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## Trade Unions and Socialism.

By Karl Kautsky.

(Reprinted from International Socialist Review.)

The modern proletarian movement has two kinds of antagonists: One, the straightforward but brutal antagonists, propose to suppress and to crush it by force. This kind has already experienced so many defeats, its method has proved itself to be so abortive, that it is losing today, with the thinking and discerning capitalists themselves—at least, for the time being—ever more of its credit. All the better does the other kind prosper that says: "Divide and rule," which, since forcible means do not avail, seeks to weaken the proletarian movement by splitting it. These opponents to the rule of the proletariat pose as its friends; they are not brutal, but "ethical," and for this reason they are all the more dangerous. They artfully try to represent different proletarian organizations as being antagonistic; they appear as advocates of sections of the proletarian movement in order to propagate distrust and even hatred against the entire movement. Some of these precious friends of labor avail themselves of national distinctions to incite workmen against workmen, others turn religious distinctions to the same account. However, the most intelligent and eminent among their number try to create discord between the trades union and the Social Democracy movement. These people always have in mind the example afforded by England. While on the continent of Europe the Social Democracy pushes ahead irresistibly and victoriously, in spite of special arbitrary legislation and of proscriptions, in spite of June butcheries and of bloody May weeks, the Chartist movement in England came to naught about the time when the trades unions were recovering ground, and so it happened that nowhere does the capitalist class wield today the political power more supreme than in England, the country possessing the most efficient, the most numerous, the best organized as well as the freest and most independent working class in the trades union movement. No wonder that this example should excite the envy of all wide-awake capitalist politicians and national economists on the continent of Europe and that their ardent efforts should be directed towards filling the reigning classes as well as the proletarians with enthusiasm for that English pattern.

It stands to reason that one nation can and should learn from others, as it can thereby save a great deal of costly experience. However, to learn from somebody does not mean simply to imitate that person slavishly, but to profit by his experience and knowledge so as to make a sensible and free use of them. If there is a trades union to be organized effectively, it is indispensable to consult the English pattern. Of this nobody was earlier convinced than Marx, who already in 1847 called attention to the English pattern of trades unions; and, if developed so quickly, this is due, above all, to the "International" and to the Social Democracy, both of them influenced most powerfully by Marx's teachings.

But if we have to determine the relation between trades union and Social Democracy, between trade and class organization, between economic and political struggles, in that case we can learn from the English nation only how that relation should NOT be.

Never has this become more evident than just at present, when, in consequence of the collapse of the liberal party, even the PRETENSE of a political influence on the part of the English working class has disappeared and when English trades unionism is anxiously striving to promote the formation of a new independent workingmen's party, in which endeavor it finds itself, however, most hampered by the instincts it itself has fostered, the instinct of trade egoism and of disregard of all efforts towards a more remote and higher aim. The present stage of the English trades union movement is the least suitable one to make its previously existing relation to politics appear in an ideal light.

It has often been remarked that the trades union movement, where it does not go hand in hand with an independent political movement, i. e., where it is not saturated with Socialist thought, acquires somewhat the character of the by-gone guilds.

It has also frequently been pointed out that this guild-like character shows itself first of all in that the workmen organized in trades unions form and constitute similar to the old-time journeymen organized in guilds, an aristocracy of labor, which isolates itself from the unorganized workingmen, which raises itself above them, which pushes them down the deeper into the social mire, the quicker it elevates itself. Where, however, the trades union movement is at work in the closest intellectual contact with the political movement of an independent labor party, there the trades unionists come to be the chosen champions of the entire proletariat, there they improve, along with their own condition, that of their class. The increase of duties, resulting therefrom, is compensated by having the economic and political basis of their achievements rendered more solid than that of the achievements of a labor aristocracy. The more such an aristocracy of labor leaves the unskilled, unprotected, unorganized parts of the proletariat to shift economically for themselves, the more these come to be the breeding centers of scabs who stab organized labor in the back on every occasion and thus paralyze every decided action. On the other hand, the workmen organized in trades unions cannot constitute for themselves alone a political party, but always only one part, and indeed often a powerful one, of such a party. If

they leave the unorganized workingmen to their own political resources instead of uniting with them in one political party, then the former must become the tail of a capitalist party that pretends to be friendly to the workingmen, but which, no matter how it tries to protect the interests of its proletarian voters, can never muster the necessary courage in face of capitalism and is doomed to fail the sooner, the more the proletarian character of its followers clashes with its own capitalist notions—just as manifested to us by the fate of the liberal party in England.

Then again, of course, England also shows us how much the success of the Social Democracy stands in need of the foundation afforded by a powerful trades union movement. Though, as the writer of this article has been assured by people that have been Chartists themselves, there was a closer connection between Chartism and trades unionism than modern historians of trades unionism suppose, it is a fact that the time when Chartism flourished was one of depression for trades unions; Chartism had no strong and steady economic organizations to fall back upon, and that explains much of the unsteadiness and precariousness of its development.

Modern English Socialism, however, placed itself in its beginnings in pretty strong opposition to the trades union movement; a stand that may be easily explained, considering the former conservative character of the trades unions; but which, nevertheless, was wrong and of no advantage to the English Social Democracy. But in the course of time the trades unionists have lost more and more their antipathies to Socialism, and vice versa, the Socialists have ever more been losing their antipathies to trades unionism, so we find at an ever-increasing rate the same people at work in both camps, and therefore, we may expect that slowly but surely a relation between the two movements will be established similar to the one that has always existed with us in the labor movement of Austria and Germany.

In view of all this we have not the slightest reason to look for outside patterns regarding the relation between trades unions and Social Democracy. The isolation of the trades unions from the balance of the proletariat has not only the injurious effect of splitting and weakening the latter, but it also curtails its chances of development.

We have compared the isolated trades unions to the journeymen's organization of old—the guilds. What has become of the latter? They have disappeared along with the system of guilds without the least share on their part in surmounting this system. Their prosperity was linked most intimately with that of the masters of the guilds; the downfall of the latter meant that of the former. The same fate is menacing the isolated trade union; it can only prosper if the capitalist system of production at home continues to progress. Its progress is very closely bound up with constant and swift enlargement of the capitalist sphere of power and exploitation. As soon as the industrial capital of a country has once reached the limit of its ability to expand briskly, then the time of decline sets in for the isolated trades unions. Such a decline manifests itself the same as with the journeymen's associations of bygone times, not in the decrease of their membership, but in that of their ability and desire to struggle. Instead of at the expense of their exploiters they rather try in partnership with them to sustain and to improve their economic condition by monopolistic isolation of their trade and by increased fleecing of the people at large.

Particularly in England, the industrial capital of which has already in many lines reached the limit of rapid expansion, we see signs of such reactionary tendencies, e. g., with its textile workers, who not only frequently vote for the conservatives, but who are also reactionary in an economic sense, who rave about bimetallism and child labor, etc.

In the most striking manner, however, the reactionary tendency of some isolated trades unions of England discloses itself in the trade alliances, which, since 1890, have appeared now in one and then in another trade. These alliances are based upon agreements between a trades union and a combine of manufacturers, whereby the manufacturers agree to only employ members of the trades unions, and these on their part pledge themselves to only work for the manufacturers belonging to the combine, i. e., only for those manufacturers that sell their products at the higher prices decided upon by the combine. In this way all competition against the combine will be rendered impossible. These trade alliances, which are praised by our bourgeois friends of labor as the commencement of harmony between labor and capital, propose, therefore, nothing less than to induce the workingmen to share in the scheme of the combines to raise prices and exploit the public. They are expected to assist the manufacturers in fleecing the community and to receive in return a part of the booty. In this manner it is not any more the capitalist, but the community, that would become the enemy of the workingman, or rather of the aristocracy of labor, which has turned from an exploited person into an exploiter.

However, the innate incongruities between capital and labor are so great that we know of no trade alliance of any duration. These incongruities are frequently so great as to nip the endeavors toward the realization of a trade alliance in the bud. This is very fortunate for social development, for, could the trade alliances exist and grow, they would inflict incalculable harm. Consider, for example, the consequences should the scheme to start a trade alliance in the coal mining industry, as has been attempted, succeed and should the coal miners be turned into accomplices of the policy of the combine, into promoters of a coal famine—a maneuver particularly tempting under the sliding scale

of wages. The entire balance of the workingmen would be compelled to declare war not only against the coal barons, but as well against the coal miners! And what a prospect if other orders of workingmen in important lines of industry followed suit; if in place of the struggle between capital and labor, we should witness the struggle between different monopolies in which workingmen in the pay of their organized masters would enter the field against their fellow-workingmen!

Any independent labor movement would be impossible, and the labor aristocracy organized in trades unions would be chained most tightly to the capitalist class and forced by its own interest to help the advancement of capitalist politics at home and abroad.

Of course, we will not come to that pass, for the reason already stated, that, where the combines are the strongest there the antagonism against the workingmen is also the greatest; and also for the reason that the bourgeois friends of labor will never succeed in isolating the trades unions from the rest of the proletarian movement, or to keep up such isolation where it now exists. But, in consideration of the present raving about trade alliances, it is not amiss to picture a state in which they should prevail. Entirely different from these reactionary and futile attempts on the part of isolated unions to improve the economic condition of their members in countries already approaching stagnation of capitalist production, must be the endeavors of such trades unions as go hand in hand with a strong and class-conscious Social Democracy.

The more the development of capitalist commodity production stagnates, or free competition is crowded out by combines and trusts, the more a class-conscious labor movement will try not to impart by reactionary experiments a new artificial life to some lines of production; but it will endeavor to further economic development by replacing capitalist production for sale by socialist production for use. When, for instance, the coal miners, where they exclusively rely upon their trades union organization, place their hope upon a trade alliance with the coal barons, they will there, where they support the Social Democracy, strive for an increase of political power of the proletariat for its effective use for workingmen's laws, and finally for the expropriation of the mines.

Today already production for the commonwealth in the shape of production for state and community becomes a factor of steadily growing economic importance. Today it is no longer the textile industry but the iron industry upon which the entire economic prosperity of a nation depends. If the latter prospers, new life pulsates through the entire social body; if it stagnates, we have general depression. The iron industry, however, is again to a large extent dependent upon state and communal politics; state and street railroads, canalizations, army and navy orders, etc., exert a perceptible influence upon economic conditions. Modern states certainly exert this influence largely in idly wasting the means at hand, especially for militarism; they develop production, they employ the productive powers, but at the same time they permit civilization to be stunted; yes, in some countries like Italy, Russia and Austria, militarism leads not only to a waste of products, but also of productive powers, and consequently to a shrinkage of production.

The more capitalism passes over from free competition to monopoly, the greater the number of its industrial branches that have become unable to develop adequately, the more the influence of state and community on the character and extent of production increases, the more necessary it will be for every class to gain influence on state and community, the more fatal will be the isolation of trades unions that prevents the proletariat from defending and promoting its interests effectively, the more indispensable it will be that the trades unionists are inspired with socialist discernment and socialist enthusiasm; the more necessary, on the other hand, that the Social Democracy should be able to rely upon a numerous army of organized trades unionists, on which rest the deepest and firmest roots of its power.

The trades unions will not disappear along with the capitalist mode of production like the journeymen's organizations vanished with the guilds. On the contrary, they will constitute the most energetic factors in surmounting the present mode of production, and they will be the pillars on which the edifice of the socialist commonwealth will be erected.

A million dollar umbrella rib trust was formed in Philadelphia.

Rockefeller formed a lead trust and is going to smash the old combine.

Tobacco trust absorbed four independent companies and cigar trust opened a factory in Louisville.

Plans are developing for a combination of all the large insurance companies.

Rockefeller and Whitney united all the lighting and power companies of New York.

Morgan is to unite the cotton spinning industry.

The sugar trust is gobbling up the plantations in Porto Rico.

Morgan is after the canals of Belgium, Holland, Germany and France, which will be equipped with electricity.

A \$5,000,000 artificial limb trust was formed.

Cotton ginners of South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama combined.

Several more coal deals were perfected by Morgan's agents, and the soft coal fields of Ohio are being united with their West Virginia properties, while \$5,000,000 worth of coal land was grabbed in Canada.

Morgan, Rockefeller, Vanderbilt, Gould, Hill, Harriman, Sillman and Schiff are said to be in a combine to unite all the railways, and during the past week a dozen big railroad deals were consummated to bring about this end.

## A Fair Day's Work and a Fair Day's Pay.

By John Evans.

The following is a paper read by Comrade John Evans before the Trades' and Labor Assembly of Massillon, Ohio, on April 4, 1901:

"A Fair Day's Work and a Fair Day's Pay" is not only used as a slogan by the organized workers but by the unorganized workers with equal frequency. That sentence has a great deal of meaning. It implies that the workers have, in the past, performed labor for which they have received an inadequate compensation, and it has a ring to it that implies a mistrust for the future. It is a plea for justice. I have abounding faith in the ability and the willingness of the working-class to carry out its part in producing a fair day's work, but I am compelled to doubt an equal willingness on the part of the capitalist class to pay a fair day's wage. It may be well to devote a few moments to the analysis of two words in our subject, "Work" and "Pay." Wages or pay is simply a part of the wealth that the working-class receives for performing certain labor, the balance of the product going to the capitalist class as profits. Any form of labor that is not socially useful labor—that does not contribute to the welfare of society or to its happiness in some manner is not work. A burglar may devote many hours of time with chisels, jimmies and drills in an effort to open another man's safe, but we would hardly call that work. A confidence man looks for days for a victim to relieve of his valuables, may give an exhibition of the possession of an amount of keen foresight and sagacity that few business men possess or are supposed to possess, and again we would not call it work and we believe that he is entitled to no compensation for time so spent, for he is merely trying to secure what belongs to some one else without rendering an equivalent. Labor creates all value. Land creates value only when it has labor applied to it. You may place a bag of grain and a plow in a field but you can never harvest a crop of wheat unless the hand of labor has previously plowed the ground and planted the seed, so we can truthfully say that labor creates all value. This has never been disputed by any economist of note that I know of. Any one who is capable of reasoning correctly, it seems to me, can come to no other conclusion than that as labor creates all value, it should go as a matter of justice to the class, which created it. But does it?

The census report of 1890 may enlighten us a little on this question. The figures of the late census have not as yet been published, so I am compelled to take the last official report issued. It shows that 355,401 manufacturing establishments in 1890 turned out a total product of \$9,370,107,624. To obtain that result the manufacturers had to buy raw materials and expend a certain amount of money for repairs and wear and tear of machinery and buildings, amounting to \$5,358,868,353. Subtract the latter sum from the former and we have the new values created amounting to \$4,011,239,271. The wages paid the working-class for producing those new values amounted to \$1,890,888,747. Now deduct the wages paid from the new values created and the result is \$2,140,350,524 profits for the manufacturers. At a first glance at these figures you may say that they do not look so bad for the working-class, but do not lose sight of one fact, that the figures here given of the new values is the factory price at which the manufacturer sells to the dealer, and when you go to the market with your wages to buy necessities you cannot buy at the factory price, but at a price to which have been added the profits of a long line of middlemen, and the retailer, and in the above-mentioned values at factory prices the retail price was just doubled, or in other words, the working-class can, with their wages, only buy back 23 per cent of the value that their labor power has created and 77 per cent goes to the class that created no values.

These figures show that the American working-class receives a smaller share of the wealth it creates than of any nation in the world. There are, no doubt, some workingmen who receive more than 23 per cent of their product. These figures are for the workers collectively in the given establishments, and if some receive more than that amount others must naturally receive less. I will quote an instance showing that the workers of America may receive more wages absolutely than foreigners engaged in the same occupation, yet when compared with the amount of labor performed they do not. H. C. Fry, President of the National Glass Company, better known as the tableware combine, appeared before the industrial commission and said that 25 per cent of the output of his company was sold abroad. That his company paid their skilled workmen \$6 per day of eight hours; yet his company can compete with factories in Belgium where the workmen receive \$1 per day of from ten to twelve hours. The American workmen in this case gets six times the amount of wages that the foreigner receives, but the output is so great that his employer can pay the transportation charges to the coast and also across the Atlantic and then undersell the manufacturers of Europe. Occasionally a capitalist will let slip an acknowledgement of this state of affairs, and the speech of Chauncey Depew at the last Republican convention was a notable instance. Here is what he has to say:

You may not know why it is that the Republican party desires expansion. It is simply because, without it, the poor laborers would have so many things they would not know what to do with them. Chauncey

(Continued on Page 3.)



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Communications must reach the office by Wednesday preceding the issue in which they are to appear. The fact that a signed article is published does not commit the Editor to all opinions expressed therein.

Contributions and items of news concerning the labor movement are requested from our readers. Every contribution must be accompanied by the name of the writer, not necessarily for publication, but as an evidence of good faith.

Short communications giving reports of organization and progress of the Socialist movement are desired from comrades in all sections. Nothing is of greater interest to readers than this feature. Our readers want it and will enjoy it.

The bosses, who are so excessively patriotic, should yield to the demands of the unions rather than plunge the city into the turmoil of a general strike during the visit of "our beloved President." Think how ungrateful it will appear to William to have his visit made the occasion for delaying the arrival of that prosperity for workmen of which he has been boasting.

Charles Schwab, president of the United States Steel Corporation, says that he does not believe in trades-unions—for the sake of the workmen themselves. We did not think he would. We are inclined to the opinion that this belief of Schwab's is heartily in accord with a few others: Rockefeller, Morgan, Irving M. Scott, even "Too-much Johnson" of local hasonry fame.

It is difficult to understand by what process of reasoning workmen arrive at the conclusion that either the Republican or Democratic party are true friends of theirs, in the face of the undeniable fact that, with both of these parties in power—one in some states, the other in others—nevertheless nothing is ever done to enforce the labor-laws for the workers' protection, but everything is done to enforce those laws which order the police and soldiery to shoot down workmen on strike.

VICTORY NUMBER TWO.

The brewers have brought the Ranier beer makers to terms. Eight hours constitute a day's labor all over the Coast in the brewery business. Men engaged in the making, bottling and delivering of beer, from the point farthest north to the point farthest south, where beer is brewed, stand upon their dignity as workers and producers. It was a good fight. The Ranier people held out as long as they dared. The solidarity displayed by workmen opened their eyes. Many victories of the future belong to us if this spirit of standing together and making the fight of one member of our class the concern of every member. It is the spirit upon which is based all our success of the future, as it has been of the past.

"THE FALLACIES OF SOCIALISM."

"Not even the monstrous power of the billion-dollar steel trust should frighten American citizens from continuing the struggle in defense of the competitive system, the only system under which individual liberty and progress is possible. It is the only path to national and individual safety." Thus preaches James Creelman in last Sunday's "Examiner," and the sermon is as trite as the warning contained in it is false. The first great fallacy of State Socialism, he maintains, is that competition is wasteful. And here, on the very brink of the argument, Mr. Creelman yields his point as to the wastefulness of our competitive system by holding that money and material are worth the losing if only individual character is built up thereby. I repeat, the dissipation of wealth and of human energy is tacitly granted by this newspaperman who calls Socialism a gospel of sloth and despair. It is true that we can afford to pay very high for our education. If the present gladiatorial regime calls out and develops whatever of true moral and intellectual worth the human mind is capable of; if, also, it does so for the largest possible number of people and conduces to their best spiritual happiness, we, the Socialists of the world who so grossly thrill to physical comfort, who (according to our accusers and persecutors) are hide-bound in materialism, we would willingly uphold the arena of our world, bidding men stay in it for ever and a day, world without end. Our propaganda would convert itself into a paean of praise of this which we are now pledged to tear down. But we hold that competition and character are mutually exclusive; that he who engages in it cannot hope to keep his soul; that it keeps men brutal and primitive and that it makes a farce of the ethical and philosophical formulae which the human intellect strains to conceive and to hold. Mr. Creelman supports the struggle and grab arrangement of our modern world on the ground that does not take as much strength as it would to survive and to succeed in a co-operative community, nor does it take so fine a strength. Says Huxley: "Social progress means a checking of the cosmic process (the struggle for existence which tends to eliminate those less fitted to adapt themselves to the circumstances of their existence) at every step and the substitution for it of another, which may be called the ethical process; the end of which is not the survival of those who may happen to be the fittest, in respect of the whole of the conditions which exist, but of those who are ethically the best." Huxley, like all who are marked with Socialist doctrine, shrugs his shoulders at "the fanatical individualism of our time which attempts to apply the analogy of cosmic nature to society." Instead, we must pit the microcosm against the macrocosm, and set man to subdue nature to his higher ends.

There is a more concrete line of argument still in reference to this vexed question of the moral worth of competition. We might ask Mr. Creelman how the

71 per cent of our population, which are workmen and which are practically submerged—how the characters of these are strengthened in the struggle? These compute and compete hard for the bread which keeps them alive, but more than bread they have not, and the glaces of the mind and the strength of heart, which Mr. Creelman joins us in cherishing, are unbeknownst of the vast majorities. When strength comes to them, it is not because of competition, but despite it.

Mr. Creelman reasons in a circle when he augurs ill of State Socialism, and threatens that then, too, there will be large aggregations of capital in private hands. "For," argues Mr. Creelman, "people collectively are no wiser than people individually, and if the trusts are not legislated against today, they will not be hindered then—under Socialism." That is simply to deny that Socialism is at all practicable, which thesis Mr. Creelman does not undertake to establish. If we have Socialism we cannot have what is foreign and contradictory to the very nature of the regime. The first tenet of Socialism is the abolition of private capital; how, then, is there possible a repetition of the trust-problem?

Today is the time to vote down the trusts, insists Mr. Creelman, and we who claim that the trusts are the inevitable and logical outcome of the competitive system are cowards for our reasoning. No, Mr. Creelman, the trusts help us very much indeed; they hasten things and are revolutionary in their character. Trusts cause havoc, to be sure; so does all that is of this system which you love so well and which we hate so much. But trusts, because they sum up the trend of our artificial management of economic and political affairs, and because they push quickly and effectively everybody in their way to the wall, are therefore excellent propaganda, upon which we congratulate ourselves. When the climax comes the nation will control the trusts and "all will be better than well."

The one significant thought in Mr. Creelman's article is to be found, not in any of his so-called "fallacies of Socialism" but rather in his opening remarks where he states that many thinkers who five years ago dreaded Socialism and were staunch upholders of the competitive system, today look to Socialism, and Socialism only, for the remedy to the disease which is so obviously chronic. That, indeed, is good news.

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.

One of the serious obstacles to a development of our better selves is snobbishness. It usually arises from an intense desire to impress others with a sense of our importance, and failing to do so by our own innate virtues, we are content to bask in the reflected light of another person's prominence. By association with the great, to ourselves we become great. It is evidence to the judicious, however, of an attenuated soul. Lion-hunting, or as some magazine writers phrase it, tuft hunting, is a failing of the American character. As soon as a person in this home of the free achieves the distinction of being able to read, he pushes his parents into the background, where they can figure out how much they will lose if candles go up in price and how much they will gain if molasses goes down, till they are weary, when they can waddle off to bed and sleep the sleep of the contented grocer while he ventures to redeem the family name from obscurity. Sometimes he is sincere enough to apply himself to the task, and, win or lose, he has proven himself a man. More often his bump of sincerity was hit in early youth by a beer-mug, leaving a hollow place in his head and an ellipsis in his intellect, which he tries to overcome by developing a flow of words. The vitality of the brain is transferred to the tongue. The books he has merely tasted are for quoting purposes only. By dint of elbowing and pushing, receiving snubs as though they were kindly welcomes and insults as though they were compliments, he finally finds a resting place for his toes. When he is not fawning and flattering those who are above him, he is snubbing and insulting those who are striving for a place, insecure as it may be, beside him. And all this struggle for an advantageous position is merely another phase of the struggle for existence. There is nothing disgraceful about it. It is merely amusing to the thoughtful onlooker. The shallow pretense, the affectation, the vulgarity, are evidences of a low order of intellect and cast a doubt on one's breeding and a reflection on one's immediate ancestors; but there is really nothing reprehensible in the struggle for existence, no matter what form it takes. And this phase of it, the struggle for advantageous position, injures no one but the struggler. He is bound to look inward after a while, then he will note the emptiness of his heart and the dwarfish position of his soul. If he is sensitive he will be a fit companion for Kipling's figure, that hovered over the city of dreadful night and wailed and wailed, but could not wipe its eyes.

The chances are, however, that he will not be sensitive; he will be a politician. And the quality of introspection is denied the politician, lest he go insane or become honest. In either case, who would run the men who run the government? Imagine Mark Hanna in the midst of a speech where he denies the existence of the trust, seeing himself as he really is! Or, to come closer home, if Major-General Otis had paused midway on his journey over the Rubicon and looked inward, he would have made his wife a widow as well as a poetess forthwith, or he would have withheld his famous dispatch and come home by the first boat and joined a union. The hod carriers' union would be about this modern Caesar's measure. He writes his editorials with a saber and punctuates them with a small howitzer he keeps in the back office. And still the struggle of this shallow parasite, whom nobody loves but God, is intense. He feeds on prominence. Denied attention, he dies. And the very men whom he hates most and whom he affects to despise, give both the prominence and the attention—namely, the workmen. Because he rode in the same carriage as McKinley and had McKinley lodge at his house, the shallow-pated plodders bend the knee to him. But

it was a pretty struggle, that struggle for advantageous position in the South, and it finds its echo here in the North. Homer Laughlin and the hero of the Rubicon between them kept Governor Gage sufficiently well in the background to please themselves and make political capital. That means, because they entertained the President, workmen will think enough of them to vote for them—and then they went at each other's throats to see who would carry off the honors and possibly a senatorship. In San Francisco the Scotts are asking who is this person Morse, and Morse is wondering by what freak of fortune an iron monger or a fish monger named Scott gained entrance to the presence. Even in Santa Barbara a person who is considered "declassée" made a little speech to the high and mighty William, which brought on a war between the step-daughters of the Revolution and the grandmothers of the same venerable American institution. In Paducah, it was, or Kokomo, the inhabitants carried on their shoulders a bootblack who shined the shoes of the porter who shined the shoes of the President. In another place they have the pocket handkerchief of that fine diplomat, Mr. Hay, Secretary of State for Mr. McKinley, on an altar in one of the "best houses." They even failed to send it to the laundry lest it lose something of its sacredness.

And today the workmen, upon whose shoulders rests the responsibility for all this servility, struggled with each other to find an advantageous position from which to view the fellows who had the real advantageous position. They bent the pregnant hinges of the knee and doffed their sweaty caps and stood in line to shake the hands of the man who thinks no more of them than to order their extermination if they should go contrary to his wishes. Let it not be imagined we do not honor the office of President. We do; and our honor is sincere for the good that has been in the past, as well as for the good that will be of the future. But in looking at Mr. McKinley, we could not forget Coeur d'Alene. And watching the struggling mass of workmen beating their way to the front to catch a glimpse of the great warriors, or to press the hand of the man who signed the order which sent those warriors into that district of blood and iron, we could not help blushing at the memory of the "bull pen."

And how the successful handshakers projected their chests! And how they applauded that ton of flesh called Shafter, the Falstaff of our own time, the noisy braggart who takes a feather-bed to war with him; and how they cheered the Scotts and the Hays and the rest. The snobbishness of it all was apparent when the crowd took its collective hat off and was proud of the sneeze that gave evidence of a cold in the head. And that crowd of workmen who elbowed each other about in the effort to do homage to the great and mighty, would be shot down like so many dogs by those same people if they dared assert that they would have a decent share of what they produce.

There will be a strike on or about May 22d in the Union Iron Works. It may spread until it involves all the organized workers on the Coast, if not the country. Scott, Shafter, Otis, Hay, McKinley, will be to a man opposed to the strike. Not one of them will be found on the side of a nine-hour day for the men who produce the wealth. They will canvass the situation as calmly as though they were discussing the color of a ballet dancer's eyes. And when the hour is ripe Shafter or some other warrior who has been bidden to the feast, will go forth with an order in his pocket that will make legal the killing of strikers. It has been done over and over again. Homestead, Latimer, South Pittsburgh, Hazelton and Coeur d'Alene all attest to the truthfulness of the anticipation. Think of it, you workmen who applauded today and crowded each other in the effort to shake the President's hand. Think of it, you zealous patriots, who sing at your work—

"My country, 'tis of thee."

If there is a general strike, and only something unforeseen can stop the strike now on and which will be augmented in five or six days by the machinists, from becoming general, we shall soon see if our trucking spirit was sufficient to stay the hand of our beloved President.

We have no desire to be the cause of a jarring note in this week of harmonious festivity, but we wish, nevertheless, to point out to the workmen that the coming of a servant of the capitalist class to our city, the city we built but do not own, is of no particular moment to the members of the working class. And no amount of obsequiousness on our part would cause him to have other than contempt for us, if it did not add to the feeling; and nothing but straightforward, honest talk and honest action will have the least impression upon him or the class he represents. We are in the midst of alarms; let us make the best of it. Let us teach these high and mighty citizens of this great commonwealth that they depend upon us for food. A local strike at this hour that would include only one branch of human effort—the baking of bread—would have a wholesome effect on the situation. The cooks and waiters need this demonstration, this evidence of solidarity. Why not have it? To catch the golden moment as it flies is to mold circumstances. The possibilities of an Austerlitz are in the present fight. If the unreturnable opportunity is allowed to flit by unnoticed there may be a Waterloo to record. Shall the cooks and waiters be the victims of the timidity of one or two men?

There is one man who is able to look at the present movement of labor and take a comprehensive view of the whole situation. It is an A. F. of L. organizer named Dilcher. Speaking before a vast audience of 15,000 union men at Wilkesbarre, Pa., he reviewed the work of the year. He spoke of the isolated battles being conducted against the capitalist class. He predicted an increase in these battles and, finally, unified action by the working class against the capitalist class. He said that only one class can win in this struggle. The lives and freedom of the workers depend upon the outcome. Too long the growling and grumbling for a bit of bread has continued. We must wake up to the fact that we produce all the wealth of this country. Into it our sweat and blood go. Shall we much longer be content with a crust? Shall we much longer beg for that crust, or fight for it? Or shall we not be men at last and say, "Since we have produced all, then all is ours. Since we have produced the whole loaf, nothing will content us but the whole loaf." And with a thrust at the traitors

in the labor movement, this Dilcher closed by saying: "This impending war between capital and labor which will forever settle their status is closer than the moneyed men of this country imagine. We are prepared for it."

It is to be hoped that the last phrase is not an idle boast. It will take a great deal of preparedness to overcome the difficulties that will beset the working class once it begins to move of its own volition. Dilcher said, and said truly, the struggle will come for the possession of the government. He is about the only prophet the American Federation of Labor can boast of and we expect to hear of him losing his job.

The press agent for P. H. McCarthy needs a lesson or two in economics. He calmly asserts that one Jefferson D. Pierce is responsible for the organization of so many unions in this city. And he decries these organizations. He thinks that only respectable workmen who have been organized for years have the right to come together to better their conditions. There is a fearful amount of contemptible human nature hidden about the persons of P. H. and his press agent. They think themselves representing the aristocracy of labor. They deny all others who are not of this aristocracy the right to organize into unions to fight their masters. Only the fortunate laborers who come under the group of trades that recognize the beneficent rule of this ward politician, P. H., should have the hardhood to venture upon organization. Only he can guide the destinies of the workers over the rough places and into the peaceful environment of the Democratic Party. If these are truths, and the press agent insists they are, the sooner the members of that group of trades dominated by this diminutive Ajax, beget a little backbone, the better. To allow the petty, bickering spirit of a man destined by nature for a driver of mules to compromise the whole labor situation on this Coast, is a reflection on the judgment and manhood of every union sending delegates to the Building Trades Council. It is not the organizing ability of one man or a dozen that is responsible for the unions of this city. Unions are an economic necessity and their growth in this city is a reflex of the economic conditions existing in this city. The unions are here, and they are fighting for conditions fit for men to live under and work; they are struggling to make themselves fit social beings. In fact, the unions of San Francisco are in a measure a microcosm of the whole working class. They are trying to find expression; they demand air and freedom. The whole working class is waking up to these demands, and any one claiming to be a friend of the working class, who would wantonly and with malice, to secure his position in a capitalistic political party, hinder the working class or a portion of it in its upward struggle, a whip should be placed in the hand of every honest man, to lash him naked through the universe.

Organization.

By J. R. Cole.

The great lesson which those who are carrying on Socialist propaganda are trying to teach, is the lesson of the benefit to be derived from organization and co-operation. This is the root principle of Socialism. The collective ownership of the means of production and distribution is only the means to an end. The end to be attained is the opportunity on the part of the workers to carry on their labor in an organized and co-operative fashion, and thus to accomplish greater benefits for themselves than they now enjoy, and we may say also, for the world in general, for the workers are practically the world.

Now, if we wish to teach the lesson of organization and co-operation, how shall we do it? We answer, by practical training along that line. As the man who is to practise a trade can only learn the use of his tools by practical experiments, so can the worker learn the use of organization only through practical experiments in organization. The apprentice at a trade makes many blunders; he destroys good material, but in the end he learns how to use his tools. The man who enters an organization, with the hope of accomplishing some desired end thereby, has the same experience to go through. He will make blunders; he will waste time and money, but it is the only means by which he can learn how to make use of the methods of organization to accomplish his purposes. And as many an apprentice is discouraged by his failures, and gives up the attempt to learn a trade, so also many men who enter an organization with high hopes, and who labor with enthusiasm for a while, at length become discouraged by the obstacles, the pitfalls and the apparent hopelessness of attaining their aims, and drop out of work in the organization they have joined.

Now, there are times when it is better for a worker to pause and rest for a little. There are times when, if a man is undecided how to act, it is better to do nothing. There are occasions when it is necessary for the worker to take time for thought and reflection, in order that his next step may be taken intelligently. But what I would emphasize is the fact that the man who entirely forsakes the notion of gaining anything through organization and co-operation, has by that act forsaken the root principle of Socialism. Whatever he may think he is, he is no longer a Socialist. If we cannot gain what we wish for better by acting as an organized body than we can by acting as individuals, then Socialism is a false doctrine and it is better for us to act as individuals. But, if we can gain our ends better by acting collectively, and as an organization, then every reasonable man will choose to act in that way, whether some particular organization happens at times to work very ineffectively or not.

Whenever a new machine is invented, many trials are usually made before it is found capable of doing its work satisfactorily. During this period of experimentation there are always plenty of unbelievers to scoff at the idea that it will ever perform what is expected of it. But the only way for the man who has faith in his machine to prove its utility, is by repeatedly experimenting with it, improving upon it, and finally perfecting it.

Socialists claim that the workingman is capable of attending to his own economic interests, and of conducting his own industries collectively and organically. Now if this is the case, the workingman is capable of showing his ability. How can he do this? He must show that he can act effectively in an organization, and act

(Continued on Page 3.)



GRAND BALL
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Dividends On Your Regular
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The San Francisco Rochdale Company (co-operative), incorporated September 22, 1900, is doing a general grocery business at 1896 Mission street. This company is purely co-operative and at the same time thoroughly business in all its dealings. Its members can only hold one membership share and have but one vote, thus making all equal. They sell goods at regular prices, and return all profits to members in proportion to purchases, after deducting a fair rate of interest in proportion to investment. A family who trades \$300 in a year and receives a dividend of 12 per cent, or \$36 on an investment of six dollars, in the San Francisco Rochdale Company, has certainly made a good business investment—besides fostering co-operation. Dividends have been returned as high as fifteen per cent on six months' business in this State. W. C. Ellis, the manager of the company, is thoroughly acquainted with the grocery business. They carry a full line of fancy and staple groceries, and will be pleased to furnish full information about the business and its officers.

comply his ends better in that way than by individual effort, then he certainly would not be able to conduct the industries in which he is employed, in the manner which the Socialist advocates.

Suppose we should concede, for the sake of argument, that the workingman of today is not fitted to own and operate the machinery of production and distribution collectively. And suppose that it is also admitted that this inability is the result, not of any natural lack of intelligence, but rather of inexperience in methods of organization, and of lack of knowledge as to the qualities of mind which must be cultivated in himself and others, if they are to operate an organization successfully. Suppose we admit that the workingman is at present a newly-entered pupil in the school of organization, and must learn from the beginning the art of acting collectively with his fellowmen for their common interest. Is it surprising that there should be many failures? Is it surprising that his successes fall far short of the successes he has hoped for? The machine is not yet perfect. Some of the parts are not what they should be. If we have proved our principle—if we have proved that we can better obtain what we demand by acting as a body, than we can by acting as individuals, then there is every reason for us to continue to act as a body, notwithstanding many failures and much discouragement.

Now, while the Socialist looks forward to greater results, and demands from the world greater benefits from his labor than the average trade-unionist, he nevertheless hopes to attain those results through the operation of the same principles which underlie the formation and action of trade-unions, that is to say, by the principle of co-operation and organization. The trade-unionist, without in the least knowing it, is illustrating the principles which must be carried into effect in a co-operative state of society, and he is educating the workingman to take his proper place in the society of the future. The trade-union is organized for the purpose of regulating conditions in its particular line of industry; and however much it may fall short of its declared aims, and notwithstanding its failure to appreciate the value of political power as a factor in its efforts to obtain better conditions, it is nevertheless occupied in the same kind of work which will demand our attention in the future, namely, the regulation of the details of industry.

If suddenly, the workers in the United States should use their political power through the ballot, along the lines indicated by the Socialist, and should succeed thereby in obtaining for themselves the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, we should then be obliged at once to organize along the lines of our respective industries. We should have to organize in trade unions. But what would be the result of an immense body of men unused to working in organizations, should attempt to control any sort of industry through an organization? The result, without the slightest doubt, would be utter failure. The power would most certainly very shortly slip from the hands of the many and be concentrated in the few.

Building trades and other trades of New York are still planning to start an independent labor party.

Cigarmakers' membership is now 34,000. Among other things, they paid out \$117,455 for sick benefits; \$23,807 out-of-work benefits; \$137,823 in strike benefits, and \$98,291 in death benefits, and all on 30 cents a week per member.

Lobbying committees having failed to secure the enactment of labor laws, the Pennsylvania miners are planning a Coxeys march to the Legislature at Harrisburg to demand the passage of bills in their interest. The politicians are alarmed, but the courts are looking wise.—Citizen.

Eugene Smith, a New York journalist, has figured it out, after going into the matter carefully and studiously, that the annual cost of crime in this country foots up the enormous total of \$800,000,000. The government has sanctioned the work by official publication.

Cleveland Social Democrats are debating whether or not palliative measures should be stricken from the platform. The consensus of opinion is reported to be in favor of eliminating all propositions that have a tendency to confuse the proletarian propaganda.

Carroll D. Wright is in print again. He calls attention to the decline of marriage among workmen in cities. He says that out of 17,427 representative workmen in 22 cities, 15,337 were found to be unmarried. But he does not give the cause or the effect or the remedy for such a condition. He does not state that poverty and the fear of it is responsible.—Citizen.

The cigar trust is already beginning to show its teeth. In its factory at Passaic, N. J., the girls went on strike, but the police treated them with no more consideration than men. Most of the girls on picket duty were clubbed about the limbs, and when four of them fought back they were arrested and dragged along the street by the hair by the brutes in human form. This did not happen in Russia, but in Passaic, N. J.—Citizen.

Railroad officials in Chicago have received information that an attempt is being made to revive the American Railway Union, according to the "Times Herald," under the name of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and to make it even more far-reaching and powerful than in the days previous to the Pullman strike. Great secrecy is maintained concerning the movement, both by the men supposed to be engineering it and by the railroad officials. So far as could be learned, the movement originated with the employees of the Southern Pacific, and the telegraphers are thought to be the moving spirit. All classes of railway workers are to be brought into the organization.

They had a red-hot debate in the Canadian Parliament the other day, during which the premier, Sir Wilfred Laurier, taunted R. L. Richardson with being a Socialist. "So far as I am concerned," the member thundered, "I am proud to stand here and allow the prime minister call me a Socialist because I stand up for the interests of the people." Another member, Mr. W. F. MacLean, took up the argument and said: "I am one of those who do not regard socialism as a crime. Somewhere the world is suffering under great grievances, and the men who call themselves Socialists are men who are trying to do something for humanity."

A Fair Day's Work and a Fair Day's Pay.
cey M. Depew explained all about this in his speech at the Republican convention, from which we take the following extract:

"What is the tendency of the future? Why this war in South Africa? Why this hammering at the gates of Pekin? Why this marching of troops from Asia to Africa? Why these parades of people from other empires and other lands? It is because the surplus productions of civilized countries of modern times are greater than civilization can consume. It is because this over-production goes back to stagnation and to poverty.

"The American people produce \$2,000,000,000 worth more than we can consume, and we have met the emergency, and, by the providence of God, by the statesmanship of William McKinley and by the valor of Roosevelt and his associates (applause), we have our market in Cuba, we have our market in Porto Rico, we have our market in Hawaii, we have our market in the Philippines, and we stand in the presence of 800,000,000 of people with the Pacific as an American lake and the American artisan producing better and cheaper goods than any country in the world."

Now that is what I call frank. That is one time that Chauncey shamed the devil. He tells you that the American working-class produces annually \$2,000,000,000 worth of wealth in addition to keeping his entire class in luxury and idleness. He says that we produce that much more than we can consume. Probably they do produce that much more than his class can consume even with an occasional Bradley—Martin Ball and a Seeley Dinner where Little Egypt in bare pelts do the Hoochee-Coochee dance for desert, but I can show him any number of people who have produced their share of that amount, who would like to have an opportunity to consume a little, but cannot because their 23 per cent is spent and they have nothing with which to buy back that which has been withheld from them and they are not now contented with the workers having presented them with all of this wealth, but they add insult to injury by asking them to go out and find a market for them to dispose of it and their latest scheme now is to try to get enough of us to go over to the Philippine Islands and help to subjugate to American rule a lot of yellow-bellied savages, to civilize them they say, and as a civilization they place a great deal of faith in 13-inch guns. It greatly depresses the spirits of our star-spangled shoe and sockmongers to see those iniquitous inhabitants of the Philippines meandering over the islands barefooted, even if the climate never get cold enough to compel them to seek coverings for their feet, and the thought becomes too horrid for them to entertain even for a moment, his heart goes out to them and especially does it go out in leaps and bounds when he thinks of that large stock of goods he has stored away on his shelves—goods that have been produced by American laborers who cannot go out into the open market here and buy 100 cents worth of goods with that little 23 cents the census reports show that you receive, and this is why, Chauncey, there is hammering away at the gates of Pekin and the marching of troops to the Philippines, to find markets for many a fair and extraordinary day's work of our workers which your class has taken from them, having left them with barely sufficient to supply bodily needs, just sufficient to keep them in condition to produce more surplus products and to turn out some more little workers for future generations of capitalists to exploit.

From the foregoing it ought to be plain to any one that labor has produced wealth in abundance, and now let us turn to the second part of our subject, regarding the pay, and let us make a few inquiries as to the reasons for this shameful condition of affairs—a condition which denies us simple justice.

(Continued Next Week.)

There was a railroad collision out in Colorado one day last week, and immediately the papers announced in flaring headlines that Whitelaw Reid and D. O. Mills and family were severely injured. Later it was found that these eminent members of America's nobility were only slightly injured, and the world resumed its normal course. But one line of the dispatch was given to the death of James Saunders, the fireman of the train, who was instantly killed. Many passengers and members of the train crews were badly injured. Names not mentioned. But this also was nearly almost overlooked in the excitement upon the supposed affliction of the millionaires. We owe a great deal to our daily papers for their enterprise in keeping us informed as to the welfare of our masters. The dead fireman and the injured people were inconsequential, for of what importance are a batch of working people when compared with a couple of well-fed, non-producing capitalists?—The Worker.

In Italy 17,000 farm laborers have joined the trades union movement.

The dock laborers of Italy have manifested a spirit of international solidarity which is worthy of emulation. When the steamer "Massalia" arrived at Naples from Marseilles, 2,500 workmen refused to unload the steamer, in order to assist their fellow workmen in their strike at Marseilles.

Alarming conditions are reported in the press dispatches from Italy. The peasants in the Province of Messina, Catania, and Syracuse are in constant revolt, and sanguinary conflicts with the police occur almost daily. The region in which the sulphur mines are situated is agitated, and a general strike is threatened. Misery prevails in the Province of Pouilles. The fields and gardens are lying waste, the municipality has suspended payment, and the Syndic has gone to Rome, to confer with the Premier. Strikes are extending everywhere in South Italy.

The miners of France are discussing the proposition of a general strike, if the government does not agree to the eight-hour day and old age pensions. The general opinion is that the strikers will win, and the government is greatly alarmed. The labor movement has shown such intense energy that the government is considering measures to appease the workers.

Official returns show that the recent election in Lausanne, Switzerland, resulted in the Socialists capturing 44 seats against 55 for the Conservatives and Liberals combined.

An Eastern preacher wrote to 200 labor representatives and inquired why they did not go to church. In summing up the replies, he says: "A large proportion of the answers received indicate that Socialism has become the substitute for the church."

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LOCAL OAKLAND, of the Social Democratic Party, holds regular weekly lectures every Thursday evening, 8 p. m., at Becker's Hall, 918 Washington st. Admission free. Address 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, Cor. Park street and Santa Clara ave. Educational meetings for members every Friday evening at 8494 Central ave. room 8. 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 Becker's Hall, Academy of Sciences Hall, 89 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 conscious Socialist speakers to champion the cause of the working class. Vocal and instrumental music, etc. Questions answered. Public invited. Admission free.

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S. F. LABOR COUNCIL Meeting held May 10th. Minutes of previous meeting approved. Applications for affiliation were received from the following: Brotherhood of Iron Ship Builders, Boiler-makers, Machine hands, Assistant Undertakers, Laborers Protective. Admitted. Bakers reported sympathetic strike with Waiters. Restaurant employees have been out 10 days; progressing well; 235 restaurants have signed agreement. Carriage Blacksmiths and Woodworkers, Picture Frame Workers and Metal Polishers still out on strike. Attention was called to the fact that the regular meetings of the organizing committee would hereafter be held at Barbers Union headquarters in Emma Spreckels building. Council declared its intention of levying a boycott on Rainier Beer by unanimous vote. A boycott was levied on the Restaurant Keepers Assn. Respectfully submitted Ed. Rosenberg, Sec'y.

Report of State Organizer. Stockton, May 2nd to 7th.—As reported in my last, I remained in Stockton for one week. During that time I held six open air meetings. None of the comrades were able to render any assistance so far as speaking was concerned, but they assisted in all other directions most ably and willingly. I spoke from a buggy to which there was attached a naphtha lamp which was well attended and the order and attention could not have been better. Before commencing my meeting on Tuesday, an earnest comrade came up to me and said: "Give them hell, Comrade Anderson." I replied: "That is what the capitalists have been giving them, they have got hell already. I want to pull them out of hell and give them a little heaven." I go tomorrow on a Southern journey, the dates of the tour are as follows: Redwoods . . . May 16 Palo Alto . . . " 17 San Jose . . . " 18-19 Campbells . . . " 20 Los Gatos . . . " 21 Santa Cruz . . . " 22-23 Scott Anderson.

San Francisco, May 15th, 1901. To the Comrades and Friends of Southern California. Dear Comrades: I wish to call your special attention to the journey of Comrade Anderson through Southern California and to ask for your hearty cooperation in this matter; give him every assistance in your power. Any comrade or friend who can get up a meeting, open air or indoor, please communicate with me at once and oblige. Yours fraternally John M. Reynolds, State Sec'y.

Correspondence. San Bernardino, May 12, 1901. Editor Advance: Last night Roche and York debated the question of whether socialist parties should solicit money from capitalists for propaganda purposes. The large majority of the comrades were opposed to such acceptance, on the ground that it destroyed the solidarity of the movement and practically nullified our statement as to the existence of an eternal war between capitalists and their employees. Many personal experiences were cited where gifts of that kind had been most weakening to the movement. Comrade Richardson told how Local San Bernardino had refused donations from local politicians, knowing full well their deadly effects if accepted. Roche wanted to show how even those of our comrades who possessed wealth had often used their money in the movement in a most disorganizing manner,—offering that too great care could not be taken in avoiding all questionable entanglements. He affirmed that the force of the movement was not dependent upon money. On the contrary, the revolution could be won only by awakening the working class to the fact of their antagonism, at all points, to capitalism. York held that socialists were forced to act Jesuitically and that the end justified the means; education must be obtained in any way possible. Comrade Rundell, of Redlands, supported him in the position, affirming that all strategy was fair in war, and that as long as the funds obtained from capitalists were not used to be used for propaganda purposes all would be well. In the course of the debate a local instance of capitalist liberality was brought to light. The Redlands public library, donated by Millionaire Smiley, had just refused to place on file the "International Socialist Review." Advance and Challenge, showing the results of such gifts to the people. Last Saturday evening we held a successful street meeting. The comrades here are the right sort—militant and class-conscious. Fraternally, John Murray, Jr.

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Labor and Politics.
Written for ADVANCE by JOHN PENNY.

London, England, April 30, 1901.
On Tuesday, April 23d, Mr. Keir Hardie's motion
calling upon the Government to inaugurate a Socialist
Commonwealth came up for discussion in the House
of Commons. I was fortunate enough to have a good
seat under the gallery where I could see and hear all
that transpired.

It is a rule of the House that at nine o'clock on
Tuesday evenings private members have the right to
bring forward motions dealing with practically any
question under the sun. The members ballot for pre-
cedence on these evenings, and Mr. Hardie had secured
second place. As the House adjourns at midnight it
will be seen that only three hours are allowed, and
the rule is that as soon as the clock strikes twelve all
discussion ceases and motions which have not been
voted upon fall to the ground. Consequently it hap-
pens that, although there may be ten or a dozen resolu-
tions on the notice paper, very seldom are more
than the first two or three dealt with.

At nine o'clock, Mr. Evelyn Cecil—there are a
good many Cecils in the present House of Commons—
began his speech upon the lack of steamship com-
munication between this country and East Africa.
The subject is not an inspiring one to the lay mind,
and Mr. Cecil is not an inspiring speaker. He droned
away to a thin house for about an hour and ten min-
utes and when he sat down there was an appreciable
sigh of relief. His motion was seconded by another
member who occupied some twenty minutes. When
he sat down there were loud cries of "Divide," but it
was speedily apparent that certain individuals were
brimful of the drowsy subject, or else it was they
wished to talk out Mr. Hardie's motion. They in-
sisted on speaking and so the minutes wore away.

It was noteworthy, by the way, that about the
time when Mr. Hardie would, under normal condi-
tions, have been beginning his speech, Mr. Balfour
strolled in, closely followed by several other front
bench men, and both Liberal and Tory benches filled
up. It may have been quite accidental, but the rumor
is abroad that they wanted to hear something new, ex-
pressed in intelligible language—a rare thing in the
House. It may have been mere curiosity or a real
desire to learn. Anyhow, they turned up in force, and
the House would have presented an animated appear-
ance had not the life been choked out of it by the
dry-as-dust speeches to which it had listened.

At last, at 11:35, the division bell was rung, call-
ing members from all parts of the building to vote
upon Mr. Cecil's motion whether they knew what it
was about or not, and after another five minutes had
been wasted, Mr. Hardie was allowed to make a start.
It was a trying ordeal for any man. He had
to wait while members were plodding through their
dreary orations, and finally he had a quarter of an
hour in which to deliver a speech which ought to have
occupied over an hour, to a House which did not in-
clude more than half a dozen supporters. He had to
race through his arguments. It was as difficult a task
as I have ever seen a man called upon a platform.

I was struck with the attitude of the House as Mr.
Hardie hurried through his points. Some of the young
Tories listened earnestly and seemed to be impressed.
One old gentleman wagged his head derisively until
Mr. Hardie read an extract from the writings of John
Stuart Mill, when the idea seemed to strike him that if
a brainy man like Mill gave serious study to the doc-
trine of Socialism, it could not be merely a fad or a
joke, and the head-wagging ceased abruptly. The
bulk of the Liberals sat looking rather glum. They
admired the way Mr. Hardie struck out at the Gov-
ernment, but apparently did not relish the thought
that he was planting a new standard in the Parliamen-
tary arena. The Irishmen, however, were very much
alive. It cannot be said that they are Socialists, but
they have a high esteem for Mr. Hardie, and accord-
ingly gave him all the encouragement in their power
and punctuated his speech with rounds of applause,
gradually growing in volume.

When Mr. Hardie sat down, Mr. Richard Bell, of
the Railway Servants' Union, formally seconded the
resolution. Immediately a crowd of members sprang
to their feet, and one of them, Mr. Banbury, secured
the Speaker's eye. He was just explaining that he
was sorry he had not more time to demolish Mr. Har-
die, when the clock began to strike and the sitting
was over.

So ended the first definite introduction of Socialism
into the House of Commons. Some may think it both
first and last, but Mr. Hardie declared that he would
raise the question again and it would be forced upon
the attention of the legislature. Mr. Hardie is a man
who keeps his word, and even if he should fail in this
promise, there is no doubt that the rising tide of Soc-
ialism in the country will make itself felt in the mu-
nicipal life of the nation.

The seventh quarterly report of the General Fed-
eration of Trade Unions, which has just been issued,
shows that the Federation is making steady, but not
sensational progress. Four new societies affiliated
during the three months ending March 31st, bringing
up the total number to 67 with an aggregate mem-
bership of 391,128. The Gasworkers' Union, which
was considering the advisability of withdrawing, has
finally decided not to do so, a decision which is grati-
fying to all who are trying to build up a powerful Fed-
eration in the country. The income during the quar-
ter was £7,391-13-5d and the expenditure £1,272-
8-6, the latter item comprising £1,009-8-1 benefits to
the affiliated organizations and £263-0-5 working ex-
penses. The funds of the Federation now amount to
£41,077-7-10. It is not stated in the report, but we
may take it for granted, that the interest on the sum
invested will more than suffice to pay all working ex-
penses, so that in future all the income will be available
for benefit payments. The report itself is being en-
larged each quarter and now runs to 24 closely printed
pages. In addition to the official matter it contains
articles by Mr. Geo. N. Barnes and Sir Benjamin C.
Brown on the "Uses and Abuses of Organization
Among Employers and Employed," a speech by Sir
Christopher Furness on the American Steel Trust,

and a short descriptive article on Mr. George Cad-
bury's Bournville Village Trust. The Secretary of
the Federation, Mr. Isaac Mitchell, is to be congrat-
ulated upon his editorial, no less than his secretarial,
efficiency.

That organ of Conservatism, the "Yorkshire Post,"
published by the Yorkshire Conservative Newspaper
Company, must surely be regarded with disfavor by
its worthy subscribers who expect it to uphold the
claims of aristocracy, landlordism and capitalism. Oc-
casionally a leading article slips into its columns not
unworthy of the most out and out Socialist or Labor
journal. Is it that we are all becoming advanced now
or is some occult influence at work? Here is a case
in point.

"Liverpool," says the "Yorkshire Post," "is one of
the wealthiest of our northern towns, it contains 8,184
insanitary houses and 2,300 cellar dwellings; in the
Council meeting the other day it was said that many
of its inhabitants are too poor to afford a rent at
which it would pay any one to build houses.' If ever
there was a time when these people were poorer is
not reported. The insanitary houses are part of the wealth
contained in Liverpool. In the course of a discussion
on the question, it was said that 'people speculated in
insanitary property, knowing they would get an ex-
travagant price when the houses were scheduled.' The
people who live in these houses, we suppose, are not
those who make this profit out of them, though as
ratepayers they have to pay their share of the extrava-
gant price which yields the profit. That is one of the
beautiful arrangements for increasing the wealth of
Liverpool. The greater the number of its insanitary
houses the greater would be the profit. And that
there is a profit seems to be involved in the facts stated
by the chairman of the Housing Committee. To pur-
chase the insanitary houses under the ordinary powers
possessed by the Corporation would cost £279,000.
This is the estimate of the City Surveyor. To pur-
chase under the Housing of the Working Classes Act
would cost £400,000, and there is an estimate of £100,
000 for closing the 2,300 cellar dwellings. That is, the
Corporation would spend £500,000 in buying and de-
molishing property which, they say, is so bad that
people ought not to be allowed to live in it—whatever
their rent-paying ability. Thereafter the Corporation
can build new houses.

The Housing Committee were instructed to prepare
a scheme for rehousing the people who live in the
8,184 insanitary dwellings, and the rehousing has to
be 'inadequate.' To this the Council unanimously
agreed. Probably the cost will be £1,500,000—to do
it satisfactorily,' as Alderman Purcell said, and prob-
ably the mass of the Liverpool ratepayers will agree
with another Alderman, who urged that 'it was iniqui-
tous that the Corporation should be compelled to buy
at a very high price houses which ought not to exist,
and which the medical officer had only to pass his
wand over in order to force the owners to close alto-
gether and without compensation! We do not think
it would be unfair to make such property pay a share
of the cost of its removal. The majority of the Licen-
sing Committee recommended that the owners of li-
censed property should value their own property and
pay a special rate upon it so that purchase and ex-
tinction may be possible. An expansion of that prin-
ciple would not be unfair in the case of these insanitary
houses. Let the owners declare their value and be
rated upon five per cent of it—and the Corporation
please itself whether it buys or carries out a housing
scheme in the suburbs. This, it seems, would meet
the case at Liverpool if the facts are as stated in the
Council meeting, for it is unreasonable that people
should be allowed to succeed who purchase insanitary
houses, or who keep their property in an insanitary
state, in the hope that they may make large profits out
of it when the Council is forced by the pressure of hu-
man opinion to determine that the people shall have
places fit to live in. We do not compensate at a high
rate the tradesman on whose premises the inspector
discovers tins of insanitary salmon or beef, or tons of
insanitary fruit. Instead of profit, these owners have
usually a fine and an order for the immediate destruc-
tion of their insanitary property."

Surely, the stars in their course fight for progress;
but if a labor paper had published the foregoing ar-
ticle it would have been denounced as a red revolution-
ary.

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April 12th.—James Andrew, \$5 (contribution, \$1
per month); Emil Liess, \$1 (contribution \$1 per
month); G. B. Benham, \$1 (contribution \$1 per mo.);
O. Gavert, \$1 (contribution \$1 per mo.); John M. Rey-
nolds, \$2 (contribution \$1 per mo.); L. Van Alstine,
\$1 (contribution \$1 per month). April 23d.—Wm.
Gnauck, Benicia, \$2.50; Donah, Benicia, \$1. April
25th.—G. R. Gilmore, Williams, \$1; W. Clark, Wil-
liams, \$1. April 26th.—Colusa Local, \$2. April 27th.—
M. Eddy, \$5. April 28th.—G. Jefferson Woodland,
\$1. May 3d.—Stockton Local, \$3. May 13th.—John
Barduhn, \$2 (contribution \$1 per mo.). May 14th.—
Scott Anderson, \$2.50; May 15th.—Emil Liess, \$1;
G. B. Benham, \$1; C. H. King, Jr., \$5; John M. Rey-
nolds, \$1; Alameda Local, \$7.75. Total, \$47.75.
John M. Reynolds, State Sec., S. D. P.

CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

Meeting held April 15th. Minutes of previous meeting
approved. Bills were paid to following: J. J. Noel \$10, G.
B. Benham, books \$1.34, Tageblatt, advertising, \$3.
Comrade Postler was elected chairman for Thursday
night meeting and Comrade Costley for Sunday night.
200 letters to delinquent comrades ordered printed.
\$20 worth of stamps ordered purchased from state execu-
tive committee.
Secretary ordered to send letter to each district secretary
for a list of membership. Report of municipal program
committee approved and the committee given power to
print a sufficient number of petitions for employing the un-
employed. Also the petitions for the building of the Labor
Temple and Palace of the People.
The signers of the petition to be told that these measures
are merely palliatives. J. J. Noel, Sec'y.

Comrade George A. Eastman, editor of the De-
troit "Wage Worker," and a barber by trade, lost his
job through being a Socialist. He got even by starting
a barber shop at 648 Michigan avenue, which will also
be the office of the "Wage Worker" henceforth.
Election for member of the Legislature at Meining-
en, Germany, resulted in the complete triumph of
the Social Democrats. The same result is reported at
Stettin and at Bant. The tide continues to rise steady-

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Gambirinus Bottling Co. Gambirinus Beer
Fausler & Co. United States Beer
National Bottling Works National Beer
Wunder Bottling Co. Wunder Beer
Geo. Braun
Chas. Hochmann
D. Melinko
Franks Bros. Chicago Beer
John Jacobs, United States Beer.
Anton Phillips, United States Beer.
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Hanson & Kahler, Buffalo Beer
Kirchner & Manie, Rainer Beer.
Enterprise Bottling Co., Enterprise Beer
BRIDGE
American Brewery, Bottling Department
PORTLAND, ORE.
Henry Weinhard Brewery, Bottling Department.
Gambirinus Brewery, Bottling Department.
ASTORIA, ORE.
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Rudolf Sherf, National Beer.
Otto Ziegler, Eagle Bottling Works.