



ADVANCE



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If you receive the ADVANCE and have not subscribed, some friend interested in the cause of Socialism has paid for it to secure your interest in the same.

San Francisco, December 6, 1902.

"Divide up?" Why you blessed maverick; don't you know that's just what the Socialists are kicking against. Every 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 Clarion*, 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. While back the *Clarion* advised the Union Labor party 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 has 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.

Attention, San Francisco

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 *Advance* 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 are not scurrying to cover.

A Public Repudiation

We take this means of informing the people of San Francisco that Messrs. Jones and Steyens 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 entirely on their own responsibility. The Socialist party did not pay the hall rent nor lend financial support in any way to these meetings. The position taken by these men is in diametrical opposition to 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 the polls and vote in favor of the measure. The Socialist party advocates the collective ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. We further insist, however, that no part of the revenue of such industries should be applied wholly to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of the hours of labor of employes, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers."

It is thus seen that Messrs. Jones and Steyens are in direct antagonism to the Socialist position. The Socialist party opposes the Geary St. railroad corporation, it opposes the Real Estate Agents, it opposes the Employers' Association, it opposes the "Associated Villainies." The Socialist party stands with the working 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 any part or all of the means of living, whether it be water works or factory, mine or railroad. Messrs. Jones and Steyens may fight this position if they wish, but in so doing they renounce the Socialist platform and make it our duty to repudiate their attitude.

State Executive Committee

Meeting called to order by Secretary, Harriman.

Comrade Patton was elected chairman for the evening.

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

Report of previous meeting read and received.

Comrade Backus' report received and placed on file.

Comrade Helphingstine's report received and filed.

The following bills were received:

Burkhart, for telegram to Grass Valley, 50c; Socialist Educational Union, A B C of Socialism, 50,000 copies, \$90; Los Angeles *Socialist*, for constitutions, 1000, \$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 allow.

The Secretary was ordered to write Comrade Brower and ascertain how many days he devoted to campaign work.

Also to write Comrade Titus again as to his bill.

Bills for campaign literature have been sent to all locals.

Charter was granted to Local Stockton.

Financial report of Secretary was received 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. Brady, \$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, \$36.06.

Job Harriman, Sec.-Treas.

Womans Socialist Union

Edited by M. Alice Spradlin.

The editor of this column will be glad to 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, Los Angeles.  
Treasurer, Martha Salyer, Los Angeles.  
The State Constitution of the Woman's Socialist Union is 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.

In this broad earth of ours,  
Amid the measureless grossness and the  
slag,  
Enclosed and safe within its central heart,  
Nestled the seed perfection.

By every life a share or more or less,  
None born but is born, concealed or  
Unconcealed, the seed is waiting.

2.

Lo! keen-eyed towering science,  
As from tall peaks the modern overlooking,  
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.

In spiral routes by long detours,  
(As a much-lacking ship upon the sea.)  
For it the partial to the permanent flow-  
ing,

For it the real to the ideal tends.  
For it the mystic evolution,  
Not the right only justified, what we call  
evil also justified.

Forth from their masks, no matter what,  
From the huge yesterling 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 bad majority, the varied count-  
less frauds of men and states,  
Electric anti-epic yet, cleaving, suffusing  
all,

Only the good is universal.

3.

Over the mountain-growths, disease and  
sorrow  
An uncaught bird is ever hovering, hover-  
ing,  
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 lull a strain is heard, just  
heard,

From some far shore the final chorus  
sounding.

O the blest eyes, the happy hearts,  
That see, that know the guiding thread so  
fine,

Along the mighty labyrinth.  
And thou America,  
For the scheme's elumination, its thoughts  
And its reality.

For these (not for thyself) thou hast ar-  
rived.

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.

Healthy peace, salvation universal.  
Is it a dream?  
Nay, but the lack of it the dream.

And failing it life's lore and wealth a  
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 teachers 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 cared for, I think you will see that all the 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 whole 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 useful work, and
- (3) The workers must help one another.

If we were to use the big people's words we 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 State.

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 nomination petitions every petition contained the names 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 of 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 override.

The new Constitution, however, provides that in future this committee shall be elected 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 Convention to "elect or appoint as the governing committee of the party the same 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 in the future for the very thing which the objectors to the present State Executive Committee desire—that is, the democratic election of the State Executive Committee by the party membership and the compulsory endorsement and confirmation of such

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 year."—*Daily Papers of November 28, 1902.*

Mitchell, spokesman of the miners, I had hoped for better things  
Than the bit of information that my morning paper brings:  
You have named six hundred dollars to the Arbitration Court,  
As sufficient yearly income for a family's support—  
Scarce enough to keep the miner an efficient working tool,  
In a fairly good condition, like a wagon or a mule:  
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,  
Had you not a strong temptation to responsibly 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 iridescent 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 wise 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—  
Of supporting sumptuously a horde of greedy millionaires;  
Let 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 prima donnas sing;  
Let the laborers' wives and daughters be the ones that shall receive  
Rarest silk and finest laces human skill can plan or weave;

Let them visit distant countries with historic memories stored,  
Gain the knowledge and the culture foreign 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. J. McCreery.

You are dead right when you think it would be a good idea to ask the fellow next 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 its tools in the Street Car men's Union to agitate for a resolution that no politics should be discussed in the Union meeting. The resolution was most emphatically sat down upon. Wonder if the *Labor Clarion* will go in mourning?

# The Social Revolution

BY KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated by J. B. Askev 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 highly-strained 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 as 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 it 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 long after their economic indispensability has ceased. The more, however, the ruling classes rely on the machinery of the state and misuse it for the purposes of exploitation and oppression, the more must the bitterness of the proletariat against them rise, the more the class hatred grow, and the endeavor to conquer the machinery of 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, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat does not increase, but tends to become milder; and in every modern State we see 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 these objections are justified.

### Chapter V.—The Softening Down of the Class Antagonism.

Let us examine in the first place the first objection. The social antagonism between the middle classes and the proletariat tends to diminish. I will pass here over the question of the commercial crises, of which it was predicted some years ago that they would become weaker. This view has since then been so emphatically refuted by undisputed facts, that I am in the position to forego on that head all further discussion, which otherwise would have taken us too far out of our way. Nor am I going to make any further contribution to the debate on the already *ad nauseam* discussed theory of the progressive increase of misery which, with a little, could be debated forever, and in which the 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 check this misery; finally we all agree that the emancipation of the proletariat is to be expected not from its increasing decadence, but from its growing strength.

Another question, however, is that of the growing antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This is, in the first place, a question of the increasing exploitation.

That this does increase has already been

shown by Marx a generation ago, and has, so far as I know, never been refuted by anybody. Those who deny the fact of the increasing exploitation of the proletariat, must in the first place be able to back their words by a refutation of Marx's "Capital."

Now, certainly, it will be said in objection to this that all this is but so much 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 reason that the safe is like unto a castle to the bourgeois which, be he even the most cowardly and weak-spirited of the lot, he is ever ready to defend like a lion against the 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		
Year.	Amount in millions pounds sterling.	Per cent of total national income.
1860	392	47
1866	464	45
1870	486	44 1-2
1874	609	45 1-4
1877	591	43
1880	567	42
1883	609	42 2-3
1886	605	42
1891	699	43 1-2

INCOMES NOT ARISING FROM WAGES.		
Year.	Amount in millions pounds sterling.	Per cent of total national income.
1860	376	45 1-3
1866	485	47
1870	521	48
1874	635	47 1-4
1877	652	48 1-2
1880	652	48 1-2
1883	696	49
1886	715	49 1-2
1891	782	48 1-2

NOT SUBJECT TO INCOME TAX.		
Year.	Amount in millions pounds sterling.	Per cent of total national income.
1860	64	7 2-3
1866	81	8
1870	85	7 1-2
1874	100	7 1-2
1877	130	9 1-2
1880	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 optimistic and makes the sum of wages come out much bigger than it is or was in reality.

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 exactly be determined. As a statistician he had naturally the right to do so, but these are precisely the factors which alter more and more in a direction unfavorable to the workers. Thus, for example, the proportion between male and female, skilled and unskilled labor, etc.

The greatest objection, however, is that the computation is but limited to a few trades, all of which, with the exception of agriculture, are very well organized, and that the author takes for granted that the condition of the entire working class has, on the average, improved in the same proportion as that of the organized workers who, even in England, form a fifth of the workers of all trades. It is not uninteresting to consider the alterations in the wages of this class of workers. The rates, in comparison with those of 1860 (the latter taken as 100), were:

	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	125	125	126	128
Cotton Spinning	100	125	125	148	148	135	146	155	176
Woolen Industry	100	106	112	121	130	126	120	115	115
Iron Industry	100	127	127	143	112	112	110	100	124
Engineering	100	108	110	124	123	120	127	124	126
Gasworkers	100	115	120	125	128	128	130	130	149
Seamen	100	113	103	150	129	123	118	110	143
Miners	100	?	100	150	115	100	115	100	150
Average	100	113	113	138	132	124	130	125	140

We see that the increase of wages by 40 per cent from 1860 to 1891, which Bowley calculates for the whole of the English working class does not even hold good for the entire labor aristocracy. With the exception of the cotton spinners, who in England are not without reason conservative and the patterns for all dreamers of "social peace," the average is only exceeded

by the gasworkers, the sailors and the miners. The gasworkers owe their rise partly to their having gone into politics, which, in larger towns, has brought to the municipality of brotherhood harmless enough in ipal employees some improvements. In the case of the gasworkers, considerations of competition and exploitation enter into 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 appear sudden, almost accidental, in the case of the seamen and the miners. With 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 unorganized 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, i. e., the rate of exploitation of the worker, would, according to this, have risen from 96 per cent to 112 per cent. As a matter 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 extent.

We do not attach any very great importance 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 may be said: Granted that exploitation increases, but the wages rise as well, if 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 statistical researches nor ponder over the theory of value and surplus value.

### Class Consciousness

By Father Thos. J. Hagerty.

To the average man, especially when he chances 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 and hate in the brains of workmen against the rich in high places. The truth is that he measures all things with the rule of self-interest and holds the larger concept of brotherhood harmless enough in theory but most baneful when its practise 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, Unqualified, unmingled, unredeemed, Even by hypocrisy."

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

"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 That graze the proud and noisy pomp of 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 unifying guidance to that victory in the class-struggle between labor and capital, between producers and non-producers which must eventually wipe out all class distinctions.

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-struggle; 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.

Two-thousand members in California is the dues-paying strength of the Socialist party. It is possible that all of these cannot rustle one thousand new subscribers for a Socialist paper, owned by the Socialist party, and needing the new subscribers that it may begin the New Year, enlarged and improved. Comrades get in and hustle. Make your individual mark at ten.

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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.

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 to appear and answer said complaint, as above required, 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. (Seal) By JOSEPH RIORDAN, Deputy Clerk. JOSEPH A. MITCHELL, Attorney for Plaintiff, 1037 Market St.

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### The Class Struggle

The reader who has thoughtfully perused these pages is now aware, if he were not so already, that a world-wide struggle is on between two opposing forces. That struggle is fundamentally an industrial one. It will end in the determination of a new system of production and distribution for mankind.

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 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 their existence as a class—the retention of their power to exploit—depends upon control over the actions of those to whom governmental 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 toilers.

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 dominated, 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 misled by the specious argument that "contention between these parties cannot partake of a class nature 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 wealth.

Labor to be efficient must use capital just as capital to be productive must have labor applied to it. Hence efficient labor and productive capital are mutually dependent upon each other.

Now, with capital—the machinery of production—in private hands, two results follow about which an opponent of Socialism has little or nothing to say, because they reveal that which forces the class contention which he would conceal. First,

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 compel the laborers to purchase access to the capital by yielding to the owner a part—and 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 to 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 upon labor.

Labor demands free unqualified access to nature's resources; 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 capitalists, the exploiters. They cry: "Stand aloof. You shall work when our best interests demand it. You shall produce only what 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 Socialism*.

### Socialism or Dissolution

"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 individual 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 of the past. The time which has passed away since civilization began is but a fragment of the past duration of man's existence; 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 H. Morgan's *Ancient Society*.

### The National Platform

The Socialist party of America in National 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 government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into a collective ownership by the entire people.

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 production, is owned by the capitalist and not by the workers. This ownership enables the 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 between the capitalist class and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

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 order of 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 development 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 offices 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 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 capitalist 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.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

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

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 constituents.

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 ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

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