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ADVANCE

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THIS IS NUMBER
431

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

WHOLE NUMBER 431.

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1902.

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR.

Our Ultimate Triumph Sure

What are the facts? These. We have universal manhood suffrage in this country, or nearly so. If the majority of the people vote to socialize the means of production and distribution and inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth, it will be done. What class of people should naturally be interested in such action? manifestly, the working class. In such a step they have everything to gain and nothing to lose except their chains. What is the relative size of these two classes? The capitalist class comprises six per cent of the population. The working class includes seventy-five per cent of the population. Nineteen per cent is represented by the middle class which with the prevalence of present tendencies must entirely disappear within the next ten or twenty years. It must be evident that the working class at the ballot is overwhelmingly the master. What are the facts of the situation? The facts are that the vote of the working class is at present divided almost wholly between two parties, neither of which has the slightest intention of effecting the emancipation of that class. For what party does the capitalist class vote? It votes for that party which will serve its interests. Sometimes it is one, sometimes the other of the two great parties. Does that class ever vote for a party that is pledged to serve the interests of the working class? It does not, any more than the intelligent workingman votes for a party which is pledged to serve the interests of the capitalist class. The capitalist class have an intense and profound consciousness of their interests, and they quite naturally vote for them. If we may judge by the ordinary rules which determine such things, it ought to be evident that the capitalist class, though so insignificant numerically, have about all the common sense there is. The main thing one is struck with, when he thinks of the working class, is their abnormal unselfishness, their boundless generosity. Either it must be that or else it is a very dense ignorance and a stupidity which is usually credited to the donkey. For in the interval between elections they amuse themselves in the perfectly harmless and futile attempt to fight capital on its own chosen grounds, pitting their lack of funds against the unlimited means of capitalism, keeping up the pathetic pantomime of trades unionism, and on election day voting early and often to perpetuate their slavery. In the hands of the working class in this country is the destiny of the whole nation. They have the power to do whatever they want to. They are the majority, and their number grows daily larger. They have the franchise. They seem to have everything except common sense. It does not require great intelligence for a man to see that the real and highest interests of all classes are in the hands of the working class. With that class, all others rise or fall. The emancipation of all classes is involved in the destruction of capitalism. The freedom of all men is gained when the freedom of the working class is secured. But that freedom can be secured and that emancipation achieved only when the working class shall cease to cast its votes for any party that would perpetuate capitalism, and unites in a party which will obliterate that system.

On the field of Gettysburg Abraham Lincoln expressed the hope that "government of the people, by the people, for the people, might not perish from the earth." Those words are immortal. But the truth is we have no such government. We have to-day government of the capitalist class, by the capitalist class, for the capitalist class. That is not and cannot possibly be government of, by, and for the people. So long as you have a capitalist class you will have a class of wage-slaves. These two are inseparable. Where the one is, there the other will always be.

How may we secure a "government of the people, by the people, for the people?" There is but one way, and that is to establish a government of the working class, by the working class, for the working class. The supremacy of the working class means the destruction of all class lines. The working class ought to include all the people. All of the people cannot under any circumstances belong to the capitalist class. No other condition of affairs is consistent with reason or justice or with the best and most sacred doctrines of democracy. The only political party that can achieve the ideal of Lincoln and Jefferson is that

party which demands the inauguration here in the United States of a government of the working class, by the working class, and for the working class. That party is the Socialist party of the United States. And the triumph of that party is as certain as the rising of the sun.—Wm. Thurston Brown.

American Warships Built In Japan

"Lie is the policy of European powers." Thus cried Ferdinand Lassalle with his sharp mind penetrating the politics of Europe. This saying may be applied to the policy of every government of the world that exists and serves for the capitalist system. We see now everywhere that a lie has become a necessary policy of all the capitalist governments. Here is a good proof of a liar, the government that was originally founded by the people and for the people. But now a government of falsehood. Our American comrade wrote us thus:

89-Himrod street, Brooklyn, N. Y., Aug. 11, 1902.
To the editor of the *Labor World*, Tokio, Japan.—Dear Sir:—In a recent number of the *New York Volkszeitung* I read that there are some ships being built in China, Japan and the West Indies for the United States marine. Being the *Labor World* as an authority for this report I have since inquired of the Secretary of the Navy in Washington, D. C., about it, and his reply was that no ships are being built in the above places for the United States. Being an agitator for the Social Democratic party I used this report in an argument with one of our opponents and was challenged to prove it. Will you kindly send me all the information you can in this matter, so as to enable me to prove to my opponent that the *Volkszeitung* of New York and the *Labor World* of Tokio reports what is true, and oblige very truly yours,

Jos. A. Weil
We have reported in these columns in the past that the Uruga Dock has been building five war ships of the American navy, United States. This contract was, however, was not concluded directly between the United States and the Uruga Dock. It was first tendered to a Shang Hi shipbuilding company; the tender comprises twelve ships in all. The Uruga Dock got subcontracts under the full recognition of the United States navy. The five ships are in the process of building at the Uruga Dock under the very supervision of the United States naval officer. This is a well known fact in the far East; yes, known to all naval circles of the world.—*The Labor World*, Tokio, Japn.

Notice to all Locals

A number of letters are being addressed to Comrade Bersford, and you are respectfully requested to send all communications on matters pertaining to the Socialist organization to Job Harriman, 145 N. Main street, Los Angeles, as he is the present State Secretary.

The Coal Strike Settlement

The settlement of the coal strike by the acceptance of the President's commission of arbitration by the unions, and the resumption of work, is taken by a large majority of the newspapers of the country as being the end of the struggle, and many are the mutual congratulations exchanged thereat. We join in the congratulations. There has been enough suffering, perhaps, on the part of the miners, together with that which is laid up for the poor on account of the high prices for fuel which will prevail all winter; but in the nature of the case, whatever the findings of the commission may be, any settlement that is based upon the private ownership and control of the coal mines is necessarily an imperfect and temporary affair. The fact of the matter is that the coal mining industry of this nation was never so much unsettled as it now is, and it is becoming more and more unsettled every day because more and more of the people are coming to realize that the basis upon which it is conducted is one that cannot give assurance of public service, and one, therefore, which cannot endure. The people's minds are unsettled. The basis for everything good or bad is the people's minds.—*Exchange*.

Effects of Labor Saving Machinery Under Capitalism

The capitalist's labor consists in purchasing as cheaply as possible the raw material, labor and power and other essentials, and to turn around and sell the finished products as dearly as possible. Upon the field of production itself he does nothing except to secure the largest quantity of labor from the workmen for the least possible amount of wages, and thereby to squeeze out of them the largest possible amount of surplus value. With regard to his workmen he is not a fellow-worker, he is only a driver, an exploiter. The longer they work the better off he is; he is not tired out if the hours of labor are unduly extended; he does not perish if the method of production becomes a murderous one. In comparison with all former ruling classes the capitalist is the most reckless of the life and safety of his operatives. Extension of the hours of work, abolition of holidays, introduction of night labor, damp or overheated factories filled with poisonous gases are the "improvements" which the capitalist mode of production has introduced for the benefit of the working class.

The introduction of machinery increases still further the danger to life and limb for the workingman. The machine system fetters him to a monster that moves perpetually with a gigantic power and with insane speed. Only the clearest, never-flagging attention can protect the workman, attached to such a machine, from being seized and broken by it. Protective measures cost money; the capitalist does not introduce them unless he is forced thereto. Economy being the chief vaunted virtue of the capitalist, he is constrained by it to save room and to squeeze as much machinery as possible into the workshop. What cares he that the limbs of his workmen are thereby injured? Workingmen are cheap, but machinery workshops are dear.

There is still another respect in which the capitalist application of machinery lowers the condition of the working class. It is this: The tool of the former mechanic was cheap; it was subject to few changes that would render it useless. It is otherwise with the machine; in the first place it costs money, much money; in the second place, if through improvements in the system, it becomes useless, or if it is not used to its full capacity, it will bring loss instead of profit to the capitalist. Again, the machine is worn out not only through use but through idleness; furthermore, the introduction of science into production, the result of which is the machine itself, causes constant new discoveries and inventions to take the place of older ones, and renders constantly, now this then that sort of machine and often whole factories at once, unable to compete with the improved ones before they have been used up to their full extent. Therefore, owing to these changes, every machine is in constant danger of being made useless before it is used up; this is sufficient ground for the capitalist to utilize his machine as quickly as possible from the moment he puts it in operation; in other words, the capitalist application of the system of machinery is a particular spur that drives the capitalist to extend the hours of labor as much as possible to carry on production without interruption, to introduce the system of night and day shifts, and accordingly to rear the unwholesome system of night work into a permanent system.

At the time the system of machinery began to develop, some ideologists declared the golden age was at hand; the machine was to release the workingman and render him a free man. In the hands of the capitalist, however, the machine has become the most powerful lever towards making heavier the load of labor borne by the proletarian and to aggravate his servitude into an unbearable condition.—*Karl Kautsky in the Proletariat*.

We have received samples of illustrated propaganda leaflets issued by the Comrade Publishing Company, 11 Cooper Square, New York. There is a great variety of leaflets, and all are very attractive on account of the illustrations and cartoons. Comrades should write for samples.

District Club No. 3, San Francisco Local, will have a special program of music and literary exercises at its meeting next Thursday, Nov. 13, Room 8, Odd Fellows.

California Returns Indicate Twelve Thousand Votes

Legal Standing Surely Acquired

Great Gains for Socialism

MASSACHUSETTS.

Massachusetts has done splendidly, compelling a happy a highly favorable notice from the capitalist press. Under the direction of Wm. Mailey, a magnificent campaign has been waged, with the result that nearly 9 per cent of the total vote was cast for the Socialist candidate. John C. Case has polled 34,000 votes.

In addition Carey and MacCartney are re-elected and a third man sent to their support.

Truly the Grand Old Commonwealth has distinguished itself. Let us all follow its example.

Indications from New York, Pennsylvania and Colorado are that the Socialists have made heavy gains. No definite figures are yet available.

The Erie (Pa.) *People* says that the Republicans and Democrats both concede the election of George N. Warde, the Socialist candidate for Assembly.

The strike region will undoubtedly send several members.

Only meagre and unreliable returns have come in from California as yet. But such as have come are distinctly encouraging.

DOS PALOS.

One of the finest reports that has come in is from Dos Palos.

Dos Palos, Nov. 5, 1902.

Chapman King, Jr.—Dear Comrade:—Dos Palos is partially in two counties, Merced and Fresno. Dos Palos precinct, Merced county, cast 115 votes for Governor, Brower 28; for Congress, Cobb 30. Two years ago there were only five Socialist votes cast. Bryant precinct, Fresno county, 49 votes cast. For Governor, Brower 17, Lane 17, Pardee 15; for Congress, Cobb 18, Needham 17, Ashe 13. Two years ago there were eleven Socialist votes cast.

Hurrah!

J. L. Cobb.

WINTERS.

Winters, Nov. 5, 1902.

Winters polled four Socialist votes in 1900 and twenty-three votes yesterday, Nov. 4, 1902. Three votes were thrown out.

S. B. Dunton.

VALLEJO.

Advance was pushed vigorously in Vallejo and an active campaign among the unions was made. The results are proportionate.

With one precinct missing we poll 250 votes, about ten per cent of the total. In will send us fullest returns for next week.

SACRAMENTO.

The persistent work which has been done in Sacramento has told magnificently in the vote polled for Brower. Two years ago Debs polled 131. This year Brower polls 305 and Whitney 332.

FRESNO.

Complete returns from Fresno are not yet in, but all indications are for a good healthy increase. In 1900 we polled 232 in the entire county and this year the returns so far are 253.

SAN DIEGO.

San Diego claimed to be the banner county for Socialism in 1900 and this year has evidently done its best to maintain its record. The vote leaped upwards from 298 for Debs to 617 for Brower. This is more than ten per cent of the vote in the entire county. Helphingstine, Simpson and Mrs. Smith's other boys will never tire crowing now.

ALAMEDA.

Returns from Alameda are not so good as might have been hoped for. In 1900 Debs polled 828 votes. This year Brower reaches up to 997 and the rest of the ticket forges 100 further ahead.

BROOKLYN, Alameda County, Counts up 18 Socialist votes, writes Comrade Wait. "Not so very bad for a place among hayseeds, where only one or two Socialists were supposed to exist."

OXNARD.

In 1900, 22 Socialist votes; in 1902, 51 for Brower.

PORTERVILLE.

In 1900, 6 votes; in 1902, 42. H. Roy Wright, the secretary of the local, feels jubilant.

SAN RAFAEL.

In all Marin county 52 votes were cast in 1900. This year 100 votes are reported from San Rafael.

ELK GROVE, FRANKLIN AND GALT total up 41 this year as against 5 in 1900.

RIVERSIDE.

In 1900 Debs polled 154 votes. This year Comrade Edmiston, in the fight for Assembly, polled 656. There was no Democrat.

SAN FRANCISCO.

In 1898 for Harriman 1344.
In 1900 for Debs 2035.
In 1901 for Ames 916.
In 1902 for Brower 1977.

The party has thus recovered from the blow it received last year and has gone through a campaign in which a Republican majority of 9999 was turned into a Democratic majority of 9551. Considering that the Democratic managers made the most strenuous efforts to get the the Union Labor vote, which has been drilled to vote for one man—not to divide between many—the result is quite satisfactory. Several labor misleaders—Furush, MacArthur, Copeland, McCabe and others—advised the Union men to vote for Lane, who was elected.

The final rally in San Francisco was very successful. The great auditorium of the Alhambra theater was filled. Comrade H. G. Walker was introduced as chairman by E. E. Kirk. The speakers were as follows: Emil Liess, Miss R. E. Cole, Geo. Estes, President U. B. J. R.; J. D. Stevens, M. Lena Morrow, A. V. Osborne, E. Backus and C. H. King Jr. Mrs. Whitney sang and Comrade Seiler furnished music. Enthusiastic applause greeted each speaker and was earned by each many times during the evening.

Santa Maria, Nov. 5, 1902.

Dear Friends:—I write you to give you partial election returns from the six precincts that I have been able to get them from. Santa Maria has two precincts. Out of 410 votes cast Brower has 23; Stackhouse, for assessor, 49; G. E. Lewis, treasurer, 41; Starkweather, auditor, 37; Rogers 37. These are the highest votes cast on the local ticket. Garey precinct, Brower 13, Starkweather 17. Betteravia, Brower 3. Sagraciosa, 7 Socialist votes. Los Alamos, 3 for Brower. These are all I have been able to get so far. Last election Santa Maria had 14 Socialist votes, Garey 2, the other precincts none. Thus we have 49 votes this year as against 16 in 1900.

J. W. Starkweather

Elsinore, Nov. 5, 1902.

Dear Comrade: Vote of the following named precincts as compared with former vote: Lake, 1900, 3 votes; 1902, 6 votes. Elsinore, 1900, 1; 1902, 5. In Lake precinct there were three votes thrown out because of illegal marking.

Fraternally,

T. S. Painter.

We publish in this issue and will publish in following issues articles on the Constitution and tactics of the Socialist party in California. We have not done so before because of the press of campaign matter. The articles in advocacy of non-opposition to the Union Labor party we regarded as distinctly propaganda, considering such action was taken. Now that the campaign is over, all criticism of such action we will gladly publish. Let us get the greatest amount of the wisest counsel.

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, November 8, 1902.

Defends Her Amendment

As the responsibility for proposing the amendment to the constitution, now being submitted to the membership of this State, rests with me, it seems to me proper that I should say at least a word just now to show how I stand upon that question. For otherwise it may be supposed that I have been convinced by the arguments against it and no longer endorse it.

I wish to say, therefore, that I have read carefully what has been printed in the party press in favor of trading or fusing with the Union Labor party, and I have not been convinced that the policy of compromise is a good one.

To go over the arguments against fusion with another party, which all old Socialists have learned by heart, seems hardly necessary, but as many of our members do not think the action proposed by Locals San Francisco and Los Angeles are in the line of fusion, but suppose that it is merely a temporary subterfuge, I would refer such comrades to the article by Job Harriman in the Los Angeles Socialist of October 5th. You will find there that fusion is being considered as a possibility not to be feared, not even to be avoided. If the question before us now is not fusion, we are certain to be confronted with that question soon, and not, comrades, because we are such a small party (as some would have us believe), but precisely because we are growing to be a party to be feared.

The question, then, which we should consider is in reality the question of fusion with another party. And as such we should face it and vote according to our convictions.

It is said that Socialists are opposing the interests of the workingman by putting up candidates in opposition to the candidates of the Labor Unions. My own thought is that the Socialist party, by its existence as an independent, radical political party, is doing more to advance the cause of the workingman, whether in the trade union or outside of it, than any number of eloquent individuals unorganized who stand ready to compromise their rights. It is not talk that the capitalists are afraid of; it is action.

We are not hurting, but helping the trade unions by remaining an independent radical body, for we are forcing the capitalist to make concessions to the trade unions out of fear that if they do not do so the workingman will become a Socialist. We may not get any glory for it, but we are doing the work. We are spreading the thought of the movement, and in the thought the life lies.

The substitute for the amendment is making provision for a state of affairs that does not at present exist. I know of no party, except the Socialist party which is putting up candidates pledged to the abolition of the wage-system. We have enough to do to confront the present; it is not to our advantage to fuse with the Union Labor party, or any other party now existing.

This does not in the least prevent the carrying of Socialist principles and Socialist thought into the Union Labor party. It does not prevent individual Socialists casting in their lot with that party if they think they can advance the cause by doing so; it merely provides that Socialists shall exist as an independent, radical, uncompromising political party.

Yours fraternally,

J. R. Cole.

The Social Revolution

Karl Kautsky. Chapter I.—The Conception of the Social Revolution

There are few conceptions about which so much has been debated as that of the Social Revolution. That can partly be explained by the fact that none is so opposed to all existing interests and prejudices as this, partly, however, by the circumstance that few are ambiguous to such an extent.

Occurrences, as a rule, cannot be so sharply defined as things, especially social occurrences, which are exceedingly complicated and grow the more so as society develops, that is, as the forms of associated human activity become more manifold. And to the most complicated occurrences belongs that of a Social Revolution, that is, the complete overthrow of the established forms of associated human activity.

No wonder that this word, though in everybody's mouth, is employed by everybody in a different sense, and even by the same person at different times with a different meaning. Some understand by it barricades, conflagrations of castles, guillotins, September massacres—all sorts of hideous things thrown into one; others, again, would deprive the word of all its sting and use it only in the sense of a great but imperceptible but peaceful social transformation, something like, for example, that caused by the discovery of America, or the invention of the steam engine. Between these two extremes there are yet many shades and grades.

Marx, in his preface to the "Critique of Political Economy," defines as the Social Revolution that more or less rapid transformation of the vast judicial and political superstructure of society which results from the transformation of its economic foundations.

If we keep up this definition we at once eliminate from the conception of the Social Revolution "the transformation of the economic foundations," such as was caused by the steam engine or the discovery of America. This transformation is the cause of the revolution, not the revolution itself.

But I would not adhere strictly to this definition of the Social Revolution. One can also interpret it in a narrower sense. In that case it is not every transformation of the judicial and political superstructure of society that constitutes a revolution, but some particular form or some particular method of it.

Every Socialist strives for the Social Revolution in the wider sense; yet there are Socialists who reject the revolution, and want to arrive at the social transformation through reform only. They oppose social reform to Social Revolution. This opposition it is which is discussed in our ranks to-day. It is only with the Social Revolution in this narrower sense, that is, a particular method of the social transformation, that I will deal here.

The opposition between reform and revolution does not lie in the fact that in one case force is employed and in the other not. Every judicial and political measure is an application of force, a physical force measure which will be enforced by the power of the State. Nor do particular methods of employing physical force, such as street fights or executions, constitute the essential elements of social revolution as opposed to reform. They arise from particular circumstances, are not necessarily bound up with revolution and may accompany a reform movement. The constitution of the delegates to the Third Estate to the National Assembly of France on June 17, 1789, was a revolutionary act without any apparent use of force. The same France had, on the contrary, seen in 1774 and 1775 great insurrections, for the sole and by no means revolutionary purpose of assizing the bread, and thus put a stop to the continued rise in its price.

The reference to the street fights and executions as characteristics of revolution affords, however, at the same time a clue to the source from which we can obtain information as to the essentials of a revolution. It is mainly this transformation which people have in mind when speaking of revolution. From it we can best study the nature of revolution, as well as its opposition to reform. The revolution was preceded by a series of attempts at reform, among which the best known is that of Turgot—attempts which, in many respects aimed at the very same thing which the revolution actually accomplished. What distinguished the attempts at reform by Turgot from the corresponding measures of the revolution? Between the two lay the conquest of power by a new class. It is here that the essential distinction between revolution and reform lies. Measures which have for their object to adapt the political and judicial superstructure of society to the new economic conditions are reforms, if they precede from the class which has hitherto ruled society politically and economically—they are reforms even if they are not freely accorded, but obtained through the pressure of the governed classes, or by the force of circumstances. On the other hand, measures of

that kind constitute the outcome of a revolution if they proceed from a class which has hitherto been economically and politically oppressed, and which has now conquered the political power, in order, as its own interests necessarily must, to transform, more or less rapidly, the entire judicial and political superstructure of society, and so to create new forms of social activity.

It is, therefore, the conquest of the powers of the state by a hitherto oppressed class—in other words, the political revolution—which is an essential characteristic of the social revolution in its narrower sense, as opposed to social reform. Those who repudiate political revolution as means of the social transformation on the grounds of principle, or who wish to confine the latter to such measures as can be obtained from the ruling classes, are social reformers, no matter how opposed their social ideals may be to the existing form of society. On the other hand, everyone is a revolutionary whose aim is that a hitherto oppressed class should conquer the power of the state. He does not cease to be such if he wishes to prepare and hasten on the conquest by means of social reforms wrested from the ruling classes. Not the striving for social reforms but the explicit confining oneself to them, distinguishes the social reformer from the social revolutionary. On the other hand, only that political revolution becomes a social revolution which results from a hitherto socially oppressed class being forced to complete its political emancipation by its social, on account of its low position in society becoming incompatible with its political predominance. A split in the ranks of the ruling classes, be it even so great as to assume the most violent forms of a civil war, is not a social revolution.

It is only the social revolution, as thus defined, that we will discuss in the following pages.—Karl Kautsky in London Justice, translated by J. B. Askew.

State Executive Committee

Los Angeles, October 20, 1902. Meeting of State Central Committee called to order by Secretary Harriman. Comrade Biddle elected chairman.

Present—Comrades McMartin, Biddle, Garbutt, Corey, Harriman.

Charter granted to Elk Grove.

Secretary's Reports: Twenty-five thousand stickers printed and mailed by secretary according to order of previous week.

Fifty thousand manifestos ready for shipment according to order.

Twenty-five thousand "A B C of Socialism" ordered from Seattle Socialist to be shipped to locals directly.

Moved by McMartin, seconded by Corey, that the secretary's salary be fixed at \$12 a week until further order.

The following financial report received: Balance on hand October 13, \$105.36. Dues received, Oakdale, \$1.50; Visalia, \$3.50; Elk Grove, 70c; Three Rivers, \$2.50; Santa Cruz, \$3.00; National City, \$1.00; Oakland, \$10.00; Redlands, \$4.50; Descanso, \$1.00; Chula Vista, \$1.50; San Francisco, \$10.00. Received for literature, Elk Grove, 25c. Received for Campaign Fund, Alameda, \$10.00; Long Beach, \$2.25; Soldiers' Home, \$3.50; Corona, \$5.00; Los Angeles, \$41.45; Redlands, \$3.35; Santa Maria, \$2.00; Confidence, \$6.50; Exeter, \$1.00. Total, \$118.50. Grand Total, \$223.86.

Disbursements, Visalia postoffice order, 5c; postage stamps, 95c; postage stamps, \$2.50; carbon paper, \$1.50; office expenses, \$7.00; national dues, \$50. Total, \$62.00. Balance, cash on hand, \$161.86.

Job Harriman, Secretary.

State Central Committee. Meeting called to order by Secretary Harriman.

Comrade Mary A. Garbutt was elected chairman.

Present—Comrades Biddle, McMartin, Garbutt, Harriman and Patton.

Charter granted to Local Dinuba.

Secretary was ordered to pay Comrade Brady \$3.00 for two days' work folding and preparing manifestos; Socialist for stationery, \$12.25; Socialist for stickers, \$18.00; Wells-Fargo's express on literature, \$8.05.

The following financial report was received:

Cash on hand October 13, \$161.86. Dues received, Los Angeles, \$10.00; Napa, \$1.00; Teralta, 90c; Vallejo, \$5.00; Pinola, \$2.00; Fowler, \$1.50; Essex, \$1.50; Elk Grove, \$1.25; Dinuba, \$1.20; San Jose, \$5.00; Alameda, \$1.80; miscellaneous, 50c; literature for Dinuba, 80c; literature for Santa Ana, 25c; organizer fund Teralta, 36c. Campaign fund, Oakdale, \$2.00; Crockett, \$1.75; San Pedro, \$1.25; Los Angeles, \$3.25. Total, \$44.31.

Disbursements—Harriman, \$12.00; paper, 50c; express manifestos, \$19.84; total \$32.34. Cash on hand, \$173.83.

Job Harriman, Secretary.

Miner's Strike Fund.—Ernest Besselman, \$1.00. Advance Publication Fund—Charles A. Rice, \$1.00. Campaign Fund—W. H. Eastman, 1.00.

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.

The constitution of the Woman's Socialist Union of California can be obtained by writing to the above address or to Josephine R. Cole San Jose, Cal.

Officers of the Union.

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 object of the union is to educate along Socialist lines.

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.

The collection of songs published by the San Jose union, upon which the union label was accidentally omitted, have been returned to the printer in order that the mistake may be corrected.

The tone of the Socialist rally given at the Alhambra last Sunday evening was far above the average political gathering. The audience was large and enthusiastic and the very best order prevailed throughout the evening. The speakers spoke to the point and were clear and concise. Principles alone were discussed and this was done in a very logical and forceful manner. The audience responded with intelligence and understanding. The Woman's Socialist Union was represented by two speakers, Miss Cole and Miss Morrow. We have reason to congratulate ourselves on such a representation both as to quantity and quality.

The State constitution of the Union has been adopted and the officers elected as listed above.

SOCIALISM FOR CHILDREN.

Lesson II.—Food.

What is needed in order to obtain the things which Socialists want?

And this is not nearly such a difficult question as it seems. Let us take the question of food first. What do we need to get plenty of food?

I was staying with some miners a little while back in the summer time, and we had fresh green peas for dinner with a roasted fowl and delicious custard with stewed raspberries and red currants. On the table, too, was a great bunch of roses.

"Why!" I cried, "if you lived in the big landlord's palace upon the hill yonder, you couldn't have spread me a richer feast!"

"No," they laughed, "but that is because we have the use of a bit of his good land now. He used to keep it locked up behind his park gates, or just let it lie year under grass. But Parliament was wise enough for once to make a new law and we have the right now to use some of it for allotments." "Allotments" was the big word they used, but "gardens" would have served just as well. "And you must come down after dinner and see what we have done with it."

And so I did, and wasn't I glad for my friends? Right in the edge of the big park, in what used to be only a poor grass field, there were two or three dozen gardens side by side. And the miners in their spare time had dug the earth up deep and filled it with manure and planted it with potatoes and beans and peas and gooseberries and currant bushes, and raspberry cones and little apple trees, and had found room for rose trees besides and many other flowers. Some of the men had taken half their piece of land for a poultry run (that was where the eggs had come from for my custard) and some of them had set up well-drained pigstyes (that was where the good bacon for breakfast had been made) and down in the green fields beyond some cows and sheep were grazing.

And I looked at my friends, and they were broader chested and fresher skinned than most miners whom I had seen, and their eyes were bright too, for they were proud and happy in their work.

But do you children begin to see what we need for food and plenty of it? Is it not good land, which only means well treated land, and good workers, which soon comes to mean well treated workers too, men and women who have been well fed, both body and mind, all their lives.

Of the food which will not grow in our own country I need not speak here. If we want it we shall have to give in exchange something of which we have too much.

And there are some food stuffs, like wheat and barley and oats, etc., that are better grown in big fields and there men have learned how to plow instead of digging with spades and to reap and bind

and thresh with wonderful machines, often driven by steam power. And machinery, if you come to think of it, is just another gift of the land, which hides coal and ironstone under its surface, worked upon by good workers.

But as those workers who use the machinery cannot generally make it for themselves, and as it often takes a long time to make; we will speak of it separately and sum up shortly. Therefore, for Food we need Land and machinery and Workers.

(The next lesson will be about clothes.)

Miners' Fund

Total to September 27th, \$4,146.64; Chicago Socialist, \$33.70; N. Y. Volkszeitung and The Worker, \$282.65; Robotnik, Chicago, Ill., \$65.00; W. B. Slusser (collection), Cleveland, Ohio, \$25.00; Local Richmond Borough, N. Y., \$5.00; C. P. Buck, Colorado Springs, Colo., 50c; C. Reichel, Bessemer City, N. C., \$2.00; Local Murray, Utah, \$8.00; W. E. White, secretary, New Haven, Conn., \$4.00; E. W. McNeal, Tumwater, Wash., \$1.00; J. Freudenthal, Toledo, Ohio, \$1.25; Local Oldham, South Dakota, \$3; J. O. Blakeley, Hynes, Cal., \$2.00; Local East Pittsburg, Pa., \$2.00; Local Gainesville, Tex., \$1.00; Local Holyoke, Mass., \$35.00; Textile Workers' Union No. 8, Philadelphia, Pa., \$10.00; Local Fort Wayne, Ind., \$11.25; Jerry Langlois, New Haven, Conn., \$1.50; Turners' Union, Roxbury, Mass., \$10.00; J. W. Lyons, St. Louis, Mo., 75c; Local Flint, Mich., \$22.75; Volkszeitung and The Worker, New York City, N. Y., \$87.00; Cleveland, Ohio (per R. Bandlow), \$2.25; P. Rettig, Hartford, Conn., \$3.10; Local Nampa, Id., \$1.00; Local Kinks County, N. Y., \$8.15; Bohemian Societies, Chicago, Ill., \$60.61; total, \$4,836.10.

Amount reported to October 18th (corrected), \$6,718.46; Local Leighton, Pa., \$20; F. L. Elizabeth, N. J., \$3; Bakers and Confectioners' Union No. 84, Newark, N. J., \$15; Eugene Dietzen, Locarno, Switzerland, \$50; Local Coyoto, Utah, \$4; Local Macksburg, Or., \$4; Local Idaho Falls, Idaho, \$3; Employees Greenstiner's Cigar factory, Dayton, Ohio, \$2; "Robofnik," Chicago, Ill., \$85; Local Passaic county, N. J., \$3.75; Local Wilmington, Del., \$25.65; W. E. White, secretary, New Haven, Conn., \$1.75; Hilma S. Carlson, Sacramento, Cal., 75c; "Worker" and "Volks Zeitung," New York, N. Y., \$309.75; Local St. Louis, Mo., \$3; Local Los Angeles, Cal., \$4.25; J. H. Fairbrook, agent, San Francisco, Cal., \$3.95; C. Reichel, Bessemer City, N. C., \$3; "Worker" and "Volks Zeitung," New York, N. Y., \$416; Local Clinton, Ia., \$7; W. E. White, secretary, New Haven, Conn., \$2; Employees Greenstiner's Cigar factory, Dayton, Ohio, \$2.05; Workingmen's Educational Club, Laurium, Mich., \$31.40; Local Bridgeport, Conn., \$2; Employees Royal Weaving Company, Pawtucket, R. I., \$20; Through National Ex. Workmen's Circle, New York, as follows: Two children Jacket Makers' Union, Brownville, \$10; Workmen's Circle, Br., No. 4 (proceeds of benefit), \$7.10; H. Levenson's Feast (collection), \$6; total to October 26th, \$7,768.35.

Leon Greenbaum, National Sec'y.

Labor Lecture Bureau

St. Louis, October 4, 1903.

Financial statement of receipts and expenses on account of lecture tour by John C. Chase from March 24th to September 28th, inclusive:

Expenses—For railroad fare J. C. Chase March 24th to September 28th, inclusive, \$411.44; hotel, same dates, \$227.80; salary, same dates, \$489.00; printing advertising matter, special letter heads, envelopes, mailing cards, etc., \$107.15; postage on advertising and correspondence, \$107.15; payments to addressing company, \$11.80; literature, \$17.67; total, \$1,371.33.

Above does not include time of National Secretary and office force, nor preparation of other operating expenses, including office rent, etc.

Receipts—From 51 locals Socialist party, \$399; 79 trade unions, \$687.25; sale of literature, \$25; total, \$1,111.25.

Amount expended above receipts from March 24th to September 28th, \$360.08; estimated actual loss due, to premature ending of tour, \$56.34.

Leon Greenbaum, National Secretary.

John N. Holdt, State Secretary of Montana, died suddenly on the 25th of September, one hour after writing to the National Secretary as follows: "The Labor Unions are in State Convention here today. A wing of the Democrats, the Populists and Labor men have or are combining. It practically spoils our vote, but we cannot help it. Think the excitement will be buried in 1904 and labor will know where its home is."

Trades Unionism in Ancient Times

William S. Waudby, Rochester, N. Y.

In days long ago various trades were united to free themselves from the yoke of oppression and to secure to themselves and their children the privileges of citizenship, the rights of labor and equality before the law. To secure these well-merited aims, organization was necessary—individuals acting alone were powerless to accomplish anything against the tyrannical aristocracy, which was sustained by the sword, by wealth and royalty. Property, rank and gold were possessed by the minority, and had more value and influence than that represented by the toil of the majority, who held the secrets of the workshops and the mines. So that it is only the matter of a few years since these workers have been enabled to stand forward like men and make their strength of character felt in the social and political history of the world. In the earlier periods of feudal aristocracy we find no historical data relating to guilds or unions, because all of the freedom of these times was vested with the aristocracy, who guarded their own well-being by the enslavement of the toilers, and it was not until intellectual development ensued that the laboring hosts had aroused in them the desire to secure certain privileges and rights which belonged to them as a part of the human family. When this state of development occurred, then we began to hear of certain organizations and unions amongst the artisans which greatly resembled the guilds of recent times.

Grecian history mentions the fact that numerous trades associations existed—amongst them that of the metal workers, whose members had special festal days. Theseus, the Athenian, decided that skilled workmen should form a separate class of citizens.

In ancient Rome during the conquest of Tullius Hostilius workmen's organizations were abolished; Servius Tullius re-established them, and in turn the aristocratic Tarquinus Superbus suppressed them because they were composed of plebeians, and well organized, and threatened the power of the patricians. In due time the membership of these organizations (called the "Collegia Opificum") became enormous, and with this increase of power there came a desire to engage in the political affairs of the nation as well as in the social politics of the country. This greatly offended the aristocratic element and in 67 B. C. they obtained a senatorial decree which abolished most of the guilds—only those being allowed which were absolutely necessary to the state. Amongst these were the guilds of the carpenters and the guilds of the iron, copper and goldsmiths. Five years later the plebeian Publicus Pulcher Clodius assumed the power of state and re-established the guilds. In time Julius Caesar abolished most of them and Augustus Caesar followed up this act. Then came Trajan, who desired to destroy them completely, but the guilds were too powerful and he could not execute his wish. When Constantine the Great was at the height of his power there were over thirty guilds in existence in Rome, and Theodosius and Justinian confirmed and multiplied their privileges. Theodoric the Great found some guilds in Constantinople when he conquered that place.

In 590 the Queen of Lombardy, Thudelinde, gave certain privileges and rights to the stonecutters on the island of Comacina, in the Lake of Como. These privileges existed until the fall of Didier, and from 644 to 724 the organizations were regulated by special laws. From 914 to 946 the Benedictines endeavored in vain to prohibit masons of Lombardy from constructing convents and other religious institutions. The struggle was long and bitter, but the effort of the clericals to prevent the guilds from obtaining employment on religious structures did not succeed. 924 Bishop Ulrich, of Liege, Belgium, could not find enough architects among the clerical workmen and was compelled to employ members of the guilds. In 1099 Bishop Conrad of Utrecht prevailed upon the son of the architect (Pleber) to betray the secrets of the guilds. A short time afterwards the son was put to death by the father for his treason.

In 1099 a guild of weavers existed in Mayence, Germany. In 1104 the butchers of Augsburg formed a guild, and in Paris in 1134. In 1149 the bedcover weavers had a guild at Cologne. The shoemakers' guild is heard of in 1157 for the first time at Adegburg, when they secured a law by which only those belonging to the guild could place their wares on the market for sale or exhibition. In 1162 there were six guilds in Halle. 1180 there were fifteen guilds in London.

At Brunswick, in 1220, twelve masters of the guild were martyrs to their cause, and six were cruelly put to death and the rest were banished. In 1230 the guilds of Madgeburg were broken up by royal

order; but the towns which in those days were the strongholds of civil liberty soon secured their re-establishment. In 1254, for the first time in history, two masters of the guild, were selected as members of the town council of Leipsic.

In 1272 was organized the first bakers' guild, in Berlin; then in 1276 the furriers' guild; in 1284, the shoemakers' guild; and in 1285, the tailors' guild. Leipsic's tailors organized in 1284. The woolen weavers' first organization was in 1295 at Berlin.

Zurich, Switzerland, admitted several masters of the guilds to her town council in 1335, but not until the place had passed through a terrible and bloody conflict, which lasted from 1300 to 1390, and was commonly considered as a war between the aristocracy and the artisans. In 1263 the stonecutters' guilds of Germany, France, England, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Hungary and Hungary were united in one grand union under the great lodge of Strasburg. All of the affairs of the guilds were considered by masters in secret convention (sounds something like our meetings of the present day, as well as methods); stringent rules for membership, etc., were issued and a regular star-chamber system was instituted. The guilds were in this unhappy state when the struggle of the Reformation began. The "Thirty Years' War" destroyed the power of the guilds, and workmen found employment with difficulty, many of them entering the military service. Some guilds, like the bakers of Lipsic, joined the garrisons of the fortified towns in a body.

Internal dissensions finally brought on their downfall, as the little power that was left them was exhausted in fruitless opposition to workmen who were not members of the guilds. Thus, the carpenters quarreled with the joiners who made the staircases; the joiners quarreled with the carpenters who made the doors; the glaziers quarreled with the joiners and carpenters who made the sashes out of soft wood; the joiners quarreled with the glaziers who made the sashes out of oak wood. The plumber was allowed to sell lamps, but not lamp chimneys, globes and wicks. The physician could prosecute the barber who prescribed a medicine, but the barber could bring a process against a physician who bled and applied bandages. These quarrels weakened the guilds and brought them into disrepute. The membership lost all ambition and energy and at the dawn of the last century the guilds presented a demoralized condition—a disorganized union without any great aims, and with no leadership. This state of affairs continued until about 1815, when the advent of machinery caused a falling off of handiwork.

When the revolution in Germany was suppressed in 1849 the social discontent still remained among the workmen. Their unions were dissolved officially, but were secretly continued. At this time factories began to be built, making a serious inroad into the handworkers' life. The master craftsmen believed that they could compete with the factory by reducing the wages of the journeymen; the latter rebelled and much trouble resulted. The so-called political economists, law-makers, etc., came to the front, but they did not recognize the fundamental principles which had been of inestimable value for over two thousand years—they saw only the defects which had come into the guilds during centuries of abuse and oppression. They did not see the necessity of reviving the guilds, but only thought of the expediency of suppressing them entirely. They succeeded in Saxony in 1860 and in Prussia in 1868. The guilds were partially dissolved, while many of them were restricted and limited in such a manner that at last they ceased to exist. Those workmen who did not become employers, but lost their guild connections, soon sought other refuge, and thus they were gradually led into the ranks of the Socialists—and soon became Social Democrats, while many became anarchists. The immense vote of the Social Democratic party in Germany is proof of this evolution.—*Typographical Journal.*

Tiburon Rally

Comrade Backus went across the bay to speak at the little town of Tiburon last Monday evening and was decidedly pleased with the result. There had never been a Socialist meeting held in the village before, but the town turned out and filled every seat in Forester's Hall and listened with the most rapt attention to a rattling campaign speech. A local will be formed there this winter, and one of the charter members will be a man who was the chairman of the Republican county campaign committee, but who now sees the error of his ways.

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No Immediate Demands

A harmful illusion is laming the energy of some friends, viz., that Socialism is a long way off and may be deferred indefinitely. It is harmful in two ways. In the first place it dampens the ardor of the millions who are the backbone of the Socialist movement, the millions who need immediate relief. If Socialism is a long way off and we will not live to see it, what is the use of working for it? So think the tired millions, and the spirit of revolution listlessly drops its wings and lags in its flight, though the goal is within reach.

In the second place, this illusion creates the foundation for a bourgeois-like reform tendency in our movement which seeks to obtain concessions from the capitalist government by way of legislation. As long as the Socialist representatives in the legislatures are in a minority, such concessions can only be obtained, if they are obtained at all, by the assistance by one of the two great capitalist parties in this country. Therefore such a tendency must inevitably adopt the tactics of compromise, and the "gradual" transition to Socialism, which leaves the indolent, comfort-loving, and timid pleasantly provided, becomes the ideals of its advocates.

But every concession to labor means a weakening of capital. The reform Socialists, therefore, expect the capitalists to legislate against themselves in favor of labor. More ridiculous still, capital is expected to weaken itself at the mere "petitioning" of labor for relief, and that at a time when the progress of economic evolution is knocking one prop after another from under the feet of capitalism.

The strongest arguments of the advocates of "immediate reform" are drawn from the armory of its European prototypes. But all attempts to draw comparisons between European and American Socialists leave the following three points out of consideration:

1. We have only three great political parties in the field that represent distinct social classes. One of them, the Democratic party, is losing its significance, because its vital elements are seeking new affiliations in the Republican and Socialist parties.

2. Each presidential election is the pivot of an issue which decides the fate of the contending parties.

3. The economic development in the United States is rapidly shaping the issue, "Labor vs. Capital."

Mark well the significance of these factors, not one of which is today a factor in any European state. As long as there are half a dozen bourgeois parties to confuse the voters, as long as the capitalist parties are free to shape their boggy issues for catching the working class suckers as long as the system does not reach the stage of dissolution, the capitalist parties are left, one of which is disintegrating, and when economic conditions force the remaining capitalist party to accept the issue which is the fundamental demand of the Socialist party, AND WHEN ONE SINGLE ELECTION WILL DECIDE THE QUESTION, "CAPITALISM OR SOCIALISM?" then only the most obstinate blindness to FACTS can persist in finding important analogies in Europe and in the United States.

What better could the Republican party ask, when that powerful issue is proposed by the force of circumstances, than to find that the dreaded Socialist party is full of individuals who are willing to trade their chance for "immediate" reforms that would give the masters a longer lease of luxurious ease at the expense of the useful class? How eagerly they would grasp the straw of state Socialism, to head off for another generation the only Socialism worth having, proletarian Socialism!

How different the situation will be, when the Socialist movement demands the abolition of capitalism in clear and unmistakable earnest. One million Socialists raising the same cry will cause apprehension and alarmed consultation in the capitalist camp. Two million Socialists still demanding all they produce will be overwhelmed with all the reforms all the reformers of all ages ever dreamt of. Three million Socialists thundering the same demand into the ears of the exploiters and answered by an echo of six millions across the sea, will be able to shake the foundations of capitalism and turn the scales in favor of Socialism within the space between two presidential elections.

Drop that useless "immediate demand" appendage, comrades! It is getting between our legs at every step and hampering our advance toward the victory of freedom. Write "SOCIALISM" in bold letters on our shield and let that word ring as our battlecry into the ears of the harmonizers, reformers and dupes. The mere sound of that cry rising out of a few million manly throats will make crumbling ruins of the walls of capitalist Jerico. **SOCIALISM! SOCIALISM!! SOCIALISM!!!**
Ernest Untermann.

Backus' Report

I wish to submit the following report of work done while campaigning under the auspices of the State Central Committee:

- I spoke as follows:
- October 3, Long Beach, street.
 - October 4, San Pedro, street.
 - October 5, Pasadena, Socialist hall.
 - October 8, Escondido, auditorium.
 - October 10, Azusa, Fraternal hall.
 - October 11, Lordsburg, street.
 - October 12, Los Angeles, Woodmen's hall.
 - October 15, Bakersfield, street, Painters' union.
 - October 16, Tulare, street.
 - October 17, Visalia, street.
 - October 18, Exeter, Woodmen's hall.
 - October 19, Hanford, street afternoon, Fraternal hall evening.
 - October 20, Fresno, band stand in park.
 - October 21, Fresno, Armory hall.
 - October 22, Dinuba, Opera house.
 - October 23, Merced, Armory hall.
 - October 24, Modesto, Opera house.
 - October 25, Stockton, plaza.
 - October 26, Sacramento, street.
 - October 27, Auburn, Arthur's hall.
 - October 28, Nevada City, street.
 - October 29, Dixon, Opera house.
 - November 1, San Francisco, street.
 - November 2, San Francisco, theater (short speech).
 - November 3, Tiburon, Forrester's hall.

I purchased the following amounts of literature and subscription cards, all of which I sold on the road:

- Wilshire's Magazine cards, \$11.00.
- Coming Nation cards, \$13.25.
- Appeal to Reason cards, \$6.25.
- Advance cards, 75c.
- "Social Hell" (Walker), \$3.60.
- Three hundred mixed leaflets, \$1.75.
- "Social Revolution" (Wilson), \$1.55.
- "Socialism" (Richardson), 75c.
- "Knockers," 60c.
- Total, \$39.50.

My expenses were as follows:

- Railroad fare, 32.80; postage, \$3.90; living expenses (not paid by comrades), \$9.50; incidentals, \$2.75; total, \$48.95.
- Receipts in collections and donations, \$69.60; balance in my favor, \$20.65.

I am glad to be able to add that every meeting was a success, although bad weather and lack of proper advertising caused me to fear a failure in several instances.

I succeeded in organizing a new local with eight charter members at Dinuba in Tulare county, and now that election is over will be able to form a local in every town that I have visited, where none now exists. The general outlook throughout the State indicates that the people are ready for a landslide and we must at once proceed to organize them and lay plans to carry the State in 1904.

Yours for the cause,
E. Backus.

Clubbing Offer

We are now prepared to make clubbing arrangements for *Advance, Coming Nation and Wilshire's Magazine* on following terms: *Advance and Coming Nation* 75c. per year; *Advance and Wilshire's Magazine* 75c. per year; *Advance, Coming Nation and Wilshire's Magazine* \$1.00 per year. This is for a limited time only, since the regular price for *Coming Nation* is 50c. per year and *Wilshire's Magazine* \$1.00 per year.

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IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO, State of California, Department No. 5.

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.
By JOSEPH RIORDAN, Deputy Clerk.
JOSEPH A. MITCHELL, Attorney for Plaintiff, 1037 Market St.

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Vallejo's Final Rally

At Farragut Theater, October 31st, the Socialist party had a most successful meeting, the theater being well filled.

St. Vincent's band played several selections in front of the theater.

When the speakers of the evening, Gideon S. Brower, candidate for Governor, and M. W. Wilkins, candidate for Congress in the Third district, made their appearance, they were received with applause.

J. B. Dale presided over the meeting and introduced as the first speaker Gideon S. Brower, who received a very enthusiastic greeting.

Mr. Brower said that he was glad to have the privilege of addressing such a fine meeting of those interested in Socialism, as he always liked to talk of those things that were of the greatest benefit to the working classes of the country, and all those things were embraced in the policy of Socialism.

The Republicans, Mr. Brower said, had chosen a wealthy doctor as their candidate, the Democrats a well-known lawyer, but the Socialists had taken a workingman—a carpenter from his bench—to be their standard bearer, and Mr. Brower said he was proud to be that man.

There was a time, Mr. Brower said, when men were frightened of Socialists, and thought they carried dynamite around with them, but now the intelligence of the people had become brighter and they began to be curious and interested as regards Socialism, which taught men to love one another, and at all times its teachings wanted more happiness and peace brought into the lives of men.

Socialism, Mr. Brower said meant justice between men, and means a system of better and more harmonious social conditions, especially amongst the laboring classes of the country.

Thomas Moore once wrote of a country called Utopia, where there were no rich and no poor, but every one was equal.

Mr. Brower said Socialists had been called Utopians, but they were not, as they had a scientific basis for all their policies.

Mr. Brower then said that the first great principle of Socialism was "to the worker belongs the full product of his labor."

Another principle was the brotherhood of man, and Socialism also states that no man shall become a wage-slave of another man.

Mr. Brower said every man, woman and child in this country was entitled by right to share in every improvement, every discovery of science, that these things belong to the many and not to the few.

Republicans and Democrats, Mr. Brower said, announced there was no war between labor and capital, but they never said there was no war between labor and capitalists, and just so long as capital exists, so long will that war continue.

Mr. Brower said that the Democrats profess great friendship for labor, and yet, it was in the Southern States where the Democrats always ruled and which have always been Democratic in politics where child labor is in vogue; where no attention is paid to organized labor or any enactment of any laws for the benefit of workingmen.

Mr. Brower said the Democratic party as a party is nearly if not quite dead, and has no excuse for living; it never had any constructive party and was always trying to swallow other parties, as they were now trying to swallow the Union Labor party; but workingmen refused to be fooled by the Democratic party any more, as they have deceived the workingman in the past and will do it again.

The Socialist party, Mr. Brower said, was endorsed by labor unions over the State and no politician can sidetrack the aims of that party.

Mr. Brower, who made a good impression on his hearers, resumed his seat amidst applause.

M. W. Wilkins was then introduced by the chairman, and was very enthusiastically received.

Mr. Wilkins said he was glad to address an audience in whose faces he saw earnestness—that earnestness that is now inspiring laboring men all over the land.

Mr. Wilkins said the great number of workers in our country were thinking today more than they have ever thought before; they want to know the way to live a broader and fuller life, and the Socialists want to assist them in their thinking and in their planning, as the Socialist party is the grievance committee of the great laboring masses of America.

The Socialist party, Mr. Wilkins said was keeping up the struggle between capital and labor, and would continue to do so until the laboring man could get the full products of his labor.

Mr. Wilkins said that the working men called themselves independent. He would ask them how they were independent? Can they go to work any time they like? Can they go to any farm or any factory and say, "I have come to work?" No, they were dependent upon the will of the capitalist employer; so they were wage-slaves and not independent.

Mr. Wilkins said the laboring man could work for his employer so long as his employer could make any profit out of the worker's labor.

Mr. Wilkins said the black slave of the South in the sixties had a better time of it than the white wage slave of the present day. The wage slaves must be emancipated and they must look to the Socialist party for that emancipation.

Mr. Wilkins said that although wages might be better now than four years ago, that necessities of life were dearer and it costs more to live, so that higher wages did always mean more prosperous times.

Mr. Wilkins then referred to the San Francisco strikes and labor disputes, and paid Mayor Schmitz very high compliments for the friendly counsel always given to the laboring men.

Mr. Wilkins said that the great demand of the Socialist party was that every man, woman and child should find employment and be guaranteed a hold of their jobs.

Mr. Wilkins then paid a glowing and eloquent tribute to trades unionism, and the benefits accruing from it, and impressed upon his fellow unionists the necessity of solid organization to fight the battle against the capitalist class.

The rights of the workingman, the speaker said, could never be settled by arbitration, but through laws which should get men their rights.

Mr. Wilkins said if workingmen would consult their own interests they would never vote for Democrats or Republicans, as they were both governed by the capitalistic class, and in voting for them they were voting for to keep capitalists with all the power against the laboring men. Mr. Wilkins urged the masses to vote for Socialism and emancipation.

The speech of Mr. Wilkins was a masterly one, and for an hour and a half he enjoyed the close attention of the audience. Lack of space prevents a detailed report of his speech.

The foregoing report is taken from the Vallejo Evening Chronicle. We wish other papers would print as much of what "Mr. Brower said" and "Mr. Wilkins said."

Final Report of Comrade Chase

Haverhill, Mass., Oct. 15, 1902.

Leon Greenbaum, Dear Comrade:—It was my intention upon ending my trip in the West so abruptly to at once send you a report which would be something more than a review of the entire tour in the lecture field. But up to this time I have been unable to find opportunity to do so. I will endeavor to cover a part of the ground in a few moments respite I now have in the heat of our campaign. It is my desire to bring to the attention of the movement in general and to the national committee in particular the good that can be accomplished in no other way as effectively as through this means of propaganda.

Let us first understand clearly the situation.

The times are ripe, and in the words of Lowell, "Rotten ripe for change" in the attitude of organized labor toward the question of political action. Organized labor is going into politics; which way shall they go? As an independent labor party or in support of the organized Socialist movement? Their action depends largely upon our attitude in our propaganda among them.

The Labor Lecture Bureau was established for the purpose of placing speakers among the trades unions of the country to deliver to them a message; to deliver to them the gospel of emancipation from wage slavery; in short to teach them the class struggle. My purpose in making this report is to show, if possible, from what has already been accomplished in this direction, what may be accomplished in the future if the work of the bureau is continued and pushed forward to perfection.

In the seven months that I was engaged in the work as lecturer for the bureau I addressed in all about one hundred and fifty meetings, about one hundred of which were under the auspices of trade unions. Let it be understood at once that these meetings were public meetings held generally in the city hall, court house or opera house, and always well attended by the general public. It will be readily seen by the observant Socialist that the most of these meetings were in places and before people whom we could not reach through any other manner for a long time without great expense to our organization. The possibilities of propaganda through the work of the bureau cannot be over estimated and the effect of this same propaganda is still more impossible of exaggeration.

As I have already mentioned the trade unionist is ready for action politically and can be made to see that absolutely class conscious action with the political party of his class is his only proper course. We have the opportunity through our bureau—if supported and continued—of teaching this truth to the trade unionist and without cost to our movement or interference

with any form of propaganda. Now a word as to the financial end of the matter.

My tour, directly under the lecture bureau, was of twenty-seven weeks duration. The deficit on expenses for salary, hotel, railroad and all other expenses that had to be met and paid from headquarters in this time was something like sixteen dollars. The whole deficit, including this expense and printing advertising matter, letter heads, envelopes, mailing cards, cuts, addressing and postage, amounted to \$260 or about \$9 per week. If this were to be the average cost of a speaker carrying on national propaganda, we can see that this would be a splendid investment. But as a matter of fact this expense is but the natural cost of experiment; it must be remembered that the trip was the first and in a part of the country, to a great extent, where rail-reading was expensive, and where long jumps were made from town to town. That all would be cut down for the several speakers, as valuable knowledge of the country and as to the best way to send the speakers through is gained at headquarters by the first experiment, and would necessarily make it possible to cut down the expense so that the speaker would be able to cover all cost, including advertising and office work, for his trip.

There has been some discussion and advocacy of abolishing this bureau, and I believe the question is now before the national committee for a vote upon the question as to whether or not it shall be abolished. The vote may have been taken before this article will reach the members and their decision given to abolish this part of our propaganda, but I sincerely hope that such is not the case. To stop in this work now is not only childish, but criminal, for it is the very best means of agitation on a scientific scale that has ever been adopted in the American Socialist movement.

To say that it should be abolished because of an expense in the national office is absurd, for the reason that there need be no expense to the bureau or national office, once this system is established, and if there was an expense it would be such a trifle, as the experiment so far has shown that it would be the most economical means of carrying on our work of education. Another objection that has been raised is that this lecture bureau gives too much power to one man; namely, the national secretary, who would have charge of the speakers. This objection is positively ludicrous and of the kindergarten variety.

The Socialist movement is too large for any one man or set of men to control or to use for building up a machine for his personal aggrandizement. That will do perhaps in that organization, where some men prefer to be a big toad in a small puddle rather than a small toad in a big puddle.

To be afraid of one man's power or to be constantly trembling over the thoughts of expansion or concentration, is to confess a disastrous weakness in our movement, which is not part of it nor likely to be. The bureau should be continued; there is no reason why it should not, and there are a few reasons why it should.

1st. Because it is an effective means of getting before that class whom we must have with us, and whom we can reach in no other way so effectively, namely, trade unionists.

2d. It enables every State movement to secure any or all speakers whom they desire to have at a cost that is insignificant compared to what it would be should the same speakers be obtained through any other source or at any other time than when they are making an extended tour under the auspices of the bureau.

3d. It makes it possible for our speakers who go out in this work to come in direct contact with the varied industries of the country, see for himself the conditions in every part of the country and become familiar with the movement generally.

4th. It enables the Socialists themselves in the various States and cities to have men from distant States to speak for them and inform them of conditions existing in that part of the country of which they have no personal knowledge, thus making possible more solidarity in our movement.

5th. It provides speakers at the lowest price to locals, and enables them to have speakers of national reputation without paying fifty or a hundred dollars for the lecture.

6th. It is a scientific and economical manner of conducting propaganda and strictly in line with all the philosophy and science of Socialism.

For these and many other reasons it should be continued.

Fraternally yours,
John C. Chase.

Wm. Sehlota

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