

The Actor and His Art.

M. Gaston Deschamps, a Paris journalist and international gossip, recently concluded a course of lectures upon "The Contemporaneous Stage" at the Berkeley University. In his fourth lecture he said: "While I have not been in this country long enough to know whether it is true here, the greatest problem which the European world must face today is the division between labor and capital. This social problem is now the one which is most closely engrossing the attention of statesmen. The poor man of today is not satisfied with clarity. He does not want to be a dependent upon the bounty of the rich. Of course, it was to be expected that literature which reflected life should take as a theme these social problems. The great Victor Hugo has preached mercy and generosity to the rich and the dignity of labor for the poor. Now social problems have come to take their place in the themes of the great dramatists of the day. It is only natural that in the French theatres, which receive support from the State, social problems should not be discussed with frankness. So it is that the beginning of social problems in French literature was not made in the Comedie Francaise and other subsidized theatres, but in a most unique institution known as the Theatre Libre.

"The history of that theatre is as follows: An agent of a gas company, who was interested in the playhouse, finally had the ambition to become an actor. He sought admission, after much study to the National Conservatory of Music and Declamation and was refused. One reason was because he recited in a way which was contrary to tradition. But this man, whose name was Antoine, said he would act anyway. So, with some friends, he started a theatre, and presented plays which met his own views, using none of those in the classic repertoire. The theatre became a fad with all classes, even the bourgeois, who were satirized, attending. The theatre prospered until it occupied a home on the Boulevard Strassburg. It has had such an effect that the government theatres have copied its methods. The theatre, as championed by Antoine, has been vigorously opposed by some people and defended by other eminent critics. One thing in its favor was its hospitality to new ideas."

M. Deschamps closed by saying:

"The social problem constituting the relation between labor and capital is a part of modern society, which is full of interest for the modern dramatist, whose object is to portray life and to investigate its problems."

In Europe, theatre-goers are weary of the animated Christmas card, with the periwig, low shoes and noisy clothes. They demand pictures of contemporaneous human life, with men and women suffering the ills we all suffer. In this country we are still in the frippery stage of development. We indulge in academic heroics with lace on our cuffs. Our native dramatists represent the woeful condition of the supremacy of matter over mind. A morbid creation like "Nell Gwynne" satisfies us. The amours of a degenerate English king represent our highest artistic cravings in a theatrical way. The snobbishness that is

innate in all middle-class people finds its expression in applause for the lime-light heroine who displays a priggish devotion to a profligate prince. Ours is surely a looking backward civilization. We are content with such strutting and mouthing by periwig-pated fellows that one would think were made by some of Nature's journeymen, they imitate humanity so abominably. The common sense of the age, slight as it is, finds, only in rare cases, not a moment for expression. Mrs. Fisk and Henry Miller and Richard Mansfield represent the actors who can flout tradition occasionally. Julia Marlowe started well, but the pace was too rapid for her. Mrs. Leslie Carter is too bizarre. Unless she can be maudlin she becomes commonplace. She forgets that humanity has not always a tear on its cheek. One of the actors mentioned told me his art consisted of counting beads. For obvious reasons he requested me to withhold his name. He said: "There can be no art worthy the name in America till we dethrone the dollar-standard of excellence. What originality can a man put into his work when he must play continually to the box-office?" I agreed with him, and asked him if he considered an endowed theatre the solution of the artistic problem.

"Endowed? By Carnegie?" and he went through all the motions of "Hamlet" killing the rat behind the arras.

"Rockefeller endows universities," I said.

"Yes; and the endowed universities today are nothing short of charity institutions. Charity kills art. Art—real art—flourishes only in an atmosphere of freedom—"

"Such freedom as the box-office gives," I ventured.

"I told you I was merely counting beads. Wait. I am tired of strolling, but it brings money to my purse. When I have enough I shall have a Theatre Libre—a home, a genuine home of dramatic art. It will be situated in New York." His eyes had the dreamy, far-away look that is captivating to the young person of the matinee. It seemed a shame to bring him back to the reality of being interviewed. However, it had to be done.

"But the success of your Theatre Libre will depend on your audience. Do you think," I asked him, "you will get support?"

"Ah, the parvenus, the shop-keepers, the savages form the stock exchange! Well, when I fail I can stroll again." There was a wealth of pathos in his voice. One could see he was an artist, a genuine artist, upon whom the artificiality of the theatre had rested so long that it attained the dignity of the natural.

"Suppose the Government-endowed a theatre?"

"Bah!" he broke in; "if would be 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' one night and 'East Lynne' the next. Those law-makers represent a class in society that carries its ideals in its hip-pocket."

"Very true. Then what class would you throw your Theatre Libre open to? You appreciate the fact that classes exist. That of itself marks a stage of intellectual development. Now, tell me if you would appeal to the

bourgeois or the proletarian class."

"To the latter always. I have tried to teach, and thousands have tried to teach the vulgar moneyed class, yet no appreciable impression can be made from year to year. Their ignorance is an immovable object that stands in the way of art's advancement."

"Is it not possible the well-to-do have found their highest artistic expression—"

"They never had genuine artistic expression. That's why I am counting beads."

"Then you must have confidence in another class to preserve and develop the art of the country."

"If not, I should be a sorry pessimist. I believe the working class contains within itself all the potentialities of a new world of thought and art. I believe the life of the workers, if translated for the stage, would put new strength and vigor into a lagging institution. Did I not believe this, I should turn elsewhere for the fountain of truth. I am firmly convinced when a class begins to decay, the evidence of that decay is obvious in what the representatives of the class voice. And, on the other hand, when a class with virility enough and courage enough to overcome all other opposing classes ascends to power, all the emotions, all the suppressed lives and crushed souls are thrown into the crucible, and art lives again. The pulse of the people is stirred, the heart beats fast, a playwright or other artist bends the sympathetic ear to catch the inarticulate cries of the victors, and all is well with the world. A genius comes into his own."

"Could not the genius come into his own in any case?"

"Not this particular genius. Just as every epoch has an art of its own, so every epoch has artists of its own."

"Then you firmly believe that economic changes precede all other changes. In fact, that all change in society—in art and morals and institutions, is merely an expression of the economic change that has already taken place?"

"I shall speak for art. Art is imitative. It imitates life. It reflects the thought and action of the people. The thought and action of the people are modified by the way they get their living. The Theatre Libre is a case in point. The old-fashioned mummies are discounted by this new aspirant, because the latter adapts itself to the new life and thought of to-day. The new life and the new thought, as I said before, are merely an outgrowth of the economic changes. The Theatre Libre stands in the position of a herald of the dawn."

"Are you not afraid you will be classed among the knife and fork philosophers?" I ventured.

"A man should never be afraid of any classification as long as it is true. I have merely voiced the sentiments I consider right after a life of varied experience; a life filled with suffering and reflection. To read much, to think much, to suffer much, means to know much. The things I have said to you are obvious to the wayfaring man, though a fool."

ADVANCE

The old, dreamy look came into the actor's eyes. I retreated very gently, not to disturb him. His head fell forward on his chest. Even the turning of the door knob failed to recall him from his dream of the "American Free Theatre," where art would be art, reflecting the life that men and women of our own time live.

Joseph J. Noel.

Labor's Political Struggle

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

Germany

Perhaps it is not generally known that no Socialist literature is permitted to be sold at the railway bookstalls throughout Germany. This includes the "Vorwaerts," of course; nevertheless the profits on the printing and publishing of the same during the first quarter of this year was more than 20,000 marks (\$5,000), which was turned into the general fund.

Austria

Although the Socialist amendment demanding an eight-hour day for miners was rejected in the Austrian Reichsrath, the nine-hour day from mine to mine was unanimously agreed upon. This new measure is actually the result of the miners' strike last year, when the government promised to bring in a bill for shortening the hours if the men returned to work. The strike, which was largely supported by English miners, seemed at the time to end in failure, but the passing of this bill is one of the fruits of the men's determined stand. The Socialists cried when the vote was announced, "The eight hours will come, and must come soon."

Belgium

During a hot debate in the Parliament of Belgium a Socialist member sprang to his feet and began to sing the "Marseillaise." He was joined by his party members, and the sitting was suspended.

The International Socialist Committee appointed by the World's Labor Congress has been called to meet in Brussels to establish an international bulletin and to inaugurate a world's movement against militarism.

Holland

The motion in support of universal suffrage brought forward in the Dutch Parliament by Troelstra, the Socialist, was, after some discussion, rejected by 65 votes to 20, the minority consisting exclusively of Radicals and Socialists.

France

The French Socialists have proposed a conference for June 26th for the purpose of uniting the various factions.

Italy

The Socialist Party is making extraordinary progress in Italy. At Stradella recently the Socialist candidate gained the seat by 500 votes, showing an increase in the Socialist vote of 300. The movement is growing continually in the South. Since September, 1900, the number of Socialist groups has increased in Italy from 546 to 783, and the number of financial members of the party has risen from 19,194 to 28,497. The party has a daily paper, "L'Avanti," two reviews, the "Critica Sociale," and "Germinal," and sixty-two weekly publications.

Russia

Socialism in Russia, though still in its fledgling years, gives the following evidences of robust development: A Federation of Labor in Helsingfors represents 40 trade unions with 1,900 members, including 300 women, publishes a central organ, "Tomies," and has

built a "Maison du Peuple"; unions of Swedish laborers in Finland and of seamstresses, washerwomen, bonnet makers and thread spinners are increasing; disorders occurred in the metal works at Okhta, near Petersburg, where the laborers refused to work on holiday.

Great Britain

Tom Mann has resigned from the position of organizing secretary of the National Democratic League of England.

Spain

A great change of feeling is going on in Spain. No country in Europe has, until very recently, been more completely under the control of the reactionary clergy. An instance of this is shown by the following dispatch from Barcelona: "The anti-Clerical drama 'Electra,' which has been placed under ban by the church, was performed here last night with immense success. The audience continually cheered and interrupted the actors with shouts of 'Long live liberty,' 'Death to reaction,' 'Death to the Jesuits.' Subsequently, a republican demonstration was organized in the street and those who took part in it paraded the main thoroughfare."

Japan

Japanese Socialists, in their moulting process from Utopia to science, still swear allegiance to the emperor and sympathize with "judges and public prosecutors striking for higher wages." But at the same time they are holding mass meetings, demanding effective labor legislation and agitating for universal suffrage.

Australia

The New South Wales Labor Party has declared uncompromising opposition to militarism, and demonstrations will be made against any further expenditure of money to make war in South Africa.

The first political battle of the Socialist Party in Australia is over. The result is gratifying to all concerned. The party had six candidates in the Federal campaign. The vote credited to these candidates is: Neill, 5,895; Thompson, 5,715; Holland, 4,801; Moroney, 4,214; Melling, 3,529; Morrish, 3,066.

United States

In Georgia a state union for educational work and to co-operate in harmony with the party has been formed.

Indianapolis "Times" has changed ownership and is reported to be advocating the cause of Socialism.

In Texas, Capt. Ross, the Social Democrat organizer, is having good meetings wherever he goes and reports gains all along the line.

Social Democrats gained a foothold in North Carolina, securing 3 per cent of the vote in the Asheville city election.

In Alabama several branches are doing valiant service in the industrial centers, and report rapid growth of favorable sentiment.

The editor of the "Leader," at Canton, Ill., has given the Social Democrats the use of a column in his paper. It is edited by a member of the Social Democratic branch.

St. Louis Trade and Labor Council turned down a request of local patriots to join in a Fourth of July demonstration, and then unanimously decided to fall in with a labor parade and picnic under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party.

The Social Democrats of Cuyahoga county (Cleveland), Ohio, held their county convention on Sunday, June 2d, and nominated a full ticket. Robert Bandlow, Max Hayes, Anton Schroeder, and August Ruedy have been nominated as state Senators.

Comrade Vail informs us in a letter that his meetings through North Dakota and Mon-

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tana have been well attended. Much interest and enthusiasm were manifested, and the outlook for Socialism in the northwest is very encouraging.

Three new Italian branches of the S. D. P. have been organized—at Trenton, Hackensack, and Summit, N. J. Another is coming at Lawrence, Mass. The new paper, "Avanti," is working up a good subscription list. It should be used for propaganda wherever there are Italian workmen.

Of great importance to the Socialist movement is the very great interest which the Chicago trades unions are now taking in the subject. A number of our comrades are speaking frequently at the regular meetings of the trades unions, and the interest is very rapidly increasing. During the last few weeks Walter Thomas Mills, on the invitation of the unions, has spoken for the painters, paper hangers, glass workers, pattern makers, cigar makers and bricklayers' unions.

Complete returns have been received of the Socialist vote in this spring's state election in Michigan. The Social Democratic ticket was on the ballot in only 45 of the 82 counties, while the S. L. P. was on the ballot everywhere. The total vote of the S. D. P. in the 45 counties was: For Justice of the Supreme Court, Eastman, 7,504; for University Regents, Smith, 7,346, and Jeanerett, 7,311. The S. L. P. vote in the whole state was: For Justice of Supreme Court, Cows, 3,400; for Regents, King, 3,371, and Fabinski, 3,309. Of these, 1,399 votes were cast in counties where the S. D. P. had no ticket. The combined Socialist vote of the state reaches 10,904. In the national election last November, when both parties were on the ballot throughout the State, the S. D. P. cast 2,826 votes and the S. L. P. 903. In the 45 counties where both tickets were in the field this spring, the S. L. P. has gained 122 per cent over its vote in the whole state last fall; the S. D. P., on the same comparison, has gained 165 per cent.

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

Germany

The German government is organizing in the Rhine provinces a large expedition of coal miners who will go to exploit the coal mines in the province of Shantung when peace has been restored in China. Each miner joining the expedition pledges to render services in the mines for five years.

Great Britain

The strike in the iron trade in South Staffordshire, which has lasted the past sixteen weeks, was brought to a termination on June 18th. The men resumed work at a 10 per cent reduction in wages. This was caused by the depression in the iron trade.

There will be no national strike of railway workers in Great Britain, the union having voted to pay a number of men who claim to have been victimized their wages for the time being.

Employees of the Glasgow Cleansing Department opposed the wearing of a uniform and won, though several of the men were discharged in consequence. The employees are now pressing for an increase of six pence a day in wages.

The one hundred and third half-yearly report of the British Typographical Association, comprising unions of the trade outside of London, for the six months ending Decem-

ber 29, 1900, shows the membership of the society on that date to be 16,179, and that its treasury contained £40,650 19s. 6d.

The fiftieth annual report of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers has been issued. During the year 1900 the membership increased from 84,957 to 87,672, while the income increased by 9,000 pounds to a total of 333,555 pounds. The total expenditure was 234,194 pounds, and the balance in hand at the end of December last was 406,529 pounds, of which 127,143 pounds stood to the credit of the sup-annuation fund.

United States

The city firemen of Plymouth, Pa., have gone on strike. They want better conditions.

International Typographical Union issued fourteen charters during the month of May.

All the large breweries in Newark, N. J., have been unionized, the last to give in being P. Ballantine & Sons last week.

The boycott against the New York "Sun" is being carried on vigorously by union men and their friends all over the country.

Custom Shoemakers' Union of New York will probably start a co-operative shoe shop in order to help the strike against employers.

The entire force of bridge and trackmen on the Canadian Pacific Railroad system went on strike on the 17th for an increase of wages and recognition of their union.

Members of trades unions in Richmond, Va., are reported to be leaving the militia, and the defenders of "law and order" are perturbed at this evidence of class-consciousness.

The carpenters in the mining district of Pennsylvania are clashing with the coal barons, the latter refusing to grant the shorter work day. The trouble threatens to spread throughout the anthracite region and drag in other trades.

Cigarmakers' membership is now 34,000. Among other things, they paid out \$117,455 for sick benefits; \$23,807 out-of-work benefits; \$137,823 in strike benefits; and \$98,281 in death benefits, all on 30 cents a week per member.—Ex.

Watch-case engravers are making a bitter fight against the Keystone Watch Case Co. of Philadelphia, which is leading in the bosses' movement to destroy the union. The engravers boldly announce that they will either ruin the Keystone Co. or force it to grant their demands.

The native employees on the only railroad in the Philippines indulged in a strike some weeks ago. Captain Cunningham of Newcastle, Pa., who had charge of the road during the strike, writes that the natives were receiving \$25 per month and struck for higher wages. The strikers' places were filled by discharged American soldiers.

College students have begun to play a part in society. They have taken up the proud role of professional scabs. The machinists at the Crocker-Wheeler Electrical Works in New Jersey are carrying on a desperate strike for the nine-hour day, and there was evidently serious danger of their winning the strike. But Columbia University, presided over by that eminent reformer, Seth Low, has come to the aid of the bosses by sending down two or three dozen students to steal the jobs of the striking workmen. It is also reported that the ranks of striking machinists in Detroit and Chicago will be partially filled by mechanical engineering students of the University of Michigan, a number of whom have signified their intention of "putting in the summer" in this way.

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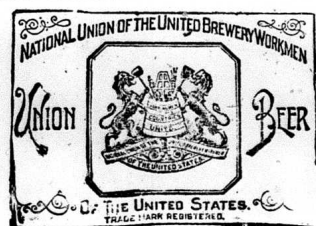
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Unity, you bet, after July 29th!

We are in a bitter class-struggle. "We must call tyrants, tyrants; for men in earnest have no time to waste in patching fig-leaves for the naked truth."

Local San Francisco will be represented at National Unity Convention. A delegate will start East about July 20th. All locals in California that wish representation through him can communicate with Joseph J. Noel, Secretary of Local San Francisco, ADVANCE office.

Going on strike costs you many days loss of wages, involves suffering and hardship, and the chances for your winning are about even. Voting takes only five minutes, it costs you nothing, and the chances of your winning are about 10 to 1. Why don't you vote the ticket of the Social Democratic Party, which is pledged to give you what you want.

If you have no petition blanks, if you are circulating none, call on the Organizer, J. J. Noel, at the ADVANCE Office. He will put you to work. Ten thousand names are needed. Comrades, it will be difficult work procuring these. Every Comrade should do his share. It is imperative that every one should take part in this work.

Crowded halls have greeted our able and eloquent comrade from Chicago, J. Stitt Wilson, on his "Social Crusade" in this city. We hope that all the locals in California will do their best to secure him for at least one lecture. Arrangements are being made to hold a big mass meeting for him in Metropolitan Temple on his return from the South some time in August.

The striking bakers of this city have started a co-operative bakery called "Advance." With this name, the name of the only true workingmen's paper in this city, and with the help of ADVANCE, the workingmen's paper, the co-operative bakery "Advance" is bound to become a great success and help to advance the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery.

The Butchers' strike was lost because the meat dealers were solidly organized. It was a case of "no union card or no meat"—in other words, "Do as we say, or go hungry." What plainer, more self-evident illustration do the workingmen need to convince them that the organized capitalist class can by its control over the means of life force them to submit or starve? Take away this power, this control that enslaves you, by electing the candidates of the Social Democratic Party.

One hundred and fifty million dollars quarterly dividends soon to be declared by the various large trusts with their headquarters in Wall street! Do you still ask where the ten dollars per man per day created by labor goes? And this must be used in consolidating indus-

try still more, in financing new trusts and in foreign investments. Meanwhile, in all of our great industrial centers whence this treasure is drawn, hundreds die of hunger, thousands suffer privation, want and cold, strong men go workless and in rags, women sacrifice their virtue for a scant crust, and even the little children, starved and pinched, offer up their puny lives in the service of the multi-millionaires. Organize, brothers, comrades! bend every effort to crush such an utterly damnable system.

Workingmen! Remember there can be no harmony of interests between labor and capital. On the contrary, there is an antagonism. Capital seeks to exploit labor by forcing it to accept the smallest possible wage. Labor seeks to secure more and more of the product of its toil. Industrial peace under such conditions is but an armed truce, each party only watching for an opportunity to attack the other and wring further concessions from it. Organized capital faces organized labor, with the desire of conquest and subjugation. At this present moment they are engaged in conflict. On which side do you stand? If you stand with the working-class, join the army of emancipation, which encounters the forces of the enemy at their most vital point—the ballot-box. Join the Social Democratic Party!

Organize! Every Socialist, every workingman, who realizes that his class must take political action with the purpose of overthrowing the iniquitous capitalist system and establishing the co-operative commonwealth should join the Social Democratic Party and unite his efforts with his comrades in the class-struggle—Organize!

One reason why we insist on the organization of a class-conscious workingman's party is that the old parties are hopeless. Take, for instance, the Democratic party, which is supposed by some to be coming our way. We cannot trust the Democratic party to bring about Socialism by step-at-a-time or any other method. It is made up of faithless politicians, men whose eyes are constantly fixed only on "the main chance," men who will not sacrifice their comfort or success for the purpose of advocating the principles in which they believe. Such men dominate the Democratic party, and hence it cannot be relied on to resist the immense pressure which organized capitalism will exert to break the effort to establish Socialism. Even "tariff reform" in the hands of these people turned out to be the sorriest farce. Can they, then, be trusted to carry out the work of the social revolution? Manifestly, not they; but those courageous hearts who undergo contumely ostracism and poverty to build up the Socialist cause; those who are now organizing the Social Democratic Party on enduring foundations; such are the men to trust—workingmen, conscious of their class interests, who fight valiantly now in the forefront of the battles of the class war.

P. H. McCarthy, President of the Building Trades Council, for the benefit of the Democratic Party and Civil Service Commissioner for the benefit of his political aspirations, has issued a statement declaring against independent political action by the working-class. In this he says that the B. C. T. is an organization containing in its ranks many thousands of property owners, whose interests politically are intimately allied with those of commercial and industrial bodies in the city, and hence it sees no reason why the trades-unions should not co-operate with them in the political field. For bald, brazen assurance, this is the

worst we have ever seen. Yet it is just what should be expected from this contemptible lickspittle of James D. Phelan and associate of J. Richard Fraud, the Secretary of the Merchant's Association. If the members of the Building Trades' find that their interests as property owners are greater than their interests as wage-workers, let them continue this blatant ass at their head to bray out their dishonesty. If, however, they find that the main means by which they earn their living is by working for wages at their separate crafts and not by owing a 2x4 half-mortgaged home, let them cast out from their midst this reactionary, self-seeking Judas Iscariot. We do not doubt but what the years of faithful service, which P. H. McCarthy has rendered to the capitalists of the city by his work in the Building Trades' Council has put him in his position to honestly declare that his property interests are even greater than his interest as a workingman in his soft berth in the California Hotel. Doubtless, also, he thinks that he is the whole thing and any interest of his must be the interest of the B. T. C. But if the proletarians, the wage-workers on whose backs P. H. McCarthy has climbed to propertied independence, to prosperity, and to political preference—if they will do their duty by themselves, if they will guard their own interests, they will turn down this upstart, they will plunge the iron of defeat into the hide of this bloated toad, when he seeks re-election to the place of trust and responsibility which he has so basely betrayed.

A VALUABLE FEATURE.

ADVANCE is glad to announce that within a few weeks it will be able to publish some very valuable propaganda matter. We have long realized the desire of our readers to get hold of some good scientific articles on Socialism, articles outlining in clear and concise style the principles of economics and sociology upon which scientific Socialism rests. French and German literature teems with the most important essays and works of this kind, but until recently there has been a dearth of English translations or equivalents. Even the 2d and 3d books of Marx Capital are unavailable in English, although the bourgeoisie have seen that German criticisms of these were translated and published almost immediately. In the International Socialist movement no man stands higher today than Karl Kautsky, the editor of the "Neue Zeit," the scientific and literary weekly review of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. He ranks as the successor of Marx and Engels as the theorist and scientist of the movement. Among his works is an excellent explanation of "Marx's Economic Teachings." This book has had a very wide sale amongst the German-speaking comrades and is most highly commended by all. ADVANCE has secured a translation of this and, as soon as a few details of revision and final correction are completed; will begin its publication. Our subscribers will find this translation easy to understand and interesting to read. There is nothing heavy and dull and dry in it. It will be scientific, yet lively, simple and clear. If any comrade wishes to get a thorough grasp of Marxist economics, he should not fail to secure every number of ADVANCE from the beginning of Kautsky's work to the end. If you wish to give your neighbors a thorough understanding of Socialism you should not fail to furnish him with this translation as it appears from week to week. The next two weeks is the time to get in your subscriptions for yourself and friends in order that you may miss nothing.

In the Industrial Arena.

BY JOSEPH J. NOEL.

The past week brought to light some unique thinking on the part of the professional lovers of labor in the universities and out. Among those out of these dignified seats of learning, P. H. McCarthy, understudy to the Bull of Bashan, lifted up his voice to affront high heaven and succeeded admirably. The occasion for the roar was a threat on the part of a few trades unionists to organize an independent political labor party. In his long screed to that mouthpiece of idiots, the "Examiner," McCarthy says: "Within the past few days the disturbed conditions existing between labor and capital have suggested to some persons connected with the miscellaneous trades the advisability of turning such conditions to political account." He then goes on to say hard things about the attempt to swing the trades-unions from their accustomed rut. He is almost childlike in his simplicity. His chief concern is to be in the position to lay wires for his own political preferment and to that end utters the following: "The Building Trades Council represents many thousands of property owners and taxpayers, who are as jealous of their interests as any other affiliated body, be it commercial, mercantile or financial, and realizes that the only way to subserve properly those interests is to affiliate with such bodies in the support of safe and careful men for public trusts. It has been found at all times working in the interests of the best government." Substitute "party" for "government" and you have the key to McCarthy's habit of thought, and to further aid you, put "Democratic" before "party."

The word "sternly" has a hard time of it in the McCarthy communication. He, the Building Trades Council, *sternly* rebukes every one and everything. Near the opening he "sternly" opposes (assisted by the careful-thinking majority) "such innovation as participation in politics by labor organizations as an exclusive political labor party." Again he "sternly" denounces any attempt on the part of any person or persons connected with organized labor to organize a so-called labor convention or party. And skipping from the "attempt" to the persons themselves, he again "sternly" denounces, condemns and opposes.

It is a foregone conclusion that this Democratic ward heeler would denounce, condemn and oppose any political effort by workingmen unless he had conceived it and could control it will be the idea of using it to sand-bag the Democratic party into giving him an office. He threatened just such a trick in an inspired editorial in "Organized Labor" about three months ago. At that time "Advance" explained to its readers the full significance of the editorial and helped to hold this paid hot-air artist and servant of the capitalist class in check.

If it were worth while, much more could be said. For instance, commending McCarthy's press agent for possessing intelligence enough to recognize that conditions, not men, bring the political labor party into being; and, also, reference might be made to the humor of this little man sternly condemning, opposing and denouncing the action of men forming a political party without first asking his permission, despite the fact that these men come from that group of trades McCarthy sold out to their enemies, the capitalists, in the strikes that have recently occurred and are not yet settled, but to what end? Every man in this

city with his brain out of swaddling clothes knows what this ward heeler really is and gives his utterances the attention they deserve.

The other professional lovers of the working class in the university did a little better than P. H., inasmuch as they know more. Page and Aldrich have been saying things. Page is from the State institution, and is so obviously a lover of the working class *a la* Ricardo that he can be turned down. He is a little dog-eared and frayed at the edges and gives evidence of being shopworn. In fact, he is a Page that is not worth reading. Aldrich, on the other hand, goes to the root of the matter. He says the trades unions are inevitable. He shows which trades win strikes easily and explains that it is not the man at the head of the organization or the organization itself that wins the strike, but the fact that the product of the trade is used by working men and can be successfully boycotted. Among these he places the beer and bread-making trades. And he justifies the existence of the trades union, because it serves to bring about a more equitable division of power and wealth than the division that exists when workmen are unorganized. But the professor is still in the stage of development where "rights" have force and where industrial action under the competitive system has nobility. He says: "The worst result of this struggle, in which might counts for more than right, is the blunting of the nobler motives of industrial action." How unfortunate.

The learned professor is somewhat above the ordinary. He bravely flouted the old woman at Stanford during the Ross affair. He was one of the few with sufficient manhood to resign from the charity school at Palo Alto, rather than sacrifice the right to say what he thought. And for that reason credit must be given him for saying what he thinks and no more than he thinks. But, nevertheless, when what he thinks does not agree with known facts, exception must be taken. In his article last Sunday he implied that trades unions have compelled conditions of strategic equality and the cause of this workingmen are economic; strong enough in bargaining power to withstand the pressure of employers' associations. If this were true no strikes would be lost. And, further, the learned professor says, though it is a quotation from another learned professor, that "workmen do not have to apply to the state for aid." In other words, the necessity for independent political action by the working class is not in the order of things, because through the unions workingmen are so economically strong that they can compel employers to make terms.

How absurd the foregoing is, even if uttered by a learned professor, is evidenced by the fight the machinists and the Cooks and Waiters have on their hands, not to mention the recent defeat of the Butchers. If strategic equality existed in fact as well as in theory, the men who are held from doing useful labor by the greed of a few masters would be working, and their families would be sure of something to eat.

"Applying to the State for aid" will come as a matter of course in a very few years. The aid will be in no sense charity. For aid will come only from the State or Government that is composed of the working class. Any other aid, such as one might get from the Repub-

lican or Democratic parties in control of the government, would be the usual aid that has been doled out to the workers at Homestead, Hazelton, Couer d'Alene.

There is really a way the strikers may help where the tools of production do not cost several fortunes, and where the product is used by workers. The bakers are about to give this way a practical test. A store has been secured at 1527 Mission street and carpenters and bricklayers are at work fitting up a bakery that will be run on the co-operative plan. The bakery has been called "Advance" in honor of our paper. Already enough money has been contributed to give the enterprise a start and if the strike is won or lost the co-operative bakery will continue. It will be the only bakery in the city furnishing a label on every loaf, as a guaranty that the bread is produced under sanitary conditions. This alone will be a great factor in determining the success of the co-operative bakery. People will be educated to ask for the label and with the label the co-operative made loaf must go.

Another bit of good news from the Bakers' Union is the report of the contributions in aid of their strike. Oakland Bakers' Union contributed \$100, the International Bakers' Union \$200, and the Bakers' Verein, a local fraternal society, \$250. There is nothing like the material sympathy you can jingle in your pocket for keeping up the courage of the strikers. It is the graspable evidence of brotherhood.

V. B., City.—There was no thought of pleasing you when the article in question was written. It is your turn to be good.

Farmersville.—You cannot hope to do much in the line of organizing a union unless you have an experienced organizer on hand.

H. T., City.—The new political-labor party is worthy of no criticism at our hands so far. When the time is ripe you will hear from us.

"An Economic Chance World."

But what I object to is this economic chance world in which we live, and which we men seem to have created. It ought to be a law as inflexible in human affairs as the order of night and day in the physical world, that if a man will work he shall both rest and eat, and shall not be harassed with any questions as to how his repose and provision shall come. Nothing less ideal than this satisfies the reason. But in our state of things no one is secure of this. No one is sure of work; no one is sure of not losing it. I may have my work taken away from me at any moment, by the caprice, the mood, the indigestion of a man who has not the qualifications of knowing whether I do well or ill. At my time of life—at every time of life—a man ought to feel that if he will keep on doing his duty he shall not suffer in himself or in those who are dear to him, except through natural causes. But no one can feel this as things are now; and so we go on pushing and pulling, climbing and crawling, thrusting aside and trampling under foot, lying, cheating and stealing; and when we get to the end covered with blood and dirt and sin and shame, and look back over the way we have come to a place of our own, or to the poor-house, which is the only possession we claim in common with our brother man, I don't think the retrospect can be pleasing.—From Wm. Dean Howell's "A Hazard of New Fortune."

Circulate those petitions in your trades union!

Challenge to J. Stitt Wilson,

San Francisco, Cal., June 19, 1901.

Editor ADVANCE:

There is an opinion (in some communities crystalizing into organizations known as societies of Christian Socialists) that Jesus, in his teachings, evidenced a desire for Socialism. The public utterances of Rev. J. Stitt Wilson indicate the above opinion to be one held by him.

From this opinion I now dissent. I desire (as recommended by Mr. Wilson) to seek the truth in the "scientific spirit of investigation." As a means of assistance to and making known the truth in regard to the teachings of Jesus upon this question, I challenge Mr. Wilson to publicly discuss with me before a San Francisco audience the following resolution, the affirmative of which I desire to present:

Resolved, That the teachings of Jesus do not warrant the addition of "Christian" to the name "Socialism." Yours fraternally,

G. B. BENHAM.

State Organizer's Report.

Since my last report, published on June 1st, I have held very successful meetings in San Luis Obispo and Arroyo Grande; these were street meetings. In Santa Maria the comrades engaged a fine hall which was well filled, and everything passed off in a manner to cheer and encourage the Socialists of that town. In Guadalupe I also spoke in a fine hall. The meeting, though not large, was most enthusiastic. In Lompoc I held a good meeting at the street corner. In Santa Barbara I held two street meetings; the comrades here rallied round these meetings. The attendance was large and enthusiastic. I next went to Oxnard, where I found the comrades eager and willing to help in any effort. Two open-air meetings were held and several new names added to the Local. From Oxnard I proceeded to Santa Paula. There the comrades opposed any attempt to hold a street meeting, expressing their willingness to engage the best hall in the place and promising to fill it on my return visit, which I promised to pay.

I next came to Los Angeles. On Wednesday, June 12th, I attended the Carl Marx debating club and was allowed the floor. On Thursday we held an open-air meeting and got a good crowd; on Friday I attended the business meeting, which was largely attended, over 40 being present, a splendid gathering of intelligent men and women. On Sunday I spoke to a full house in the Hall on Spring street. I must not forget to mention that I attended the meetings in the Park on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, on the latter two days being the opening and principal speaker.

By arrangement today (Monday), I held a debate with a prominent Democrat; he had 40 minutes and I had 40 minutes. There was an immense crowd, and there could be no mistake on which side their sympathies lay. After the debate there were a number of ten-minute speeches, and in my judgment I never saw a finer propaganda meeting. Meetings are held in the Park every day, commencing at 2 p. m. A chairman is appointed and every subject under the sun is discussed, but Socialism appears to consume 75 per cent of the time.

SCOTT ANDERSON.

Retail Trades Council.

The executive committee of the Retail Trades Council held its regular weekly meeting at the headquarters of the Cooks and Waiters' Union, with President A. R. Andre in the chair.

Business Agent Lane of the cooks and waiters reported that several more restaurants have taken union cards and union crews, and the number of union window cards now in use is rapidly approaching the 400 mark. Hotels are also unionizing.

Business Agent Willie of the Bakers' Union reported that employers are using every means to get the bakers to go back to work, but without success. Shares in the co-operative bakery are selling rapidly, and in a week the Advance Co-operative Bakery will be in a position to set many of the union bakers to work who are now on strike.

Business Agent Sganzi reported that the Italian bakers are working a six-day week with the exception of about seven employes of three non-union concerns.

It was resolved to appoint a committee to visit unions in the Retail Trades Council and request

them to send delegates to the executive meetings every Thursday afternoon at 3 o'clock at the headquarters of the Cooks and Waiters' Union.

Information received from Oakland showed that the Cooks and Waiters' Union there is in good condition. The six-day week is won, both for cooks and waiters; the union cards are displayed in the windows and the union has assessed its members 50 cents per week to assist the cooks and waiters of San Francisco.

In view of the fact that the treasury of the Cooks and Waiters' Union was in a better condition than one week ago, it was resolved to increase the force of pickets in front of the unfair restaurants.

The cooks and waiters now regard the strike as virtually won. Members are paying their assessments and support is coming in from the East.

International Socialist Review.

The June number of the "International Socialist Review," which terminates the first year of that publication, is a very notable number. The leading article is a discussion of "Paganism and Christianity" by an anonymous author who takes up the startling thesis that the modern socialist movement derives much more of its inspiration from Pagan than from Christian thought, and this position is defended with a wealth of illustration and breadth of knowledge that cannot fail to attract attention. Herman Whitaker points out some "Misconceptions of Marx" that are current among socialists as well as opponents of socialism. "Socialism in Belgium" by Emile Vinck, is the most thorough historical and descriptive treatment of the Belgian socialist movement yet published in English. "The Revolutionary Movement in Russia" is the official statement of the Russian socialists on the recent events. (Published by Charles H. Kerr & Company, 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago. \$1.00 a year; single copies, 10 cents.)

The Chicago School of Social Economy.

Max S. Hayes has characterized the work of Comrade Mills as "flawless." The sixth lesson in the series of correspondence lessons is at hand. In this lesson, after he has carefully reviewed and completely destroyed the defense which the economists make for interest, profit and rent, he says:

"The laborer is the only factor in production whose claim to some share of the product has never been defended by the political economists. His claim is so evident that it needs no defense.

"Adam Smith is called the 'father of political economy,' and his first sentence in discussing the wages of labor is: 'The produce of labor constitutes the natural recompense or wages of labor.' Then why does not the laborer get that produce, and get it all?

"1. It is because the landlord possesses the earth, and will not permit its use, except the toiler buys what the landlord does not own, by payment of rent.

"2. It is because the capitalist possesses the machinery, which has been created by society through the long centuries of its growth, and will not permit the turning of a wheel except the toiler buys him off with payments of interest.

"3. It is because industry is undertaken for private profits and the management will maintain a lockout until his profits are secure, regardless of the ruin which overwhelms the worker's family while he waits for permission to create the very wealth for the lack of which his children die.

"4. It is because the toilers must first provide the rent, interest and profit for those who render no necessary service in production before they are permitted to produce at all, either for themselves or the helpless ones who depend upon them.

"This is the wage system. This is capitalism. This is the present prison-house of toil. The way out is Socialism.

"1 Under Socialism, society will own the land and there will be no rent, to pay.

"2 Under Socialism, society will own the machinery and there will be no interest to pay.

"3 Under Socialism, society, acting through those who are engaged in any industry, and who will know most about it, and not through those absent or ignorant, will manage production and there will be no profits to pay.

"4 Under Socialism, whoever shares in the division of the products will share because he is, or is to be, or has been a producer, and no others, unless the victims of disabling misfortune, who will be abundantly cared for, but without the shame of pauperism.

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2. An admission fee of one dollar and a payment of five dollars upon a share constitutes a membership.
3. Profits and interest may be applied on the unpaid share.
4. Shares are \$100 each, and each member can hold only one share.
5. Each member has only one vote.
6. Each member is eligible to office.
7. Shares are all transferable. (With the consent of the Board of Directors.)
8. Interest is allowed on all share capital. At present at 8 per cent.
9. All the members of the store hold regular meetings for the election of officers, reports of manager and auditing of accounts. Officers under bonds.
10. All employees are employed by the Board of Directors.
11. The net profits are divided among the members in proportion to the purchases of each.
12. All trade is done on a strictly cash basis.
13. Goods are sold at market rates.
14. Only pure and reliable goods are handled.
15. Liquors are not sold.
16. Arrangements are being made so the members will get reductions on purchases besides groceries.
17. Believers in Union.
18. Call at store, 1896 Mission street, and get in touch with the movement.

National Executive Committee.

Session of the National Executive Committee, S. D. P., June 1, 1901, at Springfield, Mass.

Minutes of previous meeting read and approved. On motion the question of the joint Unity National Convention was taken up. In view of the fact that the Chicago Board agreed to change the date of the convention to July 29, 1901, the National Executive Committee pursuant to the authority vested in it by the general vote, appoints July 29, 1901, as the opening day of the convention to be held in Indianapolis, Ind.

On motion it was ordered that the following call be issued to the locals of the S. D. P.

CALL.

Comrades: By a resolution of both factions of the S. D. P., a joint National Convention for the purpose of effecting unity of the Socialist forces of the United States, will be held on July 29, 1901, at the city of Indianapolis, Ind.

The following organizations are entitled to representation at the convention:

All locals of the S. D. P. affiliated with the National Executive Committee whose headquarters are at Springfield, Mass. All branches of the S. D. P. affiliated with the Chicago N. E. B. All sections of the S. L. P. All Socialist state organizations not affiliated with any national committee. All other socialist organizations recognizing the class struggle and the necessity of independent political action.

The basis of representation at the convention will be as follows:

1. Each local, branch, or section shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

2. Locals not sending their own representatives may select those of other locals of the same state to represent them; provided that in each such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signatures of members attached as herein provided.

3. No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or be entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty days prior to the opening of the convention.

4. All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective locals or subdivisions.

As the work of the convention will be of great importance for the future of the socialist movement in this country, it is desirable that our party secure as full a representation at the same as possible and with that end in view the N. E. C. hereby prescribes the following methods of electing delegates:

1. The state committee of each state shall at once take steps for the election of a delegate at large for the state. Such delegate shall be elected by the general vote of the members, or, where such vote is impracticable, by the state committee.

2. The state delegate shall receive the credentials of such locals within the state as do not elect their own delegates.

3. The state committee may also give credentials to any member of the state organization applying for same with a view of going to Indianapolis at his own expense.

4. Locals shall at once call upon each member to sign a credential, the credential is to remain open for signature for at least thirty (30) days, so that every member may attach his signature. The name of the delegate may be inserted in the credential before or after the signatures are appended.

5. Every local may elect as many delegates as it chooses. Two or more locals may combine to elect a delegate.

6. If one or more locals elect one delegate, such delegate shall receive all credentials signed by the members of that local or locals.

7. If a local elects two or more delegates, the credentials signed by the members shall be divided among all delegates in such manner as the local chooses.

8. State committees and locals are requested to inform the national secretary of the names and addresses of the delegates elected by them without delay.

By order of the Provisional National Executive Committee, S. D. P., Springfield, Mass.

The Committee on Arrangements is instructed to request the Committee on Arrangements appointed by the Chicago Board to hold a joint meeting; to issue invitations; to provide for hall; to provide for accommodations for delegates; to elect a chairman of the Joint Committee to call convention to order.

On motion a form of credentials was drafted and ordered to be printed and distributed to locals.

National Secretary was instructed to prepare a report for the convention.

On motion Comrade Butscher was appointed to

represent the N. E. C. at Indianapolis convention. Reports received from National Organizers Chas. Vail and Geiger.

Charters granted to the following new locals: Warren, O.; Bishop Hill, Ill.; Newport News, Va.; Springfield, O.; Providence, R. I.

Agitation tours arranged for Comrades Geiger, Origo and Spargo.

On request it is ordered that the "Missouri Socialist" and the "Seattle Socialist" be placed on the list of party publications.

Local Cleveland, O., sends resolution that the immediate demands be expunged from the platform.

Local Springfield, Mass., informs the N. E. C. that it has expelled Peter Hornstein for conduct unbecoming of Socialist.

Local San Diego, Cal., reports vote of spring elections.

Local Bristol, Conn., lapsed and Comrade Sweetland was admitted as member at large.

Income since last session, \$599.98; expenses, \$604.68; cash on hand, \$21.78.

Next session to be held July 6, 1901.

Henry Slobodin, Sec'y.

Comrade Vail Coming.

Springfield, Mass., June 12, 1901. Comrade Vail's tour continues as follows: June 19th, Spokane, Wash.; June 20th and 21st, Elberton, Wash.; June 22d, Colfax, Wash.; June 25th, Seattle, Wash. After the 25th and for the following two weeks Comrade Vail's tour will be arranged by the Washington State Committee.

After finishing Washington, Comrade Vail expects to tour Oregon and California, and any Socialist organization in either of those States desiring to arrange a meeting for him, can get particulars by addressing Comrade Chas. H. Vail, care Jas. D. Curtis, 1735 Eighteenth avenue, Seattle, Wash., which will be his headquarters until about July 5th.

WM. BUTSCHER, Nat'l Sec'y. [Comrade Vail writes us from Helena, Mont., that he would be pleased if meetings could be arranged in San Francisco, Oakland, Sacramento, Los Angeles, etc. The different locals of our party in California should not miss the opportunity of hearing one of the ablest Socialist speakers and writers in this country. Mrs. Vail, who is accompanying Comrade Vail, would be pleased to address the ladies wherever meetings can be arranged.—Editor "Advance."]

State Executive Committee.

The State Executive Committee, S. D. P., met at 212 Hearst Building, San Francisco, June 15, 1901. Present: King, Benham, Smith, Van Alstine and Reynolds. Communications read from State Organizer Scott Anderson and James S. Roche, John Eustice, P. D. Noel, Wm. Butscher, R. A. Patterson, G. D. Van Pelt, C. W. Shook, L. E. Beals, Wm. Smith.

Bill received for the "Advance," \$5.90; ordered paid.

Secretary's expenses to date, stationery, stamps and mimeograph letter, \$9.85; ordered paid.

The contributions received by the Levin fund, amounting to \$8.50, were ordered paid to Mrs. Levin.

Receipts reported by State Secretary: For stamps and supplies: Long Beach Local, \$2; Oakland Local, \$5; Alameda Local, \$20; Hemet Local, \$2.50; Alameda Local, \$10; Los Angeles Local, \$5; Sacramento Local, \$3.60. For Propaganda Fund and organizer's expense: Riverside Local, \$2; O. Gaivert, \$1; John M. Reynolds, \$1; J. Barduhn, \$1; H. Hauch, \$2; J. C. Stamer, \$0.50; W. Wagner, \$0.55; J. W. Powell, \$0.50; L. E. Fleischman, \$0.50; H. F. Ebers, \$0.50 for Levin Fund. Total receipts, \$57.35.

The Secretary was instructed to send out blanks for the semi-yearly report to all locals in the State; also blanks for credentials to delegates to the Unity Convention and the instructions as to voting issued by the N. E. C.

Application of Local Watsonville approved and charter ordered.

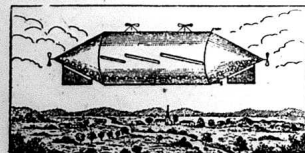
Fifteen dollars appropriated, to come out of Propaganda contributions, for the salary of the State Organizer; \$0 ordered paid on account of printing to G. B. Benham, March account.

Secretary instructed to send \$20 to N. E. C., Springfield, and to order 1,000 Dues Stamps.

Total receipts, \$57.35; disbursements, \$59.75. (Levin fund excepted).

JOHN M. REYNOLDS, Sec'y.

Laundry workers of Dayton, O., have had a permanent injunction slapped on their backs. Other unionists are also included in the order. Daytonians are learning that there is a class struggle on.



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SAN FRANCISCO PROPAGANDA.

Sunday evening Comrades J. J. O'Brien and Wm. Costley spoke to a large and appreciative audience at Grant avenue and Market. Considerable literature and a number of sets of papers were sold. "The Worker," "The Worker's Call" and ADVANCE being sold for five cents for the three. During the strike we are pushing Comrade Job Harriman's "Class War in Idaho." The indictment of capitalism and the unholy alliance of the Democrats and Republicans are so forcibly set forth there that few who read fail to understand that the only refuge left for labor is in supporting Socialism. Tuesday evening, at the same place, Comrades Noel and King, Jr., spoke. Despite the chilly fog a crowd of nearly two hundred listened for two hours to the arguments. These meetings seldom fail to attract big crowds, and many comments of approval and expressions of conviction are heard.

Since Saturday evening last, at the Academy of Sciences, Comrade J. Stitt Wilson has been holding nightly meetings, finishing up Thursday night, June 20th. The hall has been packed to the door every evening, and numbers have been turned away. Comrade Wilson's powerful blows at Capitalism have been struck straight and true, and his earnest eloquence has won a host of converts. His clear and logical presentation of Socialism convinces, while the moral enthusiasm which he imparts arouses his audience to some conception of their own duties in the propaganda. We hope to have him back with us in August, and recommend all locals that can do so to secure him for an address.

The movement here has received a decided impetus, and we expect to reap a considerable harvest from the seed which Comrade Wilson has sown with so skillful a hand.

Comrades G. B. Benham and King, Jr., have addressed the machinists, the former twice, the latter once, and report very successful meetings, straight Socialism being received with great applause.

Meetings for the coming week are: Sunday and Tuesday night, Grant avenue and Market street; Thursday night at the Academy of Sciences Jay Wm. Hudson will speak. Mr. Hudson is an able speaker and a radical. Admission, free.

C. C. C. MEETING, JUNE 19TH.

Chairman, Comrade Dunn.

Books ordered: "Epitome of Marx," 12; "Comparison of Marx and Darwin," 10.

Chairman Comrade Costley, Thursday night meeting. Three new members admitted. Vote of local on matter of sending a delegate to National Unity Convention, 36 against the proposition, 2 in favor. Proposition to have organizer send petitions to all names on the books of the organization.

Comrade Vail to be asked what expenses would be for coming to San Francisco.

Comrade Wilson to be communicated with regarding mass meeting on his return north.

Committee of five be appointed on program for party meeting and instructions for delegate to Unity Convention: Costley, Everett, Noel, King, Whitney.

Subscription list be circulated to defray delegate's expenses to Unity Convention.

Rubber stamp to be secured for papers to advertise Academy of Sciences Hall.

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LOCAL OAKLAND, of the Social Democratic Party, holds regular weekly lectures every Thursday evening, 8 p. m. at Becker's Hall, 918 Washington St. Admission free. Address, correspondence to J. GEORGE SMITH, 912 Hearst Bldg., 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.

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