

ADVANCE

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THIS IS NUMBER
433

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

WHOLE NUMBER 433.

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1902.

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR.

One Hundred and Forty Per Cent Gain

That is San Francisco's gain over last year. In 1901 the Socialist party pursued the tactics of dividing the working class vote. It placed a ticket in nomination opposed to the labor ticket. It conducted a most vigorous campaign, importing speakers and soliciting funds from the whole State. Notwithstanding all these efforts, the Socialist vote fell off from 2,000 to 1,000 and, what was worse, the membership of the local decreased from over 200 to 40 or 50. The net result of an "uncompromising, aggressive campaign" was a 50 per cent loss in voting strength, a 75 per cent loss in organized membership and an almost complete rupture between the Socialist and the Trade Union movement.

In 1902, the Socialist party decided that it would not divide the working class vote, that it would aid rather than hinder the conquest of the political powers by the proletariat. It placed no ticket in nomination against the Union Labor party. The result of this policy has been 140 per cent increase in the vote since last year, a constant accession of new members to the local, and a re-establishment of the most cordial feelings between the Socialist and the labor movement.

The net result of two years are: The position we held in 1900 has been regained and 20 per cent added to our vote; our membership is twice as numerous as in 1900; *Advance* has been practically cleared of debt; and best of all the way for great progress in the future has been made clear and straight.

Los Angeles' Big Vote

Los Angeles has more than doubled its vote. The steady boring from within, the recognized solidarity of the Socialist party there, with the organized proletarians has so facilitated the spread of Socialist economics that more than two thousand men marched to the polls Nov. 4th to record their vote for the overthrow of capitalism. In 1900 the Debs vote was only 995. Our comrades in the Southern city are certainly to be congratulated. This great increase was evidently foreseen and prepared for by the capitalist politicians, as according to capitalist press reports over a thousand ballots have been thrown out. Despite this infamous measure to disfranchise voters in the vain hope of preventing the party from gaining its 3 per cent and official standing, over 1140 ballots were properly marked for Brower beyond cavil. Comrade Wheeler's vote runs up to 1419 counted. It is unfortunate that we cannot get a correct statement of the votes cast, but it is admitted by every one that only 50 or 60 per cent of the vote cast was actually tallied. We have no hesitation in stating that the average vote in Los Angeles is 7 per cent of the total, a truly magnificent showing. Los Angeles Socialism is alright.

A Little Sense from Seattle

This is why the Socialist party demands before all that the working class itself shall have the control of the government. This is the "First Step." Public Ownership initiated and conducted by this class will be in the interest of this class, not in the interest of the capitalist class.—Seattle Socialist.

Yet the Socialist objects to San Francisco local putting no blocks in the way of the Union Labor party, which, despite its political mistakes, is nevertheless the politically organized working class of this city. Consistency, thy name is mud—in Seattle.

Vote in Colorado

Official returns of Socialist votes from Boulder, Chaffee, Eagle, Jefferson, Lake, Mesa, Montrose, Ouray, Park, Pitkin, Prowers and San Juan counties are made out. With these we have estimated the vote from eighteen other counties as taken from dispatches in the daily newspapers, the total of which makes 6,771 Socialist votes. There are fifty-seven counties in Colorado, consequently there are twenty-seven counties yet to be heard from, some of them polling a large Socialist vote, so we can confidently predict that the vote in the State will run over 8,000.

Sacramento Returns

Sacramento, Nov. 15, 1902.

Dear Comrade:—The official count of Sacramento county gives the Socialists the following:

Brower, 310; Whitney, 308; Wheeler, 297; Alderman, 372; Seifert, 339; King, 311; Stevenson, 354; Anderson, 362; Smith, 379; Laverty, 239; Walker, 322; Liess, 315; Shepard, 205; Rogers (Congress), 262; Hauch (Equalization), 273; Hynes (Railroad Commissioner), 303; Youngman (17th Assembly District), 114; Pratt (18th Assembly District), 96.

It appears from the schedule that we have safely made our three per cent, as the total vote for the candidates for Governor is 10,206. The head of our ticket would still have three per cent should the total vote cast run as high as 10,333; our average on the State ticket would be within it up to 10,533, while our highest would be three per cent in a vote of 12,633. Our highest shows a gain of 248 over our highest electoral vote in 1900—which is a gain of over 189 per cent. In other words, fourteen votes more would have been treble, or a gain of 200 per cent. Doubtless some places have done still better, but as our local is less than two years old, we think we have not done so badly. We expect to do much more, however, in the next two years, and are already laying new plans as the smoke of battle clears away.

Yours fraternally,
S. Edgar Alderman.

The Shasta Campaign

Socialist for Shasta county, 1896, 11 votes; in 1900, 88 (for President. Vote for 1902, as follows: Governor, 120; Lieutenant-Governor, 129; Secretary of State, 148; Controller, 146; Treasurer, 147; Attorney-General, 140; Surveyor-General, 11 (as this is only case where vote fell below Prohibition it may be a mistake). Clerk of Superior Court, 12; Superintendent of State Printing, 115; Chief Justice, Liess 138, Shepard 88 (all candidates standing in second place here fell below, probably because of mistaken idea as to method of marking); member of Equalization Board, 138; Railroad Commissioner, 149.

This is the first year the Socialists ever nominated a county ticket. Result is: Sheriff, 92; Clerk, 87; Assessor, 84; Recorder, 105; Treasurer (no Democratic nominee), 167; Superintendent of Schools 116; Coroner, said to be 90, but not definitely known.

While touring the county I distributed about 800 Socialist newspapers, 1,000 circulars to Populists, 400 type-written letters to organized labor and nearly 11,000 leaflets. Went to northern boundary of the county by one route and returned (after lecture) by another. Not a farm house on either road which has not received literature and same is true of all the teamsters, herders and stage-drivers whom I met. The campaign of 1904 is now on in this county, so watch us next time. I have arranged for a series of debates in columns of leading Democratic paper with a well known Democrat who "has it in for Socialists."

Wenonah Stevens Abbott.

Nevada County Reports

Grass Valley, Nov. 16, 1902.

Editor *Advance*:—Enclosed please find official returns for Nevada county Socialist vote:

Governor, 142; Lieutenant-Governor, 158; Secretary of State, 172; Controller, 182; Treasurer, 168; Attorney-General, 165; Surveyor-General, 170; Clerk of Supreme Court, 167; Superintendent of Public Instruction, 163; Superintendent of State Printing, 163; Chief Justice, 182; Associate Justice, Liess 166, Shepard 127; Congressman First District, 123; Board of Equalization, 166; Railroad Commissioner, 166.

Assemblyman for Nevada county, Sam J. Alderman, received 227 votes. And this in the face of "complete silence" on the part of candidates. He consented to permit his name to be used. The comrades hustled for signatures and filed the petition just twenty days before election. As no speeches were made; no Socialist meetings held, it is simply a registered protest uninfluenced by the campaign surging around us. Furthermore, he was the only Socialist candidate on the county ticket. Our object was to secure the necessary 3

per cent, entitling us to a convention and representation without petition.

The total vote cast for governor was 4,111, hence our percentage was about 5 per cent.

The Socialist vote in this county in 1900 was 128 for Debs; in 1902, for Alderman, 227.

For Constable in Washington Township, Phos. P. Redmayne beat his opponent (Rep.) by 4 votes. Until further information Nevada county claims the proud distinction of having elected the first Socialist to office in the State.

(San Diego county has scored also a Justice of the Peace and a Constable.—Ed.)

This was our first local campaign.

Fraternally,
E. G. Swift.

Great Gains in Cleveland

As stated in the *Citizen* last week the hottest point in the United States during the campaign was in Cleveland, where Senator Hanna and Mayor Johnson, two national characters, were battling for the mastery. For months these two millionaires, who have been political, social and business rivals, made a fierce campaign, and even the most optimistic opponents of the capitalistic parties felt that the minority parties would be lucky if they held their own. Of the latter the Union-Reform party disappeared and the Prohibition and Socialist Labor parties lost many of their supporters. On the other hand, the Socialist party, the party that contains the active, energetic, class-conscious workers who battle for labor's betterment the year around, fore and aft, and despite the lies of his snealers, and the disgraceful tactics of the DeLeonites, not only held their vote, but doubled it! From 710 last year, the Socialist party mounted to 2,100 this year. Instead of the head of the ticket being a member of the old parties, as was the case in 1900, of the old parties suffered to the extent of several hundred votes, showing conclusively that former prejudices and idols are crumbling to pieces.—Cleveland *Citizen*.

Socialism and Labor

Replying to a question that was asked him in regard to our attitude towards the Union Labor party, J. B. Osborne replied insubstantially: The Socialist movement is based primarily upon the historic class struggle; it has evolved out of the labor movement. The labor movement as expressed by organized labor is waging this class struggle on the economic field. The relation of the Socialist movement to the labor movement assumes the position of an advance guard; they are teachers who are holding up to the working class the method by which they will be emancipated, namely, political action. Their past efforts are at last bearing fruit. Organized labor is adopting political action. What, then, is the duty of Socialists? It is this. While they must keep intact the principles of the party; while they must fight to a finish any political party formed for the purpose of acting as a decoy duck, yet whenever the working class separates itself from the capitalist class and goes into politics with a platform pledging their candidates to work for the abolition of the wage system, refusing all endorsements and assistance from the capitalistic parties, then it is the duty of Socialists to support unreservedly all their actions and not to antagonize them by putting up a rival ticket which would only tend to divide the working class, thereby proving themselves enemies of their class.—Los Angeles *Socialist*.

In Socialism the separation of ethics from politics and of both from religion is finally abolished; ethics becomes political and politics become ethical; while religion means but the higher and more far-reaching aspect of that ethical sense of obligation, duty, fraternity, which is the ultimate head of every-day society. Yet nevertheless all that was vital in the two earlier stages of the moral consciousness will be preserved in this one; the social object of the first; the conscious definiteness of the second.—From E. Belfort Bax.

We have been unable to prepare the article on Union Labor, Socialism and the Election, which we promised last week. It will, however, appear without fail in next week's issue.

California's Battalion in the Socialist Army

Official returns are coming in slowly and are increasing the Socialist vote. The following are some of the official counts for Brower for Governor:

	1902 Brower	1900 Debs
Alameda	1009	828
Alpine		
Amador		17
Butte		51
Colusa		68
Contra Costa	155	45
Caleveras	35	27
Del Norte	46	12
Eldorado	19	25
Fresno	373	232
Glenn		6
Humboldt	135	178
Inyo	25	20
Kern		52
Kings	51	40
Lake	32	28
Lassen		58
Los Angeles	1140	995
Madera	46	18
Marin	44	52
Mariposa		7
Mendocino	44	36
Merced		26
Modoc		12
Mono		1
Monterey	36	44
Napa	45	52
Nevada	152	128
Orange	194	77
Placer	104	39
Plumas	1	6
Riverside (partial)	200	152
Sacramento	305	131
San Benito	14	17
San Bernardino	291	235
San Diego	657	289
San Francisco	1991	2014
San Joaquin		88
San Luis Obispo		58
Santa Barbara		28
Santa Clara	240	210
Santa Cruz	127	155
Shasta	120	87
Sierra		11
Siskiyou	56	39
Solano	310	167
Sonoma	182	139
Stanislaus	39	34
Sutter	15	11
Tehama	39	25
Trinity		8
Tulare (partial returns)	69	165
Tuolumne		29
Ventura	115	75
Yolo	75	46
Yuba	76	20
Totals	8833	7554
The missing 15 counties cast for Debs	428	
Average 17 per cent increase on Debs' vote in missing counties	73	

Estimated total vote for Brower 9334
Total vote of the State (estimated) 305,000, 3 per cent of which is 9,150.
As several candidates polled over 1,500 more votes than Brower the average Socialist vote in the State will be over 11,000—an increase of over 47 per cent in the State, a very good showing.

Solano County Vote

Vallejo, Nov. 13, 1902.

Advance:—The Socialist votes cast in Solano county are as follows, of which the city of Vallejo cast 80 per cent:

State ticket, Brower, 310; Whitney, 304; Wheeler, 304; Alderman, 322; Seifert, 305; King, 324; Stevenson, 329; Anderson, 322; Smith, 317; Laverty, 306; Walker, 309; Liess, 277; Shepard, 225; Wilkins (Congress), 257; Sprovey (Board of Equalization), 268; Hynes (Railroad Commissioner), 310.

Dovle for Assemblyman, 398; Luper for Sheriff, 224; Collier for Assessor, 265; Tillman for Treasurer and Tax Collector, 218; Chadwick for Recorder, 225; Maguire for Coroner, 333.

This is about doubling our vote in Vallejo from 1900 and about doubling it in the county.

Yours for Socialism,
Conrad Rump.

Socialists have gained five seats in municipal elections in England, despite the bitterest opposition.

National Vote More Than Doubles

Estimates Based on Returns Show a Quarter Million

The following is a comparison of the vote of 1900 with this year's vote, which is estimated on partial returns.
Hurrah for Socialism!
Now for the campaign of 1904.

	1900	1902
California	7554	9500
Colorado	654	7500
Connecticut	1029	3000
Delaware	57	600
Florida	601	1200
Idaho		500
Illinois	9687	25000
Indiana	2374	7607
Iowa	1643	7500
Kansas	1605	3236
Kentucky	646	6500
Maine	878	1964
Maryland	908	1100
Massachusetts	9595	32985
Michigan	2826	6000
Minnesota	2943	14000
Missouri	6128	11000
Montana	708	5300
Nebraska	823	2000
New Hampshire	790	1000
New Jersey	4609	7000
New York	12869	23000
North Dakota	518	900
Ohio	4847	15000
Oregon	1466	3500
Pennsylvania	4881	20000
South Dakota	176	500
Tennessee	410	900
Texas	100	5000
Utah	720	1500
Vermont		500
Washington	2006	5000
West Virginia	280	500
Wisconsin	2008	5000
Wyoming	280	500
Totals	91382	235192

Our thanks are extended to Comrades Mrs. Page, Kron, Raensch, Motlark, Rump and others for their pains in sending in election returns from their respective counties. The Socialists of the State and the nation await "with impatient patience the announcement of total returns. The action of these comrades has aided materially in our furnishing such early accurate and full returns. For the present we only give the Governor's vote. When full returns are in we will publish the entire ticket.

SOCIALISTS' Entertainment and Dance

Tuesday Ev'ng
Dec. 9, 1902

At
Scottish Hall, 107 Larkin Street
Under the Auspices of

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO, SOCIALIST PARTY.

BENEFIT OF 'ADVANCE'

Tickets 25c. Hat Room Free.

Socialists should all attend and bring in their friends.

Exercises begin at 8:15

Get tickets to sell at *Advance* office.

ADVANCE



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

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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 22, 1902.

Figured in Seattle Style

The Seattle Socialist, with its usually partial statement of the truth, jubilates over the vote in Massachusetts and—Seattle. It also delightedly points out what it thinks is the pitiable result in 'Frisco,' and asks, "which do you prefer, Massachusetts Socialism or 'Frisco Socialism'?"

For our own part we must express our preference for International Socialism which bases itself on the working class solidarity, and in the words of Marx, does "not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties."

Yes, Seattle, we have learned our lesson. Through the bitter experience of DeLeonism we learned one-half of it by 1899. Last year we learned the other half. This year we have profited by it.

In the cities and towns in the State the vote of the Socialist party shows an increase of from 10 to 20 per cent, while in the entire State the increase will not be less than 47 per cent, which means that the "working farmers and farm workers" are beginning to vote the Socialist ticket.

In Vallejo where our comrades have worked within the trade unions and within the Union Labor party of that city the Socialist vote has trebled since 1900. Vallejo is a star town on the Advance subscription list. Circulate the Advance and your vote will grow.

Miners' Strike Fund

Amount reported to October 26th, \$7,768.35; Local Baltimore, Md., \$4.50; Local Vineland, N. J., Oct. 11, \$7.80; Local Rochester, N. Y., \$47.10; Local Jersey City, N. J., \$30; The Worker and Volks Zeitung, N. Y., \$592.07; Local Rochester, N. Y., \$7.25; Local Chicago, Ill. (Jas. Smith, Sec.), \$30.75; J. A. Waldron, Junction City, Cal., \$1; Proceeds Mass Meeting, Boston, Mass. Wm. Mailly, Sec., \$202.83; Local Jersey City, N. J., \$30; The Worker and Volks Zeitung, N. Y., \$201; total to November 2, 1902, \$8,922.45.

Amount reported to November 9th, \$8,967.90; Bohemian Societies, Chicago, Ill., \$38.25; total, \$9,006.15.

This fund is now closed. All locals having lists in their possession will please forward them without delay to

Leon Greenbaum, National Secretary, 427 Emile Building, St. Louis, Mo.

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

Who'll Own that Anthracite?

There lived a great and mighty Bear In Eastern Pennsylvania, where, When earth's foundation rocks were laid, The generous hand of God had made A mine of anthracite.

In some way men had chanced to learn That black, hard stuff was good to burn; And to himself this Bear had said "I'll take possession of that bed Of coal called anthracite."

He hired a hundred thousand slaves To work in dark and dangerous caves, And wear their weary lives away In cheerless toil for meagre pay, In digging anthracite.

And through the labor of their hands In mining these prolific lands, Ere long this great and mighty Bear Became a haughty millionaire, Through owning anthracite.

Then to this great and mighty Bear His hirelings said: "It is not fair, "That we, through danger, toil and pain, "Less than a slave's reward should gain, "For mining anthracite.

"Our wives and children cannot live "Upon such wages as you give; "So here's the long and short of it— "More pay, or we will strike and quit "Unearthing anthracite."

And so they struck; but why re-tell "A tale the public knows so well? Ere long the country's millions learned Their wealth and welfare was concerned In that same anthracite.

And then the nation's chosen head Approached the Bear and gently said: "All over this great land, behold, "Work is delayed and homes are cold "For lack of anthracite."

Replied the proud and haughty Bear, "You meddling puppy, don't you dare "To interfere; let me alone! "My private business is my own— "As is my anthracite!"

"But think," replied the President, "Cold winter's blasts are imminent! "How will the shivering public fare?" "Oh, damn the public," sneered the Bear "They'll get no anthracite!"

Replied the President, "I know "I've gone as far as I can go; "I'm well aware 'tis very true "To fight to the bitter end, you "About that anthracite:

"My constitutional adviser— "Than whom nobody can be wiser— "Tells me there is no law at all "Compelling you to mine or haul "A ton of anthracite."

"Of course not," said the Bear, "because "My minions, who have made the laws, "So planned them that the human race "Must occupy a second place, "Compared with anthracite."

Then the inhabitants of these United States fell on their knees, And cried, "O Gracious Master, please "To let us have, before we freeze, "A little anthracite."

At this the proud and haughty Bear Swelled with his chest and pawed the air, And said, "I'd have you understand "That I am owner of that land "And of that anthracite.

"And as to my God-given wealth, "I'll use it as may suit myself; "And I have naught to arbitrate, "Whatever be the people's fate "Without that anthracite."

So matters went until at last The season of forbearance was past, The outraged public thought that they Would have a word or two to say About that anthracite.

In bitter scorn and righteous wrath, As to a serpent in their path, The people's voice addressed him thus: "'Twas not not for you, it was for us "God made that anthracite.

"As by our laws we still retain "The right of 'eminent domain,' "We'll take such action as retrieves "Our own inheritance from thieves "Who steal our anthracite."

At this, with many a growl and frown, The great and mighty Bear backed down; And to avoid a direr fate, At last agreed to arbitrate About that anthracite.

And possibly this mighty Bear, Grown prudent through his recent scare, If we are well-behaved and nice, May let us have, at double price, A little anthracite.

—By J. L. McCreery.

Free Speech Attacked in Los Angeles

J. B. Osborne was arrested in Central Park yesterday afternoon for making a public address without a permit therefor. At the police station he was charged with misdemeanor and released on deposit of \$5 bail. Osborne claimed that he was entitled to address the public from the bandstand at Central park because the city once held a meeting at that place in memory of President McKinley, at which time speeches were made by various people who had no license or permit to do so.

He is to have a jury trial, but it will probably be the old farce over again. The fight will be made on the grounds that the city council itself without power, has delegated to the park commissioners an unconstitutional right of saying who shall not speak in the public parks.

Once Judge Morgan held that such an ordinance was ridiculous and Judge Smith of the Superior Court overruled him. Then Judge Smith, in a later case, reversed his own decision.

The Socialists will show that the latest California State rulings hold such law to be unconstitutional and they believe any jury will decide that, if one man has a right to speak publicly, another has; that the parks, in other words, belong to the people.

In the court of Judge Morgan this afternoon, Osborne pleaded not guilty.

His case was set for trial at 2:30 p. m. Wednesday, before a jury.

"I don't want any sympathy," said the blind man, "It's justice I and my kind are after."—Los Angeles Record, Nov. 15, 1902.

New York, November 16.—Socialism has increased its national vote from 86,000 cast for Eugene V. Debs in 1900 to more than 400,000 cast this year. Official returns, when tabulated, may swell this to a half-million. Only once since 1860 has a third party made so strong a showing.

Conservative Massachusetts political students were astonished a few years ago when the Socialists cast their percentage of the vote of the State. A year ago the the Socialist vote in the Old Bay State was 10,731. Returns from 291 cities and towns show that the new party has polled 32,105, an increase of 300 per cent. Complete returns promise a total of 40,000 for Chase, Socialist candidate for Governor.

While Massachusetts seems to show the greatest increase in the Socialist vote, the result in Western States possesses more political importance. Those who have ignored the growth and possibilities of political Socialism will glance with surprise at the returns from Milwaukee, Toledo, Chicago, Evansville and other cities in that belt of States which often decides national elections.

In Milwaukee the vote for Lieutenant-Governor was as follows: Republican, 26,118, Democratic 20,762, and Socialist 11,731. The Socialist vote in Chicago exceeded 12,000, an increase of 400 per cent.

The same story comes from Indiana. The Socialist cast nearly 1,500 votes in Evansville, against 300 in 1900. Their vote in the State exceeds 20,000. Minneapolis cast 2,000 Socialist votes and St. Paul about 1,600. The party claims 15,000 in Minnesota.

Returns from Pennsylvania are not yet tabulated, but the indications are that it has become the banner State for Socialist votes.

From such returns as are now available it appears that the increased Socialist vote is drawn from the Democrats in the cities and from Republicans in the country districts. While the most startling increases have been made in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, no section of the country is exempt from an invasion from this new political force. Maine cast 3,000 and Texas twice that number of Socialist votes, while California more than doubled its vote of 1900.

A corresponding rate of increase will give Socialism more than 1,000,000 votes in 1904.—San Francisco Call (Rep.)

Comrades! Buy from those who buy from you. Our advertisers buy publicity from us. We are your property. You increase our income when you make our space profitable to advertisers.

—By J. L. McCreery.

Womans Socialist Union

Edited by M. Alice Spradlin.

Officers of the Union.

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

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

Recording Secretary, Rose Webster Snell, Los Angeles.

Treasurer, Martha Salyer, Los Angeles. The State constitution of the Woman's Socialist Union is out in leaflet form. Any who need it for organizing local unions may secure them by addressing any of the above officers.

SOCIALISM FOR CHILDREN.

Clothes.

I know an old lady who used to live on an island off the coast of Scotland. And she tells me that no one was ever more warmly dressed than she was or had stouter boots or stronger linen sheets or thicker blankets on the bed. Yet she and her father and mother with her sisters and brothers had to make all their clothes themselves out of what they could get on their little island. They did not go to shops for their cloths. Where did they get them? Well, I will tell you. There was the wool on the backs of the sheep which the shepherds tended. The people on the island used to have to comb and card and spin and weave and dye it all by hand power. They had no factories with wonderful machinery worked by steam, yet they were able to make enough clothing for all the people on the island and it was warm and strong.

Then they made leather from the skins of animals and tanned it well and made it up into strong boots. It was the same with the linen. They planted big beds of the blue flouting flax and gathered the flax in at the right time of the year and soaked it and beat it out ready for working up like wool.

If they had wanted silk they would have had to send some of their wool or flax or food to places where the mulberry trees grow abundantly to feed the silk worm, and exchange these things for silk. And for cotton, if those island people had wanted it, they would have had to exchange something else of which they had too much or something which they were able to make better than the cotton pickers in another country.

But to-day, as you know, men have invented machinery that can be worked by steam power so that they can work up the raw wool, flax, silk, cotton or leather nigh a hundred times quicker than in the old days, so that people ought to be able to have far more time to read books, hear music and enjoy the beautiful world we live in.

Thus you see if we come back to the question of what is needed for plenty of clothes the answer is the same as for food. For plenty of clothes we need land and machinery and workers.

(The next lesson will be on houses.)

The following clipping from the Los Angeles Socialist, written by Mrs. Dunham, gives valuable suggestions concerning the organization and carrying on of local unions. We trust it may prompt many to action:

Burlington, Ia., Sept. 22, 1902.

Dear Socialist Sisters of Los Angeles:—I am getting very anxious that we shall be reaching the women who have not yet had their attention called to the great movement, so am writing each local, asking them to plan for a series of parlor meetings to be held at the homes of the members, at which a program shall be given of one or two songs a recitation or a fine poem read, and there are many such, and a talk or paper by some member on some of our principles or some of the reasons why we advocate Socialism, this to be followed by a discussion in which all shall be invited to take part. Verbal or written invitations should be given to all friends and acquaintances of the hostess and the one who is to give the paper or talk, and a general invitation to every one in any way preferred, but the personal invitations will bring most, and bring many who would not come otherwise.

You can have light refreshments, wafers and some kind of drink if thought best, for they add to the friendly feelings and loosen tongues. Then have some literature to distribute, and as it is given out ask each one to read it, and be sure and ask for members, and if you choose to pass the plate for a free-will offering, you can do so. Invite all to attend the next one, and if place and date can be announced each time it will be all the better.

Sometimes a debate may be a pleasant variation, and always give opportunity for questions to be asked. I am sure we can reach many in this way we cannot easily in any other, and that good results will follow.

I read with great interest the first installment of the report of the State meet-

ing and am looking for the rest, which I hope to receive soon.

California has the credit of leading the way, but I trust others will soon follow.

I will be glad to hear from you at any and all times and especially to know of the results of this plan after it has been tried.

Yours in loving service,
Marion H. Dunham.

The plan suggested by our National Secretary, Mrs. Dunham, is the same that was followed by the Woman's Socialist Union of San Jose last winter, with very good results. While holding our regular meetings at the appointed time and place, we also arranged for such special social meetings as Mrs. Dunham describes, in localities where no Woman's Union existed. We enjoyed ourselves, broadened our acquaintance, and as you might say set down fresh roots in preparation for a larger organization in future.

We recommend the plan to others.

J. R. Cole.

Superior Cheapness of Government Ownership

Hon. Leslie M. Shaw, Secretary of the Treasury, in a speech at Milwaukee October 21, said in reply to some one in the audience who suggested that government ownership of coal mines would avert a great deal of trouble: "It would cost the government 25 per cent more to run the mines than it costs private individuals."

It probably would. It certainly should. The wages of the miners ought to be increased more than twenty-five per cent. But Mr. Shaw misses the point entirely. What most concerns the public is not what it costs private individuals or what it would cost the government to "run" the mines, but what the public is or would be compelled to pay for coal. Last year "private individuals" who run our mines took out and sold in round numbers 60,000,000 tons of anthracite coal, for which they paid the miners \$36,000,000. If the government had had a department of mining, as it has a department of agriculture; if the department of mining were conducted, as regards expense, upon the same basis as the department of agriculture; if dividends to the "private individuals" who "run" our coal mines and coal-carrying railroads were omitted from the calculation, the consumers of anthracite coal in the United States would have been saved in round numbers, \$145,000,000. If the miners had been paid twenty-five per cent more than they were (the expense of mining being thus raised from \$36,000,000 to \$45,000,000), the consumers would have been saved \$136,000,000. If the miners had been paid twice what they were (\$72,000,000), the public would have saved considerably more than one hundred million dollars. In other words, the anthracite coal miners wages might have been doubled and the coal sold at a reduction of \$1.33 per ton.

—J. L. McCreery.

Bishop Potter has been talking again, and unless he keeps quiet he will actually discover that there is a class struggle and tell us about it. Says the good Bishop: "I have stood by the open excavation of the new underground railroad in New York City, looking at the men digging. They have told me that they get \$2 a day for fair days when the work could go on. Living is expensive in New York. These are not the submerged; they are the men of brown and health. They are the "labor."

Bishop Potter in Danger

"I have gone through the corridors of the fashionable hotel at midnight hours and looked on the dimers and liners, with liveried waiters obsequiously serving the viands of all kinds.

"These are the 'employers.' "Are the interests of the two classes mutual? Can easy-going optimism conjure up any relation between the two? Can any bridge span the chasm between them?"

"When I go through our factories and see fine, able-bodied men, dexterous, earnest men, working nine hours a day every day and every year a lifetime through, fashioning the uncouth raw material of wood and metal and marble into house material, I ask myself, 'Will the laborer have any of these polished and luxurious appliances in the home of his family, or will they only go into the houses of the well-to-do, the mansions of the rich—the 'employer' class? Are the interests of the laborer and capitalist mutual in this work?"

"I know full well that many will say that money payment settles the whole score; but even if that were so, is there any mutuality when one makes and the other enjoys?"

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The Social Revolution

BY KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated by J. B. Askew in London Justice.

PART I.—SOCIAL REFORM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

(Continued from last week.)

The analogy between birth and revolution does not, however, extend only to the suddenness of the act. If we look closer we find that this sudden change at birth is limited to the functions. The organs develop but slowly, and it is only when the development has reached a certain stage that the leap becomes possible which releases suddenly their new functions. Should, however, the leap take place before that stage of the development is reached, the result is not the beginning of new function of the organs, but the stopping of all functions, the death of the new creature. On the other hand the slow development of the organs in the womb of the mother might have proceeded ever so slowly, they would never have been able to begin their new functions without the revolutionary act of birth. At a certain stage of the development of the organs this becomes unavoidable.

We find the same in society. Here also revolutions are result of slow developments (evolutions). Here also it is the social organs which slowly develop. What may alter suddenly at a blow are their functions. The railway system has but slowly developed. On the other hand it is possible to transform a railway at one blow from a capitalistic concern serving the purpose of enriching a number of capitalists, into a Socialist undertaking working for the exclusive good of the community. And just as at birth all the functions of the child are revolutionized at one and the same moment—circulation of the blood, breathing, digestion, etc.—so must all the functions of the railway line be revolutionized at one and the same time, too, since they are all bound up in the most intimate fashion with one another. It is impossible to nationalize these functions gradually, one by one—say, now the functions of the engine-driver and stoker, then a few years hence those of the guards, again, after a lapse of some years, the functions of clerks and bookkeepers, etc. That, in the case of a railway is perfectly evident; but no less absurd than the gradual Socialization of the different functions of a railway is that of a ministry in a centralized State. The latter too is a homogeneous organism, whose organs must work together, and the functions of the one cannot change without those of all changing at the same time. The idea of the gradual conquest of the various departments of a ministry by Social-Democracy is not less absurd than the attempt would be to divide the act of birth into a number of consecutive monthly acts, in each of which one organ would only be transformed from the condition of the fetus to that of an independent child, leaving all the whole child itself on the navel cord till it learns to speak and walk.

But if a railway or a ministry cannot be transformed from working on capitalist lines to a Socialist institution gradually step by step, but only at one blow, and with all their organs at the same time, that is nevertheless only possible at a certain stage of the development of all the social organs—though certainly in the case of society it is not possible, as it is in the case of the maternal organism, to scientifically determine when the necessary stage of maturity is reached.

On the other hand, however, the act of birth marks, not the close of development of the human organs, but the commencement of a new epoch of development. The child comes into new conditions of life, in which new organs form themselves and those already existing develop farther in their proper directions. The teeth grow, the eyes learn to see, the hands to grasp, the legs to walk, the mouth to speak, etc. In the same way a social revolution cannot mark the close of the social development, but, on the contrary, must denote the beginning of a new. A social revolution can at one blow transform a factory from a capitalist to a social property. But only gradually, in the course of a slowly proceeding development, is it possible to alter a factory from a place of monotonous, repulsive and forced labor into an attractive home of pleasurable activity of happy human beings. A Socialist revolution could also change at one blow the existing large agricultural industries into Socialist property. Where, however, small agricultural industry prevails, there the organs of social or Socialistic production in agriculture have first to be created, and that can only be the result of a slow development.

We see, then, that the analogy between birth and revolution is pretty close. But that naturally proves that it is a mistake to refer to nature and on the strength of that to describe revolution as something in itself irrational and unnatural. We, however, have no right, as has already been shown, to draw from nature direct

conclusions as to the character of social processes. We consequently cannot go further and conclude on the strength of that analogy that, as every animal being must undergo a catastrophic change, in order to arrive at a higher stage of development (the act of birth or the bursting of an egg shell), therefore so can a society too, only be raised to a higher plane of development by means of such a catastrophic change.

Chapter III.—Revolutions in Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

We can only decide whether revolution is a necessity or not by examining the facts of the development of society, not from analogies taken from natural science. It is however only necessary to cast a glance at this development to see that the Social Revolution, in the narrower sense in which we have defined the term here, is no necessary consequence of every social development. There was a social development, and indeed a very far reaching one, long before the class antagonisms and the power of the State had risen. It is, however, evident that at this period the conquest of the political power by an oppressed class, in other words, the Social Revolution, was impossible.

But even when class antagonisms and a State have arisen we are still very far from finding what fully corresponds to our idea of the Social Revolution, either in antiquity or mediæval times. Certainly we find bitter class struggles, civil wars, political upheavals innumerable, but we do not see any of these upheavals producing a permanent change in the property relations, and consequently bringing about a new form of society.

The reasons for that I find are as follows: In antiquity and even in the Middle Ages, the center of gravity of economic and political life lay in the commune or parish. Every commune formed a community, self-contained in all essentials and only bound up with the external world by a few loose ties. Great States were only conglomerates of communes, which were either held together through a dynasty or through one commune ruling and exploiting the rest. Each commune had its own particular economic development in accordance with its own particular local conditions, and consequently its own particular class-struggles. The political revolutions of those times were, therefore, in the first instance, only commercial revolutions. It was quite impossible to transform the whole social life of a larger territory by means of a political revolution.

Now, the smaller the number of individuals taking part in a social movement—in other words, the less the movement is a mass movement—the feebleness does the universal, the law-determined, come to the surface, the stronger is the preponderance of the accidental and of the personal. This must have increased the diverse character of the class-struggles in the different communes still more. But as in those class-struggles no mass phenomena ever came forward, the law-determined and the universal was hidden under the accidental and the personal, a deeper knowledge of the social causes and of the aims of the class movements was also impossible. Great as were the achievements of the Greek philosophy, the conception of a scientific national economy remained unknown to it. Aristotle offered only suggestions for such; otherwise what the Greeks and Romans accomplished in the sphere of theoretical economics were only manuals for practical business men, principally for agriculturists, such as were compiled by Xenophon and Varro.

But if the deeper social causes of the position of the various classes were hidden beneath the acts of individual persons and local peculiarities, what wonder that the oppressed classes, when succeeding in getting hold of the political power, used this mainly for the purpose of getting rid of individual personalities and individual local institutions, never going so far as to establish a new order of society?

The most important cause, however, which stood in the way of a revolutionary effort of that sort was the slowness of the economic development. It proceeded imperceptibly. Peasant and hand-worker worked just as their fathers and forefathers had done; the old, the traditional, was the best and most satisfactory. Even where people sought for something new, they tried to persuade themselves and others that it was really a return to the forgotten past. The progress in technique did not create the need for new forms of property, since it consisted only in an ever-increasing social division of labor, in a splitting up of one trade into several. In each new trade, however, production was still carried on by hand as in the old, the means of production were scanty, and manual skill played the decisive part. Certainly we find, in addition to the peasant and the hand-worker, also farming on a large scale, and—in the latter period of antiquity—even industrial undertakings; but they were carried on by slaves who stood outside the pale of the community exactly like foreigners. These were only undertakings for the production of luxuries, incapable of developing any great economic power—except temporarily

in the time of great wars, which weakened the peasant class and made slaves cheaper. A higher form of economic life and a new social ideal cannot arise from slavery.

The only forms of capital which develop in antiquity and the Middle Ages are the usurers' and the merchants' capital. Both may sometimes lead to rapid economic changes. But even so commercial capital could only encourage the splitting up of old trades into numerous new ones and stimulate the further advancement of the large farming based on slave labor; whilst the usurers' capital had only the effect of disintegrating the then existing forms of production without creating any new. The struggle against the usurers' capital and farming on a large scale led from time to time to political struggles which somewhat resembled the social revolutions of our time. But their object was only the re-establishment of the previous conditions, not the renovation of society. This was the case with the measures undertaken by Solon in ancient Greece for the reduction of the indebtedness of the people and with the movements of the Roman peasants and proletarians which derived their name from the two Gracchi.

To all these causes—the slowness of the economic development, the lack of a deeper knowledge of the interdependence of social forces, the splitting up of the political life into numerous and different communities—there was added in the classic antiquity and, to a great extent, also in mediæval times, the fact that the means of power to keep down the rising classes were comparatively meagre. There was no bureaucracy, or at least there was none where political life was still at full flow, and the class struggles were fought out vigorously. In the Roman Empire, for example, bureaucracy first developed under the Empire. The inner as well as the mutual relations of the communes were simple and easy to survey and did not require any special professional knowledge. The ruling classes could easily provide from their own ranks the requisite men for the administration of the State, and this all the more as, at that time domination brought with it leisure, which used to be devoted to artistic, philosophical, and political activity. The ruling classes did not simply rule, they governed also.

On the other hand, the mass of the people were not wholly bereft of arms. It was precisely at the best time of classical antiquity that the militia system prevailed and each citizen had to bear arms. Under these circumstances, a slight shifting in the respective power of the classes often sufficed to bring a new class to the helm. The class antagonism, therefore, could hardly become so acute as to impress the subjected classes with the firm idea of the complete overthrow of the existing order, and on the other hand to make the oppressors obstinantly and invariably cling to all their privileges. To this also contributed the circumstance that, as has already been noticed, political revolutions were only made with the object of removing certain individual abuses and individual persons; it also had, however, the effect of not infrequently preventing such political revolutions by means of compromises.

Among the modern great states, England is the one which, although not economically, still by its political forms, most reminds one of the Middle Ages. Here bureaucracy and militarism has developed the least; it still possesses an aristocracy, which not only rules, but also governs. Accordingly it is the one modern great state in which the endeavors of the oppressed classes have to the greatest extent been confined to the removal of individual evils instead of being directed against the entire social system, and in which the practice of preventing revolutions by means of compromise has developed most.

If the universal duty of bearing arms did not favor great social revolutions it facilitated for that very reason the armed conflicts between the classes, even on the least occasion. Of violent uprisings and civil wars there is in antiquity and in the Middle Ages no lack. The passion with which they were fought out was often very great; they often led to expulsion and expropriation; nay, even to the extermination of the conquered. Those who see in violence the character of a social revolution will find numerous examples of such in ancient times. Those, however, who only recognize social revolution where the conquest of political power through a previously oppressed class leads to a complete transformation of the legal and political superstructure of society, especially of the conditions of property, will find no social revolutions there.

The social development proceeds more by little leaps and jerks, not concentrated in single great catastrophes, but split up in numerous small ones apparently without any connection with each other, often intercepted, always starting a fresh, and always essentially unconscious. The biggest social transformation of those times, the disappearance of slavery in Europe, took place so imperceptibly that no contemporary took notice of the process, and we to-day are forced to reconstruct it by means of hypotheses.

Fresno at the Bat

In Fresno the Socialists went into the Union Labor Political Club and bored from within. Result—1st, endorsement of Socialist ticket; 2d, sixty per cent increase. It would have been more if the boys had had more time. *Advance* circulates well in Fresno.

National Secretary's Report for October

National Secretary's Report for October, 1903.

Received—October 1, balance Strike Relief, \$98.31; party funds, \$107.73; National dues, Alabama, \$48.80; California, \$100; Colorado (August and September dues), \$72.70; Connecticut, \$10; Florida (paid in November); Idaho (paid in November); Illinois (in arrears two months), \$40; Indiana (September dues), \$30; Iowa (in arrears one month); Kansas (no dues system); Kentucky (in arrears two months), \$5; Louisiana, \$2.90; Maine, \$17.50; Maryland, \$7.20; Massachusetts, \$55; Michigan (in arrears two months); Minnesota (paid in November); Missouri, \$24.10; Montana, \$4.35; Nebraska (September dues), \$9; New Hampshire, \$6.05; New Jersey, \$25; New York (June, July, August dues), \$150; Ohio, \$55; Oklahoma (in arrears three months); Oregon (in arrears one month); Pennsylvania, \$50; South Dakota, \$5.52; Tennessee, \$3.45; Texas (in arrears three months); Utah, (paid); Vermont, \$6.20; Virginia, \$2; Washington (paid in November); Wisconsin (July August, September dues), \$46.05; total national dues, \$231.82. Received for supplies, \$104.02; Strike Relief Fund, \$4,107.71; Propaganda Fund, \$14.25; miscellaneous, \$3.02. Total, \$5,166.86.

Expended—Exchange M. O. checks), \$2.58; expense (incidental), \$5.20; express, \$14.02; National Secretary's salary, \$83.33; Mrs. M. B. East acct. Conv. report), \$25; W. E. McDermott (acct. Conv. report), \$25; office help, \$64; postage, \$25.96; printing \$27.25; propaganda, \$101.25; rent \$32; J. S. Roche (four weeks), \$48; stationery, \$13.75; emblems (buttons), \$33.60; telegrams, \$1.40; refund (Colorado State Com.), \$3.30; refund (Wm. Tiescher), 25c; W. B. Wilson (Strike Relief Fund), \$4,084.62; Nov. 1st, balance Relief, \$120.40; Nov. 1st, balance party funds, \$455.95. Total, \$5,166.95.

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

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

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

Given under my hand and seal of said Superior Court at the City and County of San Francisco, State of California, this 29th day of October, in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and two.
ALBERT B. MAHONEY, Clerk (Seal) By JOSEPH RIORDAN, Deputy Clerk. JOSEPH A. MITCHELL, Attorney for Plaintiff, 1037 Market St.

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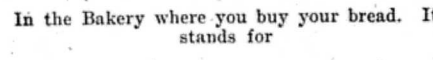
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Class Consciousness Fusion and Union Labor

Recent developments in the affairs of the party, and especially in its external relations, demand the most careful consideration and the most exhaustive discussion by the membership, to the end that judgment may be wisely determined, and the party's future action guided into safe channels.

I think it was well that during the campaign just closed, there should be as little discussion as possible. But it is now important that all these matters should be threshed out so thoroughly and so fairly that, if possible, the membership may be unanimous in its decision; and that if such end cannot be attained, the minority may find no excuse for declining to work with the majority for the glorious goal which we all seek.

We should not be surprised that very perplexing questions come up for settlement as our cause moves on.

Nothing is less to be expected than that we should simply go on making convert after convert, increasing our vote year by year, until some fine day we should find that we had elected our candidates and could proceed to establish the new order.

Nothing is more to be expected than in these last days of capitalism false prophets should arise, who, if it were possible, should deceive the very elect. Such a deceiver confronts us now, and his name is Fusion, alias Compromise. And the guise in which he comes is marvelously well adapted to his purpose. Should any sort of compromise proposition come to us from capitalists or their representatives we should know quickly enough what to say.

But a workingmen's party! A truly proletarian organization! A Union Labor party! What now shall the Socialist say, who has all along been insisting that the Socialist party is simply a proletarian organization of the workers for the purpose of placing members of the working class in control of the machinery of government? And here springs into sudden existence a young giant of a party, fulfilling all those requirements of the Socialist party, class-conscious as the heart can desire, and already able to achieve some political successes. Is it really any wonder that some Socialists have been found to say, as a well-known one has said, that the Socialist party has nothing to fear from fusion with such a party?

And yet I, who have often been obliged to do battle within the party for the principle that our party is a SOCIALIST party first, and only secondarily a workingmen's party, find a beautiful sort of poetic justice in seeing the same comrades who gave me combat on that issue among the first to see and the most vigorous in denouncing this new danger—the danger of the party losing its consciousness. And they realize now what they denied before—that the most important consciousness for Socialists and the Socialist party is the consciousness of Socialism, and not mere class-consciousness—which the new party has in plenty, but doesn't in the least know what to do with it.

It may learn what to do with it sooner or later, it is true. Indeed, if the organization does not, its individual members inevitably will, and will join the Socialist party. If the organization does learn it will adopt essentially Socialist principles, and it will then be time for the Socialist party to consider fusion or the abandonment of its own organization.

In the meantime the Socialist party has no business "monkeying" with any other party upon the basis of class-consciousness, proletarian organization, working-class solidarity, or anything else, so long as the principles of Socialism are lacking.

It is an established principle of mathematics that things equal to the same thing are equal to each other. Is it not equally good logic that parties which can fuse with the same party can fuse with one another? Therefore, if the Union Labor party can fuse with the Socialists upon its right hand and with the Democrats upon its left hand, why cannot the Socialists fuse directly with the Democrats, and thus capture some of the offices (for the Democrats) right away?

It will, of course, be denied that the actions taken and contemplated by certain local divisions of the party are fusion at all.

Fusion is commonly understood to be the reciprocal endorsement by two or more parties of the nominees of the other or others, each naming but a partial ticket.

It seems to me that refraining from making nominations for the declared purpose of avoiding competition with the nominees of another party lacks but a technical hair's breadth of being equivalent to the above. Moreover the party has been placed in the undignified position of an ardent swain proffering his attentions to a lady who scorns them. It has paid dearly for goods which have not been delivered.

It will be remembered by some comrades that when the contemplated action (since taken) of Local San Francisco was pre-

presented for my consideration I approved it. I should still approve it for any time and place if it appeared to be a matter of local expediency, not involving the sacrifice of any principles. I did not then suppose that a campaign was to be conducted, even partially upon the basis that the absence of local opposition to the Union Labor party was a concrete reason why the workingmen of the metropolis should support the Socialist State ticket.

It appeared to me to be simply a way for the comrades of that city to avoid arousing antagonism which would interfere with their propaganda, without any loss, since there was no expectation of electing anybody, and official standing would be gained just the same through the State ticket. I still believe that the motives behind the action were pure, and that the action was innocent in itself; but much of the argument it has called forth, both pro and con, has done harm; and much greater harm will be done if it be taken as a precedent (as charged by some opponents and admitted by some defenders) for actual fusion.

I am not in favor of a constitution requiring nominations to be made if against the judgment of a local. I believe a local should be free to consider its own local conditions of all kinds and to nominate or not, as seems wise. But it should never say to another party, "Because we have not nominated for certain offices you should support our nominees for others." Socialists have better reasons than that to give.

The one important thing in the whole matter is that the Socialist party should maintain an unmoved "center of consciousness" amid all this turmoil of the blind forces of Unionism until the latter shall cease to be blind and shall marshal themselves about that center for the overthrow of capitalism.

Much less important is it that the Socialist party should be large at any particular time than that there should always be a party in existence which knows what to do and how to do it. Let the Socialist party continue to be that party and one of two things will happen. Either it will draw the body of workingmen into its ranks or its principles will crystallize into the structure of any other workingmen's party which may exist.

S. Edgar Alderman.

Union Labor and Local San Francisco

Now that the election is over with its excitement and the heat and anxiety that it engendered, it might be well to look calmly over the past and take a glance at where we stood, and then see where we stand to-day. Local San Francisco, by a vote of nearly three to one, supported the policy of putting up no local ticket. At no time did Local San Francisco endorse any candidate or party save and except the Socialist candidates and the Socialist party. But the minority of the party and several of the newspapers opened the vials of their wrath without stint and made statements that were neither fair nor true. Every sane Socialist knows that at present there is no possibility of electing any Socialist in San Francisco to office; that being true, there is only one reason for a ticket, and that is to furnish a means to discuss Socialism. A State ticket being in the field, that means was furnished fully and completely. The question then was how best to do propaganda work, how best to teach Socialism, how best to remove prejudice. It might have pleased some of our comrades to see their names on the official ballot, but what good would it have done? Absolutely none. There is neither principle or the lack of it in being on or off the ballot. But there is wisdom and good common sense in honestly striving to understand how best to reach the intelligence of the working class. It cannot be done by fighting them, it cannot be done by offending them or insulting them. It can be done by kindly and wisely appealing to them. The condition in San Francisco was peculiar and difficult to understand even by those on the spot. New York, Washington or Oregon know nothing about it, though they said and wrote a good deal. We here know that an honest effort was being made to induce the members of the union to break away from their masters and the parties controlled by their masters. The task was a difficult one, requiring herculean effort and we dare not say now that it has been accomplished—we say that effort was being made. In every union in the city there are ignorant, prejudiced, dyed-in-the-wool Republicans and Democrats, and in many the tools of the bosses. The opposition of these has to be met, to be overcome, or you can do nothing. First the members must be got away from evil influences and brought into the good; brought from capitalist darkness into the true light of Socialism. That was the task of the Socialist in the union—it was both a delicate and a difficult one—no person on earth knows how difficult if they have not been there. Workingmen are suspicious, and moreover they

have a will of their own—cross them and it is all up. If San Francisco had put a local ticket in the field it would have been impossible to have convinced them that the Socialists were not their enemies, and engaged in fighting them, and moreover doing it while hypocritically pretending to be their friends, which was the worst feature of the whole affair. All that Local San Francisco did was to tell the union men in effect, Well, we are looking on and want to see what you can or will do. Local San Francisco neither fused with nor endorsed them, and never said so.

Local San Francisco is for Socialism and desires to help every one coming that way, and to help them to come all the way. To get a union man for the first time to vote a Socialist ticket is a big step and on November 4th many of them did it.

We have come out of the fight without offending the Union Labor party. We can go among them and talk to them and be kindly and courteously received. We have made no promises, broken no pledges, sunk no principles. This would not have been so had we listened to the voices who cried fight, fight, right or wrong, win or lose, be it good or evil; fight—fight simply for the sake of fighting. When another occasion arises what will we do? We do not know, we are pledged to no action and have no fixed purpose, except the purpose of our lives, which is to always use our best judgment and take the course which is wisest to push on the chariot wheels of Socialism. In this we all agree, so let us shake hands and be friends.

Scott Anderson.

Connolly, Jones and The Proletarian

A Socialist agitator and editor of the *Workers' Republic*, published in Dublin, Ireland, delivered two addresses in San Francisco last week, one (on Sunday night) in Turk Street Temple, and the other (on Monday night) in Pioneer Hall. These meetings were extensively advertised. About three hundred people attended each meeting. Connolly speaks with an Irish brogue that is distressing to listen to, he raises his voice to the highest pitch and keeps it there, thus spoiling the force of many good points. His matter, taken as a whole, is excellent and forcible and he is well worth hearing. Coming as he does as a visitor from *Ould Oirland* it might have been expected that our daily papers would have noticed his lectures; but no, they maintain a conspiracy of silence. They are not newspapers in any true sense; they are mere partisan and one-sided sheets that decent journalism ought to be ashamed of.

The meetings did one thing they furnished Speed and McGinity opportunities of tooting their own horns, and telling the people of San Francisco how good and wise and honorable they really are. When will they give us a new tune?

Taking his cue from McGinity on Monday night, Connolly tried to show that Socialism must be got by proletarians only and for proletarians, overlooking the fact that no great leader of the Irish race ever belonged to the proletarians. O'Connell, Emmett, Fitzgerald, Martin, Mitchell, Grattan, Parnell, in fact all belonged to the middle or the wealthy classes. He closed his lecture by reciting a gem from Ernest Jones. Now Ernest Jones, one of the great leaders of the English Chartists, belonged to a wealthy family and was himself a barrister. When he was in prison his uncle came to him, and on condition of his quitting the agitation, offered him freedom and a gift of ten thousand dollars a year for life. Jones spurned the offer and said he would never leave the goal on any such terms.

When Connolly was asked if Jones was a proletarian, he said "no, but he gave his life for the cause." There may be many Joneses. Let us hope so and welcome them to our ranks.

S. Anderson.

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