: Since then it has transpired that the teachers went armed to the teeth. The Manila "New American" announces the arrival of the peaceful invasion contingent with the following:

"ARSENAL UNEARTHED IN MALATE! "EVERY TEACHER CARRIES A SHOTGUN!" Others Carry Two or Three Revolvers, Bowie Knives, and a Mountain Howitzer!"

"Twelve shotguns, twenty-one rifles, a hundred and ninety-six revolvers, and upward of twenty-thousand rounds of ammunition comprise the armament brought to the Philippines by the lately arrived army of teachers, and the returns are not all in yet. Verily, they are well prepared to teach the young idea how to shoot! This is more ammunition than the American army in the Philippines has fired off in the last six months.

"The census of the weapons was taken yesterday. The teachers were asked to fill out slips giving the weapons, the make and ammunition in their possession. Judging from the list of weapons it will be dangerous for any gang of ladrone to attack the exposition grounds while the teachers are there.

"F. Van Nuyx, from Virginia, is a regular portable arsenal. Van comes from the South and is evidently prepared to defend his honor as a Southern gentleman. He must have thought that himself and his honor would need a lot of defending, for he brought a rifle and two hundred and fifty rounds of rifle ammunition, a shotgun and two hundred cartridges, and a revolver and a hundred and fifty pistol cartridges. Warlike Filipinos will do well to steer clear of Van.

"W. W. Rodwell comes from Iowa. He is division superintendent of education for the district along the railroad in Northern Luzon. Mr. Rodwell evidently thought that his district would be on the firing line. He only brought a Winchester rifle and three hundred cartridges, a shotgun with seventy-five shells, and a mountain howitzer. One fellow with peaceable intent brought a few sticks of dynamite. Another with the evident intention of going into the business of spreading peace seriously brought twelve rifles and thirty revolvers of the bulldog pattern.

There is really no fear of peace not getting all that it bargained for and a little more under these conditions.

G. B. Benham, Printer, has removed to 123 7th Street.
Constitution of the Socialist Party

The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in State where a different name has or may be adopted.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

There shall be a national committee, composed of one member from each organized State or Territory, and a quota of five to be elected from the membership of the locality of the seat of the committee.

The members of this committee shall be elected by and from the membership of the States or Territories which they represent, and shall have an attendance of one member for the referendum vote. Their term of office shall not be more than two years, and they shall take their seats in the month of January, 1902.

DUTIES AND POWERS.

The duties of this committee shall be to supervise and direct the National Committee, to represent the party in all national and international affairs to organize unorganized States and Territories, to call national nominating conventions and special conventions called by referendum of the party and to submit questions to referendum, to receive semi-annual reports from the state committees and to make reports to national conventions. Any member of the National committee shall be a delegate of the local unit the member may represent, if any local member or any official asked the Secretary to submit to the vote of the whole National committee questions as to the removal of the local committee or the secretary; also for its consideration of any part of the work of the secretary or of the local Secretaries, or any business belonging to the National committee.

The National committee shall elect a committee of five from the party membership of the locality selected for the party headquarters, to supervise and assist the secretary as the National committee shall require and direct. Said committee of five shall form part of and be a quorum of the National committee, but shall be subject to removal at any time by the National committee. In the event of the removal of the said local council shall have no vote. This committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ.

The National Secretary shall be elected by the National Committee, his term of office to be for the period of one year, beginning January 1, 1902, and be subject to removal at its discretion.

In States and Territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party and representing at least ten local organizations in different parts of the State or Territory, respectively, the State or Territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the number residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such State or Territory, and the National Executive committee or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective State or Territorial organizations.

Expenses of the National committee members in attending meetings shall be paid from the National treasury.

The National Secretary shall be in communication with the members of the National committee and the officers of the organized States and Territories, and with members in unorganized States and Territories. The secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of $1,000 annually.

HEADQUARTERS.

The headquarters shall be located at St. Louis. But said headquarters may be changed by the National committee, subject to a referendum of the party.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

Each State or Territory may organize in such a way as manner, and under such rules and regulations, as it may determine, but not in conflict with the provisions of this constitution.

A State or Territory shall be deemed organized and shall have a right to affiliate upon the organization of not less than five branches, and each branch to consist of not less than five members. Each State and Territory so organized shall receive a charter.

The platform of the Socialist Party adopted in convention, or by referendum vote, shall be the supreme declaration or resolution of the State and all local and municipal organizations shall, in the adoption of their platforms, conform thereto.

The State committees shall pay to the National committee every month a sum equal to five cents for every member in good standing within their respective territories.

REPORTS.

The Secretary shall prepare a monthly statement of the financial and other business of his office, and when approved by the local quorum of five shall issue the same way as the National committee shall direct.

"The National committee shall prepare a semi-annual report of all the financial and other business of the party and issue the same to all State and Territorial organizations.

"The State committees shall make semi-annual reports to the National committee concerning their membership, financial condition and general standing of the party.

"The National committee shall also arrange a system of financial reports so that administrators' books, for locals, the same to be furnished at cost to locals upon application.

AMENDMENTS.

"This constitution may be amended by a National convention, subject to a majority referendum vote of the party or by a referendum without the action of such a convention, and it shall be the duty of the National committee to submit such amendment to a referendum vote within thirty days after being requested to do so by five locals in three different States.

REFERENDUM.

"All acts of the National committee shall be subject to referendum vote after the same manner as provided in the preceding section.

All propositions or other matter submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without comment.

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

"The basis of representation in any National convention shall be by States or Territories, as being entitled to one delegate at large and one additional delegate for every hundred members in good standing."

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Very truly yours,

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

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SHALL THE UNIONS DO CLASS-CONSCIOUS POLITICS?

We seem to have reached a point when, not only the man in the blue jeans, but the man who can shoot his cuffs and look over his collar, must make up their minds as to what they are going to do with the political situation.

The past six years have had a deal crowded into them, besides plenty of work. It is no exaggeration to say that no two decades of American history have seen an equal amount of attempts on the part of employers to override the aspirations of employees, and of courts of law willing, nay, rather anxious, to support these employers in their efforts to make the employees know their "proper place," than the said six years have seen.

The worst feature of the business is no one is to blame, or had we better say no one seems willing to take the blame.

A writer or a public speaker gives to us laborers a few platitudes based upon a text we do not understand, but is yet known by every school boy from the "Atlantic to the Pacific." No man is good enough to rule over another without his consent, "Why don't we grasp the meaning of the words?" Are we more dense, more stupid, to-day than the people of yesterday to whom Abraham Lincoln spoke?

When one looks around this contracting world of ours, what do we see? Just this, out of all the nations that are struggling to be on top, but two, the United States and Great Britain, are in possession of the means whereby their workmen can prevent the men who are not "good enough" from ruling them, and who yet stand idly by doing nothing but grumble and groan.

It is sometimes said a stream cannot rise higher than its source, applied to the condition under notice, workingmen have just as good rulers as they deserve. If this is so, then for God's sake give over kicking. I can fancy a few readers yelling out, "What's the fellow giving us, have we not a labor party, a socialist party, and half a hundred other parties, all endeavoring to tickle us under the fifth rib, while with the spare finger they point to the ballot box, and tell us in a whisper: Codlin's your friend, and not Short.

In San Francisco, we are just on the eve of an election that will provide the opportunity for workers to give proof that they not only know what it is they want, but that they know how to obtain it. The Democratic candidate tells us, "The issue of this campaign is honesty versus dishonesty." We need not pause to reflect what the man means by this statement. He and those in his camp are acting the Pharisee and are thanking God they are not as other men are—dishonored. They charge that the Socialist ticket is a dishonest ticket, because it is a class ticket, forsooth. Is there a man who earns his living by eight or ten hour's daily labor ignorant of the fact that any attempt on his part to share in the profits and benefits accruing to mankind through the development of nature's secrets through labor-saving appliances, or by means of any of the scientific miracles, will be stigmatized by all the powers of the press and capital as dishonest? If there is, he must be neither thinker nor reader, but just the clay out of which those who have always stood for class capital government and will always stand for it, can mold their abject tools.

The real question at issue is, shall we take hold of the ballot box to so fix things in the municipal, State and national governments that never again in the future shall it be possible for a CLASS to call for and obtain the help of police or specials, soldiers or any other part of the governing machinery to prevent workmen from gaining what they want, and what they will have, considerably shorter hours of labor and still a wage, or its equivalent, to keep themselves in comfort, as well as enable them to rear families to carry on the world's work.

It makes one lose all patience to recall the recent explanation given by the Republican candidate as to why the millmen cannot be allowed to work eight hours a day. Has the man ever done any reading of the industrial question? Does he not know that he is simply trying to perpetuate a horrid, nay, a damnable joke? Has he read of the Southern mill owners who, not being in fear of labor unions, are paying children 10 and 15 cents for twelve and fourteen hours' work, and say they cannot afford to pay more if they are to be successful in business. Has he read of women who are working in our midst for a pittance, that has to call to its aid moral degradation ere it becomes a living wage? Yes, these things are happening, my readers, even in this land of glorious promises, and do happen all the world over, where Trades unions are unknown and selfish competition is allowed full sway. Let us support our own candidates, the question of class rule will right itself now that we of the proletariat have made up our minds to take a hand in politics. We can end all class rule by becoming masters of our tools, by running this nation for the working class to which all men are welcome to belong.

S. F., Nov. 3rd, 1901.

S. W.

SOCIALIST PARTY CAMPAIGN FUND.

Previously acknowledged: $331.85, A. G. Swanson $250; N. C. Anderson, $1; L. Van Alstine, $1; Mrs. Troy Hecht, $1, on list 66 by W. Costley; L. Hartleitner, $1.50; E. Morgan, $1.50; J. Gallop, 50c; A. Ibsen, 25c; L. Klonser, 50c; D. E. Hayden, 25c; J. H. Milbert, $1. Total $444.10.

Correction. In the last number of "Advance" Mr. A. Thieler was given credit for 10c, it should read 25c.

OSCAR JOHNSON, Financial Secretary.

Concert and Entertainment.

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

An invention whereby bread can be baked by electricity will be a feature of Cincinnati in the near future. B. R. Kroger of that city, who owns forty retail grocery stores is determined to crush out all competition in the bakery business.
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CORE Makers' International Union, No. 68. Meets at 1159 Mission St., Thursday. Secretary, Walter Green.


DRIVERS. International Union, Team, No. 228. Sand Teamsters. Meets Monday at 9:00 A.M. and Thursday at 9:00 A.M. Secretary, A. M. Gordon, 549 Sacramento St.

DRIVERS. International Union, Team, No. 224. Hackmen. Meets every Thursday at 10 A.M. at 1159 Mission St. Mr. J. F. Leon- ard, Secretary, 3377 Fill St.

ENGINEERS. International Union of Steam, No. 64. Electrical and Steam Engineers. Meets Fridays at Odd Fellows Hall, W. T. Ron- phil, Secretary, 1256 Divisadero St.

OAKMEN. Workers of America, United, No. 130. Meets every Thursday at 117 Turk St. Ed. Corpe, Secretary, 3382 20th St.

CARGENTS. International Union of International Ladies, No. 8. Clog Makers. Meets every Tuesday at 9:00 A.M. I. Jacoby, Secretary, 939 Mission St.

GLASS WORKERS. International Union of the U. S. and Can., No. 3. Meets 2nd and 4th Tuesday at Union Hall, 333 Fill St., Sec. Folsom St. Dietz, Secretary, 1347 Eleventh St., Sunset District.

GLASS WORKERS. American Flint Association of the U. S. and Can., No. 138. Meets 1st Tuesday at 121 Eddy St. H. Johnson, Secretary, 1017 Howard St.

HATTERS of North America, United, S. F. District. Meets 2nd Friday, January, April, July, Oct. C. H. Davis, Secretary, 1458 Market St.

HORSESHOEIERS of the U. S. and Canada, International Union, No. 25. Meets 1st and 3rd Tuesday at 100 Mission St. Secretary, John McCloskey, 1142 Divisadero St.

HOTEL and Restaurant Employees, No. 30. (Cook and Waiters). Meets every Wednesday at 8:30 p.m. at 315 O'Sullivan St. W. L. Caudle, Secretary, 12 Carlos Place.

LAUNDRY WORKERS International Union (Shirts and Waist). Meets every Wednesday at Universal Hall, 812 Pacific St. J. Dussere, Secretary, 12 Montgomery St., San Francisco.

LAUNDRY WORKERS International Union (Shirts and Waist). Meets every Wednesday at Universal Hall, 812 Pacific St. J. Dussere, Secretary, 12 Montgomery St., San Francisco.

LEATHER WORKERS on Horse Goods, United Brotherhood. Meets every Friday at B. B. Hall, 121 Eddy St. A. H. Kohler, Secretary, 1619 Polk St.

LITHOGRAPHERS International Protective and Benevolent Union of the U. S., No. 250. Meets every Wednesday, Alcazar Building, R. L. Ot- sen, Secretary, 10075 Lombard St.

LABORERS. International Association, No. 844. Meets Sundays at 2:00 p.m. at 1159 Mission St. Secretary, P. P. Kelly, Secretary, 177 Turk St.

MACHINISTS. International Association, No. 68. Meets every 1st and 3rd Tuesday at 177 Turk St. R. I. Wiener, Secretary, 927 Market St.

MEAT Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America. Amalgamated. Meets Tuesday at 1177 Turk St. Herman May, Secretary, 10 Walnut Ave.

METAL Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass Work- ers Union of North America, No. 128. 2nd and 4th Monday at 1135 Mission St. J. J. O'Brien, Secretary, 760 Market St.

METAL Polishers, Buffers, Platers and General Brass Workers of North America, No. 158. B. B. Hall, every 1st and 3rd Tuesday at 1133 Mission St. W. J. Ballard, Secretary.

METAL Workers International Union, No. —. Meets fourth Tuesday at 1157 Turk St. W. H. Pohlan, Secretary, 1128 Sacramento St., Vallejo, Cal.

MILKERS Union, No. 882. Meets 2nd Monday at 1160 Mission St. Secretary, J. M. Fallon, Secretary, 309 Montgomery St.

MOULDERS Union of North America, Iron, No. 164. Meets every Tuesday at 1133 Mission St. Martin G. Fallon, Secretary, 9802 Folsom St.

MAILERS. Newspaper, No. 18. Meets 1st Thursday at 1021 O'Farrell St. Alfred O'Neil, Secretary.

METAL Workers United, No. 27 (Machine Hands). Meets 2nd and 4th Tuesdays at 1157 Mission St. D. Murray, Secretary, 1953 Ringold St.

METAL Workers International Association, Amal- gamated Sheet No. 36. Meets Fridays at 1210 Mission St. A. C. Pratt, Secretary.

MUSICIANS' Mutual Protective Union (American Federation of Musicians), No. 6. Meets 2nd Tuesday, at 9:00 A.M. Direction of 117 Turk St., every Tuesday, 1 p.m. at 421 Post St. S. D. Davis, Secretary, 421 Post St.

PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, Brotherhood of, No. 134. Van Nishieuw and Polishers, Meets at 1177 Turk St. J. C. Patterson, 405 Thirteenth St.

PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, Brotherhood of, No. 136. Meets at 117 Turk St., Mondays. Carl Trost, Secretary, 806 Taylor St.

PAINTERS, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, Brotherhood of, No. 131. Paper Hangers. Meets every Friday at 9135 Market St., 10th and Gough St.

POULTRY and Game Dressers, No. 950. A. F. of L. Meets 1st and 3rd Tuesdays at California Hall, 635 Market St. Thos. W. Collas, Secretary, 815 Essex St.

PAVERS’ Union. No. 885. Meets 1st Monday at 120 Ninth St. M. Murphy, Secretary, 1510 Harrison St.

PATTERN Makers meet at 55 Third St. E. A. Donahue, Secretary, 55 Third St.

PRINTING Pressmen’s Union, No. 4. Web Press- men, 1st Monday at Becker’s Hall, 14 Third St. J. Brainwell, Secretary, 1815 B Mason Street.

PRINTING Pressmen’s Union, International, No. 2. Web Pressmen, 1st Monday at 1021 O’Farrell St. W. Griswold, Secretary, 2927 Pierce St.

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PILE Drivers and Bridge Builders, No. 508. Saturday at 260 Grant Street, J. V. Beck, Secretary, 922 Natoma St.

RAMMER’S UNION, No. 9120. 1st Thursday, 120 Ninth St. P. Geraghty, Secretary, 434 Fourth Ave.

SEAMEN’S Union, International. Sailors’ Union of the Pacific. Every Monday at 7:30 p.m., East and West End Missions.

STABLEMEN’S Union, No. 8750. A. F. of L. For Men, B. B. Hall, 588 Mission St. P. White, Secretary, 405 Natoma St.

SHIP and Steamboat Joiners Union, No. 8786. A. F. of L., Thursday morning at 26 Eddy St. Thos. Westoby, Secretary, 3385 Fremont St.

SHIP DRILLERS’ Union, No. 9037. A. F. of L., Thurs- day evening and Sunday 2 p.m. at 376 Brannan St.; entrance on Third St. Wm. Coakley, Secretary, 114 Mission St.

STAGE Employees National Alliance, Theatrical. (Theatre Employees Union), No. 131. Meets Tuesday and Thursday, 2 p.m., at Native Sons’ Hall, 414 Mason St. Carl Taylor, Secretary, 414 Mason St.
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7. Interest is allowed on all share capital. At present at 8 per cent.
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10. The net profits are divided among the members in proportion to the purchases made.
11. All trade is done on a strictly cash basis.
12. Goods are sold at market rates.
13. Only payables and reliable goods are handled.
14. Liquors are not sold.
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**17. Believers in Union.**

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