

# ADVANCE

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436

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

WHOLE NUMBER 436

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1902.

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## Idlers Make Merry While the Workers Starve

### The Terrible Contrasts in London, the Seat of Capitalism's Empire--The Wealthiest and the Most Wretched City in the World

Read this Telegram, Workingmen!

London, December 6.—It is long since the London theatres and restaurants have experienced so profitable a season as the present. The West End is ablaze with light nightly, all the amusement places are crowded and theater supper parties keep the fashionable hotels and restaurants busy until long after midnight.

In the meantime it is estimated that 500,000 persons are idle in the United Kingdom, and the Board of Trade returns show the largest percentage for ten years past of unskilled persons out of work while the proportion of skilled men without employment is growing constantly. The Woolwich arsenal authorities have discharged 2000 mechanics since the winter set in, and are preparing to let out 4000 more. To the army of people out of work must be added 56,000 members of the army reserve, who have been released from the service with the colors. The worst distress naturally is visited in the East End. A number of newspapers have started subscription columns and daily print harrowing stories of half-clad school children, many of them are without food except scanty luncheons furnished by sympathetic teachers.

In East London thousands of unemployed persons daily congregate at the dock yard gates, literally fighting for a chance to do a day's work. Unskilled laborers are in a desperate race and the police find it necessary to protect the foremen who distribute the work tickets each morning.

The West End is ablaze with lights and those who purvey pleasure to the rich for a long time have not had so profitable a season.

In the East End winter finds the children half-clad and less than half-fed, and for a long time, for ten years there has not been so many unemployed and such keen distress.

Can you not read, workingmen! Is it not written there in bold-faced type, not merely that "the poor are growing poorer and the rich richer," but that the poor are growing poorer because the rich are growing richer.

Ever more top-heavy does the social pyramid become. The wealth the workers make is filched from them by lawful theft, until they are naked and starving; while the parasitic idlers are gorged with the most delectable viands and surfeited with all imaginable kinds of pleasure.

Consider it again, workingman, for this fate which has overtaken the British worker this year, overtook the German last year and its blight will descend upon you next. Consider! Your British brother in toil was taken by the capitalist and put to work creating wealth. He was paid enough in wages to keep him alive while working, but his industry piled up wealth faster than even the gluttonous appetite of the capitalists could consume it. The British worker has produced more wealth than the market can consume and hence is turned out of his employment to freeze and starve until the idle parasites who have robbed him of the fruits of his toil have eaten and worn out and gambled it all away at their leisure and for their pleasure. Then they will set the workers, who have survived the bitter cold and starvation, to work to produce more, which will also be taken for the parasite's pleasure.

And what, think you, are the parasitic capitalists doing to prevent wholesale mortality among the victims of their greed? Nothing! Where the Socialists and Labor parties have a strong representation, and where the capitalists fear the workingman's ballot, the local and municipal governments are taking some measures for relief.

A number of the London suburban councils are starting public works in order to employ a small portion of the idle persons. The Canning town suburb,

where the distress is keenest, has appropriated \$50,000 for relief works. The London County Council will meet in December to consider the proposition of calling a conference of municipal bodies throughout the country to discuss what can be done toward establishing a permanent system for relieving the unemployed.

But listen further to the London telegram, and then doubt, if you dare, that the struggle between Capital and Labor is a class war with all the ferocity and inhuman cruelty that characterizes every war. The weakness, the pitiful distress of labor is the capitalist's opportunity. Now is the time for the organized plunderers to put an extra turn on the screws and squeeze the workers still more:

"Coincident with the general distress and idleness, the Shipbuilders' Federation is quietly preparing for a test of strength with the labor unions that may precipitate a general strike equal to the great engineers' strike of a few years ago. The shipbuilders, who have suffered for years from the restriction of output, countenanced by the unions, have decided that it is necessary to introduce radical reforms in the way of labor-saving machinery. This means a reduction in the price of piece work on which almost all the yards are running.

"The builders say that if the men accept the introduction of machine tools, most of which are of American origin, and agree to run the yards at their full capacity, it will enable them not only to make more wages, but will largely increase the output of the yards." Even the most optimistic builders have small hopes that the reforms will be accomplished without a stiff fight. They believe, however, that the time is ripe for the experiment, since the new machines in many cases can be run by unskilled laborers."

Aye, indeed, masters, the time is ripe. Half a million starving men fighting for a chance to work. Half a million wives and a million children suffering from cold and hunger. All of these are at your back, and your backs are to the wall.

But labor-saving machinery can be operated by unskilled labor. Now, indeed, you murderers, the time is ripe to grind down wages, to break the union, to abolish the rules which have held your greed in check, to glut your lust of gain! Half a million starving men driven to desperation with the thought of a million and a half of starving wives and babes dependent upon them! What a prey for the cruel vultures of capitalism! In cold blood, the infamous scoundrels, pillars of the church and state, though they be, scoundrels and infamous none the less, plan to use the starving unemployed to degrade and starve the employed! That wholesale murder carnival, the South African war, was no more atrocious a piece of villainy than this, the conscious and deliberate sacrifice of millions to the avarice of a few.

Workingmen! You are the sufferers. You have the power to change it. The means of employment must be taken from those who would enslave, rob and starve the people. The people must own the means whereby they live, in order that when they need food and shelter they may work and earn it. Down with the system that starves the multitude in order to gorge the few with every pleasure that the world affords!

### The Pot Calling the Kettle Black

The Examiner of December 5th, in commenting on a Delaware appointment of Roosevelt says that it is not to be wondered at that Roosevelt associates with the notorious and infamous Addicks and grants him political favors, since he does the same with the equally corrupt Platt of New York and Quay of Pennsylvania. We have no desire to exculpate Mr. Roosevelt, but certainly Hearst should be the last to cast aspersions on our strenuous President. Hearst, the supporter of Croker, and who during the campaign just closed accepted nomination for Congress from the rottenest of corrupt Tammany politicians, ex-Chief Devery, whose methods of wholesale corruption of voters were so impossible of concealment; and so thoroughly disgraceful that even the New York Democratic convention was obliged to refuse him a seat. Hearst and Devery's a combination that has no right to criticize the public morals or political alliances of Roosevelt.

## Hard Times Spreading

Not alone from London does the pitiful cry of starving labor rise. From Copenhagen and from the Empire of the Czar comes the terrible plea for bread. Listen to this:

St. Petersburg, December 6.—Lack of employment is causing unprecedented distress in the interior of Russia. In Saratoff, as a fair example of the prevailing conditions workmen eagerly accept about seventeen cents a day. Hosts of beggars literally invade the shops and the houses, starving people. Similar pitiful details come from other interior cities.

It is not that these people have refused to work, that they have produced nothing and hence have nothing to live upon. On the contrary, they have worked. They have produced plentifully. But everywhere the employers have taken all the product and paid the workers wages sufficient only to keep them alive from day to day. And the surplus of the laborers' product over and above the part paid back in wages the employers have put on the market for sale. But the workers have worked too industriously. They have produced too much. The markets are glutted with the product of their toil; and since what they make cannot be sold their employers no longer find any profit in keeping them at work. They are discharged, their wages are stopped and unemployed and starving they are turned out to face the winter's cold.

And you American workingman, does this not touch you? Are your interests unaffected? American industry depends on foreign markets now. Do you not see that the poverty of the European countries is cutting down the demand for the goods you make? Do you not see that the European manufacturers will force the European manufacturers to sacrifice the goods they have on hand, which glut their market, and undersell at home and abroad the product of your skill? And when the movement of American industry begins to contract, when the foreign market is lessened, the home market will be glutted, and you, now enjoying the prosperity of keeping out of the poorhouse and charity soup-houses, you too will be reduced as the European laborers are reduced, your unions will be attacked, your standard of living lowered and the hard times of '94 will revisit you with greater force and direr results.

### English Municipal Victories

Great success has attended this year's Socialist and Labor contests at the municipal polls. Not since the Socialist movement in Britain was founded have the November elections yielded such a large payment, not only of victory, but if we may venture the phrase, of "encouraging defeats." One highly significant record has been established. The united net gains of the Socialist and Trade Union candidates in England over all other parties have exceeded the net gains of the Liberals over all other parties. The total clear gains of the I. L. P., the Trade Unions, and the S. L. F. in England amount to 32, the total clear gains of the Liberals to 23 (30 over the Tories, less 7 lost to Labor and Socialism). Thus, in a campaign in which the Liberals claim to have made gratifying progress, the polls inform them that the progress of the Socialist-Labor vote exceeds their own. This fact may surely be read as a prediction of the position towards which the Labor movement is rapidly advancing in England.

Candidates.	Elected.
I. L. P. and Joint I. L. P.	67
Trade Council	29
S. F. D.	22
	118
Deduct Re-elections 9 and Losses 3	12
Net Gains	32

Socialism has the same effect upon the character of a man or woman that sunshine and air and moisture and rich soil have upon a plant. The result is healthy growth and good fruit.—L. T. Fisher.

## Socialist Vote in California, 10,720

The average vote for the Socialist State ticket in California, at the election held November 4, 1902, according to the official returns published by the Secretary of State, is 10,720. The average Socialist vote for Presidential electors in this State in 1900 was 7,485. Our gain over the vote of 1900 is therefore 3,234, or over 43 per cent. At the last gubernatorial election in 1898, Harriman, the Socialist candidate, received 5,143 votes. So that our gain was 2,342, or 45 per cent in 1900. Our gain in this gubernatorial election is over 108 per cent. The total vote cast at the last election for all candidates was 304,481. Three per cent of this total vote would be 9,135, and as our average vote is 10,720 it will be seen that we have much more than the three per cent necessary to constitute us an official party. There will no longer be any need to circulate petitions to get on the official ballot. The Socialist party has become the third party in the State. The following is the officially announced vote for the State and Congressional nominees of the Socialist party in California at the election November 4, 1902:

STATE TICKET.	
Governor—G. S. Brower	9592
Lieut.-Gov., Frank Whitney	10541
Secretary of State, F. C. Wheeler	11018
Controller, S. Edgar Alderman	11299
Treasurer, Oswald Seifert	11163
Att'y-Gen., G. H. King	11177
Surveyor-Gen., Walter Stevenson	11240
Clerk Supreme Court, Scott Anderson	11290
Superintendent Public Instruction, Anna C. Smith	11432
State Printer, E. L. Lavery	10720
Chief Justice Supreme Court, H. G. Walker	11057
Associate Justices—	
Emil Liess	10552
W. C. Shepard	8193
Average vote for State ticket, 10720	

REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS	
First District, M. E. Shore	810
Second District, G. H. Rogers	731
Third District, M. W. Wilkins	1556
Fourth District, Wm. Costley	616
Fifth District, Jos. Lawrence	620
Sixth District, J. L. Cobb	815
Seventh District, G. H. Hewes	1261
Eighth District, N. A. Richardson	2091
Total vote for Congress, 8,500.	

BOARD OF EQUALIZATION.	
First District, L. Van Alstine	2329
Second District, H. Hauch	2277
Third District, Thos. A. Spivey	1230
Fourth District, Frank A. Marek	4541
Total vote for four districts, 10,377.	

RAILROAD COMMISSIONERS.	
First District, J. P. Hynes	1969
Second District, John Barduhn	2215
Third District, T. A. Garrett	6417
Total vote, 10,601.	

A very gratifying thing about the Socialist vote in this State is its solidarity. It will be noticed that Comrade Wayland C. Shepard, being the second Associate Justice named on the ticket, ran over 2000 votes behind the ticket. This was because the manner in which the ticket was printed led many voters to think that only one Associate Justice was to be elected. The Republican candidate who occupied a similar place ran over 40,000 votes behind his ticket, and the Democratic candidate in like position ran over 30,000 votes behind his ticket. The Constitutional Amendment permitting the use of voting machines, which received the solid Socialist vote, was carried by a very large majority.

The Greeks, it is said, were the only ancients that encouraged free inquiry. Who, among the moderns are encouraging it? Certainly not the United States. None of the colleges under capitalistic control dare institute free inquiry into economic science. The churches are jealous and proscriptive. So are the doctors. The lawyers will thwart justice and make a lie appear as a truth for pay. The judges lean to the rich, as the issuance of injunctions will prove. Social life is dwarfed and hypocritical. The only absolutely free propaganda to-day is that of the Socialists, who challenge investigation at every turn.—L. T. Fisher.

## The Tobacco Trust and Child Labor

Two match boxes lie on my desk, given me by officers of the Cigar Makers' International Union. The sides are of celluloid. One side reads, "Smoke no cigars that do not bear this label;" below is the union label in fac-simile. The other side reads, "These cigars are not union made;" below is a list of widely-advertised cigars. It is a form of boycott.

"What is the story?" I asked the label agent. "The story is," he said, "that those cigars are made by machines that roll them out at the rate of perhaps a thousand a day. A cigarmaker can make by hand perhaps 150."

"Would you stop the machines?" I asked.

"No," he thundered, "we can't check mechanical progress—we don't want to. We want cigarmakers to run the machines at a living wage. When the typesetting machine came in, the typographical union insisted that regular printers should run them at the regular wages. The machines moved printing up a notch—they didn't lower wages. But cigarmaking machines are run by girls—children! And on starvation wages! that's what we want to stop."

"Like child labor in cotton mill?" I asked.

"Just!" he snapped. "Admit that a father among the unemployed, with young daughters earning from six to eight dollars a week on a cigar-making machine, under a coarse and perhaps vicious foreman—I could tell you tales—is not so pretty an American sight as a father earning eighteen dollars a week and keeping his children at school."

"Do you oppose both?" he asked. "Do people buy the — and the — and the —? Or didn't you come by one of the brilliant stores where they sell a whole pocket-ful of machine made cigars for a quarter, and give you a ticket for a gold watch in the bargain?"

I asked him what he meant.

"Within the last three months," he said, "thirty new cigar stores owned by a single company have started in New York. Their lights at night make the brilliantest spot in many a block from Park Row to Harlem. They sell cigars—non-union trust made cigars—cheaper than any other stores in town; good cigars for six cents, ten-cent cigars for five cents, five-cent cigars seven for a quarter, cigarettes at cut prices. They give premiums, too, and are jammed with custom."

"Well," he went on, "the trust controls them—not openly, but, you see, they sell the scab cigars for almost nothing. How long do you think it will take them to drive independent stores from business? How long before one company will make all the cigars in the country—by machines run by children and girls; and how long before one company will sell them all? Can't you see a deadly force squeezing smaller the margin of comfort in the living of American labor?"

This human matter, this vital problem, of the elevation of our people as a whole, labor and capital must discuss, and not in typewritten letters ten words long.—M. G. Cunniff in the World's Work.

## Los Angeles Vote

Misled by capitalistic paper reports last week, we gave the vote of the Union Labor party in Los Angeles as 1,800. The official returns give 3,120. This does not affect our conclusions, however, that the Union Labor party movement has received a set-back and its impotency to install the working class in political power immediately leaves us free to proceed with our slower, but completer and more thorough-going propaganda. We have two years ahead of us and every comrade should work toward the end of establishing new locals and building up the old locals.

J. P. Morgan's steam yacht is named the Corsair. Corsair is French for pirate. Appropriate, eh?

ADVANCE



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Communications concerning the editorial department of the paper should be addressed to the Editor.

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 13, 1902

To the Brewery Workmen

Comrades:—You have been receiving *Advance* regularly for some time now. As you are aware, your union subscribed for you. But a revision of the list is necessary, and only those comrades and brothers will receive copies of *Advance* in the future who send in their name and address to us to be forwarded to the Secretary of the Union. We feel sure that all our brothers want the *Advance*. *Advance* has steadfastly fought for the interests of the workingman. It has loyally upheld the principles of unionism and of Socialism, to which the Brewery workers are pledged; it supports the principle of "industrial" organization as against "trade autonomy," and hence has lent its support to the Brewery Workmen in their struggle with the engineers and firemen. In short, *Advance* has battled always on the side of labor's advancement. Not only that, but as a weekly newspaper, giving the items of real import to the Socialist and labor movement, *Advance* has achieved an enviable distinction. To keep posted on what is going on and to understand it in the light of scientific Socialism you should continue your subscription to *Advance*. To so continue, it will be necessary for you to notify us, stating that you are a member of the Brewery Workmen's Union and wish *Advance* continued sent to you. The Union pays for it; all you need do is to say you want it. Send in your notice to us or to the Secretary immediately, for this is the last copy that will be sent to you until we are notified that you wish its continuance. Display your solidarity, comrades, by supporting your friend.

What Would the Milk Drivers Do?

The editor dozed in his chair, sleepily cursing a couple of neighbors whose argument waxed hotter and hotter and louder. Suddenly he became interested. The subject matter seemed familiar.

"Take your own case," said one speaker, "two hundred men could deliver all the milk for the city if they had the right arrangement of routes."

"Yes," replied the other, "and there are two thousand."

"Well, we propose that the two hundred shall do the work."

"What would you do with the other eighteen hundred? They'd be out of a job!"

"If I couldn't find anything else, I'd take them to a brick pile and have them carry all the bricks one by one across the street and then back again."

"What? Why that is absurd, insane! You're crazy. It would be absolutely useless."

"I know that. But it is no more absurd or insane than you fellows driving miles over exactly the same routes doubling and quadrupling the work actually necessary. I'm no more crazy than you, when you vote the Republican ticket, to insist that eighteen hundred milkmen shall do work that is absolutely useless, because it might be done if the other two hundred were properly organized. You think that over. Socialism means organization, more wages, shorter hours. Goodnight!"

Then silence ensued, and deeming it an inspiration the editor wrote it down.

When New York doubles its present vote it will still have a smaller percentage than California.

Stevens Replies

Editor *Advance*, San Francisco:—In justice to myself I must request that you give me space in the *Advance* to justify my position regarding the article in last week's issue entitled "A Public Repudiation." As you are well aware Mr. Jones submitted the program of the meeting to you and paid you four bits (50c.) for a notice in the *Advance*, which you published. Had there been anything wrong with Mr. Jones or his meetings you should at least have refused their publication in the *Advance*. The fact of their acceptance and publication by you was sufficient warrant to me that they were legitimate and for the best interests of the Socialist cause. The position which I took then, and which I still hold, regarding the bonding the city for the purchase of street railroads, was ably seconded by Comrade J. B. Osborne in his able scientific exposition of the question in the Academy of Science last Sunday evening. In fact my position was taken in honesty and sincerity and as Mr. Jones had been regularly installed a member of the San Francisco Local Socialist party I thought it my duty as a Socialist to do all in my power to further the cause by my active participation in any work that would advance humanity's interest. The more especially as it had the tacit favor of the *Advance* and its editor.

Respectfully,  
J. D. Stevens.

We publish the above gladly, but it is so diplomatic a reply that we feel obliged to make some comment. Comrade Stevens implies that, by receiving an "ad" from Mr. Jones we endorsed Mr. Jones, and that hence Comrade Stevens thought Mr. Jones was all right. But the "ad" we received, though it came through Jones' hands, was an "ad" of lectures by Comrade Stevens, a whole series of which had been arranged for before the "ad" was brought to us, and the titles of which indicated that they were to be on scientific Socialism as understood by Comrade Stevens, not merely an attack on the Geary street road proposition. The meetings were not "Jones meetings." The speaker was to be J. D. Stevens and the subject was to have been "Proletarian Socialism."

As to Mr. Jones' admittance to Local San Francisco, Comrade Stevens should certainly be aware that the editor of *Advance* in no way connived at it. Jones, with others, was admitted by District Club No. 1 for the laudable purpose of enabling that club to dominate the local that—as one of them writes in the *New York Worker*—they may "straighten things out in this city, and then we are going to start to straighten things out in California." The other district clubs, Nos. 2, 3, and 4, promptly protested, for all the older members of the party knew that Jones was kicked out a year ago for peddling Republican ballots at the primary election.

But the question, Comrade Stevens, is not your honesty or sincerity, which we do not challenge, but whether the position which you took in attacking the proposition to issue bonds, not to purchase the railway, but to build a railway, a franchise having expired, and the old equipment being useless—whether that position was the position of the Socialist party. Since it was not, we were obliged to repudiate it. You reply by excusing yourself for associating with Jones. Very well, we didn't recommend him and extend you our congratulations for your dissociation from him and his exit from the party.

Keep Your Eyes on Them

Are you reading the account of the proceedings of the Coal Strike Arbitration Commission? It shows up the terrible conditions of the miners in a powerful and convincing way. One boy works and the more he works the deeper in debt he goes to the company. Another man is killed. From the collection his fellow-workers take up for his widow and children the company extracts their rent and for thirteen years widow and boys slave to pay off back rent. Men evicted from their houses because they have gone on strike, though the eviction threatens the life of dearly-loved members of their families. A blacklist in full operation and unscrupulous overcharging and cheating added to brutal tyranny, these are some of the unrefuted charges divulged by the investigation thus far. Keep your eyes on it, workingmen! The harmony of labor and capital, identity of interests, etc., is getting some hard knocks. The divine right of Baer, the blasphemer, seems to be a commission from the Devil to turn Pennsylvania into an annex to hell.

The total of the relief fund collected from all quarters for the striking anthracite miners was more than \$2,000,000. Up to date, however, no one has heard of either the Republican or Democratic parties making any part of this collection, as did the Socialists. The fund was closed November 15th.

The California Situation

A good deal of ink is being wasted by people not conversant with conditions in California, who profess to fear that the party organization here is going to the demnition bow-wows, is ready to "fuse" with any old thing, and will shortly become a tail to the Democratic donkey. Such ideas are of course simply idiotic, and only exhibit the profundity of the ignorance of those in whose brain they found birth. The tactics of the party are pretty clearly outlined in the following, which, by a referendum vote of the party membership, has been declared the *Organic Law of the California movement*:

Art. III, Sec. 8.—The State Central Committee shall have power to revoke the charter of a local for the following causes and for none other:

a.—For the adoption by such local of a platform or constitution in direct violation of the National or State platforms or constitutions, provided the local be first notified and be given an opportunity to correct its platform or constitution in the particulars in which it is so in violation, if such correction be possible.

b.—For entering into any fusion or compromise with any other political party.

c.—For nominating as a candidate any person not a member of the Socialist party or for supporting, aiding, or failing to repudiate and expel any candidate, even though the regular nominee of the party, who shall accept any nomination made with or without his consent, by any capitalistic party or allow the same to stand without protest in the public press and other available means.

Add to the above the Cole amendment, "or for neglecting to make nominations where there are members who have signified their willingness to serve," modified by the Patton proviso as follows: "Provided, that if a bona fide working-class party has made nominations of genuine workingmen, pledged to the abolition of the wages-system, a local may omit making nominations in opposition to such working class nominees."

The law as above laid down is clear and explicit and strict enough too, in faith. No fusion! No compromise! Fight everything in sight with one exception. If the working class separates itself absolutely from capitalist platforms and capitalist nominees a local MAY refrain from nominating in opposition to the nominees of such a movement.

Looking at the situation in California as it is at present, the only place where the Union Labor party fulfills all the requirements is Los Angeles. In San Jose, Oakland, San Francisco and elsewhere, one or more of the qualifications are lacking. In conclusion, we wish to say to some of our Eastern comrades that California is amply able to take care of itself. We welcome criticism, favorable or unfavorable, and strive to keep an open mind for all advice, whether it comes from new or veteran comrades. We have as little belief in our own as in De Leon's infallibility. But when some people begin to talk of "disciplining" California, we wish to say most emphatically, "Hands off!" The California movement is just settling down to working order, but even now it holds the record for dues paid to the National organization. Massachusetts and Wisconsin excepted, there is not a State East of the Mississippi river that polls the same percentage of votes as California. California is loyal to the National party and the California comrades are loyal to the Socialist cause. We are making a hard up-hill fight against conditions which do not obtain in other States—a sparse and largely rural population, long distances between towns and high railroad fares, a radical democracy and the vicious influence of Hearst's *Examiner*, and added to this the Union Labor party. We gladly accept the fight and its conditions; we are willing to listen to advice; but when people 2000 miles away begin to talk of disciplining us, breaking up our organization and starting a new one on their own lines, which have only brought them one and two per cent of the vote, then we say, "No! We're out of our swaddling clothes. We're able to manage our own affairs. We have attended to the S. L. P. more completely than any other State, and if we are left alone will attend to the U. L. P. in quite as satisfactory a manner. We have supported the National party more liberally with dues than any other State, and when other States begin to talk of discipline we would remind them of the excellent justice of the homely challenge. "Put up or shut up!"

National headquarters have been removed to room 18, Allon building, St. Louis.

Local charters have been granted to Rutland, Vermont, and Troy, Arizona.

Editors of Socialist papers are requested to send sample copy to Victor Sorwy, Secretary International Socialist Bureau, Rue Heyvaert, 63, Brussels, Belgium.

As to Bonds

The proposition to issue bonds to acquire money for any public project, whether it be the building of schools, the making of sewers or the acquirement of a street railroad, immediately brings out, from certain honest and well meaning people the most strenuous opposition. The very name "bonds," they say, is enough for them. Fervent periods are worked up upon the inhumanity and criminality of those who would "bond" their fellow men, their wives and their children. These good people try to convey the impression that it is proposed to take free citizens and throw them into bondage just as chattel-slaves were.

Those who are not carried away by pitious appeals and agonizing sentences solemnly and sonorously uttered but who will calmly listen and weigh all the circumstances, will see that the issuance of bonds is merely a financial term for doing, on a large scale, what is done every day among individuals on a small scale; only we then call them promissory notes. If A borrows \$100 of B, giving his note for the same, there is no enslavement about the transaction. In fact it might be the means by which A might be saved from a great loss. It might even be the foundation of his fortune. Of course, the effect might be to involve A still further, but A is supposed to be the judge of the wisdom or otherwise of the transaction.

When it is proposed to bond a city, the workingman should look at the matter from the standpoint of a working man. What is the status or condition of a working man? He starts out early in life a wage-slave. Where is he in twenty years? A wage-slave. Where is he in thirty or forty years, if he lives? He is a wage-slave. Always a wage-slave, whether in countries with mountains of debt—bonded to the last dollar's worth of property—or in cities that do not owe a dollar. It is just the same with him. He is a wage-slave and within a month or so of the poorhouse. We must remember we are always wage-slaves; living under a system that only allows us to exist by having work. We may this year produce enough wealth to keep us five years, but that makes no difference when next year comes we need just as much work as before. If we produced enough this year to keep us twenty years we would need work next year just as badly as before. This shows to us that we are slaves, producing for others and are no more than horses and cows. If there is no more pulling wanted from the one, or no more milk to be got from the other, nothing can save them from the butcher. When there is no work for the worker he must beg, borrow, steal or die. What difference would it make to a chattel slave whether his master bonded himself or not? The chattel slave could not bond himself, neither can the wage-slave. If the workers would vote to change the system, so that they should no longer be slaves, but have and enjoy what they produce, then the bonding question would have a meaning and a very sinister meaning for them. But if their idea is work, steady work, then bonds, it would appear, are just what they want. True the Socialist wants to change the system, but his desire does not change the situation. While wage-slavery is the rule, he must need work as just as badly as the other fellow who does not want to change hence bonds are good for him also.

Observation and experience bear out this conclusion. For when we allow for the different habits and customs of the working class the world over, we find them to be equally as well off whether there is a bonded debt or not.

John Robertson.

Another Socialist Alderman

A scrap in the Battle Creek Common Council over an election to fill a vacancy resulted in another Socialist securing a seat in that body. The six Republican Aldermen were unable to get together, and with each succeeding ballot they grew more hostile toward each other. Through eleven ballots the vote stood three for Hall, three for Evens (both Republicans, the latter a colored man), and two for Victor C. Bailey, Socialist. Finally Evens' supporters became disgusted, and rather than vote for the rival Republican candidate, they threw their votes to Bailey, giving him five votes to three for Hall, and he was declared elected. Comrades Kulp and Jackson, the other Socialist Aldermen, were much amused at the unexpected result of the Republican factional fight. Incidentally, the Republican love for the colored man, was shown. The colored candidates friends had their revenge by electing a Socialist. But now both factions are kicking because of the fluke, while the Socialists sit back and give them the horse laugh.

E. F. Andre has been elected Secretary of Santa Clara County Local, vice Karl Bracher, resigned.

Plenty of Trouble

The great growth of the Socialist party during the past year has resulted as is entirely natural in a great outcropping of problems, and as is also natural, in a number of more or less warm debates between opposing sides. New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, Missouri, Colorado, Utah, Washington, all have troubles of their own as well as California, and the National Committee, the Local Quorum and the National Secretary don't find life all beer and skittles. There is nothing discouraging in these differences, however. On the contrary, it indicates that the movement is full of vigorous life and independent thought. Lines of policy are questioned fearlessly, new methods freely suggested, and a pretty thorough-going tendency to question precedent, be it capitalistic or Socialist. The great growth of the party has brought in an influx of members who, able and independent, solve the tactical questions that arise for themselves and with little regard for either American or European Socialist tradition. It is impossible to say that this condition is evil entirely or good entirely. It is productive of both good and evil. For our own part we welcome it. The movement is too young and too small to permit of any ossification or rigidity of form as yet. The inexperience of the newer element will undoubtedly lead them into mistakes and the conservatism of the old guard also prevents at times the adoption of really beneficial, though new measures. In the conflict, however, with all its acerbity, the traditional lines will hold their own where they deserve it, and only where a pretty clear case is made out against them will the old established customs be overthrown.

The movement is firmly founded, however, and ultimately much good in freedom of criticism in progressiveness of tactics will result while not in any way threatening the scientific character and integrity of the party.

The Population Trust an Infant Industry

Dr. Andrews, one of Rockefeller's chattel professors in Rockefeller College, Chicago, in a recent lecture, says that "Percentage among the poor and improvident should be discouraged," and insists that the duty of populating the earth should devolve upon the rich and cultured! The next thing the rich will organize a trust under the laws of New Jersey for producing and distributing babies! They will drive all the little producers out of the market, because they can produce so much cheaper! The only difficulty in the way is that the rich are so debilitated by excesses and diseases that so far, in all nations, they have not been able to keep up the stock, and their lines have been filled by the energy and mental power that alone can be produced by men and women living normal lives, working more or less in the open air with their hands. Look at the families of the rich, and imagine a nation of such! What would a nation of rich and no workers be? A nation of workers, with no millionaires would make a great and strong government. But reverse it! The immaculate gall of drones saying that those who support every nation, without whom there would be no nation, no civilization, no nothing, should not reproduce their kind! Dr. Andrews is greater than God. God ordered the people to multiply and replenish the earth. Andrews denies the right or good of it! But then anything may be expected of the freaks who serve the millionaires as teachers, in colleges endowed with the fleecings of the people on the oil they use—oil that nature furnished free to the human family, but which has been appropriated by a set of enemies to the human race.—*Humanity*.

We understand, however, that the products of the population trust will all be union made and bear the label.—(E.)

Socialist School Notes

Rochester, New York, comes in with a class of twenty-five members in the correspondence work.

The American Labor Union and the Western Federation of Miners, both officially recommend the use of the Mills' correspondence lessons in all the unions of both organizations.

Lockwood, the man of the automobile and his wife, are at the Training School. Lockwood says the only reason the school hasn't a thousand Socialists in attendance is that the Socialists don't realize what they are missing.

Canada: North Carolina and Louisiana, all came up the hill to the Training School the same day last week.

Fifty-four of the most active young Socialists in America at the Training School.

The Academy of Music in Kansas City is packed every Sunday to hear Mills talk Socialism.

Bonfires of Food

In Answers of November 22d there is an account of the wicked and wanton destruction of food in England that is positively appalling and shows to what lengths capital will go to get gain.

This is what happens. When a surplus arrives that would lower prices, the big dealers get together, form a ring and decide to destroy as much fish as will raise the price of what is left to the exact figure they require.

Answers says: "Sometimes when passing through the great vegetable growing districts of Kent and the Thames valley you will find the land for a quarter of a mile enveloped in a thick smoke, which you can trace to a mighty heap of apparent rubbish smouldering slowly."

The reason of this is to prevent a drop in the price of greens and vegetables, for when it is known that very large consignments are going to the town, the big growers combine to save such a calamity as cabbages selling for five a penny and sprouts at twopenny a basket, for that would mean very little profit in the pockets of the producers and merchants—a fall of twenty-five per cent in green stuffs and roots causes as much anguish in the mind of a big merchant as it brings joy to the thrifty housekeeper.

"The crops have to be cut when they are ready, and the land freed from them, so when the evil is done and six times as much as usual is ready for market, the operators combine, and cartload after cartload of good vegetables is dumped in a fallow field to rot, and after a couple of days set light to."

In a week this mass of good food, worth thousands of dollars, is reduced to a burnt mass and used for manure.

Then the silly fools of workmen and their wives wonder why vegetables are dear.

The price of oranges is kept at three and four cents per orange, when they could be sold at a cent a piece. Sometimes there are over one thousand cases too many (?). An agreement is quickly made among the chief buyers to destroy all the surplus. This is done by thrusting copper or steel rods through all parts of the cases. This damages the fruit and causes it to rot. It is then removed by the scavenging authorities, or sometimes sold to the makers of cheap essences. This costs something, and so ships coming into port with oranges are signalled to throw overboard the greater part of their cargo.

The price of eggs is kept up by a systematic destruction amounting to over half a million a week—and so on for nearly every article of food.

When will the people awake and demand that these crimes cease?

To-day if a poor man or woman steals an egg or a cabbage or a fish, they are sent to jail for months, while these monsters wear fine linen and fare sumptuously every day. Nay, the very people they are robbing are expected to doff their hats to them as they pass by.

Scott Anderson.

Party Notes

While at the A. F. of L. Convention at New Orleans, writes Comrade Fred C. Wheeler, several of the delegates held a public propaganda meeting and organized a Socialist local with twenty-one members.

The vote on place of convention was: Boston, 5312; San Francisco, 2,386; Philadelphia, 1,188; Milwaukee, 260.

The recent city election held in Los Angeles, Comrade Wheeler continues, has strengthened the Socialist position in the unions. We now have their confidence to a much greater degree than ever before, and our propaganda will receive more attention than ever.

Max Hayes didn't seem to be very badly "muzzled," as was predicted. On the contrary, his speech on Socialism was characterized by all his usual fiery vim and earnestness.

The Constitution Adopted

We publish below the party referendum vote on the Constitution, the Cole amendment and the Patton substitute. Out of 367 votes cast 303 are in favor of the new Constitution, and 64 against. It thus becomes the organic law of the party in California—on which the comrades are to be congratulated, as it provides a thoroughly democratic system of managing party affairs and enables the membership throughout the State to keep the party policy under their control and free from whatever clique rule might arise in the local where the headquarters may be situated.

The Cole amendment, which provides that locals shall under penalty of expulsion, nominate a complete and full ticket, has received 167 votes in favor and 113 votes against. This would carry it were it not that the Patton substitute is an alternative measure providing that where a "bona fide working-class party, pledged to the abolition of the wage-system, nominates genuine workingmen," then a local may not nominate. This substitute has carried by 176 to 138. Thus the party has a majority of 9 over the Cole amendment, and consequently the law of the party.

CONSTITUTION.

Yes—Redlands 17, Delmar 8, Ventura 8, Visalia 8, Hemet 15, Pinola 9, Santa Clara County 7, Alameda 18, Vallejo 15, Dixon 6, Santa Maria 7, San Bernardino 9, San Francisco 65, Sacramento 9, Dos Palos 12, Chula Vista 12, Alameda County 39, Los Angeles 39; total, 303.

No—Parkersville 13, San Francisco 17, Sacramento 33, Los Angeles 1; total, 64.

Total votes cast, 367.

COLE AMENDMENT.

Yes—Delmar 7, Hemet 1, Santa Clara County 7, Vallejo 14, Dixon 6, San Francisco 30, Sacramento 43, Chula Vista 12, Alameda County 37, Los Angeles 10; total, 167.

No—Parkersville 13, Visalia 8, Hemet 14, Vallejo 1, Santa Maria 9, San Bernardino 10, Sacramento 2, Dos Palos 12, Los Angeles 44; total, 113.

Total vote cast, 280.

PATTON SUBSTITUTE.

Yes—Ventura 8, Hemet 14, Pinola 8, Alameda 18, Vallejo 1, Exeter 4, Santa Maria 7, San Bernardino 11, San Francisco 57, Alameda County 2, Los Angeles 46; total, 176.

No—Redlands 7, Ventura 8, Parkersville 14, Visalia 8, Hemet 1, Santa Clara County 5, Vallejo 14, Dixon 6, Santa Maria 2, Sacramento 46, Dos Palos 12, Chula Vista 12, Los Angeles 11; total, 138.

Total vote cast, 314.

Some people think that certain dangerous work must be done whether lives are sacrificed or not. To such we offer this for consideration. Work is not an object in itself. Work is only a means to an end. The end sought to be accomplished by human labor is the increase of the welfare, the happiness of the human race. If certain work, therefore, is very dangerous it would behoove a rational society, a society valuing each man's life at the same worth, to carefully weigh the added happiness which the performance of such work would bring against the misery and suffering inflicted upon the victim and the victim's friends by the chance of an accident. Society has no right to sacrifice a single life except to save other lives. Slight discomfort can never justify the forcing of men into death dealing occupations.

Still Campaigning

Raymond, Cal., Dec. 7, 1902.

Advance: Dear Comrade:—Comrade Brower spoke here last evening to an audience of about two hundred people. The subject, "The Mission of the Working Class," was handled in a masterly way, and created a good impression.

He showed the interests of the capitalist class and those of the working class are diametrically opposed. He showed that the vast accumulations of wealth in the hands of a few is simply what has been taken from the workers. Being a worker himself, he is in full sympathy with men of his own class, and a good deal of his logic is taken from personal experience.

Comrade Brower does not pose as an orator, but he has a way of making his arguments that carries conviction to his hearers.

Some of the old party members who saved their votes are sorry that they did so. (We have men here who are whining all the time about the cost of living, but still they waltz right up to the polls and vote the men in power who are robbing them. Wayland in the Appeal calls them mules, but I think that is a libel on the mules.)

Comrade Brower closed his remarks advising his hearers to read up and vote the Socialist ticket, as their only hope of emancipation from wage-slavery.

We have had both old parties here before the election, but our little affair last night was the cleanest of them all. And it surely will create more respect for the advocates of Socialism. Surely we are growing.

P. Bisson.

An Educational Campaign or a Needless Convention

Under the above title we have received a long letter from Comrade Mills. It seems some locals are agitating for a National Convention, which they wish to use to centralize the power of the party in the National Committee. That there are defects in our present National Constitution it would be foolish to deny, but that the defects are so serious as to demand that the party go to the expense of a National Convention to remedy them is very questionable. Comrade Mills says:

"Loyalty to the National Convention and to the National Platform of the party, ought to be insisted on everywhere; and if amendments to the Constitution are necessary to secure such loyalty, then the comrades who are agitating for a National Convention ought first to submit for our consideration the kind of amendment they wish to consider."

"If it be granted that an amendment is necessary, a convention would nevertheless be unwise. Such an amendment could be submitted at once, and the question be settled in thirty days, and the general work of the party go on without interruption. A convention would cost a great deal of money. It would take a great deal of time and if agreed to, would practically stop the work of propaganda and of organization until after the convention."

"The State Committees are getting the work in hand in the various States. They should be encouraged to continue and perfect their work. Nothing should be permitted to occur which would in any way interfere with the further development and enlargement of the propaganda work and the extension of the organization until it shall be completed in every hamlet in every State."

"The fact is, the best people to manage the work of our party in any particular neighborhood are the people in that neighborhood. The best place to raise money for a local campaign is in the locality where the campaign is to be carried on, and the best people to expend the money are the people who are able to raise it. The best test of the value of a speaker or the value of Socialist papers or other Socialist documents is the use comrades are able to make of them in actually producing results. All this involves local initiative and local self-direction in all matters not in conflict with the National Constitution."

"I suggest, therefore, that all comrades vote against the holding of a National Convention should the vote be taken. That the members of this National Committee come to the next meeting prepared to reorganize the National Quorum in such a way that no two members of the Quorum shall be members of the same local in any State, and that not more than two members shall be from the same State, and further that the National Quorum shall have no authority to issue general official documents committing the party to positions not officially taken by the party in National Convention or by referendum to the whole party. And further that the National Quorum shall not assume to withhold charters when regularly applied for in accordance with the National Convention by unorganized States or to forfeit them in organized States, except for action taken in violation of the National Constitution or Platform, and then only with the concurrence of the whole National Committee."

In addition, it seems to us that if any glaring defects are developed in our organization, the National Committee is able to point them out and propose a suitable and comprehensive remedy.

Reward of the Toiler

What I object to is this economic chance-world in which we live and which we men seem to have created. It ought to be law as inflexible in human affairs as the order of the day and night in the physical world that if man will work he shall both rest and eat, and shall not be harassed by any question of how his repose and his provision shall come. Nothing less ideal than this satisfies the reason. But in our state of things no one is secure in this. No one is sure of finding work; no one is sure of not losing it. I may have my work taken away from me at any moment by the caprice, the mood, the indignation of a man who has not the qualification for knowing whether I do it well or

ill. At any time of life—at every time of life—a man ought to feel that if he will keep on doing his duty he shall not suffer himself nor in those who are dear to him, except through natural causes. But as things are now no man can feel this. And so we go on pushing and pulling, climbing and crawling, thrusting aside and trampling under foot; lying, cheating, stealing; and when we get to the end, covered with blood and dirt and sin, and look back over the way we've come to a palace of our own or the poorhouse (which is about the only possession we can claim in common with our brother men). I don't think the retrospect can be pleasing.

We can't put it all on conditions; we must put some of the blame on the character. But conditions make character; and people are foolish, and wish to have and to shine, because having and shining are held up to them as the chief good of life. We all know they are not the chief good; perhaps not good at all; but if some one ventures to say so, all the rest of us call him a fraud and a crank, and go on moiling and toiling to the palace or the poorhouse. We don't moil and toil for ourselves nor is the palace or poorhouse merely for ourselves, but for our children, whom we've brought up in the superstition that having and shining is the chief good. We dare not teach them otherwise for fear they may falter, and the children of others will crowd them out of the palace into the poorhouse. If we felt sure that honest work shared by all would bring them honest food shared by all, some few of us, who did not wish our children to rise above their fellows—though we could not bear to have them fall below—might trust them with the truth.—W. D. Howells.

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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 Social Revolution

By Karl Kautsky.

### Part I. Social Reform and Social Revolution.

#### Chap. 5. The Softening Down of Class Antagonisms.

(Continued)

That may easily be so. And yet there are means by which the increase of their exploitation is made evident to them. To the same extent as the profits rise, does the mode of living of the bourgeoisie improve. But the classes are not divided by Chinese walls. The increasing luxury of the upper classes trickles gradually through into the lower, awakes in them new needs and new demands, to the satisfaction of which, however, the slow rise in wages is inadequate. The bourgeoisie bewails the disappearance of unpretentiousness on the part of the lower orders, their increasing covetousness, and forgets that the increasing pretentiousness in the lower classes is only a reflex of the rising standard of life in the upper, that it is their own example which has inflamed the covetousness of the workers.

That the standard of life in the bourgeoisie rises faster than among the workers can be seen at every step. The working class dwellings have, during the last fifty years, not improved to any great extent, whilst the dwellings of the bourgeoisie to-day are magnificent in comparison with an average bourgeois house of fifty years ago. A third-class railway carriage of to-day and one of fifty years ago are not so very different in their internal appointments. But compare a first class carriage of the middle of last century with the modern Pullman cars. I do not believe that the seaman in an ocean steamer is to-day much better off than fifty years ago. But certainly the luxury of a saloon of a modern passenger boat was a thing undreamt of even in royal yachts of fifty years ago.

So much about the increasing exploitation of the worker. But is not this economic factor neutralized by the two classes drawing increasingly nearer to each other on the political field? Is not the worker more and more recognized by the bourgeoisie as equal to himself?

Undoubtedly the proletariat gains rapidly in political and social respect.

If its economic advancement has been outdistanced by that of the bourgeoisie, and must in consequence necessarily give rise to an increasing covetousness and dissatisfaction, the most remarkable feature of the last fifty years has, on the contrary, been the steady and uninterrupted advancement of the proletariat in moral and intellectual respects.

Only a few decades ago the proletariat stood at such a low level that there were even Socialists who expected from a victory of the proletariat the worst results for civilization. After 1850 Robertus wrote: "There is a very great danger at hand lest a new barbarism, this time arising from the midst of society itself, lays waste the abodes of civilization and of wealth."

At the same time Heinrich Heine declared that the future belonged to the Communists. "This admission—that the future belongs to the Communists—I made in a spirit of uneasiness and greatest anxiety, and ugh! that was by no means dissimulation on my part. I actually could only think with fear and horror of the time, when those dark iconoclasts would attain to power; with their horny hands they will break all the marble statues of beauty," etc.

As is well known, things have since become quite different. It is not the proletariat that threatens modern civilization; on the contrary, it is the Communists who have become to-day the surest guardians of art and science, and have often stepped forward on their behalf in a most decided manner.

In the same way the fear which possessed the whole bourgeois world after the Paris commune, lest the victorious proletariats would behave in the midst of our civilization like the Vandals of the great tribal migration, and establish on heaps of ruins an empire of barbaric asceticism has practically disappeared.

It is partly due to the disappearance of this fear that among the bourgeois intellectuals there is a visibly growing sympathy with the proletariat and Socialism.

Like the proletariat, the intellectuals as a class are also a peculiar feature of the capitalist mode of production. I have already pointed out that the ruling classes need and make use of them in so far as they, the ruling classes, have neither the interest nor the leisure to attend to the business of the administration of the state, or to apply themselves to art and science, as the aristocracy of Athens or the clergy at the best period of the Cath-

olic Church did. The whole of the higher intellectual activity, which was formerly a privilege of the ruling classes, they leave to-day to paid workers, and the number of these professional scholars, artists, engineers, officials, etc., is rapidly increasing.

These make up the class of the so-called "intellectuals," the "new middle-class," but they differ essentially from the old middle-class in that they have no separate class-consciousness. Particular sections of them have a separate consciousness of their order, very frequently a concept of their order; but the interests of each of these sections is too particular to allow of a common class-consciousness to develop. Their members ally themselves with the most different classes and parties; the intellectuals provide each of these with its intellectual champions. Some champion the interests of the ruling classes, whom many of them have to serve in their professional capacity. Others have made the cause of the proletariat their own. The majority, however, have remained up till now hide-bound by the petty bourgeois way of thinking. Not only have they often come from a petty bourgeois stock, but their social position as a "middle-class" is very similar to that of the petty bourgeois, namely, a cross between the proletariat and the ruling classes.

These sections of the intellectuals it is who, as said above, evince more and more sympathy with the proletariat and Socialism. As they have no particular class interests, and are, thanks to their professional activity, the most accessible to scientific insight, they are the most easily won through scientific considerations for particular parties. The theoretical bankruptcy of the bourgeois political economy and the theoretical superiority of Socialism must have become patent to them. In addition, they found that the other classes strive more and more to hold art and science in subjection. Many, finally, are also impressed by the success, by the continual rise, of Social Democracy, especially when it is compared with the continual decay of Liberalism. In this way, sympathy with labor and Socialism become popular among the educated; there is hardly a drawing-room where one does not stumble across one or more Socialists.

Were these circles of the educated identical with the bourgeoisie, then certainly we should have had the day won and all Social Revolution would have been superfluous. With these classes one could discuss the matter peacefully; from them the slow, quiet development has no violent intervention to fear. Unfortunately, however, they form only one section of the bourgeoisie, and that the one which through writing and speaking in the name of the bourgeoisie, does not determine its action. And classes, like individuals, are to be known not by their words but by their deeds.

Also it is the least energetic and militant section of the bourgeoisie which evinces a sympathy with the proletariat. Formerly, of course, when Socialism, even in the ranks of the educated, passed for almost a crime or lunacy, bourgeois elements could only join the Socialist movement when completely breaking with the bourgeois world. Whosoever at that time passed from bourgeois circles to Socialism, required much greater energy, revolutionary enthusiasm, and force of conviction than a member of the proletariat. In the Socialist movement, therefore, these elements belonged as a rule to the most radical and revolutionary.

Quite different is it to-day, when Socialism has become fashionable with the drawing-rooms. It requires no particular energy, no break with the bourgeois society, for any one to call himself a Socialist. No wonder that an ever-growing number of new Socialists remain stuck in the traditional modes of thinking and feeling of their class. But the methods of warfare of the intellectuals are different to those of the proletariat. The latter can only bring against wealth and the force of arms its superior numbers and the solidarity of its class organizations. The intellectuals, on the other hand, are insignificant in numbers and without class organization. Their only weapon is that of persuasion by word of mouth and by pen; they fight with "intellectual weapons" and "moral superiority," and with these weapons the drawing-room Socialists would also wish to decide the proletarian class war. They declare themselves ready to lend the proletariat their moral support, but on condition that it gives up all idea of using force—and that not only where it has no prospect of success—there even the proletariat gives it up—but even where it has. Hence they try to bring into discredit the idea of revolution, and to represent it as a worthless method. They endeavor to detach from the revolutionary proletariat a Social Reform wing, and help thereby to divide up and weaken it.

This, so far, has been the sole result of the commencing conversion of the intellectuals to Socialism.

By the side of the "new middle-class," the old one, the petty bourgeoisie, is still dragging on its existence. This species

of middle-class was formerly the backbone of all Revolution; vigorous and militant, it readily, when circumstances were favorable, rose against any and every kind of oppression and exploitation from above, against bureaucracy and militarism, against feudal and priestly privileges. It formed the advance guard of the bourgeois democracy. Just as a portion of the new middle-class to-day, too, the old one was at various times inspired with sympathy for the proletariat, co-operated with it, and gave to it and received from it intellectual inspiration and material support. But just as the new, so the old one, too, always was an untrustworthy ally, precisely because of its intermediate position between the exploited and the exploiting classes. As already said by Marx the petty bourgeois is neither a thorough proletarian nor yet fully a bourgeois, and feels himself, according to circumstances, now the one, then the other.

From this double situation there arises a split in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie. One portion of it identifies itself with the proletariat, the other with its opponents.

The fate of the petty industry is sealed and its decay is irresistible. But this shows itself but slowly in the reduction of small undertakings, although very rapidly in their ruin. Some of the petty owners become entirely dependent on the large capital, and turn into mere home workers, wage-slaves, who, instead of working in a factory, work for the employer at home. Others, especially small dealers and small publicans, remain independent, but find their only customers among the working-class, so that their existence is entirely bound up with the fortunes of the workers. These sections draw more and more closely to the fighting proletariat.

(To be continued next week.)

### Wiltshire's for December

Julian Hawthorne's "Idyl of the Strike," in *Wiltshire's* for December, is a striking and powerful tale. H. M. Hyndman, the great English economist, contributes a graphic and entertaining description of "An Old English Village." There is also an interesting sketch of Hyndman's life, called forth by his recent well-nigh fatal illness. The trust question is dealt with in its psychological aspect by Merwin Snell, Ph. D., of Albertus Magnus College, and in its political aspects by Alberta Field. Professor T. E. Wells tells of "Our Opportunity," and Benjamin De Casseres shows up "The Bribery of Society." *Wiltshire* demonstrates his versatility by straying from his native heath of economics, after writing up under the title of "A Wisconsin Snake-Society" his experiences on a stumping tour of Wisconsin, and giving in totally different vein "Why Save Men's Souls," "Jane Addams, Artist," and "Virchow and Zola." Julian Hawthorne, novelist and essayist, and Charles Ferguson, author of "The Religion of Democracy," have recently become associated with its editorship.

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