THIS IS NUMBER 435

88+88+88+88+88+88+88+88+88+88+88+88+

We advocate the political organization of the working class to overthrow the domination of the capitalist class and to establish Socialism.

\$2+\$2+\$3+\$2+\$2+\$2+\$2+\$2+\$2+\$2+\$2+

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR.

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1902.

### WHOLE NUMBER 435.

#### Rough House in the Reichstag

fore the spring elections, have attempted erage will be about 10,500. This gives us what is admitted on all hands to be a par- our necessary 3 per cent. No more petiliamentary coupe d' etat. Instead of per- tions: our standing is assured. 'The Promitting debate on each clause of the bill, hibition vote sinks from 5,500 to 4,636. which procedure would delay decision on the bill as a whole for a couple of months, the Centrist leaders have sought to compel the Reichstag to lump the whole thing and vote on it without further delay. It eems that the longer the bill is debated, the less its chances of success become and the more liklihood of its being hurled "into the abyss," as Comrade Bebel said in his opening attack, and that the Min-istry and the Center party would be dragged down to ruin after it. Naturally, therefore, the Ministry want to shove it through without delay. The Socialists in Germany are not a milk and water breed, however. Their revolutionary strength sade the "blood and iron" Chancellor, Bismarck, bite the dust. Of his puny sucssors, they have no fear. The very desperate nature of its procedure shows the government's weakness and weakens it still more. The "uproar" and "riotous" conduct of the Socialists is creatly to be deplored-from the smug and hypocritical bourgeois standpoint. But men in earnest, men willing to lay down their lives in the cause of the great Social revolution, men shot through with a mighty passion for the people's rights, will not sit quietly by while the mailed fist is lifted to strike the toilers in the face. Politics are not run are falling over each other in their haste on the lines of parlor ctiquette, and a trliamentary rough-house is a good rning not to drive the people to more sperate measures.

#### Brower's Vote

Official returns give 9,592 votes for The German Ministry, eager to get Brower, the Socialist candidate. Many through their infamous tariff measure becaudidates will go over 11,000 and the av-

#### Pennsylvania's Magnificent Increase

By a vote of 21,910, the Socialist party of Pennsylvania on November 4th more than quadrupled its highest vote (of 1900) and gained official standing on the State ballot. This brings Pennsylvania into line with the remarkable increase in the Socialist vote all over the United States.

It also presents to the public and to the bewildered politicians the significant spectacle of the three leading and most conservative of the Eastern States—Mass-achusetts, New York and Pennsylvania the bulwark of conservatism for the whole country and the home of capitalism uniting to the extent of more than 81,000 votes for Socialism.

It is no wonder that in the face of this aggressive action on the part of the working population in these three States-for votes came from the working class and not from mere theorists and dreamers -that the managers of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Reading Railroad and the Rapid Transit Company of Philadelphia

to announce to the public a "raise" in the wages of their employees.
In Pennsylvania 12,000 votes are credited by the official count to the anthracite. Aha! such a funny joke, yet. General learn, that the campaign for the spring clections began on the night the fall campaign closed, November 4th,

The soldier yote of the Hollidaysburg learn, that the campaign for the spring possible that this a

#### Can This Be Possible?

WEST TAMPA, Fla.
The deportation of Mayor
a committee supposed to hn Millan by working for the big trust factories I sulted in the wildest outbreak of exce it among the residents of Tampa, tha been known for some time.

That the mayor wield f this city is ver the Cuban cigarmak evidenced in that he was responsible for their big strike of k ago when the business of the seve was seriously demoralize

Responding to a know his home at mid-night, a costed by a party of me Millan was aco siezed him d a steamer and saw him safely or which sailed for Nice the following morning.

When his absence was rted the next reached its bounds.

The city faces a grav tnation. Five thousand Cubans, mar them cigarmakers, are on the v another strike as a result of the force moval of the

The "Appeal to Re prints the ess dispatch. above as an Associate This dispatch was car by the trust censors before it got i San Francisco. monstrous condition. We know that kers and their ed and transcommittees have been ported by the lawless hi gs of the lawless trust. But it seem that the infamous scor raise their hands in a lawful head of a musmost incredible els would dare e against the government. The records of the whi Standard Oil show the trust and the eir greedy organizers hesitate not e the erimes of arson and murder, I always managed to cover up the Can it be capital crime of treason, of ass government t is possible who have

#### Terrible! Awful! Horrible!

The San Francisco Call, kept-paper of the corporation, declares that Socialism would destroy incentive. Poverty, according to this oracle, is the great incentive Just think, Socialism would abolish noverty. Then there would be no incentive for men to rob. There would be no incentive for women to prostitute, themselves. There would be no incentive for men to cut each other's threats in a mad struggle irge factories be no incentive for the parents to rob their children of playtime and schooling and the door at put them into the great factories where mutilation and death await them.

#### Utah Well In Line

In Utah, containing twenty-seven counties, there were but eleven tickets in the field. The vote in fourteen counties so far reported gives us 2,818 for Congressman and 2883 for Supreme Judge. It is certain that the other counties will report a sufficient number of votes to bring the total up to 3000, this being an increase of nearly 500 per cent over the vote of two years ago. The increase, while not re-markable, is satisfactory, and all we could fairly expect, considering the disrupted condition of the party locally and the total and systematic lack of propaganda during the campaign.

The Salt Lake Tribune's special canvass of the Congressional vote shows a total vote of 84,558 for Congressman, of which Wilson (Socialist) received 2927, or 3 1-2 per cent. This is not an official cnyass, but it is doubtless approximately

Our candidate for Supreme Judge, Waren Foster, ran considerably ahead of our Congressional candidate receiving more than 3000 votes.

Dear Comrade-

Have been absent for some time so send in only now official return of election. You will notice that neither of the Socialist nominces for Governor, Chief Justice and Congressman has been even as much as mentioned, although I know that there was nearly 60 votes cast for each of them. Upon inquiry, they tell me that the vote was so small that they did not think it worth while to take notice of it. Still, our gains have been tremendous in in our country, and we are jubilant about it. We shall keep on making new converts until they will be amazed by the large vote cast, and then they will be compelled to recognize us.

The exact Socialist vote can only be had in Sacramento, and there only, I guess,

when insisted upon.

Hurrah for the Co-operative Commonwealth. We shall not desert our guns, but and Tanco wealth. We shall not desert our gur increase the men behind our guns.

Yours fraternally, Jas. Heggery, Sec. Local Merced.

#### A Decided Set-Back

The movement for a State or National Union Labor Party received a decided setback in Los Angeles at the election Monday, December 1st. McGahan, the Union Labor candidate for Mayor received but a paltry 1,800 votes out of 18,000 cast. And Snyder, the Democratic Mayor, was re-elected by between 2,000 and 3,000 votes. It is an indication that the working people of Los Angeles are not yet be? ready to break away from the old parties. The necessity for it was not clubbed into their heads, as was done in San Francisco in 1801. It is good proof that the Union Labor movement will not absorb the Socialist movement in California. On the contrary, the activity of our Los Angeles comrades has welded together the two parties in that city and since immediate victory, the sole excuse for a merely Union Labor party, is shown to be impossible of attainment, those workingmen who have decided on independence of the old parties will now decide to work with the Socialist party, which, though it grows more

If you don't take the Advance you don't get the news.

#### What Socialism Is

By John Spargo, Editor of the Comrade. Socialism may be briefly defined as the ownership of the means of life by all the people in common, to be used by them, through some form of collective organization for the common benefit.

By the term "means of life" is meant all the means of wealth production and distribution: the land, mines, factories, machinery, railroads in a word, all those out of the abvss of poverty. There would things that are necessary to enable people to live in comfort and happiness.

At present these means of wealth production and distribution are not owned in common. They are not owned by a majority of the people, even, but by a comparatively small number of people, ever growing less numerous, called "capitalsts." And because they own the land, and the mines, and the factories, together with the machinery used in them, and the railways, these few possess a power out of all proportion to their number. They enslave hose who do not own these things.

For they do not own the means of life the majority-must, if they are to live at all, live upon the terms offered by those who do own them—the minority; and those terms are everywhere pretty much the same: that the majority use the means of wealth production to produce wealth, but for the few that do no labor whatever. For the wealth produced, belongs not to the workers—they only get sufficient to keep them in fit condition to continue working with profit to the idle few, who get all besides.

So we have in society, two classes: The workers, producing all the wealth, and owning it not; and the idlers, producing to wealth, but owning all.

Every strike and every lockout is a manifestation of this conflict. Every labor organization/is but an effort on the part of the workers to obtain more of the wealth they produce, because they recog-nize, though often imperfectly, that they are being exploited. Because they recog-

ation of the master class, comparatively lew strikes are won. When keen comp tition was the rule of business, then the workers could often obtain concessions by taking advantage of the rivalry between individual employers. But that day has passed. The giant trust has taken the place of the small manufacturer, and has its ramifications everywhere. Il you step on the tail of the capitalist crocodile in New York, you hear its jaws snap in Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, or even in Europe. For the trust knows no barriers of nationality, and has no patriotism but that of the pocket-book.

This does not mean, however, that the workers should abandon their organization. That would be foolish, indeed. The Socialist does not want to destroy the unions, but to build them up. He says that at present the workers, organizing into unions to obtain better conditions of life and labor, and then voting capitalists into power, to the legislative and administrative bodies of the country, are about as foolish as a general would be, who facing a well-equipped foe in battle, ordered his men not to use their bayonets, longdistance rifles, machine guns, and the like, but to give them to the enemy, and use bows and arrows instead.

What other view can be taken by the intelligent observer? The vote is a mighty force, either for good or evil; everyone adnits that. Well, if we vote our enemies into office, what can we expect but evil results? Is it not as foolish as the conduct of such a general as described above would

Fellow worker-and these words are only addressed to the workers; we have nothing to say to the shirkers-is it not better and wiser to vote for Socialism, the election of members of our own class, who will work to bring about the common ownership of the product of our common Think it over.

### IMPROVED IN QUALITY AND QUANTITY.

That's what you will say of Advance ifter New Years, if you do your duty before New Years. Ten new subscribers is , slowly, yet builds more solidly and is sure your share of our Christmas present. of what strength it may at any time atwith it.

> Tell the man when you buy that you aw his "ad" in the Advance.

### Alameda County Vote

Socialist vote of Alameda county, California, November 4, 1902:

The vote in 1900 was for Presidential Electors, and 828 was the highest vote cast. For Governor, Gideon S. Brower, 1009; Lieutenant-Governor, Frank R. Whitney, 1132; Secretary of State, Fred C. Wheeler, 1132; Controller, S. Edgar Alderman, 1294; Treasurer, Oswald Scifert, 1279; Attorney-General, Cameron H. King, 1318; Surveyor-General, Walter Stevenson, 1264; Clerk Supreme Court, Scott Anderson, 1254; Superintendent of State Instruction, Anna F. Smith, 1309; Superintendent of State Printing, S. H. Laverty, 1185; Chief Justice Supreme Court, H. C. Walker, 1337; Associate Jus-tice Supreme Court, Emil Liess, 1217; Associate Justice Supreme Court, Wayland Shepard, 980; Congressman Third District, M. W. Wilkins, 1125; Member

#### Humboldt County

Editor Advance: I enclose official re-

Our vote has fallen some short of what it was two years ago. Eureka lost over 50, but the balance of the county increased about 30. Leaflets sent out by the S. L. P. must have befogged the minds of some. However, we are not discouraged and our campaign for 1904 is already on and you may expect better results then. I am somewhat new in the harness, having made my first campaign speeches since I was at the convention, but I am going to keep myself in trim for the fray and will ever be found in the front ranks battling for the right of humanity.

Fraternally yours, M. E. Shore. Organize Local Arcata.

One million new subscribers is more than we could handle next week. But you just try sending in ten as your shar- wind up with a dance. of the thousand we want for Christmas. We'll attend to them all right.

One thousand. Your share is ten.

For Pennypacker (Republican), 11. A Pattison (Democrat), 10. Adams (Socialist Labor), 36. Slayton (Socialist), 61.

This company was stationed in the anhracite coal regions during the strike, and from the strikers and the Socialist agitators learned their first lessons in Socialism with the above result.

Charters have been granted new locals by the State Committee (since election day) as follows:

Bradford, McKean county. Wyoming, Luzerne county.

Oswayo, Potter county.

J. Mahlon Barnes, Secretary.

Jos. Edelman, Treasurer.

## Wyoming's Fine Show

Dear Comrade: Wyoming east two State Board of Equalization, H. Hauch, 1290; Raffroad Commissioner, Second Dis-Governor on the Socialist ticket was 552: 906 Broadway, Oakland, Cal., Nov. 26, the Supreme Court 1700 White the Supreme Court, 1700. This county gave five Socialist votes in 1900, and now gives 206, and for our candidate for Supreme Judge, 756.

We had no campaign and nominated a ticket in order to get free advertising, on the official ballot. With systematic organization, this sparsely settled State could be made the first one to vote for the co-operative commonwealth. We feel elated over the growth and the kindly disposition of the people to hear Socialist speak-

Sincerely yours, II. V. S. Groesbeck.

#### Ocean View Entertainment

Branch Four will hold a literary entertainment and dance Saturday night, December 6th, at Wolf's Hall, and the public in general and Socialists in particular are invited to attend.

A musical and musical program of unusual merit will be presented, the whole to their friends.

Tickets have been sold in large numbers and a jolly time is assured. Admission 25 cents; ice cream 10 cents.

Come everybody.

in the United States

ARE YO U WORKING to get that thousand of new subscribers we want for Christmas? If not, why not? Your share is ten new subscribers. Get out now and hustle. Your neighbor will subscribe if you'll only have sand enough to ask him.

The Millenium? What is it? Why, a thousand yearly subscribers. You are scheduled to send in ten.

# SOCIALISTS'

and nample

## Tuesday Ev'ng Dec. 9, 1902

Scottish Hall, 107 Larkin Street Under the Auspices of

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO, SOCIAL-IST PARTY.

BENEFIT OF

## VANCE'

Tickets 25c.

Hat Room Free.

Socialists should all attend and bring in

Exercises begin at 8:15

Get tickets to sell at Advance office.

#### ADVANCE



Organ of the Socialist Party of California; Published Weekly by Local San Francisco, Odd Fellows' Building, Corner 7th and Mar-

Subscription price, 50c. per year; six months,

Address all business communications, and make money orders, checks and drafts, payable to ADVANCE.

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In ordering changes of address be particular to give both new and old address in order to insure a prompt and correct compliance with

Please-notice the number on your yellow address label and renew in time to insure get-ting the paper regularly, since your name will be taken off the list on expiration. Receipts are never sent to individual sub-

scribers. Acknowledgment is made by chang-ing the number on the wrapper, the week fol-lowing receipt of money. Communications concerning the editorial de-

partment of the paper should be addressed to

San Francisco, December 6, 1902.

"Divide up?" Why you blessed may erick; don't you know that's just what the Socialists are kicking against. Every "divides up day the toiler works, he "divides up" three quarters goes to the boss, one quarter goes to him. Socialists want the workers to get it all.

The Labor Clarton, official organ of the S. F. Labor Council, thinks that the Union Labor party is a mistake. It wants to return to the old-time method of using the "balance of power" to influence one of the older parties. That's what the capitalists hope they will do. And since Capital and Labor are brothers, why should labor not return to the brother Capital's house to get well lambasted whenever they have another family row?

The poor Labor Clarion don't know just what to do. It's like a hen that has hatched a brood of ducklings and is all cackle and flutters because the youngsters take delight in the water. Awhile back the Clarion advised the Union Labor per-ty to change its method of organization from Union clubs to Assembly District clubs. Now it wants it to go out of business entirely. Its political functions are to be taken up by the Unions and the Unions are only to endorse one of the older parties. Fine scheme that. It's been tried time and again and lus the merit of being perfectly harmless and perfectly useless to any one or for anything but the politicians and their schemes. Union Labor, beware of advice which will put you at the mercy of the politicians who have so often betrayed you.

Every Socialist in San Francisco should exert himself or herself for the next few days in making the entertainment and dance of the local a success. The proceeds of this will go to the benefit of Advance. Advance is the property of the local.

It is at all times subject to the will of the local, and at all times strives to build up the whole party organization. It is the mouthpiece of the party through which when all other avenues of expression are closed, the party can speak its thoughts and purposes. The many efforts and sacrifices of comrades to keep Adrance in the field and enhance its utility, are now just about to bear fruit. The old, old debt that has hindered and hampered us, is now nearly wiped out. This benefit dance should complete the job of its cancellation and leave the road clear for progress and expansion for the paper. It is up to you, comrades of San Francisco, whether this shall be so or not. A good pull, a strong pull, a pull altogether and we shall leap clear of financial embarrassments. Do you want Advance enlarged and improved? If you do, you must provide the capital to do it. Come, comrades, San Francisco and California have the greatest Socialist population of the Western States. Advance should be made the finest paper this side of New York. It can be done if you will hustle. The first work to do is to sell tickets for the benefit dance. Call at the office, Room 5, Odd. Fellows' building and get some, then hustle. THIS MEANS YOU!

Congress has reconvened, but the trusts \$36.06. are not scurrying to cover.

#### A Public Repudiation

We take this means of informing the cople of San Francisco that Messrs. lones and Stevens in no wise represent the Socialist party or Socialist opinion in their campaign against the acquisition of the Geary St. road. The four hall meetings and the open air meeting were held Socialist party did not pay the hall rent Los Angeles.

Treasurer. Martha Salyer, Los Angeles.

Treasurer. Martha Salyer, Los Angeles.

Treasurer. Martha Salyer, Los Angeles. the Socialist position as defined in its national, State and Local platforms. To emphasize the fact, let it be known that the County Central Committee, the full membership being in attendance, passed the following resolution unanimously:

"The Socialist Party of San Francisco. represented by its County Central Committee, approves and indorses the proposition to acquire and operate the Geary St. railroad and urges all Socialists to go to In this broad earth of ours, the polls and vote in favor of the meas-The Socialist party advocates the collective ownership of all means of trans- Enclosed and safe within its central heart, portation and communication and all 6th- Nestles the seed perfection. er public utilities, as well as all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. We further insist, however, that None born but is born, concealed or no part of the revenue of such industries If you receive the Advance and have not should be applied wholly to the reduction subscribed, some friend interested in the cause of taxes on property of the capitalist class, of Socialism has paid for it to secure your inbut be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor Lo! keen-eved towering science, of employes, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

It is thus seen that Messrs. Jones and Stevens are in direct antagonism to the Socialist position. The Socialist prty opposes the Geary St. railroad corporation, it opposes the Real Estage Agents, it opposes the Employers' Association, it opposes the "Associated Villainies." The Socialist party stands with the working In spiral routes by long detours, class, it stands with organized labor, it stands with the forces of progress, and calls upon the people to use every opportunity to wrench from the master class For it the real to the ideal tends. any part or all of the means of living, For it the mystic evolution, whether it be water works or factory, mine or railroad. Messrs. Jones and Stevens may fight this position if they wish, but in so doing they renounce the Socialist platform and make it our duty to repudite their attitude.

#### State Executive Committee

Meeting called to order by Secrete Harriman.

Comrade Patton was elected chairman for the evening.

Members present :- Comrades Garbutt, McMartin, Patton, Harriman.

Report of previous meeting read and

Comrade Backus' report received and

placed on file.

Comrade Helphingstine's report receiv-

d and filed.

The following bills were received: Burkhart, for telegram to Grass Val lev, 50c; Socialist Educational Union, A B C of Socialism, 50,000 copies, \$90; Los Angeles Socialist, for constitutions, 1000, Attention, San Francisco \$30.50; Los Angeles Socialist, wrapping paper for manifestos, 50c; A. Falconer, for manifestos, 25,000, \$50.

The bill of Burkhart was ordered paid. The remainder of the bills were ordered paid proportionately as the funds will al-

The Secretary was ordered to write O the blest eyes, the happy hearts. Comrade Brower and ascertain how many days he devoted to campaign work.

Also to write Comrade Titus again as o his bill.

Bills for campaign literature have been ent to all locals.

Charter was granted to Local Stockton. Financial report of Secretary was re-

eived and filed. Comrade Corey tendered his resignation to the Committee, to take effect at once, which was accepted. Comrade Corey is over-crowded with work, and cannot

devote the necessary time required for the Committee work. Comrade John Murray Jr. was elected

in his stead. Cash on hand November 3, 1902, \$170.16. Dues, Hanford, \$4.35; Visalia, \$1.50; Santa Maria, \$1; San Diego, \$2; Descanso, \$1; Dixon, 60c; Alameda, \$5; San Francisco, \$10; Chula Vista, \$1.50; Stockton, \$1; San Diego, \$5; Santa Cruz, \$1.85; Stockton, literature, \$1.50; total, \$209.96.

Disbursements, postage stamps, \$2; M. Mrady, \$3; postage stamps, \$2; week ending November 10th, Harriman, \$12; remit L. A. campaign fund, \$15.90; Falconer manifestos, 65; week ending November 17th, Harriman, \$12; National Executive Committee, dues stamps, \$50; week ending November 21st, Harriman. \$12; total, 173.90. Balance on hand, Healthy peace, salvation universal.

### Womans Socialist Union And failing it life's lore and wealth a

Edited by M. Alice Spradlin.

Officers of the Union.
The editor of this column will be glad to receive any communication concerning woman's receive any communication concerning woman's work along Socialist lines. Address Socialist Headquarters, Odd Fellows' Building, San Francisco, Cal.

President Josephine R. Cole, San Jose.
Corresponding Secretary, M. Alice Spradlin, San Francisco.

Recording Secretary, Rose Webster Snell,

these meetings. The position taken by The State Constitution of the Woman's Sothese men is in diametrical opposition to cialist Union to out in leaflet form. Any who need it for organizing local unions may secure them by addressing any of the above officers.

SONG OF THE UNIVERSAL.

1.

Come, said the Muse, Sing me a song no poet yet has chanted. Sing me the universal.

Amid the measureless grossness and the

slag,

By every life a share or more or less, Unconcealed, the seed is waiting.

As from tall peaks the modern overlook-

Successive absolute flats issuing.

Yet again, lo! the soul, above all science, For it has history gathered like husks around the globe,

For it the entire star-myriads roll through the sky.

(As a much-tacking ship upon the sea,) For it the partial to the permanent flow-

Not the right only justified, what we cal evil also justified.

Forth from their masks, no matter what, From the huge festering trunk, from the craft and guile and tears, Health to emerge and joy, joy universal.

Out of the bulk, the morbid and the shal-

low, Out of the bed majority, the varied countof men and states, Electric, anti-ortic yet, cleaving, suffusing

Only the good is universal.

3.

Over the mountain-growths, disease and

An uncaught bird is ever hovering, hover-High in the purer, happier air,

From imperfection's murkiest cloud, Darts always forth one ray of perfect light,

One flash of heaven's glory.

To fashion's, custom's discord To the mad. Babel-din, the deafening

orgies Soothing each bill a strain is heard, just heard,

From some far shore the final chorus sounding.

That see; that know the guiding thread so fine.

Along the mighty labyrinth.

And thou America.

For the scheme's clumination, its thoughts And its reality.

For these (not for thyself) thou hast arrived. Thou, too, surroundest all

Embracing, carrying, welcoming all; Thou too, by pathways broad and new, To the ideal tenderest.

The measured faiths of other lands, the grandeurs of the past,

Are not for thee, but grandeurs of thine own. Deific faiths, and amplitudes, absorbing,

comprehending all; All, eligible to all. All, all for immortality,

Love, like the light silently wrapping all. Nature's amelioration blessing all, The blossoms, fruits of ages, orchards,

divine and certain, Forms, objects, growths, humanities, to spiritual images ripening.

Give me; O God, to sing that thought; Give me, give him or her I love this quenchless faith

In Thy ensemble; whatever else withheld withhold not from us Belief in plan of Thee enclosed in Time and space.

Is it a dream?

Job Harriman. Sec.-Treas. Nay, but the lack of it the dream,

dream.

And all the world a dream. Walt Whitman.

#### SOCIALISM FOR CHILDREN. By Catherine Bruce Glasier, Lesson V .- Schools.

But for the schools, that Socialists want for all the children, I think you will agree with me that something more will be needed than Land and Machinery and Workers. We should need those, of course, for the school buildings, but if the children are to be set free from work to go to school until they are well grown, and if there are to be plenty of teachors who are to give their work hours to teaching, instead of making food or clothes or houses, and if there are to be other men and women to make music for us and to study so as to be able to lecture to the grown-up people on all kinds of interesting subjects-and if the sick and old people are to be properly strong people who are left to make the food, clothes and houses, will have to be willing to work and be very careful also not to waste time on useless work, or in fighting one another as they do today. That is a very big subject and I cannot go further into it here. It would need a Had you not a strong temptation to rewhole tract to itself. But we will just sum it up shortly. If the children are to be free to go to school and the old people and the sick to rest:

(1) All the strong people must be willing to work:

(2) All the work that is done must be

iseful work, and (3) The workers must help one anoth-

If we were to use the big people's words re should say that :--

(1) All able-bodied citizens must be willing to work in the service of the State.

(2) All work must be productive, and (3) Co-operation must take the place of Competition.

#### Further Answer to Riverside

In addition to the answer to Riverside last week, Dist. Club No. 3 adopted the following:-

Another very important consideration is that if a political party desires official recognition, it must appoint an executive or governing committee for the party of

The political code of the State provides the only way in which such executive or governing committee shall be appointed and no other way is recognized by law.

· Political Code, section 1186, provides that a State "CONVENTION" "in addition to making nominations of candidates for public office, appoint or elect a governing committee for the political party which the delegates to such convention represent.".

All of the comrades who have assisted in getting up nomination petitions will recollect that even in these nominations petitions every petition contained the name of a committee, not less than seven in number, to form the governing committee of the party for the locality.

It is sufficient to say that if a party has any State executive or governing committee the statute law of the State (Political Code, section 1186) requires that such committee shall be appointed or elected by the convention making nominations

candidates for public office. This was done by the State Convention held in San Francisco, September, 1902, in obedience to the requirements of the State law. More than this, the certificate of your nominations for Governor and State officers, which was filed and is still on file with the Secretary of State at Sacramento, contained the names of the persons composing the present State Executive Committee, namely: Mary E. Garbutt, W. A. Corey, L. D. Biddle, J. J. Patton, P. D. Noel, Wm. Smith, L. H. Edmiston and Job Harriman. This committee having power under the law of the State to fill vacancies which might occur in nominations for public office or any vacancies arising in the membership of the State Executive Committee, resignations or otherwise.

Therefore, the present State Executive Committee is recognized by the law of the State of California, which we cannot over-The new Constitution, however, provides

that in future this committee shall be eleeted by the membership of the party, some two or three months before the holding of the State Convention (new Constitution, Article III, section 1) and such election is by the new Constitution a charge and instruction to the following State persons who were elected by the membership of the party." (New Constitution, Article II, section 12.) Thus it will be seen that the new Constitution provides sory endorsement and confirmation of such will go in mourning?

committee by the succeeding State Convention; thus conforming proper Socialist methods with the State law without a violation of either.

#### To John Mitchell, A Protest

"Mr. Mitchell, in reply to further questions, said that he regarded as living wages for a miner six hundred dollars a -Daily Papers of November VE,

Mitchell, spokesman of the miners, I had hoped for better things Than the bit of information that my

morning paper brings: ou have named six hundred dollars to

the Arbitration Court, sufficient yearly income for a family's support-

carce enough to keep the miner an efficient working tool,

In a fairly good condition, like a wagon or a mule:

eared for, I think you will see that all the It will save him from starvation until he

finishes his task-Think you that is all a workingman can reasonably ask?

While defining thus the limit of the laborer's desire,

sponsively inquire, Which among your arbitrators, whatsoever be his sphere,

Lives on thrice six hundred dollars as his salary for a year? Possibly it might have shocked them; let

us then concede that they Are superior to the miners, and composed

of finer clay; In their households, do these gentlemen,

so just, and kind and wise Feed their children in proportion to their smartness or their size?

Have we banished "equal rights" as an impracticable scheme, But a figment of the fancy, and an irides-

cent dream? In the face of gospel teachings shall we formally forswear

Human brotherhood" as being a delusion and a snare?

Does the boasted Declaration of our Independence mean, One man shall be lord and master and

his brother a machine? Mitchell, tell your Arbitrators, Justice is your sole demand:

Equal rights to Nature's bounties water, air, light and land; That the mineral treasures hidden in the

earth were all designed, Not for one man, nor for some men, but alike for all mankind; That the wonderful inventions of the win

of every age, From Prometheus to Marconi, are the

toiler's heritage; Leave him all his labors product—with no portion of it spent Others to enrich with profits, interests,

dividends or rent; Free him of his present burden-'tis the heaviest he bears-

supporting sumptuously a horde of greedy millionaires; the plunderers and parasites, of low

degree and high, Earn their bread by useful work—unless they choose to starve and die.

Let the workingman who builds them dwell in costly marble halls; Let the sculptor's and the painter's finest

gems adorn its walls: Let the orator and the poet all their choicest treasures bring-

Ablest actors play their dramas, grandest mg, Let the laborers' wives and daughters be

the ones that shall receive Rarest silk and finest laces human skill

can plan or weave; et them visit distant countries with historic memories stored, Gain the knowledge and the culture for-

eign travel can afford; Let the long-delaying twilight of the worker's life be blest

With abundant store of comforts, while he takes his well-earned rest; All of which could be accomplished no

one wealth or leisure lack-But for these insatiate idlers mounted on the laborer's back.

Then no longer bend and truckle, and as uncomplaining slaves,

For a miserable pittance, crawl to ignominious graves!

-J. L. M'Creery.

You are dead right when you think it would be a good idea to ask the fellow next governing committee of the party the same door to subscribe for Advance. Remember! your share is ten; but we'll accept less if we can't get more.

The Geary street railroad got a few of in the future for the very thing which the its tools in the Street Carmen's Union to objectors to the present State Executive agitate for a resolution that no politics Committee desire—that is, the democratic should be discussed in the Union meeting. election of the State Executive Committee | The resolution was most emphatically sat by the party membership and the compul- down upon. Wonder if the Labor Clarion

#### The Social Revolution

BY KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated by J. B. Askew in London Justice.

PART I .- SOCIAL REFORM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

(Continued from last week.)

We have seen that the social revolution is a product of particular historical conditions. It presupposes not only highlystrained class antagonisms, but also a great national State, which abolishes all provincial and communal privileges, and bases itself on a mode of production which equally has the effect of bringing all particularism to a common level; and, moreover, a State rendered powerful by a bureaucracy and militarism, a science of political economy, and a rapid pace of economic progress.

None of these factors of the social revolution has in the last decades been weakened; on the contrary every one has been strengthened. Never was the pace of the economic development so quick. Scientific economics advances, if not in depth, at least, thanks to the press, in popularity. Never was economic understanding so widely spread as to-day; never were the ruling classes, as well as the masses, able to see to such an extent the distant consequences of their activity and endeavors is to-day. That alone shows that the transition from capitalism to Socialism cannot be accomplished imperceptibly. The rule of the exploiting classes cannot be undermined slowly without those latter perceiving it, putting themselves on the defensive, and employing all their power in order to keep down the proletariat in strength and influence.

If, however, the insight into the correlation of social phenomena was never so widely spread as to-day, on the other hand the power of the State was never so great as today, its military, bureaucratic, or economic means never so wonderfully developed. This means that the proletariat, if t conquers the political power, acquires with it the power to at once be able to carry out the most far-reaching social alterations; it means, however, also that the ruling classes of to-day, with the help of this power, can continue their existence and their exploitation of the toiling masses ng after their economic indispensability has ceased, The more, however, the ruling classes rely on the mechinery of the state and misuse it for the purposes of exploit-tation and oppression, the more must the bitterness of the proletariat against them

state increases in violence and strength. It has been objected that this conception does not take into consideration the latest social phenomena, which clearly show that the development is proceeding quite differently. The antagonism, it is said, bedoes not increase, but tends to become milder; and in every modern State we see ity. a sufficient number of democratic institutions which allow the proletariat to gain, if not the power, at least some power, that can be increased little by little, slowly and gradually, so that all necessity for a social revolution disappears. Let us see how far

rise, the more the class hatred grow, and

the endeavor to conquer the machinery of

Class Antagonism. first objection. The social antagonism between the middle classes and the protestariat tends to diminish. I will pass here over the question of the commercial crises, and the protestariat tends to diminish. I will pass here over the question of the commercial crises, and the protestariat tends to diminish. I will pass here over the question of the commercial crises, and the protestariat tends to diminish. I will pass here over the question of the commercial crises, and the protestariat tends to diminish. I will pass here over the question of the commercial crises, and the protestariat tends to diminish. I will pass here over the question of the commercial crises, and the protestariat tends to diminish. I will pass here over the question of the commercial crises, and the protestariat tends to diminish. I will pass here over the question of the commercial crises, and the protestariat tends to diminish. I will pass here over the question of the commercial crises, and the protestariat tends to diminish. I will pass here over the question of the commercial crises, and the protestariate tends to diminish and the protestariate tends to diminish. I will pass here over the question of the commercial crises, and the protestariate tends to diminish and the protestariate tends the position to forego on that head all Nor am I going to make any further contribution to the debate on the already ad debate turns more on interpretation of the word "misery." than on the recognition of certain facts. We Socialists are unanimous in this, that the capitalist mode of production, when left to itself, has for its result an increase of physical misery; equally unanimous, however, are we in the opinion that even in the present society the organization of the working class and the interference of the state are in a position to cheek this misery; finally we all agree that the emancipation of the proletariat is to be expected not from its in-

first place, a question of the increasing ex-

shown by Marx a generation ago, and has, so far as I know, never been refuted by ers. The gasworkers owe their rise partly anybody. Those who deny the fact of the to their having gone into politics, which, increasing exploitation of the proletariat, in larger towns, has brought to the municwords by a refutation of Marx's "Capital."

Now, certainly, it will be said in objection to this that all this is but so much of competition and exploitation enter into theory; we only recognize as true and demonstrated what we can grasp for ourselves. We do not want economic laws, but statistical figures. These are not easily found. It has not yet occurred to anyone-to demonstrate statistically, not only the wages but also the profits, for the very simple appear sudden, almost accidental, in the ing guidance to that victory in the class-reason that the safe is like unto a castle case of the seamen and the miners. With struggle between labor and capital, beto the bourgeois which, be he even the most cowardly and weak-spirited of the lot, he s ever ready to defend like a lion against he encroachments of the authorities.\

Nevertheless, we can find some figures as to the increase of wages and other incomes. Some of these, the latest which we know, shall be given here. They were computed by Mr. A. L. Bowley, who read a paper on the question in March, 1895. before the London Royal Statistical Society (printed in the journal of the society, June, 1895, pp. 224-85. We take the following table:

| TOTAL | YEARLY | WAGE | INCOME |  |
|-------|--------|------|--------|--|
|       |        |      |        |  |

|   | Amount in millions pounds Year. sterling. |   |   |    |   |  |     |   |  |  |    |   |   | Per cent<br>of total<br>national<br>income. |  |   |     |     |        |
|---|-------------------------------------------|---|---|----|---|--|-----|---|--|--|----|---|---|---------------------------------------------|--|---|-----|-----|--------|
| , |                                           |   |   |    |   |  |     |   |  |  |    |   |   |                                             |  |   | 392 |     | 47     |
|   | 1866                                      |   |   |    |   |  |     |   |  |  |    |   |   |                                             |  |   |     |     | 45     |
| , |                                           |   |   |    |   |  |     |   |  |  |    |   |   |                                             |  |   | 486 |     | 44 1-9 |
|   | 1874                                      |   |   |    |   |  |     |   |  |  |    |   |   |                                             |  |   | 609 |     | 45 1-4 |
|   | 1877                                      |   |   |    | í |  |     |   |  |  |    |   |   |                                             |  |   | 591 |     | 43     |
|   | 1880                                      |   |   |    |   |  |     |   |  |  |    |   |   |                                             |  |   |     |     | 45     |
| i | 1883                                      |   |   |    |   |  |     |   |  |  |    |   |   |                                             |  |   | 609 |     | 42 2 3 |
|   | 1886.                                     |   |   |    |   |  |     |   |  |  |    |   |   |                                             |  |   | 605 |     | 42     |
|   | 1891                                      |   |   |    |   |  |     |   |  |  |    |   |   |                                             |  |   | 699 |     | 43 1-2 |
|   | IN                                        | 0 | 4 | ١. |   |  | in. | 0 |  |  | τ. | ^ | n | ,                                           |  | 1 | TOT | TV1 | EDOM   |

|       | WAGES.    | THOM     |
|-------|-----------|----------|
| 4.    | Amount in | Per cent |
|       | millions  | of total |
| Year. | pounds t  | national |

|       | millions                      | of tota |
|-------|-------------------------------|---------|
|       | pounds                        | nation  |
| Year. | sterling.                     | incom   |
| 1860  | 376                           | 45 1-   |
| 1866  | 485                           | 47      |
| 1870  | 521                           | 48      |
| 1874  | 635                           | 47 1-   |
| 1877  | 652                           | 48 1-   |
| 1880  |                               | 48 1-   |
|       | 696                           | 49      |
| 1886  | 715                           | 49 1-   |
| 1891  | 782                           | 48 1-   |
|       |                               |         |
| TTOR  | CATTE THE CONTRACT CONTRACTOR |         |

#### NOT SUBJECT TO INCOME TAX.

| Year. | Amount in millions pounds sterling | Per cent<br>of total<br>national<br>income |  |  |
|-------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|--|--|
| 1860  | 64                                 | 7 2-3                                      |  |  |
| 1866  | 81                                 | . 8                                        |  |  |
| 1870  | 85                                 | 7 1-2                                      |  |  |
| 1874  |                                    | 7 1-2                                      |  |  |
| 1877  | 130                                | 9 1-2                                      |  |  |
|       | 126                                | 9 1-2                                      |  |  |
| 1883  | 122                                | 8 1-3                                      |  |  |
| 1886  | 125                                | 8 1-2                                      |  |  |
| 1891  | 130                                | 8                                          |  |  |

Against this picture many objections may be raised. It seems to me too optimtween the bourgeoisie and the proletariat istic and makes the sum of wages come out much bigger than it is or was in real-

In reckoning the wages the author did not allow for unemployment. He, moreover, took for granted that a number of important factors bearing on the conditions of the working classes remained the same wherever the alterations could not these objections are justified.

Chapter V.—The Softening Down of the had naturally the right to do so, but these are precisely the factors which alter Let us examine in the first place the more and more in a direction unfavorab

of which it was predicted some years ago the computation is but limited to a theory but most baneful when its practise that they would become weaker. This view few trades, all of which, with the exception has since then been so emphatically of agriculture, are very well organized, and refuted by undisputed facts, that I am in that the author takes for granted that the condition of the entire working class has, further discussion, which otherwise would on the average, improved in the same prohave taken us too far out of our way. portion as that of the organized workers who, even in England, form a fifth of the workers of all trades. It is not uninternauseam discussed theory of the progressive increase of misery which, with a little, wages of this class of workers. The rates, Even by hypocrisy." could be debated forever, and in which the in comparison with those of 1860 (the latter taken as 100), were:

must in the first place be able to back their cept of brotherhood harmless enough in ipal employees some improvements. In the case of the gasworkers, considerations That grace the proud and noisy pomp of least account. Partly also the rise in 1891 must be accounted for by the sudden advent of the "new unionism," which aroused so many hopes, but soon fizzled out. Still more, even, than in the case of the gasworkers does the rise of wages in 1891 the miners the wages were, in 1886, on a level with 1860, and in 1891 they were 50 per cent higher! This cannot be called an assured advance. In the case of the workers in the building trades, and the woolen and the iron industries, the increase of wages since 1860 falls far below the average. Bowley, therefore, wishes us to believe that the wages of all of the unor-ganized workers of England rose 40 per cent in the same period in which those of the excellently organized iron workers only

rose 25 per cent! But let us take the figures as they stand. What do they prove? Even according to this quite exceptional optimistic view, wages form an ever-diminishing portion of the national income. In the period 1860-74 they form on the average 45 per cent of the national income, in the period 1877-91 only 42 2-3 per cent. Let-us assume, for lack of more reliable figures, the sum total of the incomes subject to income tax and not arising from wages to be equal to the total amount of surplus value. Thus the latter was in 1860 less than the total amount of wages by sixteen million pounds; in 1891, however, the sum total of the surplus value was greater than that of the wages by eighty million pounds.

That shows a very palpable increase of exploitation. The rate of surplus value. . e., the rate of exploitation of the workmatter of fact, according to Bowley's figures, that is the extent to which exploitation has risen in the organized trades. The exploitation of the mass of the unorganized must have increased to an even greater ex-

We do not attach any very great impor-tance to these figures. But as far as they tance to these figures. But as far as they prove anything at all they do not speak against the assumption of the increased exploitation of labor, which Marx; by another method, and by an inquiry into the laws of the capitalist mode of production, has proved in a manner not yet confuted. Now it, nert be said: Granted that exploitation increases but the wages rise as well, it not at the same rate as surplus value, how is then, the worker going to feel the increasing exploitation, if it is not patent to his eye, but must be discovered by means of a lengthened inquiry? The mass of the workers neither carry on The mass of the workers neither carry on statistical researches nor ponder over the theory of value and surplus value.

(To be Continued.)

#### Class Consciousness

By Father Thos. J. Hagerty.

To the average man, especially when he hances to be a small capitalist, the term "Class-consciousness" spells the passion of sullen toil against all that world which lies above the grime and wretchedness of field and factory, and throbs with the blind fury of the worker who knows no hope save in the ruin of things. He looks upon Socialism, therefore, as a dangerous force whose chief function is to stir up envy is that he measures all things with the rule | 816 Fulton St., bet. Webster & Fillmore Sts. The greatest objection, however, is that cept of brotherhood harmless enough in would touch the hoards of commerce.

Class-consciousness, in reality, simply means the recognition of the basic equality of all labor as the source of wealth and the fundamental right of every man to the full product of his toil, as against

"the sordid lust of self, The grovelling hope of interest and gold,

The need for this class-consciousness grows out of the fact that the machine is

| * |                   | 1860 | 1866 | 1870 | 1874 | 1877 | 1880 | 1883 | 1886 | 1891 |   |
|---|-------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---|
|   | Agricultural      | 100  | 105  | 107  | 130  | 132  | 122  | 117  | 111  | 118  |   |
|   | Building Trades   | 100  | 116  | 116  | 126  | 128  | 1251 | 125  | 126  | 128  | 4 |
|   | Cotton Spinning   | 100  | 125  | 125  | 148  | 148  | 135  | 146  | 155  |      |   |
|   | Woollen Industry. | 100  | 106  | 112  | 121  | 130  | 126  | 120  | 115  | 115  |   |
|   | Iron Industry     | 100  | 127  | 127  | 143  | 112  | 112  | 110  | 100  | 124  |   |
|   | Engineering       | 1.00 | 108  | 110  | 124  | 123  | 120  | 127  |      |      |   |
|   | Gasworkers        | 100  | 115  | 120  | 125  | 128  | 128  | 130  | 130  | 119  |   |
|   | Seamen            | 100  | 113  | 103  | 150  | 129  | 123  | 118  | 110  | 143  |   |
|   | Miners            | 100  | ?    | 100  | 150  | 115  |      |      | 1001 | 150  |   |
|   | Average           | 100  | 113  | 113  | 138  | 132  | 1241 | 130  | 125  | 110  |   |
|   |                   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |   |

That this does increase has already been cial peace," the average is only exceeded cd mechanic as well as to

We see that the increase of wages by 40 rapidly breaking up the aristocracies of creasing decadence, but from its growing per cent from 1860 to 1891, which Bowley trade and absorbing the skill of the most calculates for the whole of the English exclusive crafts. Labor, or human effort Another question, however, is that of working class does not even hold good for intelligently directed in the production of the growing antagonism between the bour- the entire labor aristocracy. With the ex- wealth, is becoming a common factor irgeoise and the proletariat. This is, in the ception of the cotton spinners, who in England are not without reason conservative its application. Class-consciousness seeks and the patterns for all dreamers of "so- to bring this fact home to the highly skill-

by the gasworkers, the sailors and the min- "The slave by force of famine driven Beneath a vulgar master to perform A task of cold and brutal drudgery-Hardened to hope, insensible to fear, Scarce living pulleys of a dead machine, Mere wheels of work and articles of trade

wealth.'

When all these fully understand their absolute interdependence and their common rights as wealth-producers, they become conscious of their solidarity as a class. This consciousness, however, is not final in its effect; for it is only an unifytween producers and non-producers which must eventually wipe out all class distinc-

The triumph of the wage-workers over the hosts of interest, rent and profit will leave only one class into which all men must be enrolled—the class of workers. Provincial and national differences will no longer dominate the affairs of the world. Patriotism, as we now understand it, will vanish. It is only an exaggerated class-strüggle; and it has its origin in the battle of one nation against another for industrial supremacy. It is, in its very essence, a denial of the immanent humanity of all peoples and of the cosmic rights of every son of God. Under Socialism it must give way to the universal brotherhood of man.

Class-consciousness must broaden out into race consciousness. The war of man against man must cease and peace enfold the nations in a world-fellowship of wealth and happiness.

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Mary Richardson, Plaintiff, vs. George Richardson, Defendant. No. 82828. Action brought in the Superior Court, City and County of San Francisco, State of California, and the complaint filed in said City and County of San Francisco, in the office of the Clerk of said Superior Court. JOSEPH A. MITCHELL, Attorney for Plaintiff, 1037 Market St. The People of the State of California send Greeting to GEORGE RICHARDSON, Defendant.

Greeting to GEORGE RICHARDSON, Defendant.

You are hereby required to appear in an action brought against you by the above-named Plaintiff in the Superior Court, City and County of San Francisco, California, and to answer the complaint filed therein within ten days (exclusive of the day of service) after the service on you of this Summons, if served within this County, or if served elsewhere, within thirty days. The said action is brought to obtain a judgment and decree of this Court dissolving the bonds of matrimony now existing between plaintiff and defendant, upon the grounds of defendant's willful desertion, and willful neglect. Also for general relief, as will more fully appear in the complaint on file, to which special reference is hereby made.

All of which will more fully appear in the complaint on file herein and to which you are hereby referred.

And you are hereby notified that if you fail o appear and answer said complaint, as above equired, the said plaintiff will apply to the Court for the relief therein demanded.

Given under my hand and seal of said Superior Court at the City and County of San
Francisco, State of California, this 29th day of
October, in the year of our Lord, one thousand
nine hundred and two.

ALBERT B. MAHONEY, Clerk.

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JOSEPH A. MITCHELL, Attorney for intiff, 1937 Market St.

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#### The Class Struggle

The reader who has thoughtfully perased these pages is now aware, if he were not so already, that a world-wide struggle struggle is fundamentally an industrial one. It will end in the determination of a new system of production and distribu-

On one side in the struggle is arrayed a body of persons relatively small in numbers, who are the chief beneficiaries of the established order or system of industry. These constitute the capitalist class-not necessarily the rich alone for, properly speaking, it includes all who live wholly or in part from the labor of others-from on labor. exploited labor. This class is thoroughly entrenched behind all governmental authority, as, of necessity, the beneficiaries of any order must be. Their interest lies in maintaining things as they are—in the retention of the powers conferred upon them-in conservatism. Hence they are conservative. They well understand that Phone Folsom 386. Orders promptly attended to. Free delivery to any part of the tended to. Free delivery to any part of the tended to. Free delivery to any part of the tended to. Free delivery to any part of the actions of those to whom government to a lover the actions of those to whom government to a lover the actions of those to whom government to a lover the actions of those to whom government to a lover the actions of those to whom government to a lover the actions of those to whom government to a lover the actions of the action of the actions of the actions of the action of the actions of the action of the ernmental authority is delegated—the legislative, executive and judicial departments of organized society. They must control the delegates. This is a duty they never shirk, even though they must occasionally sacrifice an administration by one "grand old party" for one by another 'grand old party" equally subservient.

Internal disputes arise of course over which of two particular policies is best calculated to contribute to their common interests, whether high tariff or tariff for revenue only, whether one monetary standard or two, whether reciprocity or a closed door, whether expansion or exclusiveness; but all these at most are merely reformatory measures. Nothing in them savors of a revolutionary character; nothing that even suggests aught that is fatal to the retention of their power to exploit the toil-

That power cannot be removed by any strictly reformatory process. A reform can but change a system in some one or more of its aspects; but leaves the system intact; a revolution alone can abolish a system and build anew entirely. Unfortunately, the American revolutions that have overthrown the inheritance of governmental powers and a system of chattel slavery were each sanguinary in its final accomplishment; but it does not follow that all revolutions must so terminate.

On the other side is arrayed the toiling mass of mankind—those who live from a wage, from a part of what their labor produces—those who toil in the industries for wages those now necessarily excluded from ownership in the means of production-those who live by sufferance of those whom they support-those universally denominated, though not in derision, the proletariat—the laboring class.

The interests of these two classes are diametrically opposed. One is the exploiter and the other the exploited. The interests of the one are served-his dividends increased-by lowering wages; the interests of the other are served-his income increased-by raising wages. And it is the friction between these opposite interests that has produced in this nation 23,000 strikes in twenty years-1880 to 1900-an average of three per day. More than 6,450 of these battles, whose average duration is twenty-four hours, have been waged in the one State of New York-Commissioner C. D. Wright, in North American Review.

The unguared are mislead by the specious argument that "contention between these parties cannot partake of a class na-See the Union Card ture because labor is dependent upon capital and capital upon labor."

Wealth is the stored or saved product of past labor. Capital is that part of wealth used in the production of more wealth and which is owned by one person and operated upon by another, or others.

Political economists include under wealth and capital as well, such things as the quality of voice and the training of a great singer, education, skill in labor, etc. It is evident from the discussion "Private Property Under Socialism," that the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth would not affect or be affected by the private possession of any of these things, nor by private possession of such things as kits of tools for a carpenter's own use, or any form of wealth through which labor cannot be exploited. We therefore use the word capital in conformity with our definition-as including only wealth used for the purpose of exploiting labor; wealth owned by one person and operated by others in production of

Labor to be efficient must use capital just as capital to be productive must have and productive capital are mutually de-

endent upon each other. they reveal that which forces the class con-liority, political subservience and virtual tention which he would conceal. First, slavery.

the owner, the capitalist, stands between the laborer and the capital necessary to his existence, with power to exclude the laborer from the use of this essential thing.

Second, the absolute ownership of the capital authorizes the capitalist to comis on between two opposing forces. That pel the laborers to purchase access to the capital by yielding to the owner a partand often the major part-of the resulting product; authorizes the capitalist (or as we have previously shown, compels him) to own the nation.

The enemies of Socialism have much o say about the mutuality of dependence of labor and capital; a dependence that no one disputes; but they have little to say of this dependence of labor upon capitalists and the dependence of capitalists up-

Labor demands free unqualified access to nature's fesources; demands the privileges of using the earth as the natural heritage of humanity; demands the right to create enough wealth to meet every requirement of the race and to own it when created. But between labor and the attainments of these demands stand the capwhat we can dispose of at such prices and profits as we may determine. Production is not carried on for your benefit, but solely to augment our wealth and power. When it fails to accomplish this purpose, production must cease, though you go hungry. Our interests are allied to yours -when we need you. When we need you not, go your way."

No, there can be no "war between labor and capital;" but between laborers and capitalists the war is on and will cease only when the latter are entirely eliminated .-N. A. Richardson in Introduction to So-

"Since the advent of civilization, the outgrowth of property has been so immense, its forms so diversified, its uses so expanding and its management so intelligent in the interests of its owners, that it has become, on the part of the people, an unmanageable power. The human mind stands bewildered in the presence of its own creation. The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property, and define the relations of the state to the property it protects, as well as the obligations and the limits of the rights of its owners. The interests of society are paramount to in-dividual interests, and the two must be brought into just and harmonious relations. A mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been ence; and but a fragment of the ages yet to come. The dissolution of society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim, because such a career contains the elements of self-destruction. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education, foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes."-Lewis II. Morgan's An-

The Socialist party of America in Namal Convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party with the object of conquering the powers of governmnt and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution space profitable to advertisers. into a collective ownership by the entire

Formerly the tools of production were simple, and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of prothe capitalist to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.

Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever-increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and it divides society into two hostile classes-the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now labor applied to it. Hence efficient labor between the capitalist class and and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capital-Now, with capital-the machinery of ists the control of the government, the production-in private hands, two results press, the pulpit and the schools enables follow about which an opponent of Social- them to reduce the workingmen to a state ism has little or nothing to say, because of intellectual, physical and social infer-

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system: the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged, and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish the capitalist class and the class of wage-workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher orderof society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in upholding the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democrats, Republicans, the bourgeois public ownership parties and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties

formed by the propertied classes. When we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of devlopment reached by the proletariat. We therefore consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political office in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:

1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and Socialism or Dissolution all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the cap italist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people, in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, to be administered under the control of the working class.

away since civilization began is but a frag-ment of the past duration of man's exist-4. The inauguration of a system of

5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and State and municipal aid for books, clothing and

6, Equal civil and political rights for

men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constit-

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public owner-The National Platform ship movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of

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