

ADVANCE

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The Conspiracy of Capital

The signs of the times point to some desperate conflicts between labor and capital in the not distant future. Reports that come from various parts of the country and incidents that have come under our notice here in San Francisco indicate that preparations are being made by the big capitalists and trust magnates to use the enormous power they control to crush the only enemy they now fear, the only foe that can do them harm—the organized effort of the working class to secure better conditions of labor and emancipation from wage-slavery. By “benevolent assimilation” in some instances, and by “criminal aggression” in others, the trusts are gradually acquiring complete power over the industries of the country. Their battle with the small producers, the middle class, has been won. By virtue of their superior economic organization, supplemented and aided by favorable legislation, they have reduced the petit bourgeois from his former proud state of the “sinew and backbone of the country” to a condition of “innocuous desuetude.” They are now turning their attention more exclusively to the working class and are beginning to perfect and execute their plans for the demolition of all labor organizations. Almost daily new items of evidence crop up which tend to prove the existence of this conspiracy of capital to destroy labor’s power of resistance and to permanently degrade and enslave it.

This, indeed, is just what might be expected. Those who have understood the nature of the capitalist industrial system, who have realized the inherent antagonism between the interests of capital and labor, have predicted just this development. The Socialist, who has made a scientific analysis of modern society and gained thereby a clear insight into the real relations subsisting between employer and employe, has exclaimed time and again that the latent hostility, which at times became open and obvious, must eventuate in an organized class struggle. This assertion has been much laughed at and scorned by the American workingmen, who have been blinded to the facts by the false traditions of a past of equality and who have been misled by the demagogic appeals of the press and the politicians. But now, at last, the facts are too prominent, the light of the hostile camps is too glaring, the pain of the conflict too keen for the most senseless to fail to feel, and to know, that a bitter class war is on—a war which can only end in the enslavement and degradation of labor or the overthrow of the capitalist class.

This conspiracy of the capitalists against the workers is the logical and consistent result of the principles on which the modern industrial state is founded. The capitalists believe themselves the salt of the earth. They assume themselves to have all the brains of the human race and to be, generally speaking, the only people worth considering. They delude themselves with the notion that they have some divine right to rule, vested in them by the operation of the law of the survival of the fittest. And with ruthless logic they trample their fellow-man remorselessly under foot in their mad struggle for wealth. They are not

“theorists;” they are “practical men.” They find themselves in a world where the selfish succeed, where the man who takes full advantage of every opportunity, regardless of the misery he may be causing, is the only man who succeeds. They close their ears to the cry of the oppressed. They harden their hearts against all sentiments of compassion, all feelings of sympathy, and bend their energies on the sole object of their existence, the gratification of their own ambitions. “The public may be damned.”

Wealth, Property, has become the presiding deity of this class. They know that “Wealth is king in peace and war.” Owning the means whereby the people live—the means of producing wealth—they force the workers to pay them tribute for the privilege of working, of living. The full product of the laborer’s toil they take from him and render back only enough to keep his body and soul together, that he may come on the morrow and be robbed by them again. The inexorable laws of the economic system keep the wages of the workers always near the bare-existence level. The aid and ally of the capitalist, dire necessity, comes early every morning to the humble home of the producer of all wealth, and with the lash of hunger and the fear of want drives forth the weary wage-slave to the factory of his master. There the wage-slave finds hundreds of his fellows similarly rounded up and with them he enters into a bitter struggle for a chance to work—a chance to be robbed of the product of a day’s unremitting, exhausting toil. He fights for a chance to sell himself to a boss and the more competitors the lower must he make the price of his bondage.

This is the sight that gladdens the capitalist’s heart. He takes advantage of his opportunity. He grinds down wages, he lengthens the hours of work—more and more wealth he squeezes from the slaves of necessity brought to his service. When, then, he finds some spark of solidarity animating these men, when they cease quarreling amongst themselves and underbidding each other for a chance to be plundered, when they evince their manhood, organize a union and, by united action, seek to better their condition, very naturally the boss becomes wroth and fumes with indignation. Being a practical man, he does not hesitate long as to what to do. It is perfectly evident to him that the union is the cause of his trouble; that by its ability to call out his men on strike or by compelling him to yield to their demands—one way or the other—the union hurts him. Naturally, therefore, he seeks to break the union.

This is the logic of the case; it is also the fact of the case. Long before the first of May, when unionism was leaping forward with mighty strides, rumors were afloat as to preparations by the bosses to smash the unions. Since that time, the conspiracy formed for this purpose has shown its hand and there can be no further doubt but what the employers have an association whose object is to destroy the trades-unions and reduce the men to their former conditions. The Restaurant Keepers showed this first through their action in refusing recognition of the union. Intimidation

and bribery of the smaller restaurant keepers by the wholesale butchers and the Moraghan Oyster Company followed. Then the trouble of the Machinists’ Union began to brew. The secret council of the manufacturers’ conspiracy endeavored to bring before it individuals from the different shops, that they might disintegrate the union. This failing, they broke off negotiations, declaring they would be governed by Eastern developments. Meanwhile, the Wholesale Grocers’ Association sent out notice to the retailers to curtail the credit they gave to workingmen, hinting that prolonged idleness would render it hazardous to the retailers to trust strikers, and threatening stoppage of all credit transactions between wholesalers and retailers unless orders were obeyed. Delegates to the National Metal Trades Association, the Bosses’ Conspiracy, have met in Detroit and now declare implacable war upon the unions. The demands of the machinists are to be fought to a finish. The Wholesale Butchers reappear upon the scene, also, in their ultimatum to the retailers that, if they display the union card, they will get no meat. To which the Journeymen have responded, that, if the card is not displayed, they will all walk out and the Retailers will get no help. Thus we see a line-up of organized capital, determined to crush organized labor. We see plainly and unmistakably evidences of a bitter class-war. Let us now see how this is being fought and how labor should resolve to fight.

In Dayton, Ohio, and in many other places, the lockout was an opening attack; but right here on the Pacific Coast there was a sort of lockout perpetrated, not by private employers, but by the United States Government. Let no one hesitate to believe that the Navy Department obeys the dictates of the capitalists! Remember that, only a week or so ago, the Republican daily, the “San Francisco Chronicle,” openly charged Senator Foraker with being influenced by the trusts and proved its charges by showing that, within six days, the honorable gentleman introduced two opposite bills into the Senate; the first antagonistic, the second harmonious with the interests of the tobacco and the sugar trusts; and that the latter passed. And, as the Senate is thus dominated, so the Navy Department. A few weeks before the machinists struck several hundred of them were laid off at the Mare Island shops, under pretense, of course, that there was no work; but with the real reason of weakening the resources of the union.

Simultaneously with these happenings come court decisions—one in Illinois, declaring that blacklisting is perfectly legal and justifiable, which, when considered in connection with the Employers’ Associations, local and national, is seen to fit most perfectly into the mechanism of the conspiracy to crush organized labor. From Kentucky comes another decision, which declares the boycott to be illegal and criminal, and an injunction issues which prohibits men from forming any union or association to interfere with the free course of trade. What the result of this may be is indicated by the happenings of a few weeks ago in Albany, when the militia were called in to shoot down the strikers. Thus we see in

all parts of the country complementary parts being made which, when put together, form the means by which the capitalist conspirators hope to destroy the organization of labor, and when they have succeeded in that to proceed to drive down wages, lengthen hours and squeeze out profits from the workers who, in their individual and unorganized capacity, are helpless and hopeless. The political powers, the government, has become the ally of the capitalists and is the foe of the working class.

In the face of these facts, which cannot be disputed, it is folly, blind, mad folly to deny that there are classes. On the one side is arrayed the capitalists, swollen with pride, opulence and arrogance, seeking by economic pressure, by bribery, by intimidation, by the use of the legislatures, the courts and the executives of the States and nation, to crush the working class organization. On the other side is the working class, lean with toil and want, too humble and modest in its demands, but seeking that which not even the most meagre justice could deny, the right to organize and a shortening of hours, to give them some time to become acquainted with their families. Between these two there is an antagonism which cannot be harmonized. Between these two there is an inevitable struggle which must be fought out to its bitter end. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." Either the capitalist will crush the workers, make them hopeless, unresisting slaves, or else the working class must overthrow the capitalists completely.

Fellow-workers, realize the battle you are in. So long as you remain wage-workers, you must fight with your bosses over the questions, How much money? How long time? So long as you remain wage-workers you are producing wealth for your bosses by enduring poverty and misery yourselves. Realize the mission which history has placed upon you. Humanity and progress call upon you. "Arise," they cry, "you the toilers, who have built the civilization, the wealth and grandeur of the world! Will ye be robbed of the fruits of your toil and be enslaved by a handful of audacious, ambitious tyrants? Behold, in your strong right hands ye carry the ballot won by the valiant struggles of your forefathers. Disgrace no more the precious heritage they have left; march to the election booths, and cast your ballot to abolish the system which breeds such parasites as the capitalists, who, weakening you by draining your life-blood into their coffers, seek to debase and enslave you even more. Between the workingman and the capitalist there can be no peace. Organize yourselves into a working class political army, conscious of your common rights and interests. Make war upon the capitalistic Republican and Democratic parties, who use the governmental powers only to aid your enemy; who pass laws against you; who issue injunctions against you; who send soldiers against you; who do not hesitate to sacrifice your lives to the prosperity and property interests of your bosses.

Vote to take back for your own use the mines and mills, the railroads and shops which you have created, by which you now support your masters in luxury, yourselves in poverty. Make these things your own; operate them for your own use, and Peace and Plenty will smile upon you. You have all the world to gain. You have nothing but your chains to lose. Unite!

The Russian famine in the Cherson and Kieff districts has attacked over thirty per cent of the inhabitants, and is far more widespread than those occurring in 1894 and 1895.

ADVANCE

Labor's Political Struggle

Notes Indicating the Progress of the World's Socialist Movement.

Great Britain

Walter Crane, Social Democrat, has two pictures on exhibition in the London Academy. They are creating a great sensation as the most "striking works of the year." The pictures are: "The Mower" and "The Fountain of Youth."

William Clarke, M. A., known widely as one of the contributors to the famous volume of "Fabian Essays," died on May 8th at Mostar, Herzegovina. He was on a trip to Dalmatia and Bosnia. He was one of the best known journalists and writers on economics and political subjects in England.

France

A dispatch from Paris says: "The split in the ranks of the Socialists caused by the defeat of a resolution in the license congress declaring M. Millerand, the Minister of Commerce, had placed himself outside the party by accepting a portfolio in a Bourgeois cabinet, is bearing fruit. Eight deputies, including M. Vaillant, who retired from the congress on the defeat of the motion to expel M. Millerand from the party, have announced their withdrawal. The Socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies intend to organize a new group, thus weakening the imperial government, hitherto supported by these deputies. Other Socialists are expected to follow the example of their colleagues and withdraw from the party."

Gustave Lefrancais died recently in Paris in his seventy-fifth year. He was one of the Communists who, in August, 1872, being condemned to death by the Versailles government, escaped to London. He began his career as a schoolmaster, was arrested for conspiring against the government in 1850, and later for his opposition to the Napoleonic coup d'etat and was obliged to flee to London. He returned to Paris in the early sixties, and soon made himself conspicuous by his open attacks upon the Empire. He was several times arrested, and when Louis Napoleon fell, in 1870, he entered the Hotel de Ville and upbraided General Trochu and Jules Ferry for the inactivity of the National Defense Government. Then came the Commune. He returned to France when amnesty was proclaimed by the Third Republic, and from then until the time of his death occupied himself in writing for the most advanced Socialist organs, and attacking the republican government as in the old days he had attacked the Bourbons and the Imperialists.

Spain

An immense Socialist May Day meeting at Madrid was attended by 12,000 persons.

At the Cortes election, which took place on May 19th, the Socialist party for the first time elected a member of the Cortes (Parliament).

In 1899 there were only 5 branches of the Socialist Party in the province of Asturia, with a membership of 600; but in 1900 there were 13, with 7,000 members. Most of these men are miners. They have a paper, "La Aurora Social," which has a circulation of 4,000. During the past year the Socialists of Asturia held 70 meetings, which have been attended by at least 30,000 people.

The Socialist press of Spain has become an important factor and the following now appear: "El Socialista," the central organ at Madrid; "La Lucha de Classes," at Bilbao; "La Aurora Social," at Oviedo; "La Voz del Pueblo," at Santander; "La Solidaridad," at

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San Francisco

Vigo; "El Obrero Balear," at Palma; "El Bien del Obrero," at Ferrol; "Adelante," at Eibar. There is also published a weekly review at Madrid, "La Neuva Era," and since May 1st there have been new papers published at Barcelona and San Sebastian.

Russia

The Social Democrats of Odessa, the industrial metropolis of southern Russia, have started a weekly paper.

Japan

Five of the leading papers of Yokohama and Tokio have been suppressed by the Japanese Government for having published matter in their papers concerning the formation of a new political party under the style of Shakai Minshuto, a Socialist Party, whose objects are to put into practice Socialism in Japan, any person being able to become a member of the party on payment of a monthly subscription of two sen. The Socialist Party had applied to the Government for official recognition, and coincidentally issued a manifesto, which was published by the papers. The application was refused and an order was issued for the suspension of the papers publishing the manifesto on the ground that the publication was inimical to peace and order.

United States

The Chicago Record-Herald has opened a column for the discussion of Socialism.

The "Macon Press," official journal of the Macon, Ga., Central Labor Union, gives two columns weekly to "Things Socialistic," and some good articles are included.

Members of the Journeymen Bakers' International Union are writing to the "Bakers' Journal" advocating that the paper be conducted on Socialist lines hereafter.

The state executive committee of the Social Democratic Party of New Hampshire voted to put two organizers in the field during the month of June, one French and one American. The committee decided to call a state convention to meet at Dover on July 4th.

Socialist Missions.

London, May 22, 1901.

The Independent Labor Party is making an effort to raise £1,000 a year with a view to carrying on special propaganda work in all the large towns and industrial centres. The intention is to hold a series of large meetings in each of the places selected, advertising well and distributing large quantities of useful literature. All the prominent speakers in the movement are to be turned on so as to attract the public and show that the I. L. P. can boast an array of public men who can hold their own in any assembly. For the time being the chief energies of the Party will be concentrated on the district where the mission is being held and no effort will be spared to prove the effectiveness and influence of the organization.

The thousand pounds for the first year has not yet been raised, but a considerable sum has been got together, and the first Socialist Mission was held at Preston on May 1st and four following days. Preston is a town where the Conservative Party has been dominant for forty years. The Liberal organization has been defunct for several years. There is now, however, a strong branch of the I. L. P. A Socialist candidate has been run for parliament twice, polling just under 5,000 votes on each occasion. It is a certainty that the seat will be contested again at the first opportunity and a great increase in the vote is anticipated.

Among the speakers who descended on Preston were J. Keir Hardie, M. P., Councillors John Hodge (Secretary of the Steelmelters' Union), Jas. Parker (President of the Hal-

ifax Trades Council) and Philip Snowden, the Socialist Candidate for Blackburn, Messrs. J. Bruce Glasier (Chairman of the I. L. P.), S. D. Shallard (lecturer for the London Fabian Society), and Pete Curran (Organizer of the Gasworkers' Union), Mrs. Pankhurst (Member of the Manchester School Board), and Mrs. Glasier. M. Emile Vinck of the Belgium Labor Party also spoke. Crowded and enthusiastic meetings were held night after night; the walls were covered with placards; brass bands patrolled the town; over 50,000 leaflets and handbills were distributed. Socialism was made the burning topic in the town and the people were made to feel that the Socialist Party was an active, powerful and responsible factor, which they could not afford to ignore.

This is the kind of work the National Council of the I. L. P. intends to carry on in all parts of the British Islands during the next few years.

John Penny.

Labor's Economic Struggle
Notes Showing the Strife Between Organized Labor and Capitalism.

Spain

The Spanish Union of Workmen count now 172 groups, with 29,388 members. The trades union movement in Spain is now mainly under Socialist management.

New Zealand

A trades union conference at Wellington, New Zealand, has adopted resolutions urging the government to abolish overtime for children employed in factories; to compel all boys working at trades to be indentured, and to establish a state coal mine and tailoring and boot workshops. The conference declared against federation.

United States

Newsboys at Warren, O., have organized. Many miners at Johannesburg, Transvaal, refusing to accept five shillings a day, the rate fixed by military order, have gone on strike.

Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union had \$35,848.66 in general benefit funds March 31st.

The fifteenth annual convention of the International Printing Pressmen's Union will meet at Washington, D. C., June 17th.

Two thousand employees of paper mill at Holyoke, Mass., struck on the 1st.

An agreement has been effected between the Pennsylvania Iron Company, of Philadelphia, and its 250 machinists by which the men will return to work on a nine-hour basis.

The Jamestown (New York) Street Railway employees struck recently, demanding the reinstatement of three discharged men who belonged to the Street Car Men's Union.

Judge Kummner, at Dayton, O., on the 1st, enjoined the Metal Polishers' Union from interfering with the business of the Dayton Manufacturing Company. The capitalist Court held picketing and boycotting to be in violation of the law.

The American Chemical and Spirit Company, of Evansville, Ind., has gone into the hands of a New York trust. The plant will be closed down, and 400 men will be thrown out of work. The factory is the only one of its kind in the West.

The strike of the boiler-makers of the Pennsylvania Engineering Works, of New Castle, Pa., for a nine-hour day at ten hours' pay, has been declared off, with a victory for the men. The strike has been on nearly a month.

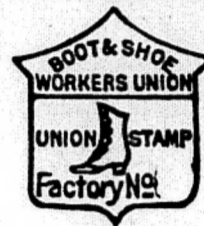
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The Official Organ of the Socialists of the Pacific Coast.

Published Weekly by Local San Francisco Social Democratic Party, at 134 Murphy Building, San Francisco, California.

Does your boss work? Yes, my gentle lamb, he works you.

Labor produces all wealth—for the boss; it don't need any itself you know. Then, also, "blessed is he that gives."

Our enterprising contemporary, "The Missouri Socialist," which is so ably edited by Comrade E. Val Putnam, announces that "something is doing" in the way of putting it on "a firm financial basis." Shake, old man! Same here. A long life and a big circulation to you.

The San Francisco comrades should attend to their registration. If any voter has moved since last election he must re-register in order to participate in the primary election. If the party decides to take part in the legal, official primary it will be necessary to poll the largest possible vote. If you're not registered, register!

Don't forget to hear our Chicago Comrade, J. Stitt Wilson, at the Academy of Sciences, June 20th. Comrade Wilson is widely known as an eloquent speaker and an enthusiastic Socialist. He is associated with Comrade Dr. Geo. D. Herron in "The Social Crusade." His subject will be "Why I Am a Socialist"—Thursday evening, June 20th, at Academy of Sciences Hall, 819 Market street.

If you have not yet acquired that most excellent habit, you had better develop it very quickly—we mean looking for the union card in the window of the place you make purchases, asking the clerk who waits on you for his membership card and demanding the label on the things you buy. Try it! you will find that not only will you enjoy the fun of it, but that you will do better and at the same time will help the union movement.

The capitalist is such a dear friend of yours; he gives you work. Why, he is only too glad to give you work 24 hours a day, seven days a week, 52 weeks a year, if you would be content with what wages he chooses to pay you. The more work he can give you, the more profit he can get out of you. Do you wonder, then, that he objects to your spoiling his brotherly love for you, when you demand an hour less work a day? Why, he gets a dollar less out of you.

News just received from Tokio, Japan, informs us that the labor papers of that country have been suppressed, because of publishing the manifesto of the newly organized Socialist Party. The government refuses recognition to the new party, as its principles are subversive of law and order. Thus we see that capitalism in Japan is quite as shrewd in perceiving its deadly enemy as capitalism in Russia, Germany, or the United States. Hurrah for our Japanese comrades! We know now that their principles square with the class-conscious Socialist movement and we feel sure that no "suppression" can stop the true revolutionist.

"The Problem of the Trust" is the all-absorbing topic of the day, as the trust seems to be the absorber of all things of the day. A few—not all—of the more noteworthy operations are indicated by such headlines as these: "Standard Oil Gets Great Coal Fields. Pocahontas District, Worth \$13,000,000 Changes Hands." "Tobacco Magnates Meet in New York and Organize a Mammoth New Trust." "Complete Harmony. Vanderbilt director enters Santa Fe Board. A Step in a Grand Scheme of Consolidation of Railroad Interest from New York and Pennsylvania to Pacific Coast." "Hill Shuts Out Competition of Great Northern." "American Capital in Control. Underground System of London Passes into Hands of Yerkes of Chicago. Morgan Said to Have Plans for Surface Lines." "Plow Trust Organized with Capital of \$75,000,000." The trusts are surely plowing the ground well; let Socialists scatter their seed plentifully and we will have a glorious harvest. By the way, gentle stranger, have you heard any solution that seems adequate other than the Socialist solution, "Let the People own the trusts."

Circulate those petitions! Ten thousand names are needed to force a vote on the two propositions for the employment of the unemployed and the building of the Palace of the People. Comrades should understand the value of success in this work. If these propositions are put on the ballot the capitalist press and politicians will be forced to discuss them, and, as they are distinctly labor and Socialist propositions, fight them. In doing this they cannot avoid aiding our propaganda. Take, for instance, the employment of the unemployed. If they argue that the expense will be great, they admit that many are unemployed and hence that the measure is needed. If they argue that men will leave other jobs for city employment, they deny that prosperity exists in private industries and hence that the measure would be beneficial. If they argue that eight hours' work and two dollars pay are exorbitant allowances, they will have difficulty in explaining the \$80,000,000 income of Rockefeller and the proportionate income of a host of other lesser social parasites. Any style of attack they adopt, we will be able to turn the blow so that it will bound back like a boomerang, and they will be "hoist by their own petard." The measure is practicable, though far-reaching, and approaching the revolutionary in its effects. If it carries it will be of the greatest benefit. If it does not carry the agitation, nevertheless, will be decidedly helpful to Socialist propaganda. Circulate the petitions.

CHARLES FERGUSON, ANARCHIST.

The address of Rev. Chas. Ferguson, Thursday, June 5th, at the Academy of Sciences, was remarkable in many respects. The speaker has been widely heralded as a new prophet and an apostle of virile democracy. A two-page write-up in Hearst's "Examiner" classed him with the eminent philosophers of the century. As a consequence the hall was crowded to its doors by an audience eager to hear the eloquent orator from Arizona and anxious to discover how he would effect "The Decentralization of Economic Power." We do not expect much of preachers ordinarily; they are seriously handicapped by their profession. Yet, despite the wearisomeness of it, the audience is frequently willing to winnow several bushels of the chaff of the windy circumlocution of rhetorical phraseology if only as a reward they can get "just three grains of corn." It was in this particular that Rev. Ferguson's

lecture was remarkable. It is truly marvelous that one with the gifts of an orator, the pleasing declamation and mastery of choice English, such as Ferguson undoubtedly has, should not permit himself to say anything—in his lecture. For over an hour Mr. Ferguson spouted and posed, garbed trite commonplaces in elegant diction and the sum and substance of his argument—we use the word in the technical sense, the body of his address—was "tax the Standard Oil," "regulate the price."

For fifteen minutes Mr. Ferguson dilated on "the scientific spirit," which, as one critic remarked, was like the devil expounding the Bible. "The scientific spirit," according to him "was suspending judgment," sitting on the fence, in other words failure to courageously follow to their logical outcome principles plainly deducible from facts. For fifteen minutes more he spoke of the contradictions and antagonisms inherent in the universe, which we might never hope to solve or synthesize. For fifteen minutes more he spoke of the solution of the "problem of the political corporation by political democracy," and then he declared "the problem for us is how to preserve the industrial corporation and safeguard liberty." The audience pricked up its ears and prepared itself to applaud some assertion that the solution would be "industrial democracy." But the Rev. Ferguson here relapsed into his "scientific spirit," and came to the lame and impotent conclusion that the way to do is to fix the price of products at what is ascertained to be reasonable. The close of this address was marked by this painfully evident balking at the logical conclusion of what had been said previously. Either the gentleman is a consummate illogician or an arrant coward. There is another explanation which is possibly more charitable, and that is, were he capable of logical conclusions, he would be an anarchist. His metaphysics, his idealistic abstractions, bring him invariably to the worship of absolute idea—liberty is his fetich and his sacrificial rites involve the offering-up of the slain bodies of common sense and economic science.

The critics—Comrades Seiler, Thompson, Scott, Noel and King, Jr.—tore the speech in shreds, and carried the audience with them in enthusiastic applause. The "contradictions" which "the scientific spirit" of the speaker betrayed him into were laid bare, and the real science of social movements was explained. The fact of the existence of a class struggle was pointed out and the necessity of the working-class organizing to win the battle for themselves and for humanity was emphatically declared. Mr. Ferguson, in his final rebuttal, showed that the keen lashes of the critics stung him. He abandoned the scientific spirit—his own kind, or any other. "Socialism was a foreign product, hostile to the spirit of Anglo-Saxon institutions. It was hatched in German universities by impractical, bespectacled, closet philosophers. Socialism could never come. Germany was three centuries behind the times, travelling the path France took under Louis XIV, and Spain, under Phillip II." Here the audience gave the speaker the merry ha-ha. He wound up by stating that the Socialists were laggards on the field of battle, that other forces would win the battle, and in the language of the French king, who, returning victorious, exclaimed to his belated lieutenant, "Go hang yourself," he would say to "his youthful critics, "Go hang yourselves." The impression left with the audience was that the Rev. Ferguson was either a superficial rhetorician or an artful poser, who knew more than he told.

In the Industrial Arena.

BY JOSEPH J. NOEL.

Today the organized exploiters threw down the gauntlet to the trades unions in an emphatic and unmistakable way. In the butcher business an order was issued to the retailers by the organized wholesalers to withdraw the union cards from their windows or all meat would be withheld. Back of the wholesale butchers stands the Merchants' Association. It is a pretty fight. There is a determined effort to smash trades unions by the bosses. Every power is brought to bear on the necessity for concerted action by the masters. Lawyers are engaged to advise them. Money is thrown around lavishly. And nothing will satisfy them but the overthrow of every union in the city. It is war to the knife. Only the death of trades unionism will appease the hungry horde of labor exploiters.

The community of interests is very apparent in this struggle. The Merchants' Association feels duly bound to assist the wholesalers, the wholesalers feel it incumbent upon them to help the retailers, and the retailers are forced to fight the union.

Pitted against this combination of capitalists is the Butchers' Union, representing the working class. The Union is, unfortunately, content with little; still, that little is denied it. Only the union card in the window of the butcher shop, to show customers half-way decent conditions obtain, is demanded, and all the fury of an insulted slave master is the result.

Back of the Butchers' Union stand all the labor unions of this city. There is a spirit of solidarity in this city among the working class that is almost unequalled in the history of this country. Every man seems to feel that the fight of his brother wage-slave is his fight. This is the most healthful sign in the present trouble. The rank and file are learning their lesson. If the officers were as susceptible to culture, much genuine progress would be made. Instead of struggling for the display of a union card, the unions would be fighting for conditions fit for human beings to live in if all the paid hot-air artists were in the bay. The only two traitors to the Union so far were two of these unsavory gentlemen. One, the former secretary of the Union, was no more than a paid employe of the bosses. His coward instinct told him to stay with his masters when the strike came on. The only difference between him and the other paid hot-air artists in the labor movement is that he was not long enough in the business to smile the clock-faced smile and betray the union at the same time. He should have learned his lesson from some of the old hands before he began. There are many of his kind who would be only too pleased to get an obedient tool and would teach him the little trick of waiting till he could get something worth while before showing his hand.

One of the conditions insisted upon by the Metal Trades Association, in its fight with the machinists, is full control of the men. In this free country, where all men are free, this demand makes pleasant reading. To control men does not imply anything—but control. It cannot mean anything else. Webster gives a definition or two that may throw light on the significance of the demand. He says control means to overpower, to subject to authority, to have superior force or authority over, to govern. It may mean nothing at all, this demand; but from the way the Metal Trades Association insists on its recognition it seems

to have a great deal to do with the present struggle.

There is an insolence in the rest of the demands that brings the hot blood to the cheek. They could only come from men who are absolutely secure of themselves and their position. And what a reflection on our own ignorance, the ignorance of the working class, it all is! If the amount of time wasted teaching workingmen that all they need is a fair day's pay for a fair day's work were used in the unions to teaching them that they produce all the wealth of the world, therefore all the wealth of the world belongs to them, such insolence as this of the Metal Trades Association would be impossible. For the very security felt by this association of masters rests on the false knowledge doled out to the workers, no less by their leaders than by the subsidized press of the country. The logic of the knowledge that the workers produce all the wealth of the world would be anxiety for the possession of that wealth. Further, a knowledge that it is a class war we are engaged in would accompany the other knowledge. But the time of the union is taken up by the hot-air artists who, when they are not licking their own boots, are licking the boots of some one else that will be of some commercial value to them.

The strike of the machinists grows as the days go by. The hope for a peaceful settlement is "officially" given up, and only a game of wait by both sides can be indulged in. How unjust it is, looking at it from the side of right and wrong alone, that any group of men have the power to compel another group of men to starve or submit. There was more honorable conduct in the bloodiest battle of the ancient world than in this. Women and children were always immune, but in these modern battles they suffer most. The weakest and most innocent are the victims of this war by the capitalist class against the working class. They have no redress. They must suffer in silence. For war is hell, and till the workers of the country wake up to some other solution of the problem than the strike or the boycott, this hell we shall always have with us.

The Milkers' Union fought long and faithfully for better treatment of its members. From the most wretched surroundings they have made progress till the majority of the dairymen have complied with the very moderate request of treating their help a trifle better than they treat their swine. It is a far cry from this treatment, much of an improvement as it undoubtedly is, to the treatment the milkers deserve as men. But this recognition of their manhood is bound to come. The intelligence of the men will bring it into being, and there is some hope for men who work alone, for the most part, on ranches away from the city, where the spirit of unionism prevails, yet keep up a union of their own without the least support from outsiders. But despite the modesty of the demands, a few of the more stupid and ignorant dairymen refuse to comply with them. The law, too, is laughed at by these thick-headed citizens of the open spaces in this connection, and it will be, no doubt, till the workers elect members of their own class to enforce the law. There's the solution of the whole problem, machinists, milkers, waiters, boiler makers, bakers, and other strikers. You must elect your own representatives to the halls of legislature, rep-

resentatives of your own class, who will pass laws for the benefit of your own class and then enforce them.

We have a bit of good news for our readers, but must withhold it for a week. It is along the lines of co-operative effort for one of the unions now on strike. This is really a weapon that is not used enough during strikes. It is the most effective. It makes the small dealers fear for their attenuated market and brings the large dealer to a realization of the strength workingmen possess. Of course, access to the tools is necessary, but in a trade where no tools, comparatively speaking, are used, co-operative plants may be established and run for the benefit of the strikers during a strike and after. The Mill men brought their masters to their knees by adopting this method. Other unions can do likewise.

LIBERTY.

Some people are very much afraid that the establishment of Socialism will ring the death-knell of liberty. Their line of argument runs somewhat like this: The control of a man's means of living carries with it power to tyrannize over his life, to interfere with his liberty and force him under pain of losing his means of living to do things he dislikes exceedingly to do. If then, they argue, the means of living of all people are placed in the hands of the State, the political organization, the majority faction, will be able to unmercifully and illimitably tyrannize over the minority faction of the people. This appears to be very logical and it is small wonder that to many people it appears conclusive. But there are a few other facts and factors the consideration of which quite invalidate the argument and nullify the contentions of these "libertarians."

In the first place it must be remembered that the only society in which every individual could exercise the right to do just as he liked would be no society at all.

The moment men associate they must limit their individual freedom by regard for the rights of each other to live as they wish. In modern society, with the immense complexity of our industrial system and the closely knit independence of one upon another, the restrictions we must submit to are many and various. In order to run modern machinery and operate the great factories which produce things most economically, organization of the working-force is necessary. Regularity and punctuality must be exacted from each that all may suffer the least inconvenience. We are driven then to this first dilemma. Either to abandon social production, the co-operation of many men producing good in the most efficient, most productive, manner, and turn back to the old days of isolated individual production, with its meagre results, its paucity of product, or else to submit to that restriction upon our individual liberty that the regulations and discipline of association and co-operation necessitate. But, in point of fact, we are scarcely left a choice in this matter; we cannot seize the first horn of the dilemma; we cannot revert to individualistic conditions. To do so would mean to destroy all labor-saving machinery, to tear up the railroad tracks, to cut down the telegraph poles, to destroy the factories, to ruin the cities, to give up all the luxuries which the human race has won and reduce and level down humanity to one common poverty-stricken plane, to roll back the car of human progress, which the agony and toil of millions has advanced thus far. Such a choice is impossible.

But the other horn of the dilemma is bi-

partite. It gives us a further choice. We must, it is true, submit to regulations and discipline, but it makes much difference whether these be of our own choosing or of another's dictation.

At the present time our industries are under an absolutist form of government; a single dictator or an oligarchy controls them with no restrictions. Indeed, when the employees of these men protest against hard conditions and demand some slight change for the better, the bosses get red in the face with anger, and roar that the workers are interfering with their liberty. They "will run their business as they please and will not submit to the dictations of their employees," so they declare. Clearly this is an odious condition of society, where one or two or a dozen powerful millionaires can dictate to thousands of workmen what the condition of work shall be. It is industrial tyranny; the working-class live in a condition of wage-slavery.

Political institutions furnish an interesting analogy. Beginning with the elected chiefs of free tribesmen, we discover the gradual evolution of authority making the office hereditary, surrounding it with retainers or companions who serve as instruments of power. Gradually, by conquest and marriage, by "criminal aggression" and "benevolent assimilation," the power of the chief extends over wider territory and becomes more absolute until the King of the French people could say, "The State? I am it." When this absolutism oppressed the people and industrial changes enlightened the minds of certain vigorous portions of them, they arose in their might and destroyed it. Instead of a State ruled by one man, they secured liberty by establishing a State in which all had an equal voice. This is the most satisfactory solution yet tried.

Anarchy, no state at all, seems far too hazardous, as removing all protection of the weak from the aggressions of the strong.

Judging then from the political analogy we should be able to solve the industrial problem by democratizing industry. While political democracy is not perfect, while some have declared it a failure, yet it has been pointed out that the failures of democracy arise chiefly from the corrupting power of centralized wealth in the hands of plutocrats and the corruptible condition of the slum-proletariat whom the capitalist system has debased and demoralized. With the destruction of this power and the regeneration of the submerged tenth, democratic government would speedily vindicate itself if its partial success under such adverse conditions as the present needs vindication.

Is it not reasonable to hope then, is it not logical to expect, that by transferring the ownership and operation of the industries of the country from the steel barons, mining magnates, and oil kings to the people, to be administered on democratic principles, that such a revolution would be the best solution of the problem of poverty and at the same time release the worker from the tyranny of the self-appointed boss and usher him into the liberty and equality of industrial democracy—Social-

Two street meetings are held every week, at Grant avenue and Market street—one on Sunday night, the other Tuesday night. The crowds have been large since they have been started. Much work can be done by the Comrades by coming out and assisting at these meetings. We have literature to sell and petitions to be signed. It is not fair to allow all this work to rest on the shoulders of one or two. If you cannot speak, come to the meetings anyhow. There is work for you.
JOSEPH J. NOEL, Organizer.

ADVANCE

Correspondence.

"Them Class-Conscious" DeLeonites.

New Haven, Conn., May 31st.

We are in the midst of the machinists strike for the nine-hour day here. We have gained our point in nine shops and have about 130 men in 8 shops still on strike. The situation is hopeful and the men are determined. We have very few scabs here, and those mostly in one shop; two of them DeLeonites. They are reported by the men who went out as taking the work which the strikers threw down, although commonly employed in another department and on other work.

In another shop where the demands were granted as a result of the general movement, although the men were not organized, two DeLeonites have benefited by this nine-hour movement without any effort on their part. Hope they will learn a lesson.
W. E. White.

Doings In Los Angeles.

Editor Advance: First of all, I must report our last street meeting. Comrade Darra opened the meeting, and gathered a large crowd in a few minutes. He was followed by Comrade Spring, who gave a good straight talk on Socialism. Then Comrade Corey spoke. His talk was out of the ordinary line of speaking, for he had prepared a very interesting chart, large enough to be plainly seen by the audience. On the first page of the chart he had made out the statistics of the strikes, giving their number, the number won and their cost to the workingmen. On the second page, he had drawn the figures of two men, one of gigantic proportions to represent "Labor," and the other a dwarfed figure to represent "Capitalism." This drew the interest of the crowd and Comrade Darra again took the stand, in order to defeat the purposes of the S. L. P. men, who thought of taking our crowd when we had stopped. The crowd listened to him for an hour or more, and by that time the S. L. P. men were tired out and had gone home.

We had a large crowd at our Sunday night meeting. Prof. Bowman spoke on "Some Effects of Socialism." The speaker was "up in the air" the greater part of the time, and consequently the comrades undertook to bring him back to earth again.

The debate last week on "Whether the advocacy of the class struggle should be the most prominent feature of Socialist propaganda" resolved itself into the question of whether there is a class struggle or not? The sides were not well taken and in the open discussion no one spoke on the original question.

The question for this week's debate is, "Resolved, that the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum should accept donations from Carnegie."

We are busy raising funds for the delegate to the unity convention and our dance will be held for the same purpose. The State Organizer will soon be here, and we must arrange meetings for him. So with all these events on hand, besides the regular propaganda, we are very busy.

Yours for the Cause,
Olga Wirthschaft.

The Unity Convention.

Comrades:

The N. E. C. having affirmed the date of July 29th as the date for the opening of the unity convention, I hereby advise all comrades to that effect. Credentials are in the hands of the printer and will be mailed to all Locals and State Committees in a few days, with instructions as to the election of delegates.

All comrades who have been members of our party prior to June 30th are entitled to representation, provided they are in good standing. Therefore, in order that all comrades may be represented at the coming convention, they are reminded to pay up all their dues.

Locals are also reminded that an assessment was levied equal to ten cents per member and all those Locals or subdivision who have as yet failed to pay same are requested to do so at once, as the N. E. C. would like to report at the convention that all obligations of the party have been paid.

Those State Committees which have not yet settled their Int. Del. stamp account are urged to attend to same without delay.

Let our party be fully represented at the convention so that it can be said it was the largest gathering of socialist delegates at a National Convention ever held in the United States. Fraternally
Wm. Butscher, Nat'l Sec'y

A Country Editor Knocked Out.

Editor Advance:

After stripping the article of C. F. Hager's of its verbiage, we find him denying that he refused to publish our reply to a former opponent, by saying "the charge is too absurd to need comment." To show that this man Hager, this molder of public opinion, eats his own words, later on he says: "It
(Continued on page 8.)

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18. Call at store, 1896 Mission street, and get in touch with the movement.

Retail Trades Council.

The Retail Trades' Council held their meeting June 11th, at 8:30 p. m., President A. R. Andre in the chair. Credentials of the Broommakers' Union, No. 58, were received and delegates seated.

The reports of Unions are as follows:

Bakers: All the striking Bakers still out and are more than ever determined to win their fight. Union men in this city are doing their duty by the Bakers; they are keeping away from boycotted places. All the Italian Boss Bakers signed the Union's agreement, with the exception of three.

Bottlers: Everything satisfactory; have eight-hour contract signed all over the coast.

Brewers: Are preparing their eight-hour contracts and place them before the bosses, to go into effect July 1, in this city. Will give every assistance to help the striking Bakers and Cooks and Waiters.

Butchers: Butchers of Oakland, Alameda and Berkeley are out on strike. Employers must don aprons to do their own work, to their disadvantage. Getting imported men to join the Union. San Francisco Butchers went on strike Wednesday morning at ten o'clock in all places where the Union card is not displayed. Twenty-four hundred men will stand firm by the union.

Broommakers: Request all Union men to look for the blue label on brooms—the genuine Union Label of the Broommakers. All other brooms are made by Chinese and convict labor.

Barbers: Progressing nicely.

Boot and Shoe Workers: Will give a picnic at Fernbrook Park, Niles Canyon, Sunday, July 7th. Request Union to ask for stamp No. 60 when purchasing shoes.

Retail Clerks: No delegates present.

Shoe Clerks: No delegates present.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Eight hundred men still out on strike. Bakers are still staying by them in the struggle. Union men are doing their duty and are staying away from boycotted restaurants.

Steam Laundry Workers: No delegates present.

French Laundry Workers: No delegates present.

Milk Wagon Drivers: Members of the Milk Wagon Drivers' Union complain that Union men are not asking them for their union card, and ask that more interest should be taken in the matter; many drivers are back in their dues on that account. Holstein Farm still unfair; ask all union men not to patronize it. Milk Drivers are doing their best to place pure milk on the market; all union men should assist them in their cause by asking the driver to show his union card when delivering milk.

New Business: Moved and seconded that the Secretary send a communication to the Musicians' Union, and call their attention to the fact that many of their members have been found patronizing non-union restaurants, and request the Musicians' Union to take action in the matter.

Moved and seconded that every delegate to the Retail Trades' Council be appointed a committee to solicit funds for the striking Cooks and Waiters and Bakers, and that they should meet at the Bakers' Headquarters every night at 7:30 sharp.

Moved and seconded that every delegate stand instructed to go to that meeting, and in case of inability to attend to send a substitute.

Moved and seconded that the delegates of the Brewers and the Bottlers act as a committee to interview those Unions meeting at 1159

and 1133 Mission street.

Moved and seconded to endorse the recommendation of the Joint Strike Committee, requesting the appointment of a committee to go around the different unions requesting financial assistance for the striking Cooks and Waiters and Bakers.

Moved and seconded that the committee, in soliciting funds from unions, state nothing about the per capita tax of the Labor Council.

Moved and seconded that a committee of seven be elected as an Executive Committee of the Retail Trades Council, to take care of the interests of the Council between meetings.

Moved and seconded that the committee constitute of the paid officers of the different unions. Brothers Wille, Lane, Less, Speck, Andre, Dijeau and Sganzini were elected on the committee.

Moved and seconded to remit the dues of the Cooks and Waiters for April and May.

A. DIJEAU, Secretary.

Tour of Comrades Roche and Murray.

San Bernardino, June, 10, 1901

Editor Advance: Our objective point is San Diego—making all towns worth the effort en route. We have had splendid street meetings for the past week. We had George Holmes down from Los Angeles with us, and he and Jonny Murray held up Riverside Tuesday evening; I joined them Wednesday. Riverside is "bourgeois", but where the master is, there is also the slave, and they took our proletarian food with much relish. Comrades Edmiston and Anderson "guide right" in that locality.

Thursday and Friday evenings we held forth in Redlands to big crowds. The questions were interesting and the answers more so here. This like Riverside is also a "rich" town, but they have a proletarian Local second to none, that is cutting quite a swath, with the urbane Don "taking em in" all the time. Riverside and Redlands are "dry" towns—for the poor; The proletarians wander around aimlessly at night to "kill time" and a socialist meeting is always well attended on the streets for that reason. Saturday and Sunday evenings we "did" San Bernardino. This is a "wide open" town with mining camp characteristics and while we can get no opposition here, we can get no action as yet. When the 400 sleeping giants in the Santa Fe shops awake there will be another story to tell. Meantime the two "Bills"—Smith and Gurr—hold the fort well and nothing reactionary can enter there. Our comrade Prof. Richardson is a powerful propagandist.

We will pitch camp at Highlands to-morrow night and blaze away to the sane and the insane there. Many of the latter not being in the asylum, we hope to bring some of them to their senses.

Fraternally,
Jas. S. Roche.

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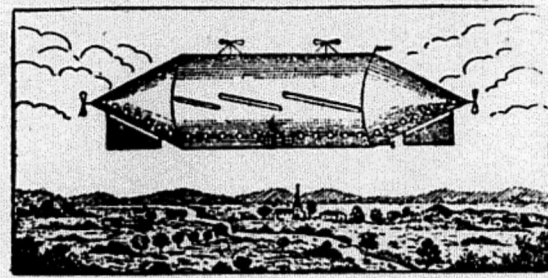
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needs but a passing comment; for he, who because of the refusal of more space in his home paper, thus accuses the editor, is the man that you will do well to watch should he ever get into a position where it might be to the interest of the opposition to have him keep still."

Kind reader, you doubtlessly can see how impossible it is to reconcile these two statements. In the last statement he admits he refused me space, in the first he says the charge is absurd.

Again he says: "If Miner (he certainly means me) should get into a position where it might be to the interest of the opposition to have him keep still, he will do to watch."

What does the gentleman mean? Does he mean to say that if I were in his position, and should run a paper in opposition to some private corporation, that a R. R. pass would bribe me to keep still. It is strange he justifies his position by anticipating that others are no better than he. Well, as I have not the honor of enjoying his exalted (?) position, his remarks will not apply to my case, so we will fire his own words back at him. He (Hager) "is the man it will do well for you to watch."

There was one prominent feature about the gentleman's article—he studiously avoided saying anything against socialism.

There appears two more self-contradictions in his article, but are entirely too silly for notice. The space of the socialist press is too valuable to be occupied by personal bickerings. It is the system we are gunning for, not the man. We wish to say in conclusion that socialism is on its onward march. The sentiment is rapidly growing although some of you may doubt it, nevertheless it is true. The industrial conditions of the country are forcing all thinking people to adopt socialism. Notwithstanding opposition is melting away, we are still opposed by the official classes, the clergy, the moneyed classes and what is called fashionable society, and denounced as irresponsible agitators. And so were the men who cleared the forest and built the state, in the days of our forefathers; men who were ready to die for liberty and independence were opposed by the influential classes. Patrick Henry was charged with treason by half the members of the Virginia Assembly.

When the Declaration of Independence was read in the court house yard in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776, a writer who adhered to the influential class was present, and in giving an account of it, he stated with apparent satisfaction that there were few people of any respectability in the crowd that listened to the reading of the documents. It is worthy of note that in all times men who profit by wrong or seek the smiles of injustice assume the smile of superiority.

But their names are never stamped on any roll of honor. Fortunately the marching columns of humanity go forward ignoring the existence of such men. H. H. Miner.

Le Grand, Cal.

MEETING OF THE C. C. C., JUNE 12TH.

Minutes of the previous meeting approved. Report of the Auditing Committee rejected. Committee requested to make its report in writing. "Examiner" to have privilege to print the proposition of the Palace of the People. Members are requested to pledge themselves to work one night a week securing new members and subscribers for the ADVANCE.

Butchers to be asked if speakers from the Social Democratic Party can be admitted to their meetings to address them on the labor problem. JOSEPH J. NOEL, Sec.

Resolved, That the City Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party extends its sympathy to the striking machinists in their efforts to secure better material conditions from their masters. The Social Democratic Party of America pledges itself to support in every way possible the workers in their struggle, but desires to bring to their minds this fact, that no permanent good may be hoped for until the complete emancipation of the working class is accomplished through the ownership, by the people, of the land and all the means of production; for till this be the industrial order the wages system will continue, with the accompaniments of strikes, boycotts, poverty and crime which characterize the present social order. This change, carrying with it the emancipation of the workers, can only be brought about by the intelligent use of the political power by the working class.

City Central Committee, S. D. P.

ADVANCE

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 SAN FRANCISCO, Social Democratic Party holds regular weekly lectures every Thursday evening on social and economic subjects at 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.

LOCAL ALAMEDA, of the Social Democratic Party, holds open educational meetings every Friday evening except first one of month which is devoted to business, at 2424 Central ave. room 8. Address communications to J. C. STAMER, 2061 Encinal ave.

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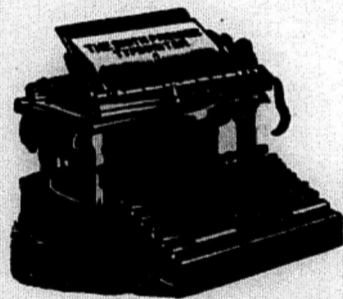
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