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Socialism and Spiritual Progress

A Paper Read by Comrade H. Strunsky Before the S. D. P. of San Francisco, at the Academy of Sciences April 18, 1901.

It has been said that Socialism would check spiritual progress. Great men like Herbert Spencer, Matthew Arnold, Robert Ingersoll, and Dr. David Starr Jordan have expressed themselves as not favoring the radical change which Socialism would bring about. Dr. Jordan voiced the sentiment of the entire school of thinkers when once, in a lecture before the Socialists of this city, he said that Socialism would make us richer, but not better. "We do not want a nation of wealth," said he, "but a nation of men." These thinkers deem a society where the individual will be cared for a menace to spiritual progress inasmuch as it will weaken individual effort. Here is their point of view: True greatness and strength of character will always be recognized. No man or number of men can make another man great. They cite Shakespeare on this subject, where he says that "the fault is not with our stars that we are underlings, but with ourselves. Man is oftentimes master of his fate."

Socialism, they say, proposes to educate the children, to provide employment for the individual, and even to equalize, to a certain extent, the remuneration for labor performed. This, they fear, would retard spiritual progress. On the one hand, the care that a well-governed society, such as the Socialists propose to establish, would bestow on the individual would diminish, or perhaps destroy, the stimulus for individual effort. On the other hand, the lack of encouragement to be great, the fact that a few hours of easy work will supply one with the necessities of life, will rob men of the incentive to surpass. The incentive to gain, they think, is a great promoter of spiritual progress. Poverty would be done away with, and they believe, with Carnegie, that we cannot afford to do away with poverty. For to do away with poverty would mean to do away with the struggle for existence. The struggle for existence, they hold, is the real test by which we can ascertain our true worth. Given a free field in which to fight for supremacy, the fittest, and therefore the most valuable to society, survive. The survival of the fittest is the promise of a better human race for the future. To do away with, or at least to lighten, that struggle would mean to allow the unfit to survive. The man of brain, the man of greatness, the man of genius, the man of character, would have no field for his activities. There would be no poverty to induce the exercise of his faculties, no incentive of gain to promote his desire to do his utmost for the race, and no intense struggle for existence which would call forth his true valor and special aptitude in a certain line of action. All these would demoralize the growth of spiritual progress.

It is the aim of this paper to discuss and to ascertain the truthfulness of the foregoing assertions. Is it true that poverty tends to stimulate human energy? That the fear of becoming poor calls into play the latent powers of the individual? Is it true that the best work done for the human race is due to the incentive of gain? And is it true that in the struggle for existence (in the manner it is being conducted now) the best, the ones who render most valuable service to society, survive?

If it were true that poverty stimulates human energy and that the fear of destitution calls forth intellectual activity, it would necessarily follow that the greatest number of great men would have sprung from the ranks of the poor. That the greatest number of poets, writers and scientists would have sprung from humble origins. But this is not so. It is true that every now and then we come across men like Oliver Goldsmith, Charles Dickens, Edgar Allan Poe, Whittier, and others, who have grown from poverty to eminence. But it remains for the opponents of Socialism to prove that it is because of poverty that they were great, that they would not have been as great, or greater still, had they lived under more favorable conditions.

I was anxious to ascertain whether it is true that the greatest men were the masters of their fate. In order to find out whether the circumstances and opportunities of great men helped them to develop their faculties, I have consulted a valuable work of thirty volumes, edited by Charles Dudley Warner and entitled "World's Best Literature."

There I have found that the great men who came from the poor are far and few between; that, as a rule, the greatest of men were those who had the opportunities to develop their talents. I have taken out a few of the names that are most known to us and have placed against every name, in an abridged form, that part of the biographical sketch that dwells on their respective material positions: Dante—the son of a well-to-do citizen; Aristotle—the son of a scientist; William Harrison Ainsworth—the son of a prosperous merchant; Matthew Arnold—son of Thomas Arnold, a celebrated man of means; James Matthew Barrie—son of a physician who gave him a college education; Edmond Burke—son of a successful attorney; Francis H. Burnett describes her own life as an English girl in a comfortable Manchester home, leading a well-regulated existence with brothers, sisters, nurse and governess; Robert Browning—his surroundings were typical of English moderate prosperity; Sir Richard Burton—a nobleman; Lord Byron—a nobleman; Tennyson—his boyhood was passed in an atmosphere of poetry and music; Kipling—birth, education and early experience were such

as to qualify him for his elected work in this world; Shelley—the son of a gentleman who had inherited a great estate; Adam Smith—the son of a well-connected lawyer; Hegel—the son of a well-to-do official of Public Revenues; Henry Thomas Buckle—the son of a wealthy merchant; Goethe—an aristocrat; Heinrich Heine—the son of a wealthy merchant; Victor Hugo—the son of a wealthy official; Arthur Schopenhauer—father, a merchant of prosperous circumstances; Henrik Ibsen—father, a successful business man; Dostoiwsky—a nobleman; Count Tolstoi—a prince; Ivan Turgenief—a wealthy land-owner; Lowell, Longfellow, Wendell Phillips, Oliver Wendell Holmes—of fine stock and favorable conditions; and our own Karl Marx and Lasalle—sons of wealthy merchants.

Thus we see that the majority of great men have been educated by their own people, that they have been helped to their greatness, that they had the opportunities to develop their genius—in short, that they have lived under most favorable conditions.

That the incentive of gain is the underlying cause to which we owe our civilization is also untrue.

The greatest men—those at the zenith of our civilization—have been of the advanced margin—they dragged with them, by extraordinary effort, the train of human progress. "Even a dead fish can go with the stream," said Smiley, "but it takes a man to swim against it." The martyrs of civilization were those who swam against the stream. And a hard task it was! We know what they suffered; we know that the world was only too ready to persecute any advanced movement, any new discovery or scientific theory. To say that the incentive of gain called forth true greatness is not only a falsehood, but an insult to the best and noblest spirits of mankind!

It was not the incentive of gain that made Christopher Columbus venture, at the risk of his life, to explore unknown regions. It was not the incentive of gain that made Newton think. And it was not the incentive of gain that made Galileo assert the truth. The incentive to gain invented no new machine, produced no work of art, wrote no good book, sang no true poem. On the contrary, the greatest of men have worked at the cost of their material welfare, have labored in the face of prosecution. They had to fight the blindness of the masses, the ignorance of the superstitious, the intolerance of the religious, and the tyrannical tactics of the powers that be. But the human race is destined to grow, and nothing in the world can check that growth!

The great man needs no incentive for the exercise of his faculties other than the love for his work. His very happiness consists in so doing. Arthur Schopenhauer reports that Aristotle, in his "Politics," tells us that the free exercise of any power means happiness. And Goethe declares in "Wilhelm Meister" that a man born with a talent which is meant for use, finds his greatest happiness in using it.

The artist needs no more inducement to paint, the musician to compose, the poet to sing, than does the fond mother to embrace her child, or the lover to visit his beloved.

The assertion that in the struggle for existence the fittest are those who are of greater value to the human race is equally untrue.

If this were true, then it would follow that those who have rendered better service to the human race should have been the successful ones. But this is not the case. A few examples will suffice.

In the words of David Allyn Gorten, M.D.: "The inventor of the steam engine made a fortune. Sickles, the man who perfected the steam-engine that bears his name, died in penury. Jenner, the discoverer of vaccination, died in moderate circumstances. Morton, the man who first discovered the anaesthetic quality of ether, went around begging in his later days. Gibbs, the inventor of the sewing-machine that bears his name, died poor. And the inventor of the little attachment called the hemmer, on which Singer made a fortune, lived in extreme poverty. Gerard Sickles, the man who invented the first envelope machine, had to be supported by his sons, while his invention made other people immensely rich. The man who revolutionized the cotton industry (out of which fortunes have been made) never made anything out of his invention for himself. Franklin and his coadjutors in electro-dynamics never made anything but fame for their pains. Even Morse, whose inspired genius developed telegraphy, never greatly enriched himself. On the other hand, men who contributed nothing to either science, letters or inventions possess colossal fortunes. How did they do that? Simply by taking advantage of the genius and industry of the other man. The struggle for life is being fought in a shameful and treacherous manner. Cunning, deceit and exploitation are the weapons. The one who is better equipped with such weapons is the fittest and therefore the most successful. Thus are the Socialists justified in their assumption that today the survival of the fittest means the survival of the toughest. And Huxley says well in his "Evolution of Ethics" that "whatever difference of opinion may exist among experts, there is a general consensus of opinion that the ape-and-tiger methods of the struggle for existence are not reconcilable with sound ethical principles."

So far we have seen that what Socialism would undo would not demoralize the growth of spiritual progress. We will now see what Socialism would do to promote it.

The development of talent needs a field for its activities. An appreciative society forms the fertile ground on which talent and genius can grow to better advantage. The appreciation of a people constitutes the encouragement for intellectual ambition. A

just appreciation can be rendered only by the intelligent and cultured. The intelligence of a people, the degree of intellectual development, the amount of culture and refinement of a certain society will form the essential factor that will determine the moral, spiritual and intellectual vigor of that age.

Says Henry Thomas Buckle, in his "History of Civilization of England": "Whatever the moral and intellectual progress of man may be, it resolves itself, not into a progress of natural capacity, but in a progress, if I may say so, of opportunity—that is, the improvement of the circumstances under which that capacity after birth comes into play. Here, then, lies the gist of the whole matter. The progress is one not of internal power, but of external advantage. The child born in a civilized land is not likely as such to be superior to one born among barbarians, and the difference which ensues between the acts of the two children will be cause, so far as we know, solely by pressure of external circumstances, by which I mean the surrounding opinions, knowledge, association—in a word, the entire mental atmosphere in which the two children are respectively nurtured."

The question, therefore, of whether or not Socialism would promote spiritual progress depends on whether or not it would improve the circumstances "under which the capacity of man, after birth, comes into play."

Now, what will Socialism do to improve the circumstances to bring about the "external advantages"? Socialism will ultimately do away with commercialism and extreme poverty. Commercialism and extreme poverty are the most corrupting and degrading influences in society today.

A story is being told of Fourier, the great French Socialist. When he was a child his father kept a store. Once in the absence of his parents he was called to attend a customer. The little boy, in his innocence, told the customer the true price of the article. For this he received a beating from his father, and was told never to do so again. When he grew to manhood, and recalled the incident of his childhood, he concluded that a system under which children are beaten for telling the truth is not a good system.

Many great men are unanimous in their denunciation of the spirit of commercialism. Alexander Dumas tells us that merchants and thieves serve the same God. Herbert Spencer admits that a man who cannot tell a lie with a straight face is not fit to stand behind a counter. And Tennyson asks, "Who but a fool would have faith in a tradesman's ware or his word?" Yet the merchant is today the most successful man, which means that we are rewarding liberally the one who engages in the most dishonest occupation. The one who shows special aptitude in that capacity is the fittest and is the one to survive. The result is a corrupt class of "ape-and-tiger" looking individuals of petty ambitions and vulgar desires.

Adjacent to that most corrupting spirit of commercialism lies poverty.

Not only are these two demoralizing factors closely connected, being the offspring of a common progenitor, known as Capitalism, but they seem to have one common object—that of degrading and vulgarizing mankind. What commercialism fails to do is left for poverty to accomplish. Poverty is the punishment for those who have failed to embrace commercialism. Besides producing the criminal, the swindler and the highwayman, poverty fosters ignorance and super-

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THE TRADE UNION POLICY.

By T. E. Zant.

The trade-union movement has grown so rapidly as to be almost cumbersome and unwieldy, and to lose much of its force. To obviate this disability something must be done to systematize its efforts and conform it to more definite methods. Here I would like to state that the reason this feature has been neglected is that the movement was not great enough to impress its importance on the public, or even on many of its members. So the time and energy was spent in getting the craftsmen together. If too strict a system and too much discipline were rigidly enforced it would have been difficult to get numbers enough together to give the movement the required prestige, respect and dignity.

Now we have reached a point that makes it absolutely necessary to adjust the movement to a comprehensive and adequate system.

First, to secure harmony and uniformity of action.

Second, to protect individual members, locals and groups of locals against unnecessary hardships, sacrifice and expense that could be avoided by adjustment through centralized efforts.

Third, to adjust differences without the use of the strike whenever it is possible.

Fourth, to systematize and subdivide the work and jurisdiction of the movement and all its parts. (This subdivision is necessary because of the present great amount of work, which inhibits the separate bodies from attending to all the details of the movement in the limited time they can be away from their usual occupations.)

We must not confine ourselves entirely to what exists, but fully comprehend the situation, and devise a means, formulate a system and make laws that will get the movement well in hand, and accomplish its purpose with the least possible hardship to the workers.

And we must understand that there is but one trade-union movement, not several. There may be

and are several parts of the whole.

The solidarity of the movement is absolutely necessary as a counterpart to the trust formations. All laboring people have one and the same interest: shorter hours and more pay. That interest is best effected and more secure by affiliating with the American Federation of Labor, and every link of the chain from the American Federation of Labor down to the local. So long as the movement was small and easily controlled it could go along in a loose kind of way and be successful to a degree; but a large movement cannot be proportionately successful because of its awkwardness and more or less conflict arising from separate, large local bodies.

There are three ways by which a trade-union may enforce its demands: First, striking or the threat of striking, which is the direct and immediate means; secondly, boycotting; thirdly, public sentiment and sympathy enlisted on the side of the unions. With regard to the strike, the more trades that are allied and associated, directly affecting one another, the more effective is a strike, and the strike of a trade aggrieved is more effective than the strike of a trade directly aggrieved. Each trade thus added compounds the strength of the combination. This plan is aided and encouraged throughout the whole country. Thus they become as one large local, so far as trade-matters and trade demands are concerned, though leaving complete autonomy to the local. These allied trades have their councils and these councils have complete control of trade-matters, and none other. They become the same as, and have no other jurisdiction than, a local. Just as it is the duty of the local to settle all disputes, if possible, without taking them to the council, so is it the duty of the allied councils to settle all trade disputes that can be settled without too much hardship to its local and members, before taking them to the local central body or the state or national body. The second means of enforcing their demands, by controlling the purchasing-power of a sufficient number of people to injure an unfair concern, that is the boycott. To get the best service out of the boycott it should be sharp, quick and strong. To get that effect we must get the greatest possible number of people to be engaged in it. Then we must seek the center of the largest number of unions, which should be the central body of every union in the locality. No council can be a central body which cannot admit every bona fide trade-union that applies. A boycott that drags and fails is many times more harmful than is suffering in silence and no attempt at boycotting. Failure kills the fears of the boycott.

Now, if a union of two thousand members takes upon itself the levying of a boycott, the concern boycotted figures the number of persons in the community and then figures the number of persons boycotted, and estimates the proportion of those that are likely to buy his commodities, the risk being small he does not fear the boycott and disregards it, but if fifty thousand are engaged in it the very highness of it gains the respect of many outsiders and is likely to cause one hundred thousand to take similar action, and the effect is immediately felt. We now see not only the necessity of thorough organization to make the boycott a great power, but also the need of preserving it in its strongest form and not injuring its usefulness by injudicious and too frequent use, for it can be made to settle disputes almost entirely without the need of strikes, which are a great hardship at best.

When such ability on the part of the trades-union to protect its interests is made manifest the public will respect it and popular sentiment will set in, favoring the claims of labor, that will make its struggle lighter.

To get into proper channels and subdivide the work of the movement, and each subdivision staying within its own jurisdiction, does not imply the giving up of any of our rights but is really the securing of more rights with less effort. Some men think they are giving up their personal rights when they yield to general government, but the fact is they are exchanging only small privileges for greater protection and security. It is the same in the adjusting of the trade-union movement to a system.

Any man or men in the labor movement who can, and who do see the possibilities of such results to the laboring people that may relieve them of much hardships, waste and sacrifices, and neglect or refuse, or endeavor to prevent its accomplishment, for either personal reasons, vainglory or petty spite and revenge, are traitors to the movement and mere self-seekers, and should be marked by every true trade-unionist.

The boycott is the legitimate work of the central body and should be conducted and controlled by it, and every subdivision of the movement from the local up should respect it and abide by its decisions, and the time will come when the movement will have to insist upon this discipline. The sooner the unions learn this the greater will be their power. Not yet, though, is the movement cemented well enough together to insist upon this too strongly.

When we realize the many thousands of people whose welfare is staked upon the action of the central body and the untold hardships, loss, sacrifice, worry and hunger that could be avoided by our complying with this necessary regulation, we are constrained to be careful and to think seriously before committing ourselves to any definite action.

A duty we owe to every trade-union which aids us by its prestige and otherwise, is to apply ourselves to such regulations as will insure the best results with the least effort and greatest security to all.

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A. T. Kingsley, Esq., is looking for work. (???)

Will McKinley's visit mean "criminal aggression," or benevolent assimilation?—or both?

We have attained the material basis for the abolition of all poverty, but its realization is prevented by our present economic system.

Do not forget our entertainment and ball, at Turn Verein Hall, 323 Turk street, Saturday night, May 4th. A splendid program is promised.

You are the creature of circumstances. Don't forget it. And if the circumstances do not agree with you help us to mold them to your taste. Alone you can't do much.

Do not imagine the trust will bring Socialism of its own accord. You will really bring the co-operative commonwealth into existence. Get in and work; the trust will help you.

Speculation in Wall street mounts higher and higher. The gamblers are at a fever pitch of excitement and others are holding their breath, expecting to see something drop—and drop hard.

Arrangements are under way to give workmen stock in the steel trust. It will be of the common stock and very common if at all. The trust magnates never let their charity extend beyond their own immediate family circle.

If co-operation were not an instinct with the human race more than half the intelligent Socialists of the country would be fighting against Socialism. We developed in groups, and life to us is only possible surrounded by our fellows.

The May Day meeting in Metropolitan Temple was quite a success. The speakers were H. Gaylord Wilshire, Miss A. Strunsky, Joseph J. Noel and Cameron H. King, Sr. Cameron H. King, Jr., was in the chair. More will be said next week about the meeting.

The most impressive sight on May Day was the parade of the bakers. The men were dressed in all white suits, with red sashes around the waist. More than a thousand were in line. Comrades Emil Liess and A. R. Andre addressed them at Germania Gardens in the afternoon, and were well received.

Morgan has succeeded in getting control of the largest trans-Atlantic Navigation Company. Thus the financial interests which he represents will soon have a clutch around the entire world. A Wednesday dispatch states that it is believed to be Morgan's purpose to make the Atlantic an American lake.

The individual is an abstraction. Man is only known in his social relations. Still, you don't need to fear for your individuality under Socialism; that is, if you have any left when the trust is through with you.

Our position towards the trust smashers is about the same as the engineer's toward the hog who wanted to butt the train off the track. We admire their grit, but we damn their judgment.

After all, life is only a trifle. If you lose it today or ten years hence, what will you care, what will posterity care in the years to come? A man shall be known only by his monument. Let your monument be a worthy social life for all men. This is only possible under Socialism. We have continual recurrence in the happy smiles of the contented mothers and frolicking children of future ages. Work with that end in view.

"It is not fair to expect the employer to do all. America stands before the world as the land of opportunity and fair play. The capitalist should not be regarded as a thief and a robber, but labor should recognize the sincerity of his motives, and give him a chance to prove his sincerity by working with and not against him." This is from a journal for the employed. It is an hermaphroditic production designed to reconcile workmen with their lot—and incidentally to reconcile their masters to the reconciliation.

We are afraid the greatness attributed to David Starr Jordan by some of our comrades is like considerable of this world's greatness—acquired by association. To have one's name on a private list of the worthy is no evidence that one is destined for a place in the halls of fame. Dr. Jordan's acquaintance with ichthyology is overshadowed by his plentiful lack of knowledge of human affairs. His pusillanimity will pass into a proverb in academic circles. Through the proverb posterity may know that he once wrote books.

Union men of San Francisco, do not betray your fellows, or you will betray yourselves. The cause of unionism demands that you stick together. The defeat of a strike or boycott means discouragement, and discouragement and defeat of one union might mean the beginning of a series. It is an old and well-known fact that the enthusiasm of new recruits, such as have swarmed into the unions, is easily turned into panic by slight reverses. We urge you, therefore, brothers, to think no battle insignificant, but to throw yourselves, heart and soul, into every conflict that your strenuous endeavors will make victory sure. The Hotel and Restaurant employees should receive the best support in their impending conflict with the Hotel and Restaurant keepers. The more determined, the more energetic the fight is begun, the shorter will be the struggle.

LABOR AND THE TRUSTS.

The editorial machine of the San Francisco "Chronicle" was fed with the news item of the woodworkers' strike against one of the Steel trust's mills. It proceeded to grind out the following gems.

"All economic accomplishment results from the application of labor to capital, and the great economic question of the world is as to the respective shares of capital and labor in the profits of their joint product. Underlying this is the social problem of the standard of comfort, to be sustained by the two classes. The capitalist's standard includes pictures, palaces and steam yachts. The workingman's standard involves abundant food, a comfortable home and good clothes for a holiday. So long as each class can maintain its standard and raise it, the one as much as the other, capital and labor work harmoniously and the output is enormous. When one or the other finds itself losing ground there is a struggle. The instinct of self-preservation lead to combination on both sides, and we have facing each other the trusts and the labor unions."

This paragraph should be read by every working-man. It should be "learned and conned by rote." Seldom do we find in the capitalist press so frank an avowal of the existence of classes and the presence of an organized class struggle. The cool assumption that the two "standards" must continue in their relative positions is natural. The cunning shifting of "capital's share" to the "capitalists' share" is to be expected in bourgeois economics. But to distinctly state that there are two classes and that "there is a struggle"—this is a surprise.

Before discussing the class struggle, however, let us examine the "Chronicle's" economics and get an estimate of its social ethics.

"Economic accomplishment is the result of labor applied to capital." In other words, "Wealth is the product of labor applied to capital. This statement assumes the term capital to mean the raw materials, out of which, and the implements of industry, with which finished articles of use and value are produced. The term labor would include that mental and muscular energy expended by men in procuring the raw material and using the implements to fashion it into a completed product ready for the consumer. We will not quarrel over the terms, though exception might be taken to them; but merely insist that other terms meaning other things shall not be substituted under the pretense of their being synonyms.

Labor applied to capital produces wealth. "The great economic question is as to the respective shares of capital and labor in their joint product." Here is where the cards are shifted by the "Chronicle." To whom are the "respective shares" to go? Labor is an impersonal abstraction, which cannot be rewarded. The reward of labor must go to the human being that supplies the mental and muscular energy which is termed labor, or, more accurately, labor-power. But the reward of capital—shall that go to a human being? Can we say that any man supplies capital in the sense that workmen supply labor-power. Labor-power is part of the vital energies of the laborer; it is the essence of human activity. Outside of man it does not exist, i. e., it cannot be physically separated from him. It is not a material, tangible thing. Supplying it is a process that drains the life of the laborer; it consumes his very blood. Labor power is veritably a part of the workingman; when he contributes it to industrial processes he gives his flesh and bones, the very cells of his body and brain.

Quite the contrary with those men who "supply" capital. Capital is no such part of their body or vital energy. It is a material thing. It is not part of a human being; it is entirely separate and separable from human life. The man who "supplies" it is simply a possessor, an owner who claims a payment for permitting others to use it. To understand the matter more clearly, consider that labor-power, mental and muscular energy, is created by chemical, mechanical and vital organic processes that take place in the human body. But capital—let us refer again to our definition. Capital is the raw materials and the implements of industry used by labor in producing wealth. (This is the sense in which the "Chronicle" first used the term.) It will be readily seen that the implements of industry are themselves the products of labor applied to raw materials for they are put on the market as finished products, to be sold to consumers. As we have seen where lies the source of labor-power and are now considering the source of capital, we must strip the implements of industry of whatever they have acquired as the result of the expenditure of labor-power. When we do this the implements stand naked of all attributes except that of being unformed, raw materials. Thus we can eliminate consideration of these. Ultimately, in analyzing the production of wealth, we come to two factors: labor-power incorporated in and created by the human body, and raw materials, incorporated in the earth and created by natural chemical and organic processes, independent of human influence.

It must be evident, then, that it is not man that supplies the non-labor-power elements in wealth production. It is the earth, the natural resources of the world, that supply the raw material upon which labor exerts itself to produce articles for consumption. When, therefore, one speaks of "capital's share" and "labor's share" they are confronted by the fact that they can reward the laborer who supplies out of himself the labor-power, but they cannot reward the earth, out of which is supplied the raw materials, the ultimate "capital." Labor, mental and manual labor, is the only human factor entering strictly in the production of wealth. Besides the impossibility of rewarding the inanimate earth, therefore, there is the ethical duty of providing that the full product of labor shall go to labor. In other words, if we may speak theologically, if there be any purpose in the universe, the earth is here for man to extract a living from. The natural resources exist for man to apply his labor to and create wealth. Considering the matter from the purely human standpoint, labor, and labor alone, creates wealth, and therefore, the laborer, and the laborer alone, is entitled to the produced commodities. Capital needs no share and should have none.

But the "Chronicle," in an easy transition, makes "capital's share" the "capitalist's share." The owner of capital is to force labor to "divide up its product because labor must have raw materials, the ultimate capital, to work upon in producing wealth. This is

simply a case of "hold-up." The capitalist acquires a legal title to property in raw materials, and, like a dog in the manger, though not using it himself, says to the laborer, "This is mine; if you wish to use it, pay me tribute. I must have capital's share." As we have shown, capital has no share, and hence the claim the capitalist enters is simply extortion, practiced because the laws of the land allow it. In further proof of this point, the title to property should be considered. The most eminent legal authorities agree that all titles to land rest finally on possession gained by fraud or force. And if land, the source of all raw materials, has only been acquired in this way, how then can any subsequent title to land, or to the raw material from such lands, be just or proper?

We have seen how very doubtful is the justice of the capitalist's claim to any share at all, because, first, capital has no rights, being an inanimate thing; and, second, because the capitalist has no just title to capital, even did it have any right to a share of the product.

In view of this, perhaps, the brazen assurance of the "Chronicle" can best be appreciated when it assumes that the capitalist's "standard" of pictures, palaces and steam-yachts will continue at the expense of the working-class, who must content themselves with "abundant food, a comfortable home and good clothes for a holiday," and bad clothes, we presume, the rest of the time. This, however, is not the assumption of the "Chronicle" alone; it is the accepted order of things by capitalists and most workmen alike. The full dinner-pail, which the shrewd Mark Hanna held up last fall as the high ideal of a proper life for the American workmen and which caught them in an overwhelming majority, is but the symbol for the three articles that the "Chronicle" enumerates as the proper standard. Not only that, but even those class organizations which are formed to fight the capitalists and get better terms for labor—even they are looking out for a "fair day's pay for a fair day's work," which, being translated into "Chronicles," is "abundant food, a comfortable home and good clothes for a holiday." We do not wish to be understood as scorning these things. All our efforts are bent in aiding labor to realize even these little things. But we do scorn to hold these things as the highest good, the greatest benefits, the noblest ideals that the working-class should set up for itself while the capitalists revel in the labor-created luxuries of their "palaces and steam-yachts." What baseness, what dishonor, what a slave's part it is, for workingmen to be content with the paltry share flings to them. Have we not seen that it is labor that of their product which the capitalist contemptuously produces all wealth; that the claim of the capitalist is the flimsiest sort of thing?

COMING OUR WAY AND SOMETHING OVER.

The man who writes the Socialistic (?) editorials for the "Examiner" seems well posted on Christian Socialism definitions of the science. He has everything from the building of Noah's ark to the late Spanish-American war down as Socialism. He has discovered, too, that the hieroglyphics on Egyptian tombs were written by Socialists. We always suspected Marx and Engels. No doubt they deciphered these hieroglyphics and used them as original matter. Seriously, the "Examiner" man has the finest collection of misinformation extant. He almost persuades us to Theosophy. A man could not acquire so much left-handed knowledge in one incarnation; it would take several. About the only other man we know equal to such an asinine production is Herbert N. Casson of New York. Perhaps, after all, that longest leased wire in the world was pressed into service, and Herbert was given an opportunity to take a fall out of truth on the Coast. There is one writer he did not quote, and one of whom a study might be of service to him—that is Laura Jean Libby. True, she is a syndicate, but from all appearances Herbert is going the same way.

These are not Socialistic editorials, Social Democrats. This Casson is a mere puller-in for the Democratic party, who is hired by another puller-in, Mr. Willie Hearst. Do not imagine the "Examiner" is coming our way, comrades. We are becoming a power politically. Our propaganda is beginning to have results. And every effort is being made by the capitalistic parties to pull us their way. Anything that leaves the present wages system intact is opposed to Socialism. An analysis of the "Examiner-Journal" editorials gives evidence that the writer is in love with this system of exploitation. Not everything called Socialism now-a-days is Socialism. And the duty of every true Socialist is to make this clear. There is only one kind of Socialism worth teaching—that is the Socialism that finds its basis in the irrepressible struggle between the capitalistic class and the working-class. And the only Socialism worth having is the Socialism that will come by the supreme power of the working-class.

Chicago, April 30.—A blacklist, containing the names of 500 men who quit work on the Illinois Central Railroad during the American Railway Union strike in 1894, mailed to the superintendents of other roads, was submitted in evidence in the blacklisting case before Judge Hilsner yesterday. The defense objected to allowing it on the records, but the court overruled the objection. Norman Ford swore that he was employed in the Railway Superintendent's office at the time the blacklist was issued, and that he had made copies of it. William Holland, whose name appears on the list, testified that, as a result, he was refused work on the Northwestern road after the strike was declared off.

Nicolai Tesla is doing a noble work in attempting to establish communication with Mars. That task accomplished, the realization of a flying machine will next be in order, and a transplanetary aerial navigation line might be established by our railroad magnates. Think of the golden opportunities opening up before our vision! New markets! Our merchant princes would be enabled to palm off upon the green Marsians their shoddy goods, their oxen butter, and all the other adulterated and rotten products where-with our lives are being shortened. And last, but not least, the "dissatisfied element," the anarchists, Socialists and grumbling trade unionists might be shipped to Mars. What a picnic it would be for Rockefeller and consorts!—Free Society.

IN THE Industrial Arena

BY JOS. J. NJEL.

Wage workers, who belong to any trade that is not yet organized should send their names and addresses to the "Labor Editor." These names will be classified into their respective trades and as soon as enough are obtained of any occupation, a meeting will be called and a union organized. All unions organized through the medium of "Advance" will be affiliated with the Labor Council and the American Federation of Labor. Address all communications to "Labor Editor ADVANCE", 134 Murphy Building.

Not all history is humorous. Perspective alone adds this relieving quality. It is only because we can view the actions of our ancestors dispassionately that these actions induce the smile of toleration. Mucius Scaevola, placing his hand in the flames and toasting it for the edification of Rome's enemies, has a comic opera aspect for us today, but it was, despite Mommensen and other authorities who would relegate it to the limbo of the fairy tale, a serious proposition for Mucius. Horatio is another figure that causes us untold enjoyment. We always, in imagination, make him a tenor with the usual property sword and a grand aria, as he descends to the middle of the bridge, about defending Alba Longa till the cows come home, or something of that sort. Then we see the funny man leave the ranks of the enemy and swim the Arno. He clambers over the bridge. And just when the hero is holding his high note and shaking it in the face of the audience with fine effect, the low-comedian gives him a kick on the end of the back that causes him to eat his breakfast standing in front of the primitive Roman mantle-piece for several days in succession. But no doubt Horatio was a high-minded young patrician, who, like Ella Wheeler Wilcox, took himself seriously. It was not all beer and skittles holding the bridge against such odds. The comic opera sitting distracts from the heart interest, and this, with the methods of historical research so much in vogue today, robs these men of action of their just reward.

But Plato said, "The poet sees more of the vital truth of history than the historian." He anticipated Mommensen and prepared the way for a true appreciation of Macaulay. Only a poet could look with equanimity upon some of the attitudinizing of our forebears. It takes considerable short-sightedness to see the vital truth of history. And poets of a period are proverbially short-sighted. Take a poet of this period of ours, for instance. He would find his epic in the trust. His heroes would be the fellows with a collection of rhetorical gimlets, boring into the cuticle of this hydra-headed monster. Canto I would go somewhat like this:

THE ADVANCE ON THE STARTING POINT, OR DOWN WITH THE TRUST.

Then came they to the land of smoke and iron,* Two million strong they were, or should have been, But only talkers go to a convention.** Vicariously, then, two million men were seen. Vicariously, too, the earth shook with their treading When up Soho*** they climbed at dead of night. The delegates, two millions representing, Climbed Soho hill to see a glorious sight. "Hell**** with the lid off," shouted they in chorus, As over muddy waters sped the eye And saw the flames towards the heavens ascending, Causing, vicariously, two million men to sigh And wonder if the trust, now so embroiling, Could not upon the flames be set a-boiling.

To halls they rushed, two million men together, For proxies in this war they always count. Though stuffed in pockets to escape the weather And other things that might reflect a doubt Upon that trifling thing they call existence. Then talked and talked they till the night was speeding,

These delegates, they talked when jocund day Stood tip-toe on the misty mountains, Nor thought they once of going far away And leaving combination at its business Of crushing out the fools who always stay The wheels of progress with a resolution That merely causes smiles from evolution.

Of course, the satire is for the benefit of posterity. The poet in his opening canto always hints to his readers that fate has let him in on the ground floor. After having set himself right with his unborn commentators, he plunges into the business of his poem. History receives several coats of paint, and the vital truth Plato speaks of is put on as a gloss finish. A hero is always needed for an epic and the man who suggested the Pittsburg convention is as good as any one else. The great man theory of human progress is exploited to the limit. The hero always says he is a great man. That's his catch phrase, and stanza 1,102 shows him standing fearless and alone, the lime-light turned on him, defying the trust. The trust, by the way, is very busy and pays no attention to him. The two or three million proxies he holds in his hands are a bit frayed at the edges, through over-work endorsing resolutions that the trust should be smashed. It is very heroic. The poet always makes ordinary people, in comparison with his heroes, look like thirty cents. But there the work of the poet ends and the work of the historian begins. The future Mommensen will give us the impression that this Horatio stood on the middle of a bridge, labeled "Progress," and shouted for the world to go backward. Then we will imagine the low comedian coming into the rays of the lime-light and helping evolution to remove the obstruction by giving the hero a swift kick on the region of his anatomy that will be most convincing. The Mommensens of the future will show us the Mucius Scaevola of our own time holding their hands in the fire at so much per day and railroad fare; and being removed to a point that allows an unbiased view, we shall be much edified at the humor of the thing. Mommensens

* "Land of smoke and iron"; Pittsburg, Pa.

** "The convention": "Trades unions are considering the trust seriously. . . . A convention will be held at Pittsburg this summer to devise ways and means of smashing the trust."—S. F. Chronicle, April 16th.

*** "Soho": A hill in Pittsburg.

**** "Hell with the lid off": When the steel and glass factories work at night, a scene is presented along the river that only a Dante could depict.

INTERNATIONAL MAY DAY CELEBRATION OF THE Grades Unions Social and Singing Societies.

Sunday, May 5th AT GERMANIA GARDENS (Harbor View.) Grand Orchestra till 12pm Admission 25 cents

GRAND BALL Given by the Socialist Band of San Francisco The TEMPLE, 117 Turk St SUNDAY, MAY 18, 1901

The proceeds of this ball are to be used for the benefit and improvement of the Socialist Band, with the end in view of having a well equipped and thoroughly trained band to aid in forwarding the cause of socialism.

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A School of Socialism. If you wish to understand Socialism or to be able to work for it, you should take this course of lessons by correspondence. Sets of the printed lessons can be obtained for the use of local classes. If you can take these lessons either in a local class or by correspondence you can do effective work for Socialism afterward. For full particulars address, with stamp Walter Thomas Mills, 3962 Langley Ave., Chicago, Ill

may even go further and show us that these smashers of the trust find a parallel in history in the smashers of the machine. Historians have a way of finding out the vital truth of history, despite the bit of rhetoric Plato voiced, and they put men in the categories where they rightfully belong; and just as they call the men who opposed the introduction of a machine that would lighten human labor, "unthinking clowns," so will they call these trust-smashers "fools or knaves." Close inspection of many an eagle will prove him a turkey buzzard. It is so with the trust-smashers. They continuously cry, "Turn the lime-light on me, the center of the stage is mine"; but taken behind the scenes and stripped, they present but mediocre figures.

About fifty thousand dollars have been pledged by the merchants of this city to fight the unions. Their mode of operation will be to take a single union and beat it into submission. When that is accomplished they think the others will be so thoroughly frightened that no fight will be left in them. The merchants are hugging a delusion. Fifty thousand dollars is a goodly sum and an immense amount of reactionary propaganda may be done with it. But even after that is spent a large-sized hole will remain in which twice, three times as much may be deposited. Unions are not so much the outgrowth of thought as they are of economic conditions. The act precedes thought here as elsewhere in human society. Men come together naturally, as Kropotkin says. They can get a living more easily in that way. They developed in what might be called hordes. The horde survived; the egregious ancestor, if there was one, perished. Men accomplish more co-operatively. There need be no unity of insight; unity of action is sufficient. And unity of action is the very life of the trades-union. It is an instinct. But unfortunately, while unity of action on the part of individuals composing a group can be expected, unity of action on the part of a group of groups cannot be depended upon. Consciousness of kind among the proletarians, to a certain extent, does not extend beyond the narrow limits of the trade they are engaged in. And here is the opportunity of San Francisco's merchants. Their success will come, if it comes at all, by the hostility one group of trades has for another group of trades.

An effort was made last week to show the necessity for consolidation by the trades-unions, nationally. The moral finds an application locally. And unless some one comes forward with an olive branch that will be acceptable to both sides, the fifty-thousand-dollar fund will be more or less efficacious. Privately, I believe boiling oil (one could make it olive oil, if preferred) for a few, would be the most effective olive branch that could be extended. But that is unfortunately out of the question. So, as peace must come at any price, why not pay the price? Let the differences be swamped and present an unbroken front to the enemy. Whatever differences our capitalistic enemies have, they are a unit when it comes to fighting. But even if the San Francisco merchants do succeed in smashing a union or two with their fifty-thousand-dollar club, the good trades-unionist knows that the building up on a more solid basis will begin even with the first sign of dissolution. Economic conditions make changes and an expression of will is merely an aftermath, one might call it an afterthought.

From all appearances the union that has been selected to bear the brunt in this fight of the merchants is the Cooks and Waiters. A positive stand has been taken by the restaurant keepers against a recognition of this union. Today, May 1st, the world-wide holiday of the working class, the waiters are on strike for principle. Every trade in the city, whether affiliated with one council or both councils, or no council, should help these men. The usual calamity howl could be indulged in and no stretch of the truth be necessary to affect sensitive people to tears—but why? These waiters are not after your aid because of your charitable inclinations. They merely ask your assistance to fight the enemies of the working class. They are members of this class. The restaurant keepers are members of the opposing class. What they demand they demand as men. You can help them. About fifty restaurant keepers of the city have signed the schedule presented by the Union. They have Union cards in their windows. Unless you see these cards do not enter.

To give a faint suggestion of the kind of men who compose the Restaurant Keepers' Association, a brief notice of just one—the head and front of the whole concern—will not be amiss. He is a smooth hypocrite, with a long-standing fight against common decency. He is a disciple of the great god Bud—a blooming idol made o' mud. In other words, he is a theosophist of the Mrs. Tingley school, or some other school, and is firmly convinced that the more one suffers in this incarnation the better off he will be in the next. This is a convenient philosophy for a restaurant keeper. His conscience will not annoy him for making his girl waiters work twelve hours a day for nothing. Yes, this disciple of Mrs. Tingley or Madame Blavatsky, or Anna Besant or somebody who pretends or pretended to know something about this revived idocy, gives his waitress nothing for the first two weeks, and after that he gives them a noble fifteen dollars a month. And he will prate about feminine virtue, this hypocrite, and strength of character, and fixed resolves, and Karma and cosmos, and a Nirvana fit for grocers. A man need have none of these things to be a man, and their possession by this ethical citizen, together with his lack of the qualities that make true a man, are sufficient condemnation of the whole infernal rot. Such a person, with such a soul, is a fit head for the Restaurant Employers' Association.

It always leaves a bad taste in the mouth to have even remote dealings with a hypocrite. For that reason one can turn to members of the working class with a glad feeling of kinship. They are uncouth, unbooked, a bit vulgar of speech, a little unfortunate in their familiarity; still, when one fronts them he knows they are true men. They cannot discuss esoteric philosophy, but they can help each other when help is needed. Their generous hearts leave them easy victims of the crafty and the cunning. They are tricked and hoodwinked by men who ingratiate themselves into their good graces. But their sterling worth, no man who really knows them will deny. They

are the anchor in the troubled industrial and economic seas. Without the great working class the world would be as a stagnant pool from which miasmas would arise that would overwhelm humanity. The artifice, the pretension of the cultured classes, so-called, blind them to their opportunities. A pink tea satisfies their idea of progress for the race. An epigrammatic stab in the back for a friend is their highest ambition for the individual. There is more genuine hope for society in a little incident that occurred in the Brewery Workmen's Union at its last meeting than in all the pink teas and all the epigrammatic stabs in the back ever indulged in by the cultured of the world.

In that union a proposition was carried through to fine a fellow-member five dollars for wearing shoes without the union label and another the same amount for reading the "German Democrat," a non-union publication. One might think the comparison a little far-fetched, but if one knew all this trifle of fining a patronizer of non-union products meant, he would change his mind. The spirit of solidarity displayed is the very bed-rock upon which rests the ultimate success of the working class. Without a consciousness of class, there can be no genuine good accomplished by the workers. A solid phalanx must be presented to our enemies before they will respect us, before they will even treat with us. This recognition of the claims of a trade outside of their own by the brewers is evidence that the solid phalanx will soon be presented. And when it is this system of exploitation will come to an end. The only genuine constructive factor in society today is the working class.

When it comes into its own there will be an end of poverty and the breaking of human hearts. Slavery will be abolished for the first time in the history of the world, for the only slave necessary will be the inanimate slave of iron and steel, the machine.

A GREAT FEAST.

Tuesday evening, April 30th, the Ruskin Club of Oakland gave its first annual Socialist Dinner. It was in every way an unqualified success. Many Socialists from the bay counties were present, and with the true spirit of jolly good fellows they proceeded to have a jolly good time. Comrade F. C. Bamford presided and conducted the ceremonies of the occasion with ability and eclat. As the dinner proceeded the intellectual feast began with a speech by Herman Whittaker, which elicited lively questions. Humorous stories were supplied by Rev. B. Fay Mills, Edw. Payne, H. Sully and F. I. Wheat.

After this James Andrew lead off with a speech on "The Ideals of Socialism." He was followed by B. Fay Mills on "Socialism and Religion." H. Gaylord Wilshire, of the "Challenge," spoke on "Labor Day." Anna Strunsky responded to the toast of "The Fellowship," her text being taken from Wm. Morris' "Dream of John Ball." Wm. Costley spoke in a humorous vein, his subject being "The Socialist." C. H. King, Jr., of ADVANCE staff, followed with remarks on "The Socialist Press." Edward Payne spoke on "Ethics and Socialism." A. Dennison, editor of the Oakland "Enquirer," spoke on "The Press," beginning with "And Satan came also." The last speech was by C. H. King, Sr., on "The Outlook," which proved to be infolok. Interspersed with the viands and eloquence, songs were sung by the Maennerchor and by the assembled guests. At half-past eleven the company broke up, singing "Good Night, Ladies." Altogether, it was perhaps the most enjoyable social event that has taken place in Socialist circles on the Coast. It is an earnest of much merriment and joviality for similar occasions in the future. We hope to attend many of them.

A GAS PIPE WITH AN EPITAPH.

Poor Hickey is no more. His demise occurred on a date that has escaped the memory of his dearest foes. It matters not, he is dead. Drunk and disorderly, he plunged into the hinterland. "Poor Gas Pipe!" I knew him well, Horatio, a fellow of infinite jest (ahem) and most excellent fancy (ahem again). He carried the old S. L. P. upon his back a thousand times, and oft he wrecked it with inappropriate word or clumsy gesture. But Daniel, ever watchful and afraid, would soon appear and take the kinks out and set it on its feet, ditto Hickey (forsooth, the latter needed the attention; strong waters were his bane and marked him for an early grave). Once he journeyed into space, a gripsack full of thoughts furnished by the man who thought them. Anon he came into a strange land and felt indeed a stranger. He matched his skill against the best and bravest, but the flowing bowl knocked his shins and laid him an easy victim to the rhetorical shaft and other shafts. He stumbled and mistook the thought his master furnished, and then he fell. Ah, what a fall was there, my comrades. "No," he said, and "Yes," the answer was. Then struck he his forehead with clenched fist and hid him to his wigwag for his graspack. "Gone, gone," he cried, "and gone is all my glory." "Where are the jests and jibes that were wont to set the table on a roar? Where are my master's thoughts, his puns, his science and his buzzsaw? Even as a stranger in Jerusalem am I despoiled of all the easy money I ever owned. Back from defeat and face the jeers?" Back to watch the quiet smile play on the face of Daniel? Back to bear contumely and the scorn of all my foes? Never! and grasped he firmly in his right hand his faithful gas pipe. "Reorganize," he cried, and beating air with fury he set forth to bend the men who were his comrades to his will. The struggle lasted through the night. His trusty gas pipe did him yeoman service, and still he met defeat. Then roared he as the bull of Bashan roars and still no man did fear. And now he is no more. Gone to an unmarked grave. Imperial Caesar dead and turned to clay, might stop a hole to keep the wind away. And think you he looked so i' the grave? And smelt so—pah! Go, get thee to the chambers of the great and tell them, with all their cackle such as old hens have to this favor must they come. J. J. N.

Turpentine interests of Florida and Georgia are trustifying.

The Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America has decided to continue the strike in the bituminous coal fields of Kansas, Arkansas and Indian Territory. This strike has been in progress for more than two years for an advance of ten per cent.

A GRAND Entertainment and Dance —Will be given by the— Social Democratic Party SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1901 Turn Verein Hall, 323 Turk St. A Special Program has been arranged. Music by Dijeau Band. Admission 25 cents. Ladies Free.

DON'T BUY AFTER 6 O'CLOCK HAUCH'S Cash Stores 1411 Park Street 1546 Seventh (Webster) St. THE Leading Grocers OF Alameda Ernest Rehor Artistic Tailor Suits Made to Order. Fit guaranteed. 44 San Pablo Ave. Opposite City Hall Oakland, Cal. VINCENT'S MEAT MARKET TELEPHONE MAIN 101

Porterhouse Steak.....\$1.11 Tenderloin......11 Round Steak......10 Rib Roast......10 Beef to Bol or Stew......06 Corned Beef......10 Mutton Chops......10 Pork Chops and Pork Roast......05 Pig's Head and Feet......10 Spring Lamb......10 Veal......12 Frankfurters......10 Sausage......10 LOCAL OAKLAND, of the Social Democratic Party, holds regular free public lectures every Thursday evening, 8 p. m., at Becker's Hall, 918 Washington Street. Admission on the case of correspondence to J. GEORGE SMITH, 212 Hearst Bld'g., San Francisco.

LOCAL ALAMEDA, of the Social Democratic Party, holds regular free public lectures every second Sunday evening at Foresters' Hall, corner Park street and Santa Clara ave. Educational meetings for members every Friday evening at 224 1/2 Van Ness ave room 5. Address communications J. C. STAMER, 2061 Encinal ave LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO, Social Democratic Party holds regular weekly lectures every Thursday evening, 8 p. m., at Academy of Science, 4 Hall, 8 1/2 Market street. Meetings begin at 8 o'clock. Open discussion follows each lecture. Questions answered; free platform; public invited. Admission free.

THE SOCIALIST DEBATING CLUB holds regular Sunday evening meetings at Pythian Castle, 909 Market street, beginning at 7:30. Object: To educate and develop class consciousness. Socialist speakers to champion the cause of the working class. Vocal and instrumental music, etc. Questions answered. Public invited. Admission free WIRTH & JACHENS BADGES CHECKS STENCILS SEALS RUBBER STAMPS 339 KEARNEY ST. SAN FRANCISCO CAL.

Trades Unionists and Socialists are requested to call and see our stock Telephone South 168 H. F. Suhr & Co FUNERAL DIRECTORS 1187 MISSION ST. bet. 7th and 8th SAN FRANCISCO

Dr Christensen DENTIST MAIN OFFICE Cor. Mission and 23rd sts. SAN FRANCISCO ALAMEDA OFFICE; 1325 Park Street. Mondays Only

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

Comrades: I hereby advise you of the result of the vote of the member of our party for secretaries to the Int. Socialist Bureau at Brussels, Belgium. Harriman 935 votes, Hayes 833, Hoehn 455, Eastman 229. Comrades Harriman and Hayes receiving the highest number of votes are declared elected to fill the above offices.

New Locals have been organized at Bishop Hill, Ill., Warren, Ohio, Newport News, Va., and a French speaking branch at Lawrence, Mass. Comrades, your attention is again called to the assessment levied by the N. E. C. This indebtedness is much yours as it is the N. E. C's, and we urge all comrades who have not yet paid same, to do so at once. Secretaries are specially requested to call attention to this assessment at the next meeting of their respective Locals, and urge all comrades to pay same.

Locals are also requested to notify the Nat'l Sec'y of their intention of participating in the circuits for open air speakers. The time when we propose to begin this method of propaganda will soon be here and we urge all Locals to cooperate with the N. E. C. in making these tours a success.

Comrade Herron's tour is now completed and he will speak as follows: May 8th Jersey City; May 9th, Elizabeth, N. J.; May 10th Trenton, N. J.; May 15th Reading, Pa; May 16th Philadelphia. May 17th is an open date and any Local in the vicinity of New York or Philadelphia wishing to arrange a meeting for Comrade Herron is requested to communicate with the National secretary for particulars. Fraternally Wm. Butcher, Nat'l Sec'y.

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Meeting held April 20th at 1067 Market St. Minutes read and approved. Communication from A. F. Snell, Secretary Local Los Angeles, moving that a referendum vote be taken on election of two delegates to National Unity Convention, one from northern part of the states and one from southern part; and that a fund be raised for the purpose was read. Communication from G. O. Onken, A. B. Lee, Tobias Hoch, S. Wallace Niman, F. F. Johnston, A. Levin, E. M. Anthony, B. K. Wilson, J. C. Stamer, J. E. Cole, W. F. Leary, F. D. Noel, G. T. Johnson, Wm. Gnauck, B. Fess and C. W. Shook. Remittances reported for dues:

Locals: Los Angeles \$2, 101st St. \$1, Benicia \$1, Long Beach \$1.50, Stockton \$1, Alameda, San Francisco \$1.50, Total \$28.50. For Leant's and organization funds. Alameda local: B. Fess, J. James, Andrew, G. B. Benham, L. O. Stewart, I. E. Liss, J. Jno., Reynolds, L. Van Alstine, I. Oliver, Ivan-tt, Total \$14.

The matter of the tour of J. Stitt Wilson of Chicago was referred to Comrade Scott. A vote of the local was unanimously carried to Mr. Herce H. Ryan, of Eureka, for his very excellent duties of the continued and successful communication from Comrade T. Hook referred to T. E. Zant.

J. G. O. Smith was elected to temporarily fill the vacancy on the S. E. C. caused by the resignation of Comrade T. Berford, until the position is properly filled by Local an Francisco. M. A. Glennan was elected to temporarily fill the vacancy caused by the continued and successful absence of Max Schwind until position is likewise filled.

The following resolution was declared to be the sense of the committee and copies of it were ordered sent to the secretaries of Locals: Whereas, our Comrade A. Levin has been repeatedly arrested for residing on the streets of Eureka; Comrade Levin has done a work of great value for the cause in Eureka and other parts of this state. He is now in jail in Eureka. In addition to the annoyance and hardships attendant upon arrests, trials and imprisonment, there has been a constant bill of expense because in large measure by Comrade Levin who should in justice be reimbursed at least in part for the sums advanced by him.

Therefore he is resolved, that secretaries of Locals in California be and are hereby requested to at once circulate subscription lists among members of the party and sympa hizers and send the proceeds as soon as possible to the secretary of this committee. Prompt and efficient action should be taken. Bills presented as follows: State organizer, Scott Anderson. 100 mimeograph letters of April 8, \$1.25 Postage stamps \$2.00 Organizers expense \$3.00

Ordered paid \$6.25 State Secretary's expense. Postage stamps and envelopes \$1.25 C. B. Benham, 10,000 leaflets \$9.50 1000 slips to accompany same 1.00 500 blank receipts 3.25 500 circular letters for organizers work 2.50

Ordered paid \$16.25 1000 envelopes and 1000 letter heads ordered to be printed. Warrant ordered drawn for 1000 mile railroad tickets and \$23 for the organizers expense on the road. Adjourned. J. M. Reynolds, Sec'y.

TELEPHONE Hyde 8941

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Correspondence.

The following is Comrade Charles H. Vail's reply to Comrade Thomas Bersford's criticism on him in ADVANCE of March 23d, and Comrade Bersford's rebuttal to it. Designedly, we did not publish these letters in our May-Day issue, which was solely intended to be a propaganda issue and which we did not care to disfigure by a most disagreeable discussion between two party comrades, both of whom are known to be good and zealous workers for our cause.

VAIL'S REPLY.

St. Louis, Mo., April 16th.
Editor Advance: A friend has just called my attention to Comrade Bersford's letter in the "Advance" in which he charges that my article on "Class Consciousness" which appeared in one of your recent issues, contains definitions and paragraphs taken from his little book on "Scientific Socialism." If one will compare the two he will see the utter groundlessness of the charge. All there is in common between the two writings in question, is that both treat of the same subject. Comrade Bersford did not originate the doctrine of class consciousness, and I fail to discover anything new in his statement of the question. There is no more parallel between my statement of the doctrine and his, than would naturally occur between the writings of any two persons who understand the principles of socialism.

Comrade Bersford says someone has pronounced his work the best concise work extant on the subject. As he did not discover the principles of socialism, I presume the work contains nothing new—nothing but what has been stated and restated many times, and undoubtedly in similar ways, but I have not known of his being charged with plagiarism. But I am not the only one involved. He says there are others. Undoubtedly everyone who has written on socialism since the issue of his book is open to suspicion!

His opening charge on me may be due to the fact that we both have books on scientific socialism which appeared about the same time. My book was in type when his was first announced. Its first mention in the "Advance" did not give exact title. Shortly afterward it was noticed in the "Tocsin" as "Scientific Socialism" with a supplementary title. This was the first intimation that the book used the term scientific socialism in its title. As my book was already in print, I telegraphed the "Tocsin" for exact title. Comrade Lee replied and I held my book back a few days and changed title page to "Principles of Scientific Socialism" so there would be no confusion. My "Modern Socialism" and "National Ownership of Railways" were published before his book.

At the conclusion of his article he lets the cat out of the bag. After giving as the first reason for mentioning the matter that someone might think he had copied my writings, he says: "Secondly, because I would like to ask the question: If a work is worthy of being copied is it not worth recommending? And if it is worth recommending, why has it been suppressed by the N. Y. 'People', 'Workers Call' and other papers which publish the articles mentioned but never allude to my work on 'Scientific Socialism'?" Here is the secret of the whole matter—the reason why he has stretched his imagination and accused me of using his book. He wants, as he says, to ask a question,—he wants to enter a complaint because the socialist papers have not given his book what he considers proper attention. In order to make a basis for the question he adopts the means referred to. His charge is utterly without foundation.

It is unfortunate for our friend that all of my large works were written before his little book came out, for they would furnish quite a field for comparison. Undoubtedly he could find many things in them which he could construe into being copied from his book.

I am always sorry to see the petty spirit of envy and jealousy displayed on the part of socialists, and would that all might put into practice the high ideals which they proclaim. Yours fraternally
Charles H. Vail.

BERSFORD'S REBUTTAL.
San Francisco, April 30th,
Editor Advance: A common trick with sophists, when unable to prove the point required, is to try to prove something, even if irrelevant and immaterial. Comrade Vail resorts to this tactic. When brought face to face with the actual fact in the shape of parallel columns, he writes of the "utter groundlessness" of the charge and proceeds to argue that his book was being published at the time my work was first announced, which, even if it were true, would not affect the matter, since the particular article in question does not appear at all in his books.

As a matter of fact, the first edition of my work was published more than a year before Comrade Vail's was announced, and long before it was "noticed" by the "Tocsin"; but this is irrelevant.

Comrade Vail says I did not originate the doctrine of class consciousness or discover the principles of socialism. One might retort: neither did he; yet he publishes books on the subject.

Comrade Vail might have extended his argument about newness into the trite universal—"there is nothing new under the sun." Or that Heraclitus first enunciated the doctrine of evolution and, therefore, there was nothing new in Darwin's application of the principle to biology, or Marx's application of it to economics. He might also argue that there was nothing original in Byron's "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers", because other writers had complained of reviewers and publishers. But what would readers think if Comrade Vail published those works or the poem as his own?

While most of the doctrines and principles of modern socialism were formulated in the works of Marx and Engels, they are by no means in the completed form that some people seem to imagine; much has been added to the science since Marx and Engels laid the foundation. Moreover, it is unfortunately true that the works of Marx and of other scientists are really abstruse to the uneducated masses, hence the necessity of popularized works on socialism and other sciences.

Lucid explanation is possible only when one has a thorough knowledge of the subject; but, in addition to a grasp of the subject, the popularizer of science must possess the faculty of clear and concise exposition. Whether or not this faculty is possessed by Comrade Vail, I do not care to discuss. However, it must be admitted that he has some appreciation of its value. He shows this by his judicious selection of some of my definitions.

But then Comrade Vail would not admit that there is any originality in carefully thought-out definitions. Though it is certainly difficult to write anything new, my little work could fairly claim to be, in one particular at least, as original as any of the recent works on socialism. It subjects socialist doctrines and theories to the logical test and inquires into what are the actual facts of socialism. This analysis and marshalling of socialist data is as original and important as any recent addition to socialist literature.

As to Comrade Vail's expression of the "petty spirit of envy" and "jealousy", "the failure to practice the ideal virtues" etc., I can reciprocate, I also have to express sorrow; it is indeedlachrymose that Comrade Vail should resort to the methods pointed out in the first part of this letter. Such methods are the cheapest and most superficial that a controversialist can employ and deplorable in a writer on scientific socialism. Thomas Bersford.

Editor Advance: The spirit of uncompromising class consciousness breathed in the recent articles of J. J. Neel and Eugene V. Debs is noble and inspiring. I honor the sentiment, yet I would not make the general principle involved in their utterances the logical reason for refusing the benefactions (?) of an Andrew Carnegie. There may be called the instinctive reason—the feeling that prompts the victim of a social highwayman to reject with scorn and contempt—a proffer by the hand of a part of their own. Carnegie is a creature of environment—a product of a social condition, and as such, in the last analysis, an irresponsible being. This being so, the reasons for the rejection of his blood-stained gold must be based upon a broader, a more tangible ground. If, notwithstanding his past record, Mr. Carnegie should miraculously recognize and avow the truth of socialist philosophy, and make a tender in good faith of the money in question, who will say his offer should be spurned? The question of motive is an important factor here, but of far more importance is the question of party ethics and tactics. Our methods spring logically from our premise, "Labor creates all wealth," therefore the laborers alone are entitled to the product: Our demand then is for Justice, not Charity, and to beg a favor from a capitalist, or the capitalist class as such, is to compromise the principle involved, and to invite repudiation by the class conscious proletariat of the world. I have little patience with the utilitarians—who think "the end justifies the means" in these matters—especially as the end is suicide as far as the political organization is concerned. Let us once open this door, and we invite and merit destruction as traitors to the working class. This is not a question of personal responsibility. It is a question of class interests and the ethics and tactics of a class organization—and as such must be determined. Let us have a full and free discussion in the interest of all concerned. San Bernardino, Cal. James S. Roche.

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SAN FRANCISCO LABOR COUNCIL.
The Council met in regular meeting on April 26th. President Goff in the chair. Applications for affiliation from Tanners' Protective Union, Core Makers, Street Sweepers, Newspaper Makers and Butchers Unions were received and approved and 18 new delegates seated. The application of the Ship Clerks was laid over one week.

The Milk Drivers reported that the Holstein Farm dairy continues to oppose the union; the Retail Clerks, that Quinn the 3rd street hatter persists in keeping open after 6 o'clock; Beer Bottlers, that the 8-hour workday commenced last Monday; Barbers, all shops are unionized; French Laundry Workers, that majority of laundries granted union rules, but that Fernan, 1525 Polk, has discharged all of his union help; Brewers, that they fined one member \$5 for wearing shoes without the union stamp, and that a fine was levied on members for reading the German "Demokrat"; a rat-printed paper; Shipjoiners, that the recently organized rival union is furnishing employers with cheap men; presented resolutions charging members of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners with working below the shipjoiner's wages; also request that the Labor Council request an explanation from that Brotherhood; also protest against the District Council of Carpenters forming a rival shipjoiner's union; Picture Frame Workers, Sanborn, Vail & Co. fight still on; boycott effective; Polishers, since April full membership (75) has been out on strike and every man still out. The hall committee was authorized to rent Pioneer Hall for the meetings from June 15th for \$25 per month. A motion was carried that council discontinue the use of "Organized Labor" and that it be refused circulation in the meeting room of the council. A motion that the Executive Committee be instructed to devise ways and means to have a labor paper issued by the council was defeated.

Respectfully submitted,
Ed. Rosenberg, Sec'y.

Socialism and Spiritual Progress.

(Continued from Page 1.)
stition; it is the mother of the tramp, the beggar, the liar, of the children of the great unwashed. It produces that mass of human dross which makes the train of progress move so slowly!

The substitution of a well-regulated and skillful system of production and distribution for the ape-and-tiger methods of the struggle for existence will be another great influence on human progress. Says Huxley: "The practice of that which is ethically best—what we call goodness or virtue—involves a course of conduct which, in all respects, is opposed to that which leads to success in the cosmic struggle for existence. In place of ruthless self-assertion it demands self-restraint; in the place of thrusting aside or treading down all competitors, it requires that the individual shall not merely respect, but help his fellows. Its influence is directed, not so much to the survival of the fittest as to the fitting of as many as possible to survive. It repudiates the gladiatorial theory of existence."

A system in which one has to fight his fellow-man is not productive of the best ethical results. The most good that was done to society was prompted by a motive of fellowship, by a sense of duty to the human race, by a martyr-like devotion to mankind.

Another very important factor in the promotion of spiritual progress would be the opportunity for a higher education that Socialism would afford to all. Dr. Jordan, in a lecture before the First Unitarian church, has this much to say about education: "Education means everything. And the most important thing to do is to educate the children. Fit them for their work in life. How glorious it would be if the present generation would quit politics and money-making, and devote itself to the education of the children. The world would jump one hundred—aye, one thousand years ahead!"

We agree with Dr. Jordan that education is a great thing. But under present conditions it is impossible to educate all the children. It is true that some men are busily engaged in the making of money. That the desire to succeed in that line taxes all their energies. Their fight can be characterized as that of two men fighting for the possession of wealth that was produced by a third.

And the third man? He who produces all wealth is not in a position to educate his children and himself. The struggle for existence is now being fought with new implements, with improved machinery. The workingman having no machinery is forced to sell his labor power to those who own the tools of production and distribution. And so low is the market price of labor that it is impossible for a workingman to maintain his family and educate his children. At times he is even unable to provide for them, and is compelled to call upon them to help him.

To many Socialism means a new and therefore strange system that will some day be ushered in to replace the one that governs society now. But this is not so. Socialism will be a higher of the process of the improvement of society that is taking place every day. Socialism does not intend to abolish anything but that which is harmful to the race. It does not intend to obliterate the struggle for existence, but to conduct it in a manner more in keeping with humanitarianism and ethical principles. Socialism does not mean to abolish this economic system, but to manage it. Socialism means to establish order in the production of wealth and justice in the distribution of commodities.

It is true that the Socialist makes a study of economics, discusses improved machinery, the evolution of industries, points out the waste of competition and emphasizes the material advantage of a well-organized system of production. But material advantage is not the end. It is the means by which moral and material progress will be obtained. He recognizes the importance of the influence that material advantages have on an age. He knows that a well-governed society, a society governed by a system such as Socialism strives to establish, cannot fail to promote the intellectual development of a people—cannot otherwise than produce a refined and noble human race.

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