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Pocialism and & Spiritual Progress

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

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It has been said that Socialism would check spiritual progress. Great men like Herbert Spencer, Matthew Arnold, Robert Ingersoll, and Dr. David Starr Jordan have expressed themselves as not favoring the radical change which Socialism would bring about. Dr. Jordan voiced the sentiment of the entire school of thinkers when once, in a lecture before the Socialists of this city, he said that Spealism would make us richer, but not better. "We do not want a nation of wealth," said-he, "but a nation of men." These thinkers deem a society where the individual will be cared for a menace to spiritual progress inasmuch as it will weaken individual effort. Here is their point of view: True greatness and strength of character will alwaysake the complete. No man or number of men of the complete of the complete

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

ons.

I was anxious to ascertain whether it is true that

great estate; Adam Smith—the son of a well-connected lawyer; Hegel—the son of a well-connected lawyer; Hegel—the son of a well-condition of Public Revenues; Henry Thomas Buckle—the son of a well-the of the state o

to the best and noblest spirits of mankind 1

It was not the incentive of gain that made Christopher Columbus venture, at the risk of his life, to explore unknown regions. It was not the incentive of gain that made Newton think. And it was not the incentive of gain that made Galileo assert the truth. The incentive to gain invented no new machine, produced no work of art, wrote no good book, sang no true poem. On the contrary, the greatest of men have worked at the cost of their material wellare, have 1-bored in the face of prosecution. They had to fight the blindness of the masses, the ignorance of the superstitious, the intolerance of the religious, and the tyrannous tactics of the powers that be. But the human race is destined to grow, and nothing in the world can check that growth.

world can check that growth.

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

The artist needs no more inducement to paint, the grains of the compose, the poet to sing, than does the

nusician to compose, the poet to sing, than does the

musician to compose, the poet to sing, than does the tond mother to embrace her child, or the lover to visit his beloved.

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

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

In the words of David Allyn Gorten, M.D.: "The inventor of the steam engine made a fortune. Sickles, the man who perfected the steam-engine that bears his name, died in penury. Jenner, the discoverer of vaccination, died in moderate circumstances. Morton, the man who first discovered the anaesthetic quality of ether, went around begging in his later days. Gibbs, the inventor of the sewing-machine that bears his name, died poor. And the inventor of the little yattachment called the hemmer, on which Singer made a fortune, lived in extreme poverty. Gerard Sickles, the man who invented the first envelope machine, had to be supported by his sons, while his invention made other people immensely rich. The man who revolutionized the cotton industry (out of which for tunes have been made) never made anything out of his invention for himself. Franklin and his coadjutors in electro-dynamics never made anything but fame for their pains. Even Morse, whose inspired genius developed telegraphy, never greatly enriched himself. On the other hand, men who contributed nothing to either science, letters or inventions possess colos-sal fortunes. How did they do that? Simply by taking advantage of the genius and industry of the other hand, men who contributed nothing to either science, letters or inventions possess colos-sal fortunes. How did they do that? Simply by taking days the second of the struggle of existence are not reconcilable with sound ethical principles. So far we have seen that what Socialism would do romoralize the ground on which alleted and genius can grow to bet-time th ditions.

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

There I have found that the great men who came from the poor are far and few between; that, as a rule, the greatest of men were those who had the opportunities to develop their talents. I have taken out a few of the names that are most known to us and have placed against every name, in an abridged form, that part of the biographical sketch that dwells on their respective material positions: Dante—the son of a well-to-do citizen; Aristotle—the son of a scientist; William Harrison Ainsworth—the son of a well-to-do citizen; Aristotle—the son of a prosperois merchant; Matthew Arnold—son of Thomas Arnold, a celebrated man of means; James Matthew Barries—son of a physician who gave him a collège education; Edmond Burke—son of a soft attorney; Francis H. Burnett describes her own life as an English girl in a confortable Manchester home, leading a well-regulated existence with broth-ens, esisters, nurse and governéss; Robert Browning—his surroundings were typical of English moderate brownes, the development of talent needs a field for its approach of the prosperity: Sir Richard Burton—a nobleman; Lord Byron—a nobleman; Lord Byron—a

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

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

into play."

Now, what will Socialism do to improve the circumstances to bring about the "external advantages"?

Socialism will ultimately do away with commercialism and extreme poverty. Commercialism and extreme poverty are the most corrupting and degrading influences in society today.

cialism and extreme poverty. Commercialism and extreme poverty are the most corrupting and degrading influences in society today.

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

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

Adjecent to that most corrupting spirit of commercialism lies poverty.

Adjacent to that most corrupting spirit of commercialism lies poverty.

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

(Continued on Page 4.)

THE TRADE UNION POLICY.

By T. E. Zant.

By T. E. Zant.

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

Now we have reached a point that makes it abso-

Now we have reached a point that makes it abso lutely necessary to adjust the movement to a compre hensive and adequate system.

First, to secure harmony and uniformity of action.

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

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

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

the limited time they can be away from their usual occupations.)

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

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

BARV

cannot be proportionately successful because of its sawkwardness and more or less conflict arising from its sparate, large local bodies.

There are three ways by which a trade-union may only the same of the sam

cotting. Pailure kills the fears of the boycott.

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

best.

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

gle lighter.

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

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

and should be marked by every true trade-unionist.

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

When we realize the many thousands of people whose welfare is staked upon the action of the central body and the untold hardships, loss, sarrifice, worry and hunger that could be avoided by our complying with this necessary regulation, we are constrained to

with this necessary regulation, we are constrained to be careful and to think seriously before committing ourselves to any definite action.

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

ADVANCE

The Official Organ of the Se

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

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

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

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

Arrangements are under way to give workingme stock in the steel trust. It will be of the commo stock and very common if at all. The trust magnate never let their charity extend beyond their own in

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

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

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

Morgan has succeeded in getting control of the freest trans-Atlantic Navigation Company: Thus the financial interests which he 'epresents will soon we a clutch around the entire world. A Wednessy dispatch states that it is believed to be Morgan's tropoe to make the Atlantic an American lake.

The individual is an abstraction. Man is only known in his social relations. Still, you don't need to fear for your individuality under Socialism; that is, if

you have any left when the trust is through with you.
Our position towards the trust mashers is about the same as the engineer's toward the hog who wanted to but the train off the track. We admire their grit. but we damn their judgment,

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

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

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

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

LABOR AND THE TRUSTS

nions."
This paragraph should be read by every wear. It should be "learned and conned by eldom do we find in the capitalist press so forward of the existence of classes and the presumed the control of the control of

sediom do we find in the capitalist press so frank an avowal of the existence of classes and the presence of an organized class struggle. The cool assumption is that the two "standards" must continue in their relative positions is notural. The couning shifting of "capital's share" to the "capital's share" is to be extracted in hourgeois economics. But to distinctly state that there are two classes and that "there is a struggle"—this is a surprise.

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

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

Labor applied to capital produces wealth. "The great economic question is as to the respective shares of capital and abstraction, which cannot be rewarded. The reward of labor must go to the human being? Can we say that any man supplies capital in the sense of their being shall hat go to a human being? Can we say that any man supplies capital in the sense that workingmen supply labor-power. But it is the essence of human activity. Outsids eparated from him. It is not a material, tangble thing. Supplying it's a sense of human activity. Outsids eparated from tim.

Can we say that any man supplies capital in the sense that workingmen supply labor-power. Labor-power is part of the vital energies of the laborer; it is the essence of human activity. Outside of man it does not exist, i.e., it cannot be physically separated from him. It is not a material, tangible thing. Supplying it is a process that drains the life of the laborer; it consumes his very blood. Labor power is veritably a part of the workingman; when he contributes it to industrial processes he gives his flesh and bones, the very cells of his body and brain.

Quite the contrary with those men who "supply" capital. Capital is no such part of their body or vital energy, it is a material thing. It is not part of a human bing; it is entirely separate and separable from human bife. The man who "supplies" it is simply a possessor, an owner who claims a payment for permitting others to use it. To understand the matter more clearly, consider that labor-power, mental and muscular energy, is created by chemical, mechanical and vital organic processes that take place in the human body. But capital—let us refer again to our definition. Capital is the raw materials and the implements of industry used by labor in producing wealth. (This is the sense in which the "Chronicle" first used the term.) It will be readily seen that the implements of industry are themselves the products of labor applied to raw materials for they are put on the market a finished products, to be sold to consumers. As we have seen where lies the source of labor-power and are now considering the source of alpor-power and are now considering the source of capital, we must strip the implements of industry of whatever they have acquired as the result of the expenditure of labor-power and are now considering the source of capital, we must strip the implements of industry of whatever they have acquired as the result of the expenditure of labor-power and are now considering the source of capital, we must strip the implements of industry of whatever they have ac

corporated in the earth and created by natural cnemical and organic processes, independent of human influence.

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

But the "Clicago, April 30.—A blacklist, containing the names of 500 men who guit work on the Illinois Central Railroad Juring the extendents of other words, was submitted in evidence in the blacklist was related to believe the objection. Norman Ford swore that they can be revealed the objection. Norman Ford swore that they only be capital to work on the Northwestern road after the strike was declared off.

Nicolai Tesla is doing a noble work in attempting the stabilished by our railroad magnitude to the produced commodities. Capital needs no share and should have none.

But the "Clicago, April 20.—A blacklist, containing the names and possible of the same place and t

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

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

second, because the capitalist has no just title to capital, even did it have any right to a share of the product.

In view of this, perhaps, the brazen assurance of the "Chronicle" can best be appreciated when it assumes that the capitalists "standard" of jetures, palaces and steam-yachts will continue at the expense of the working-class, who must content themselves with "abundant food, a comfortable home and good clothes for a holiday" and bad clothes, we presume, the rest of the time. This, however, is not the assumption of the "Chronicle" alone; it is the accepted order of things by capitalists and most workingmen alike. The full dinner-pail, which the shrewd Mark Hamna held up last fall as the high ideal of a proper life for the American workingmen and which caught them in an overwhelming majority, is but the symbol for the three articles that the "Chronicle" enumerates as the proper standard. Not only that, but even those class organizations which are formed to fight the capitalists and get better terms for labor—even they are looking out for a "fair day's pay for a fair day's work," which, being translated into "Chroniclese." is "abundant food, as unfortable home and good clothes for a holiday." We do not wish to be understood as scorning these things. All our efforts are bent in aiding labor to realizing the safe highest good, the greatest benefits, the content with the paltry share lings to them. Have we not seen that it is labor that of their product which the capitalist contemptuously so the filmsets stort of thing?

COMING OUR WAY AND SOMETHING OVER.

COMING OUR WAY AND SOMETHING OVER.

COMING OUR WAY AND SOMETHING OVER.

The man who writes the Socialistic (?) editorials for the "Examiner" seems well posted on Christian Socialism definitions of the science. He has everything from the building of Noah's ark to the late Spanish-American war down as Socialism. He has discovered, to the science of the scie

dicate, but from all appearances Herbert is going the same way.

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

Chicago, April 30.—A blacklist, containing the names of 500 men who quit work on the Illinois Central Railroad during the American Railway Union strike in 1804, mailed to the superintendents of other roads, was submitted in evidence in the blacklisting case before Judge Hilsher yesterday. The defense objected to allowing it on the records, but the court overruled the objection. Norman Ford swore that he was employed in the Railway Superintendent's office at the time the blacklist was issued, and that he had made copies of it. William Holland, whose name appears on the list, testified that, as a result, he was refused work on the Northwestern road after the strike was declared off.

Industrial Arena

BY TOR I NIET

should se' ditheir names and saddresses to the 'Labor Editor.' names will ec assified into their respective trades and as oon as re chained of any occupation. a meeting we'll be called and a manufact Alled and the conservation of the medium of 'Autunco' afflicted with the indoor Council and the American Federation of La 'Address all communications to 'Labor Editor ADVANCE'.

indeed. All the new organizes through the meeting of Acronacy will be addressed incommentations or "Labor Edition PLANCKL" at Mary play Bailding."

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

in vogue today, robs these men of action of action of reward.

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

this hydra-headed monster. Canto I would go somewhat like this:
THE ADVANCE ON THE STARTING POINT,
OR DOWN WITH THE TRUST.
Then came they to the land of smoke and iron.*
Two million strong they were, or should have been,
But only talkers go to a convention.**
Vicariously, then, two million men were seen.
Vicariously, then, two million men were seen.
Vicariously, then, two million men were seen.
Vicariously, then, two millions representing.
Climbed Soho hill to see a glorious sight.
"Hell*** with the lid off," shouted they inchents,
As over muddy waters sped the eye
And saw the flames towards the heavens ascending,
Causing, vicariously, two million men to sigh
And wonder if the trust, now so embroiling,
Could not upon the flames be set a-boilings.
To halls they rushed, two million men together,

Could not upon the flames be set a-boiling.

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

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

That merely causes smiles from evolution.

Or crisining out the roots win days stay

The wheels of progress with a resolution

Of course, the satire is for the benefit of posterity.

The poet in his opening canto always hints to his
readers that fate has let him in on the ground floor.

After having set himself right with his unborn commentators, he plunges into the business of his poem,
History receives several coats of paint, and the vital

ruth Plato speaks of is put on as a gloss finish. A

hero is always needed for an epic and the man who

suggested the Pittsburg convention is as good as any

one else. The great man theory of human progress is

exploited to the limit. The hero always says he is a

great man. That's his catch phrase, and stanza 1,102

shows him standing fearless and alone, the lime-light

turned on him, defying the trust. The trust, by the way,
is very busy and pays no attention to him. The two

or three million proxies he holds in his hands are a

bit fraved at the edges, through over-work endorsing

resolutions that the trust should be smashed. It is

very heroic. The poet always makes ordinary people,

in comparison with his heroes, look like thirty cents.

But there the work of the poet ends and the work of

the historian begins. The future Mommsen gill give

us the impression that this Horoatio stood on the middied of a bridge, labeled "Progress." and shouted for

the world to go backward. Then we will imagine,

the looy connection coming into the rays of the limiglight and helping evolution to remove the obstruction

by giving the hero with kinch on the region of his

anatomy that will be most convincing. The Momm
sens of the future will show us the Mucius Scavola

of our own the olding their hands in the first at so

much per day and railroad fare; and being removed

to a point that allows an unbiased view, we shall be

to a point that allows an unbiased view, we shall be

to a point that allows an unbiased view, we shall be

to a point that allows an unbiased view, we shall be

much edified at the humor of the thing.

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

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

means of smashing the trust. "16th, "5th, "16th, "1

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If you wish to understand. Socialism or to be able to work for it, you should not be able to work for it. you should not be able to be able to be able to be soon to be soon it was to be soon to be

man to ngate win oe let in them. The thetectures are hugging a delusion. Fifty thousand dollars is a good by sum and an immense amount of reactionary propaganda may be done with it. But even after that is spent a large-sized hole will remain in which twice, three times as much may be deposited. Unions are not so much the outgrowth of thought as they are of economic conditions. The act precedes thought here as elsewhere in human society. Men come together naturally, as Kropotkine says. They can get a living more easily in that way. They developed in what night be called hordes. The horde survived; the egregious ancestor, if there was one, perished. Men accomplish more co-operatively. There need be no unity of insight; unity of action is sufficient. And unity of action is the very life of the trades-union. It is an instinct. But unfortunately, while unity of action on the part of individuals composing a group can be expected, unity of action on the part of a group of groups cannot be depended upon. Consciousness of kind among the proletarians, to a certain extent, does not extend beyond the narrow limits of the trade they are engaged in. And here is the opportunity of San Francisco's merchants. Their success will come, if it comes at all, by the hostility one group of trades has

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

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

cards do not enter.

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

It always leaves a bad taste in the mouth to have do not enter. To give a faint suggestion of the kind of men who

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

anchor in the troubled industrial and economic. Without the great working class the world be as a stagnant pool from which miasmas arise that would overwhelm humanity. The the pretension of the cultured classes, solid them to their opportunities. A pink tea their idea of progress for the race. An epiatic stab in the back for a friend is their highliton for the individual. There is more genuine rosciety in one little incident that occurred in ewery Workmen's Union at its last meeting all the pink teas and all the epigrammatic the back ever indulged in by the cultured of idd.

solid phalanx must be presented to our enemies before they will respect us, before they will even treat with us. This recognition of the claims of a trade outside of their own by the brewers is evidence that the solid phalanx will soon be presented. And when it is this system of exploitation will come to an end. The only genuine constructive factor in society today is the working class.

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

A GREAT FEAST

A GREAT FEAST.

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

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

A GAS PIPE WITH AN EPITAPH.

Poor Hickey is no more. His demise occurred on a date that has escaped the memory of his dearest foes It matters not, he is dead. Drunk and disorderly, he plunged into the binterland. "Poor Gas Pipe!" I knew him well, Horatio, a fellow of infinite jest (alem) and most excellent fancy (ahem again). He carried It matters not, he is dead. Drunk and disorderly, he plunged into the binterland. "Poor Gas Pipe!" I knew him well, Horatio, a fellow of infinite jest (ahem) and most excellent fancy (ahem again). He carried the old S. L. P. upon his back a thousand times, and off he wracked it with inappropriate word or clumsy gesture. But Daniel, ever watchful and afraid, would soon appear and take the kinks out and set it on its feet, ditto Hickey (forsooth, the latter needed the attention; strong waters were his bane and marked him for an early grave). Once he journeyed into space, a gripasck full of thoughts funished by the man who thought them. Anon he came into a strange land and felt indeed a stranger. He matched his skill against the best and bravest, but the flowing bow knocked his shins and laid him an easy victim to the rheorical shaft and other shafts. He stumbled and mistook the thought his master furnished, and then he fell. Ah, what a fall was there, my comrades. "No," he said, and "Yes," the answer was. Then struck he his forehead with clenched fist and hied him to his wigwam for his grapasck. "Gone, gone," he cried, "and gone is all my glory." "Where are the jests and jibes that were wont to set the table on a roar? "Myhre are my master's thoughts, his puns, his science and his buzz-saw? Even as a stranger in Jerusalem and I despolied of all the easy money I e'er owned. Back from defeat and face the jeers? Back to watch the quiet smile play on the face of Daniel? Back to bear contumely and the scorn of all my loes? Never!' and grasped he firmly in his right hand his faithful gas pipe. "Reorganize," be cried, and beating air with fury he set forth-10 bend the men who were his comrades to his will. The struggle lasted through the night. His trusty gas pipe did him yeonan service, and still he man did leate. And now he is no more. Gone to an unmarked grave. Imperial Caesar dead and turned to clay, might stop a hole to keep the wind away. And think yon he looked so i' the grave? And smelt so—pah! Go, get thee to t

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g is Comrade Charles H. Vail's reply

BERSFORD'S REBUTTAL.

BERSFORD'S REBUTTAL.

San Francisco, April 30th,
Editor Advance: A common trick with sophists, when
unable to prove the point required, is to try to prove some
resorts to this textic. When brought face to face with the
actual fact in the shape of parallel columns, he writes of the
"utter groundlessness" of the charge and proceeds to argue
trist amonused, which, even if it were true, would not affect the matter, since the particular article in question does
not appear at all in his books.

The property of the property of the property of the
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While most of the doctrines and principles of modernes.

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

hence the necessity of popularized works our securior.

Loud explanation is possible only when one has a thorough a subject, the popularizer of science must possess the faculty of clear and concise exposition. Whether or not this faculty is possessed by Comrade Vall, I do not care to discuss. However, the contract of the contract value of the contrac

y value. He shows this by his judicious selection of some my definitions. Wall would not admit that there is any ignative in carefully thought-out definitions, ignative in carefully thought-out definitions, in the control of the co

Editor Advance: The opirit of uncompromising class-consciousness breathed in the recent articles of J. J. Nod and Eugene V. Dabs is mobile and inspiring. I honor the sentiment, yet I would not make the general principle involved in their utterances the logical reason for refusing the benefactions (y) of an Andrew to feeling that prompts the victim of a social highwayman to reject with source and constantly a social condition; and as such, in the last art of their own. Carneglesia creature of environment—a profine of a social condition; and as such, in the last are the social condition; and as such, in the last are the recent of their own. Carneglesia creature of environment—a profine of a social condition; and as such, in the last are the recent of their own. Carneglesia creature of environment—a profine of a social condition; and as such, in the last are the recent of the blood shaded gold must be based upon-a broader, a more tangible ground. If, notwithstanding his past record, Mr. Carnegles should miraculously recognize and arow the truth of socialist philosophy, and make the offer-should be squreed? The question of motive is an important, factor between the produce of the produce of

ethics and tactics. Our methods spring logically from our premise, "Labor creates all wealth," therefore the laborers the laborers than the control of the capital section of the capital section of the capital section of the capital scase as each is to compromise the principle involved, and to invite repudiation by the class conscious proletarist of the world. I have itself patience with the utility arians who think "the end justifies the means" in these cal organization is concerned. Let us one open this door, and we invite and merit destruction as traitors to the working class. This is not a question of personal responsibility. It is a question of class interests and the either and stacked of as have a full and free discussion in the interest of all concerned.

SAN FRANCISCO LABOR COUNCIL.

Editor Advance: A friend his put asiled my attention to charges that my article on "Class Consciousness" which a paradi no se of your recent issues, contains definition and paragraphs alten from his little book on "Scientific Socials and Paragraphs alten from his little book on "Scientific Socials and Paragraphs alten from his little book on "Scientific Socials and his than would be my contained before the paradity of the second his work of the paradity of the second his work of the paradity of the second his work of the paradity of the paper of "Prisciples of Socialism." In presume the work of the paper of "Prisciples of Socialism and the principles of socialism and the principles of socialism. I presume the work contains nothing new-nothing but what has been stated and related many times, and undoubledly in timilar ways, but the sissen of his book is open to suspicion."

His opening olde on scientific Socialism in the work of the same time. My book was in type, when his was onlined in the sissen this book is open to suspicion. It is unforted the sissen that the book is open to suspicion. It is unforted the sissen that the book is open to suspicion. It is unforted the sissen the sissen the sissen that the book is open to suspicion. It is unforted the sissen the sissen the sissen the sissen the sissent that the book is open to suspicion. It is unforted the sissent the si

the fittest as to the fitting of as many as possible to survive. It repudiates the gladiatorial theory of ex-

survive. It repudiates the gladiatorial theory of existence."

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

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

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

energies. Their fight can be characterized as that of two men fighting for the possession of wealth that was produced by a third. And the third man? He who produces all wealth

produced by a third.

And the third man? He who produces all wealth is not in a position to educate his children and himself. The struggle for existence is now being fought with new implements, with implowed machinery. The workingman having no machinery is forced to sell his labor power to those who own the tools of production and distribution. And so low is the market price of labor that it is impossible for a workingman to maintain his family and educate his childlegs. At times he is even unable to provide for them, and is compelled to call upon them to help him. To many Socialism means a new and therefore strange system that will some day be ushered in to replace the one that govern's society mow. But this is not so. Socialism will be a higher of the process of the improvement of society that its taking place every day. Socialism does not intend to abolish anything but that which is harmful to the race. It does not intend to obliterate the struggle for existence, but to conduct it in a manner mose in keeping with humanicarinism and ethical pripciples. Socialism does not mean to abolish this economic system, but to manage it. Socialism means to establish order in the production of wealth and justice in the distribution of commodities. It is true that the Socialist makes a study of eco-



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Santa C ara Brewery.
Garden City Brewery.
STOCKTON. El Dorado Bresting Co. SACRAMENTO Capt. Rabitalier City Boo-Buffalo Brewing Go. PORTLAND Henry Weinhard's City Brewe Gambrinus Brewing Co. ASTORIA ORE. John Rapp's Brewery. VANCOUVER, WASH.

Bottlers' Union Bulletin

(Revised Weekly.)
EIGHT-HOUR BOTTLE SHOPS Bottling Establishments on the Pa-cific Coast that work only eight-hours per day and employ only union men

Intervery, Dealting Department
PORTLAND, ORE.
Henry Weishard Brewery. Boilting Department
Gamicrians Brewery. Boilting Department
ASTORIA, ORE.
John Kopp. Bottling Department
NACOUVER WARIA.
Star Brewery. Boilting Department