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ADVANCE

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

WHOLE NUMBER 438

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The Science of Society

It is a familiar saying nowadays that Socialism is a beautiful theory and all that, but it is impracticable, you can never put it in force until human nature is changed, etc. Of course the people who talk in this strain do not know what Socialism is, and it may seem to be a waste of time to argue with them, but there are so many of them, and this idea of the Utopian character of the Socialist philosophy is almost universally prevalent and is so persistently repeated by some people who ought to know better that we must of necessity pay some attention to it.

We have said it time and again and it seems to be necessary to say it again now, and all the time that the Socialist philosophy deals with men and things as they are and as they have always been. We have taken stock of human conditions, including this much talked of and little understood thing which is called "human nature," and propose to deal with it as we find it and not as some wise economist thinks it ought to be. If you have never noticed it before we now respectfully call your attention to the fact that Socialists never waste much time or effort in making war upon individuals like Carnegie, Rockefeller or Morgan, because we know that they are acting under the same impulses and controlled by the same economic laws by which the average human being is actuated or controlled. They do just what almost any of us would do under the same circumstances.

Not only is this true but it is also true that these men and their like have been necessary factors in developing human activity and human society to the point where the new order of things is possible of achievement. Capitalism with all its horrors, its brutal disregard of human rights, its frightful harvest of crime, war and famine, by demonstrating the necessary limitations of private ownership of the means of production and showing the injustice that necessarily attends its operations, has served to point the way to its legitimate successor in office, the co-operative commonwealth. We know very well that it is not now and never has been possible for the wisest men in the world to invent a social system or economic plan and impose it upon the world.

Social systems and laws and the organization of industry have always been and must continue to be the products of human experience, and the knowledge derived from that experience. History is not simply a record of past events. A knowledge of history implies a recognition of the causes that have operated to bring about existing conditions. It is precisely at this point that Socialism differs from all other so-called systems or theories of government.

The fact is that the very ground work and first principles of Socialism and by this we mean modern Socialism, is opposed to Utopianism in all its forms. The Socialist philosophy is not an invention of the human mind. It is a discovery of certain economic principles accomplished by and through the knowledge and intelligent application of the facts of history to present social conditions.

The task of the Socialist philosopher was not to invent an ideally perfect condition or system of society, but rather to examine and explain the historically economic process by which the two great classes into which human society is divided have been evolved, what is the secret of capitalist exploitation and what is the next step to be taken by the proletariat to put an end to that exploitation.

Pursuing this line of investigation Marx discovered and gave to the world the law of surplus value by which the process of robbing the working class of the fruit of their labor became as clear as any other fact in nature or science. The means by which labor is robbed or exploited being understood, the nature of the class struggle being once demonstrated, it follows with all the certainty of a scientific demonstration that the collective ownership of the means of production now possessed by the capitalist class under private ownership is the only way by which a just and orderly system of production can be maintained. In other words, we seek to discover the laws by which human society has, up to this time, been guided and controlled and to discover therefrom what is the easiest and surest method of taking advantage of these laws in order to keep in line with the evolutionary forces that make for progress. As the scientist must stick close to the phenomena of na-

ture so the Socialist must keep close to the facts of history.

From what has been said as to the scope and character of the philosophy of collectivism, it is evident that we cannot reasonably be expected to explain in detail all the characteristics of the co-operative commonwealth. Kindly remember that we do not claim the gift of prophecy and it is quite probable, indeed, if we are to learn anything from experience, the probability is very strong that the collective ownership of the means of production will bring into existence conditions not now foreseen which may materially modify any statement in the nature of a prediction which might be now attempted. This much, however, we are logically bound to do, viz., to meet all possible objections tending to show that the collective ownership of the means of production is either impossible or impracticable.

Many questions are now asked as to how such and such things will be done under Socialism. As to many of these it is impossible to give a positive answer without going into the realm of speculation, and as Socialists we cannot be required to speculate or engage in "vain imaginings." As to those changes or new conditions necessarily involved in collective ownership our task is done if we explain how they can be done; and if we keep within the logical requirements of our position we will not attempt to go further and assert how they will be done.

In this connection it is well to notice that the temptation to enter the field of speculation is strong and undoubtedly Socialist writers and speakers do sometimes "take a whirl" in that direction, what we now insist on is that Socialism is not responsible for the private opinions or phantasies, if any, that may be indulged in by individual Socialists unless these opinions, or more properly guesses, can be shown to be a part of the doctrines of collectivism.

William L. Richardson.

Massachusetts

"Foreigners"

The enormous Socialist vote in Massachusetts has set the capitalist press a guessing and various reasons have been assigned therefor, but the prize guess is that of the Chicago Tribune, which attributes it to the "steady increase of foreign-born over the native population." A glance at the names of the candidates will of course show that the Tribune's guess is fairly correct. John C. Chaseovich, the candidate for Governor, is no doubt indebted in a large part to the vote of the resident Russian population for his total of 34,000, while John Quincy Adamiski as Lieutenant-Governor, did nearly 7,000 better by raking in the Austrian Slovak and Polish vote in addition. As for the other candidates, we have only to mention the names of Coulter, Stutley, Clifford, Carlson, Monks, Patterson, Smith, Lynch, Clancy, Kearns, Bosworth, Barlow, Wrenn, Bingham and Richards, as showing beyond doubt their foreign extraction. We have never seen a roll of the "minute men" who fired "the first shot that was heard around the world" at Lexington in 1776, but we would be willing to make a small bet that seventy-five per cent of the names above given can be duplicated in that list. But no doubt the Tory Tribunes of that day considered those men as foreigners also.—Chicago Socialist.

International Vote of Socialist Party

The following table gives the international voting strength of the Socialist party in the leading countries of the world:

Germany (1898)	2,105,000
France (1902)	860,000
Austria	800,000
Belgium (1900)	463,000
United States (1902)	304,331
Italy (1900)	215,841
Switzerland (1901)	100,000
Sweden (1902)	48,000
Denmark (1901)	43,000
Holland (1901)	39,000
England (1900)	37,007
Spain (1901)	25,400
Bulgaria (1900)	10,000
Norway (1901)	7,013
Canada (1902)	1,628
Ireland (1902)	1,063
Total	4,860,908

Trade Unionism, Wise and Otherwise

There are two kinds of trade unionism and two kinds of trade unionists.

There is a trade unionism that is wise and a trade unionism that is unwise; there are trade unionists who are wise and others who are not wise.

The trade unionism that is unwise is founded upon the principle that in union lies strength just as the trade unionism that is wise and useful the trade unionist who is not wise carries his card fully paid up; wears his union button and buys only union-made goods, and the union man who is wise also does these things.

Where, then, is the difference.

The trade unionism that is unwise says: "There must be no politics in the union." Under the order of "good and welfare" you can discuss any subject almost except how you ought to vote: the trade unionism that is wise and useful does not try to exclude politics. On the contrary, it says that however regularly a man may pay his dues, and attend meetings; and however persistent he may be in buying only goods which bear the union label, he is not a good union man if he does not vote for labor. The union man who is not wise thinks that it is all right to vote for a capitalist to be Governor or Mayor, though he would not trust him to be sergeant-at-arms in the union; the union man who is wise thinks that is "scabbing" in the most dangerous way possible. The trade unionism that is unwise says: "It is no business of the union who a member votes for," and then, when the election is over, because it is opposed to certain laws or desires certain other laws enacted, it sends, at great expense, delegates to the State Legislature, or to Washington, to oppose the laws it does not want and beg for those laws it does want. Nine times out of ten the law they don't want is passed and the law they do want is not enacted. If it is enacted, the judges soon declare it unconstitutional, as in the case of the "Prevailing Rate of Wages Law," which the unions of New York State got placed on the statute book at great trouble and expense only to have it wiped out by capitalist judges. The trade unionism that is wise and useful says:

"The matter is really very simple. The workmen of this State, and of the Nation, are an enormous majority at the polls. If we want 'Labor Laws,' let us elect men from among ourselves who will not require us to beg them to enact such laws—men whose interests are ours, instead of being opposed to ours."

The trade unionism that is unwise sees its efforts to prevent the enactment of unjust laws and to secure the enactment of satisfactory laws prove abortive time after time; it sees how readily capitalist judges declare any Labor law "unconstitutional," or grant injunctions that harass and injure the unions; it sees how ready capitalist Governors and Mayors are, in time of strike, to send troops and policemen to oppress the strikers and to break up the strike; yet it continues its foolish and suicidal policy. The union man who is not wise still says his money into the union to promote the interests of labor and uses his vote against the interests of labor. The trade unionism that is wise and useful says we must use our votes so that we ourselves may control the forces of government, and use them to bring about the ownership of the wealth of the world by the workers who create it. That is Socialism, and the union man who is wise is also a Socialist.

To which class do you belong?
—By John Spargo, Editor of The Comrade.

A local charter has been granted to Pearl River, Louisiana.

James S. Roche has been elected a member of the Local Quorum of the National Committee to succeed L. E. Hildebrand, resigned.

Down with the competitive system of greed and hate and poverty and suffering, and up with the co-operative commonwealth, in which all men will be brothers.
—Voice of Labor.

A Christmas Incident in the Twentieth Century

By Scott Anderson.

A bright but cold morning on Christmas Eve, 1902, saw the Chicago express pull up at a little depot less than one hundred miles from New York. The cars were crowded with passengers, who were intensely annoyed when informed that owing to an accident a few miles further on, there would be a delay of two hours. Most of the passengers remained in the cars where they could keep warm, but a few got out just for a change. In the little waiting room a large stove well filled with coal threw out genial rays of warmth to every corner. One of the first to enter the room was a young woman poorly clad, carrying a baby wrapped in an old and torn blanket. A man rose and placed a chair for this woman near the stove. She smiled and said "Thank you." As she spoke all eyes were fixed on her. There was an indescribable something about her that would have attracted attention anywhere; character, force, intelligence and decision were written on every line of her face, but it was evident that she was carrying a load of care which made her look weary and sad. She had been seated a few minutes when the door opened and three women entered the room. The first was wrapped in costly furs and evidently belonged to the wealthy class of society; the other two were warmly and comfortably clad, but were evidently servants or dependants on the lady number one. After all had been seated, one of the women displayed from under her cloak a sleeping babe, seemingly of about the same age as that carried by the poorly clad woman, but this child instead of a torn old blanket was inclosed in furs and wraps worth hundreds of dollars. The company in the room rightly concluded that the fine lady was the mother of this babe, and these two

other were nurses. When these three women were being seated, the first young woman had her face partly turned away and did not seem to take any notice of or betray interest in the proceedings. In a few minutes however the fine lady began to cry, when the nurse that was holding him passed him quickly, not to his mother, but to the second nurse, who was evidently what is called a wet nurse. While this was transpiring the poorly clad woman turned her face fully round and gazed fixedly on the scene. As she did so the finely attired lady gave a start, and rising from her seat, walked over to the first woman exclaiming, "Why, Helen, is that you?" Helen replied very slowly but firmly, "Yes, I suppose it is I." There was neither warmth nor cheerfulness in her tone, which her questioner did not fail to note. Nevertheless she seated herself by Helen's side and began a conversation by saying, "Why, it is just two years since you and I were both members of the theological class in St. Paul's. Surely you recollect?" Helen replied, "Oh, yes, quite well." "We both left to get married. You married Earnest Smith, a miner, and I married Theophilus Brown. I have never met you or even heard of you since. I see you have a baby; is it a boy?" Helen said, "Yes, it is a boy." "How old is he?" Helen answered, "Eight months to-day." The lady said, "How strange; that is exactly the age of my Frederick." Continuing she said, "But, Helen, how ill you do look, and how poorly you are dressed, and your baby, why it is awful. What ever is the matter?" "Matter," said Helen, bitterly, "my husband is a good man; as you said, he is a miner; he has been on strike for six months. We have exchanged everything, and now I am going to my aunt in New York, who has offered to find shelter and food for my baby and I." Then the lady said, "Why, Helen, how foolish of him to go on strike." The effect of the last sentence uttered by the lady was electrical. Helen turned firmly around, her whole frame full of animation, while her eyes seemed to flash fire. "Foolish," she said, "foolish! Mrs. Brown, you reminded me a moment ago that you and I went together to a Sunday school where we were taught that we had a common father—God—that we were his children; that he loved us and cared for us—is that true?" "Oh, yes," said Mrs. Brown, "that is true." "Well, what have I done that I should be treated like this? Rags, poverty, misery, even hunger, are my lot and that of my child, and yet I have worked and worked since I was six years old! What have you done, Mrs. Brown? Did you ever do any work in your life? Was your brow ever wet with honest sweat? Were

your fingers ever soiled with any useful or honest toil? And yet look at you—the clothes you wear cost more than my husband could earn in four or five years, and your babe, why, you do not even nurse it! What? God our father and we his daughters? Mrs. Brown, it is a base, odious lie. A father who would allow this is a monster." Mrs. Brown was too astonished to do anything except to say, "horrible! horrible!" But Helen was not finished by any means. Continuing she said, "Foolish, was he—foolish to strike? foolish to ask for enough of the necessities of life, to enable him and his fellow workers to live? Well, perhaps he was! What should he have done? He should have said to your husband and every other so-called rich man in the land, 'all that you have stolen so far is gone, but the hour of justice has come, and stealing must cease. The toiler shall take the place of the idler. Useless parasites shall no longer suck the life-blood of the honest producer.' Mrs. Brown, my husband and his fellows should have compelled you to change places with me. No, no, we would not do that. We would see that you needed nothing. Your babe should not be wrapped in an old and torn blanket. We would care for you as human beings and forget that you treated us worse than dogs. But this shall be done. My babe shall not have to face the conditions of his father, nor shall your babe be permitted to rob and plunder thousands. Instead of wasting time in theological classes, men and women shall go out into this great world—possess it, beautify it, replenish it and make it a delightful place for all to dwell in. It is this thought and hope which enables me to live and fills me with joy even in my poverty. I have finished, Mrs. Brown. I envy you not. I would rather have my present lot and its misery than be the parasite you are." Just at this moment the voice of the conductor was heard clear and strong, "All aboard!" Then Helen and Mrs. Brown parted to meet no more.

California Vote by Counties

County	1900	1902
Alameda	828	1009
Alpine	0	1
Amador	17	16
Butte	51	57
Calaveras	27	35
Colusa	68	23
Contra Costa	45	155
Del Norte	4	43
El Dorado	25	49
Fresno	232	371
Glenn	6	11
Humboldt	178	135
Inyo	20	25
Kern	52	66
Kings	40	51
Lake	28	32
Lassen	58	29
Los Angeles	995	1140
Madera	18	46
Marin	52	44
Mariposa	7	15
Mendocino	36	44
Merced	26	55
Modoc	12	12
Mono	1	7
Monterey	44	36
Napa	52	45
Nevada	128	142
Orange	77	194
Placer	39	104
Plumas	6	1
Riverside	152	314
Sacramento	131	310
San Benito	17	12
San Bernardino	235	291
San Diego	289	657
San Francisco	2035	1993
San Joaquin	82	120
San Luis Obispo	59	53
San Mateo	38	28
Santa Barbara	123	178
Santa Clara	210	209
Santa Cruz	152	127
Shasta	87	120
Sierra	11	5
Siskiyou	39	56
Solano	167	310
Sonoma	139	182
Stanislaus	34	39
Sutter	11	15
Tohama	25	45
Trinity	8	16
Tulare	165	223
Tuolumne	29	94
Ventura	75	115
Yolo	46	75
Yuba	20	12

Total 7554 9592
School Notes.

ADVANCE



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

San Francisco, December 27, 1902

The organization, last week, of a State Union Labor party presents a problem to the Socialist party of California, which, while it does not call for immediate settlement, does require careful study. We know that many comrades are disposed to jump to the conclusion that the only new problem in the matter is that we have a new foe to fight. But we dissent as strongly from that opinion as ever.

We have a new force to reckon with—a force called into existence largely by Socialist propaganda in the trades unions, and in a measure responding to Socialist advice. It will not do to say shortly, "If they are Socialists they should join us; if they are not we must fight them." It betrays what Engels terms "the metaphysical mode of thought," as distinguished from the "dialectical method." The trades unionists are not Socialists, that is true, but they are becoming such. One of the questions before us is, how can we best hasten their development?

The election of November 4, 1902, has come and gone.

No election for many years has been as significant in its results as this one.

Significant because it has demonstrated to the dependent of capitalism that Socialism is something which can no longer be laughed aside. The tremendous vote for the Socialist party all over the country has opened the eyes of a great many, and especially true is this of the capitalist newspapers. Many of them since election day have been endeavoring to find an explanation for the large vote or trying to prove that it is not of a permanent character. Reviews and editorials are brought out daily, which are quite amusing to the Socialist.

They show many of them how much of a scare the subsidized press has received over the growth of this movement, which most of them do not understand.

These capitalist press editorials go to show that Socialism has got its start as a factor in American politics, and has reached the desirable point in its growth where it commands the attention and respect of the people and the press.

All of which is, of course, very gratifying.

Every Socialist has cause to be jubilant over the great gain in the voting strength of the Socialist party in this year's election.

But while we shout, let us ask ourselves what it means to the future of our movement and what it demands of us in that movement.

Our new strength brings new responsibilities.

With 300,000 or more votes we are at once driven from the position we formerly occupied as a struggling band of disconnected theorists into a national party, third in standing among the parties in the nation. Because of this we are at once face to face with new conditions which will tax our wisdom to the utmost. No longer will enthusiasm, agitation and faith in the success of our cause suffice.

We must have organization. Upon organization we must depend almost entirely for the success of Socialism in America. Socialism is a revolutionary movement. A movement for the emancipation of the working class from the wages system, from capitalism and servitude to industrial monarchs. To overthrow capitalism and inaugurate Socialism we are compelled to overthrow the power controlling

government—the citadel of capitalism. This power is an organized power stronger and more firmly entrenched than is commonly supposed. No one can for a moment realize the magnitude of the task of wresting the control of the government from the cohorts of capitalism unless they have participated in a battle in which the forces of capitalism were arrayed solidly against the attacking force of Socialism. With years of experience and a multiplicity of resources, with unending patronage and millions of wealth arrayed against Socialism and the political party which gives expression to it, a front which cannot be broken without the battering ram of organization. We must fight fire with fire and meet the enemy upon their own ground.

We have the truth, they the falsehood; we have the right, they the wrong.

We are the forces of light and progress, they are the elements of darkness and retrogression.

They have the wealth, we have the enthusiasm.

They have favors to bestow, we have freedom to give.

But they have organization, we must have the same.

With a quarter of a million or more supporters of our cause we have but a few thousand organized. It is not to be expected that we are to have them all or any great number of them, but we should have more than we now have, if we hope to hold our movement impervious to the assault which will be made upon it by the trimmer, grafter and hireling of capitalism.

As the Socialist party grows in strength and power so much faster comes the time when the attempt will be made to sidetrack it, or to disintegrate and swallow it up.

Now, as never before, our slogan should be:

"No compromise."

"No political trading."

There can be no compromise without abdication of principle, no trading without disaster.

Unless we take advantage of our opportunities we shall awake too late to a neglect of duty. Socialism is safe and sure to come at some time in the future. But the Socialist party which gives expression to it and through which we hope to attain Socialism is not safe against the attempt which will be made to wreck it if those of us who are guarding its welfare do not do our utmost to protect it.

With the disintegration of the Socialist party there would come a period in which Socialism would be retarded and its final coming just that much longer delayed.

Again, I say, let us organize. Organize for the next great battle for emancipation from wage slavery.

John C. Chase.

Haverhill, Mass., November 20, 1900.

Woman's Socialist Union

Edited by M. Alice Spradlin.

Comrade J. Stitt Wilson concluded on Sunday before last his series of lessons on "The Inspired Life," which he began before starting on his last tour to Colorado. The general subject of the last two lectures was "A Scientific Basis for Complete Living," and the central thought was spontaneity in action and the complete process of thinking, which he defines as experience, analysis and the relationship to the universe.

His fearless and eloquent words to break down arbitrary customs of society and to live the true, free self met with hearty appreciation of the large audience present. Our conventionalities, the complete and restful abandonment of each individual to their higher nature is the key note he struck in every measure of his discourse.

Comrade Wilson will give a free lecture on "Feeling," at Golden Gate Hall, 625 Sutter street, next Sunday, December 28, at 11 a. m. This lecture will be introductory to another series of lessons on "The Inspired Life." The reader is cordially invited to be present.

The editorial in *Wilshire's Magazine*, entitled "Jane Addams, Artist," is well worth reading. It presents Miss Addams and her work from a true and yet unique standpoint.

The Business Woman's Club has set apart every Tuesday evening from eight to eleven as their social evening, when members and their friends may meet in the club rooms for whist and a social time. Light refreshments are served.

The Secretary of the Woman's Socialist Union would like to hear from women who are interested in forming a local union in San Francisco. There should be several unions in this city. Write us a line that we may know who and where you are, that steps may be taken to get unity of thought and action.

Do ye hear the children weeping, O my brothers,

Ere the sorrow comes with years?

They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,

And that cannot stop their tears.

The young lambs are bleating in their meadows:

The young birds are chirping in their nest:

The young fawns are playing with their shadows;

The young flowers are blowing toward the west—

But the young, young children, O my brothers,

They are weeping bitterly!

They are weeping in the playtime of the others,

In the country of the free.

"How long," they say, "how long, O cruel nation,"

Will you stand, to move the world, on a child's heart—

Stifle down with a nailed heel its palpitation,

And tread onward to your throne amid the mart

Our blood splashes upward, O gold-heaper,

And your purple shows your path;

But the child's sob in the silence curses deeper

Than the strong man in his wrath!"

—Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

Child Slaves in Free America

Recently a delegation of glass-blowers from South-Jersey appeared before Governor Murphy and told of the horrible conditions obtaining in the Cumberland and Gloucester glass-factories. They told of babies of both sexes, six and seven years of age, working seventeen and eighteen hours a day with but a few minutes intermission for rest and food; children dropping from sheer exhaustion driven back to their places with curses and blows! It is difficult to believe these stories, but alas! there is no room for doubt. These men who appeared before Governor Murphy had gone on strike against the horrors of which they spoke. Men do not face the hardships and privations of a strike, and the prospect of victimization and "black-listing" afterward, for nothing. I saw a procession of children—boys—dragging themselves homeward rather than walking, and I thought, although they did not look as pale as children in the textile factories do, they were not as healthy as children from seven to twelve ought to be. And I thought of the little picture and the cry—"The wretch, she devours her own children!"

Here in cold, matter-of-fact words, is the statement made by Mr. Charles Jonas, proprietor of the Minotola glass-factory, where the men went on strike:

"If two men apply to me for work and one has one or two or three children and the other has none, I take the man with children. I need the boys. They do work men cannot do. * * * I simply take the parents' word."

The reason why parents allow their children to go into the factories at such tender age is apparent from this callous and brutal statement. It means that unless a man is willing to "throw the children in" there is little chance of his obtaining work. Some of these factory owners, and the shareholders in others, are good "Christians," yet that does not prevent them, or their managers, forcing the parents to perjure themselves by signing affidavits that the children are over twelve, when all parties know that in reality they are far less.

The cry of the textile factory owner, often, alas! repeated by the stupid worker, and by so-called "labor leaders," that adults cannot do the work which these children do, is thus taken up by the glass-factory owner, in spite of the fact that the greatest examples of textile weaving and of glass-blowing, whether ancient or modern, have been produced without child labor.

As in New Jersey so in Massachusetts where the law fixes the age at which children may be employed at fourteen. Everyone knows that there are thousands of children illegally employed there. In Fall River, Holyoke and Worcester, particularly in the two former cities, I have seen crowds of them who were fourteen by the factory act and the company's register, but only twelve in years. The noble efforts of the two Socialist Representatives, Messrs. Carey and MacCartney, to raise the standard to sixteen years, and to provide for the adequate enforcement of the law, are continually frustrated by the efforts of those mill owners and their agents who, for the same base reasons, use all their powers to frustrate the efforts of those who would secure legislation in Alabama, Georgia and the Carolinas.

In Illinois the factory laws prohibit the employment of children under fourteen, yet in the great stock yards, of which Chicago is so proud, there are hundreds of children far below that age. As our friend, A. M. Simonds, has shown, concealment is easy, certificates are easily ob-

tained and so, for all practical purposes, the law is a dead letter. Read the state factory inspector's description of the work these children have to do:

"Some of these boys act as butchers, sticking sheep, lambs and swine; others cut the hide from the quivering flesh of freshly stunned cattle; still others sort entrails, pack meat and make the tin cans in which the goods are shipped. In several places a boy has been found at work at a dangerous machine. Because his father had been disabled by it, and his keeping the place pending recovery depended upon the boy's doing the work during the father's absence."

Nor is it alone in the "yards" that child labor obtains, and worse than all, perhaps, in the picture frame factories, it is common. I believe that Chicago manufactures more picture frames than any other city in the country—probably in the world. They are largely produced by child labor, hundreds of children, ranging from eleven or twelve years to sixteen, working ten hours a day under horrible and indescribable conditions. It is the same in Philadelphia, New York—everywhere, from one end of the country to the other. In Philadelphia there are the textile mills, the cigar factories of the American Cigar Company, and the great department stores, not to speak of the hundreds of poor little newsboys, that in common with every other great city it possesses. Statistics upon the subject are not very accessible and would be useless if they were. However, this much is certain, that child labor is on the increase in Philadelphia and in Pennsylvania generally. And this last is probably true of New York where, Professor Felix Adler declares, conditions are "worse than in the South." Here again the law prohibits the employment of children under fourteen in certain industries and twelve elsewhere, but as in other places the law is not enforced as it ought to be, and nobody pretends that it is. In the great department stores children of less than twelve years are employed, working, in holiday times as much as fourteen hours per day. But the most pitiful and the most terrible form of child labor is found in the tenement houses, where exposed to all kinds of contagious diseases little children are compelled to labor in order to help support the family. Even in the hottest weather hundreds of little ones in the tenements of this great metropolis work from early morn to midnight. There is, and under the circumstances can be no statistical measure of the problem, but of its existence or of its alarming extent there can be no doubt.

The effect of child labor upon the wages of the adult workers is a serious consideration. Of course, the reason for child labor lies in its "cheapness" and the inevitable consequence is the reduction of wages all around. Ill advised and shortsighted parents are sometimes befooled by the arguments of the capitalist or his hirelings of the press into opposing any attempt to do away with child labor on the ground that the children's wages help to support the family, yet the truth is that wherever child labor obtains it takes the united labor of the family to maintain the ordinary standard of comfort. Foolish people who cry out that Socialism would destroy the sanctity of family life had better reflect that capitalism has already accomplished that by taking the wife to compete against the husband and the child against the parent. It is to-day that a man's foes are of his own kin and household!

These awful facts and they might be indefinitely extended, betoken a condition that is truly appalling. This is the terrible fact: we are denying to the children of to-day, in ever-increasing numbers, the right of childhood; we are debasing their bodies to an alarming extent; and we are denying them that mental equipment and training which alone can make them good and useful citizens. Could there be anything more dangerous from the point of view of national pride than to stunt the bodies and minds of children? Could there be anything more cruel from the point of view of humane principle than to crush hope and joy and love out of these little child lives? Could there be anything more foolish than to send the child into the factory to labor and the parents to look for work as we are doing to-day? These are questions for the workers of this country to face in unflinching earnest.

I say the workers advisedly, for this question, like every other social question, properly understood, is a class question, and appeals primarily to the worker as a worker. Let those who will, seek to deny the existence of class antagonism, here is proof enough for the man of unbiased mind and average intellect. If we ask ourselves whose children are being crushed beneath the great capitalistic juggernaut, the answer comes back to us: "They are ours—the children of our loins." And if we ask ourselves for whose gain are these our babes being debased physically, mentally and morally, the answer comes to us, born out of our inmost souls, "Their degradation and ours is for the gain of the idle class that preys upon us."

Now the question inevitably arises, "What must be done?" and to that question the Socialist makes no uncertain answer. In the first place the standard must

be raised to sixteen years as a minimum, and certain kinds of employment, classified as "Dangerous" should be positively forbidden. When the Socialist Representatives in Massachusetts urged the adoption of sixteen as the minimum age they were but following the policy adopted by Socialists in all parts of the world. But as we have seen the mere enactments of laws will not avail. Laws are useless unless there are behind them the will and the determination as well as the power to enforce them. Under the present system, with the capitalist class entrenched in the government, that enforcement is impossible. Every one knows that if the factory inspectors really tried to enforce the strict observance of the law they would soon be called upon to vacate their positions. The factory inspector is too often the pliant tool of the employer as this excerpt from the New York Times report of the visit of the glass-blowers' delegation to Governor Murphy shows:

"When an inspector goes to the factory, the delegation declared, he first visits the office for from half an hour to an hour, and while he is there the children under legal age are smuggled out of the way and hustled out to play and later are 'docked' for the time lost."

So we must elect men who will not only enact the laws we need, but what is even more important, we must give the administration of the laws into the hands of those whose interest is our own—their strict enforcement. And where shall we find such men if not in our own ranks; members of our own class? But when we have our laws, and they are duly enforced, that is not the end by any means. Laws, however, well enforced are only means to an end, not the end itself. Nothing is more common than to hear it said that the Socialist ideal is law backed by the policeman; that in the Socialist regime there will be a rigid authority, resting finally upon force and crushing individuality. We should be shortsighted indeed were this true. But we look farther than the statute; we go to the very cause of the evil and seek to remove it. Laws are only the agencies with which we hope to break down the citadels of the foe. We know that child labor only exists because through it the few are enabled to exploit the many. The whole of the trouble springs from that primary cause, the individual ownership and control of social necessities. Therefore we seek to render that impossible. When there is no longer the incentive to private gain for one class, through the degradation of another, child labor will no longer shame and menace society.

Socialism does not propose to encompass life—whether the life of society or of the individual—with legal enactments. So far as it proposes these, it is for the purpose of destroying capitalist society and its institutions, but its ultimate object is rather to render such laws unnecessary, by overthrowing private ownership and control and setting up social ownership and control instead. And that also must be brought about by legislation, for there is no other way save that of violence—a way too terrible to contemplate. So that, finally, it all rests upon the vote.

Fellow Worker, How Will You Vote?

Nationalist Secretary's Report for November, 1902

St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 20, 1902.

Received—Nov. 1, balance Strike Relief, \$120.40; Nov. 1, balance party, \$455.95; National dues, Alabama, \$5.30; Arizona, \$3.60; Arkansas, \$1; California, \$50; Colorado (in arrears two months); Connecticut, \$15; Florida, \$10; Idaho (in arrears one month), \$10; Illinois (in arrears two months), \$70; Indiana (paid in December); Iowa (in arrears three months); Kentucky, \$5; Maine (paid in December); Massachusetts, \$30; Michigan, \$10; Minnesota (in arrears one month), \$10; Missouri, \$22.70; Montana, \$20; Nebraska (in arrears two months); New York (in arrears two months); North Dakota (in arrears two months); Ohio, \$15; Oklahoma (in arrears four months); Oregon (in arrears one month), \$8.45; Pennsylvania (paid in December); South Dakota, \$6; Tennessee, \$3.60; Texas (in arrears three months); Vermont, \$1.50; Virginia, \$1.90; Washington, \$35.70; Wisconsin (in arrears two months); total National dues, \$343; received for supplies, \$3.83; received for strike fund, \$392.95; received for propaganda, \$1.50; received from miscellaneous, 18c; total, \$1367.81.

Expended—Exchange (M. O. and checks, 69c; expense (incidental), \$3.75; checks (on supplies), \$7.45; National Secretary's salary, \$83.33; International Society Bureau (donation), \$10; Municipal Committee (postage) \$2; office help (stenographer), \$64; postage (correspondence and supplies), \$13.35; postage (Labor Lecture Bureau), \$13.87; printing, \$6.75; propaganda, \$25; rent November, \$32; rent December (new headquarters), \$15; J. S. Roche (salary four weeks), \$48; stationery, \$10.55; W. B. Wilson (Strike Relief), \$508.25; December 1, balance Strike Relief, \$5.10; December 1, balance party funds, \$518.78; total, \$1367.81.

The Social Revolution

By Karl Kautsky.

Chap. 5.—The Softening Down of Class Antagonisms

Between the industrial capitalist and the money capitalist there is a great antagonism, similar to that between the former and the landowner. Like the ground rent, the interest on borrowed capital is a deduction from the profit. The interest of both kinds of capital are thus on that point antagonistic. Nor do they agree politically. Just as the great landlords are today in favor of a strong preferably a monarchical form of government because so far as they are a court nobility they are in a position to bring personal influence to bear on the monarch and thereby on the government; just as they further are enthusiastic for militarism, which provides their progeny with an officer's career, for which the bourgeois youth is less fitted, and always therefore advocate a policy of brute force at home and abroad, so in the same way is the high finance enamored of militarism and a strong spirited policy both home and foreign. The lords of the money capital need not fear a strong state power, independent of the people and Parliament, since they can always dominate it as creditors, and often, too, through personal court influences. They have, moreover, an interest in militarism, in wars and national debts, both as creditors and government contractors, because the sphere of their influence, their power and wealth, is thereby enhanced.

It is different with the industrial capitalist. Militarism, wars, national debts, imply increased taxation, in which it has to bear a considerable share, or which increase for it the cost of production. War implies over and above this a slump in the production and sale of goods, business difficulties, often bankruptcy. If the financier is rash, extravagant, and a supporter of brute force, the industrial capitalist is, on the contrary, economical, prudent, and peaceful. A strong government arouses his suspicions, all the more as he cannot directly influence it. Not a strong government but a strong parliament answers to his interests. In opposition to the big owners and the high finance he is inclined to Liberalism. Its half-and-halfness is his too. Do ground rents, interest, taxes, limit his profit on one hand, then the rise of the proletariat threatens on the other the whole profit system. But even in his relations to the proletariat, where the latter does not appear to him too menacing, he prefers the peaceful methods of "divide and rule," of philanthropic institutions, etc., to violent means of suppression. Where the proletariat has not yet struck out a line of political action of its own, there the industrial capitalist is only too willing to use it as a battering ram and as a voting machine to increase its own political power. To the petty bourgeois the opposition between the industrial capitalist and the worker appears of less moment than that between the employers' profit on the one hand and the ground rent as well as the interest on capital on the other. The abolition of interest and the ground rent he looks upon as the solution of the social question.

The opposition, however, between finance and industry ceases now more and more, since with the advance in the concentration of capital finance gets an ever-increasing hold of industry. An important means thereto is the increasing suppression of the private employer by the joint stock companies. Well-meaning optimists see in this a means to "democratize" capital, and thus gradually, and in a peaceful manner, without exciting attention, to change it into national property. As a matter of fact, it is a means to transform all the money of the middle and lower classes, which they do not require for immediate consumption, into money capital, and to place it as such at the disposal of the big financial money capitalists in order to buy out the industrial capitalists. It thus increases the means whereby finance can concentrate industry in the hands of a few money lords. Without the joint-stock company system the big financiers could control only those businesses which they had bought with their own money. Thanks to the company system they can make numerous businesses dependent on themselves, and thus acquire such of them which they would not otherwise be able to purchase for lack of cash. The whole fabulous power of Pierpont Morgan & Co., who, within the space of a few years, have concentrated railways, mines, the greater part of the ironworks, in one hand, and have already monopolized the most important ocean lines of steamers—this sudden capture of supremacy in industry and transport of the most important civilized nations would have been impossible without the joint-stock company system. According to the London Economist, five men, J. C. Rockefeller, E. H. Harriman, J. Pierpont Morgan, W. R. Vanderbilt and G. D. Gould possess together over 150,000,000 pounds sterling. They have

control over 150,000,000,000 pounds, while the entire capital which is deposited in the banks, railways, and industrial companies of the United States amounts to 3,500,000,000 pounds. Thus, thanks to the company system, they control nearly one-half of this capital on which the entire economic life of the United States depends.

Now, as always, moreover, the crisis which will not fail to reach America will expropriate the small holders, and increase and strengthen the property of the bigger ones.

The more, however, money capital gains control over industry, the more does the industrial capital, too, take on the methods of the money capital. To the private employer, who lives side by side with his workers, the latter are still human beings, whose welfare or the reverse can hardly remain quite a matter of indifference to him, if he is not totally hardened. But to the shareholder there only exists the dividend. The workers are to him nothing but so many figures in a computation, in whose result only he is interested to the highest degree, since it can bring him increased comfort, increased power, or a diminution of them and social degradation. The rest of the consideration for the worker, which the private employers could still preserve, is in his case non-existent.

Money capital is that species of capital which is the most favorably inclined towards the use of violent means; that which easiest combines into monopolies, and thereby acquires unlimited power over the working class; that which is farthest removed from the workers; it is that which drives out the capital of the private industrial employer and gains an ever-increasing control over the entire capitalist production.

The necessary result of this is a sharpening of social antagonisms. But England! it will be at once responded. Do we not find in England a perceptible softening of class antagonisms, and has not Marx said that England is the classic land of capitalist production, and which today shows what our future will be? Is not the present condition of England the one toward which we are moving?

It is always to England that the fanatics of social peace refer us and it is significant that it is these same people who taunt us orthodox Marxians the loudest on the obstinate tenacity with which we cling to every Marxian sentence and who most frequently throw the above Marxian sentence at us.

As a matter of fact, however, conditions have greatly changed since the writing of Capital. England has ceased to be the classic land of capitalism. Its development comes more and more to a standstill, it is more and more becoming subordinate to other nations, especially to Germany and America, and now the conditions begin to be reversed. England ceases to show us our future. On the contrary, our present state rather shows England's future in capitalist production. The thing which shows that the investigator of actual relations is really an orthodox Marxian is not that he thoughtlessly follows Marx, but that he applies his methods in order to understand facts.

England was the classic ground of capitalism, the one upon which industrial capital first gained the mastery. English capitalism came into power, the economic master not only of the upper class of its own land but also of foreign lands. So it was that all of the characteristics that I have above designated as peculiar to it could most freely develop. It gave up violent suppression of the laboring class and depended much more upon peaceful diplomacy, for a while granted political privileges to the powerfully organized, and sought to purchase and corrupt its leaders by friendly advances in which it was too often successful. At the same time it renounced all violence towards the external world. Peace and free trade were its watchwords. It adopted a peaceful attitude toward the Boers, and finally feigned to be about to right the century-long injustice of England towards Ireland by granting it home rule.

But in the meantime foreign competition has become stronger, in many ways too strong, and this forces the capitalists to try to get rid of all resistance to their exploitation at home, and at the same time to secure markets by force. Hand-in-hand with this, the high finance steadily gets more and more powerful in the domain of production. England has consequently become of a different complexion. "The spirit of the time," state Mr. and Mrs. Webb in the Sozial Praxis (March 20, 1902), "has in the last ten years become adverse to the 'collective self-help' in the relations between employers and employed, which distinguished a previous generation. Nay, public opinion in the proprietary and professional classes is, in fact, more hostile to trade unionism and strikes than was the case a generation ago."

As a consequence of this change the trade unions are now most seriously limited in their efficiency by the English courts of law. In place of free trade there is now a tendency to raise the price of the necessaries of life by a customs tariff; the policy of colonial conquests begins

afresh, and with it comes in Ireland. Only the remodeling of the army on Prussian lines remains to be done, and then England will follow in the train of Germany in her Polish policy, her customs policy, her social policy, her foreign policy, her military policy.

Does not that show clearly that it is possible to study the future of England in Germany (and also in America), that English conditions have ceased to paint our future? The stage of the "softening down of the class antagonisms" and the opening of the era of "social peace" was confined to England, and it is even there a thing of the past. Gladstone was the most prominent representative of that policy of conciliation by concessions, which corresponded to the mode of thinking of the industrial capital of England then dominating economically all other classes and countries. The most prominent representative of the new methods of money capital now fighting for supremacy is Mr. Chamberlain. It is among the strangest ironies of history that the Gladstone stage of social development is held up for admiration in Germany as our future and as England's achievement never to be lost, at the very time when the Gladstone heritage crumbles into dust, and Chamberlain is the hero of the English people.

I will openly confess that I too formerly had laid great hopes on England. Though I did not expect that the Gladstone era would ever pass to Germany, I did, however, hope that in England, in consequence of its peculiar conditions, the evolution from capitalism to Socialism would proceed not by means of a social revolution, but peacefully by a series of progressive concessions to the proletariat on the part of the ruling classes. The experience of the last few years has destroyed my hopes for England, too. The English home policy now commences to shape itself on the lines of their German rivals. May this, also, have a corresponding effect on the English proletariat.

We now see how far the assumption of a gradual softening down of the class antagonism, of an approach between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, is justified. It turns out to have been not wholly without foundation in fact, but its mistake lay in that it generalized facts which were limited to a narrow area. It substituted a small section of the intellectuals for the entire bourgeoisie, and represented a particular social tendency of England, and that already belonging to the past, as the general and ever-growing tendency of the entire capitalist mode of production.

Chapter VI.—Democracy.

But does democracy offer the basis for a gradual, imperceptible transformation of capitalism into Socialism, without any such violent break with the existing order of things as would be caused by the capture of political power by the proletariat?

There are a number of politicians who assert that only the despotic rule of class makes a revolution necessary, whilst democracy makes it superfluous. They further assert that in all civilized countries of to-day there is enough democracy to render a peaceable evolution, free from revolution, possible. It is everywhere possible to establish co-operative stores, which, as they grow, lead to setting up productive co-operatives of their own, and so slowly drive out capitalist production from one sphere to another. It is everywhere possible to organize trade unions, which circumscribe more and more the power of the capitalist in his business, set up in the workshop in the place of an absoluteism, constitutionalism, and so prepare the slow transition to a republican factory. Almost everywhere can Social Democracy force its way into the municipal councils, use the influence of these bodies as regards public works in favor of the workers, extend the range of municipal duties, and by continually enlarging the sphere of communal production narrow the field of private production. Finally, Social Democracy forces its way into Parliament, wins there more and more influence, carries through one social reform after another, puts a check on the power of capitalism by means of factory laws, and at the same time extends continually the sphere of state production by working for the nationalization of the big monopolies. Thus, through the mere exercise of the democratic rights within the existing order of things, the capitalist society gradually, and without any disturbance, grows into the Socialist Commonwealth, and the revolutionary capture of political power by the proletariat becomes unnecessary—nay, all endeavors in that direction are harmful, because it can accomplish nothing except a disturbance of this slow but sure progress.

Thus argue the opponents of social revolution.

It is the charming idyll which is thus presented to us, and even in this case one cannot say that it is entirely imaginary. The facts on which it is based actually exist. But the truth they point to us is only a half-truth. A small amount of dialectical thinking would have revealed the whole truth to them.

This idyll, namely, is only valid if we take for granted that only one of the opposing forces, the proletariat, grows and

gains in strength, while the other side, the bourgeoisie, remains stuck in the mud. In that case the proletariat must gradually grow over the head of the bourgeoisie without any revolution and expropriate it without attracting any notice.

But the question appears quite different when the other side is also considered, and it is seen that the bourgeoisie also gains in strength and is spurred on by every advance of the proletariat to develop new strength, to think out and apply new methods of opposition. What from a one-sided consideration appears as a peaceful growth into Socialism turns out then to be but the organization of greater and greater masses of troops, the fitting out and the application of ever more and more powerful weapons of war, the continual enlargement of the battle ground, consequently not the gradual abolition of the class was by the absorption of capitalism, but its reproduction on an even larger scale, and the intensification of the results of every victory and defeat.

The most harmless are the co-operative societies, among which only the distributive societies are of any account. They are ranked very high by all opponents of revolt that El Dorado of trade unionism, Engolunary developments on account of their peaceful nature. Undoubtedly they offer the workers a number of important advantages, but it is ridiculous to expect from them even a partial expropriation of capitalism. So far as they at all expropriate any class to-day, it is the class of small shopkeepers and many sections of handworkers, which have hitherto maintained their position, e. g., the bakers. In is in thorough keeping with this fact that nowhere do the big capitalists fight

Continued on fourth page

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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.
By JOSEPH RIORDAN, Deputy Clerk.

JOSEPH A. MITCHELL, Attorney for Plaintiff, 1037 Market St.

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the co-operative stores, through whom they are said to be driven out of existence. No, it is the petty bourgeoisie which is so rabid against them, and amongst it those very sections which depend on the workers, and which, therefore, are the easiest influenced in favor of a proletarian policy. If the co-operative stores offer to some sections of the workers material advantages and render them stronger, they at the same time repel from the movement sections of the community which are very near to them. The means which are intended for the peaceful absorption of capitalism, and for abolition of the class war, becomes itself a new objective in the class war, a means by which class hatred is inflamed. And the power of the capitalist remains at the same time undisturbed. The co-operative movement has up till now successfully fought the small tradesman; the fight with the capitalist warehouse is still to be fought out. That will not be so easy.

Completely absurd, too, is the assumption that the dividends of the co-operative stores, even if they are not paid out, but accumulated, could grow quicker than the accumulation of capital, so that they are able to overtake it and thus gradually limit more and more the field of capitalism.

The co-operative stores can only acquire importance for the emancipation of the workers where the working class is carrying on a determined class war; they are the means to lend the militant proletariat new strength and power. But in that they are completely dependent on the state of legislation and on the attitude taken up by the state. So long as the proletariat has not gained political power, the importance of the co-operative store for the proletarian class is invariably limited within very narrow bounds.

Far more important than the co-operative stores for the proletariat are the trade unions. They are so only, however, as militant organizations, not as organizations for social peace. Even where they enter into agreements with the employers—single or organized—they can only do so and insist on the agreements being carried through by virtue of their ability to fight.

Important, however, and indispensable as the trade union is for the proletariat, it must reckon nevertheless sooner or later with its counterpart, the association of employers, which, when it assumes the form of a closer corporation, of a pool or a trust, may only too easily prove irresistible for the trade union.

(To be continued.)

Trades Unions and Socialism

By Max Hayes.

The question is often propounded: "What is the trade union movement doing for Socialism?"

Before making answer off-hand, it will be well to consider a few facts. In the first place, the trade unions are composed of a heterogeneous mass of workingmen, the majority of whom have had little conception of economic development and industrial evolution. They have been taught by their fathers, by the old school of political philosophers, by the press and pulpit, that there is a chance for everyone to become President of the United States or a millionaire. Up to recent years there were still opportunities to take advantage of natural resources, to "go west, young man, and grow up with the country," and the average workingman, in or out of the union, honestly believed that the competitive system of capitalism was, on the whole, a just and scientific system—all that is needed was a little reform grease here and there to make it run smoothly.

But as machinery began slowly and surely to make inroads on the trades, the union member, undisciplined and untutored as he was, gradually became impatient and restless, and this dissatisfaction found vent politically, in supporting Greenback, Union Labor or People's parties, or "good men" and "workingmen's friends" on the old party tickets. Throughout all this extraordinary "reform" maneuvering the stubborn fact of material interest stands out plain, and there was likewise a vague class-consciousness discernible. The labor giant was uneasy, truly, but he still had his eye on that million and the presidency. "If I can only knock down that tariff wall and bust the protection barons somehow, or get plenty of greenbacks and free silver," he argued, "I can get a start and become rich and a great statesman."

But as the tools of labor developed and grew larger, capital kept pace and centralized, until to-day the company and corporation is no longer a factor in production, and the individual producer is not even considered. The amalgamation of capital has utterly dissipated the day-dream of our trade union friend. He is now beginning to see that his "chance" has gone glimmering—that he chased a rainbow, that he cannot hope to compete with a Rockefeller industrially or a Hanna politically. All about him he observes trusts and combines raising prices of products and lowering wages at will. All about

him he sees a Hanna or a Croker, a Platt or a Jones, big and little political bosses, dictating nominations and platforms and manufacturing "issues" without consulting anybody but their immediate henchmen. The political machine has become as thoroughly organized and compact as the machine he operates in the shop.

Meanwhile, through all this economic and political change, the thinking, intelligent mechanic has at least stuck to his union, and struggled and fought as best he knew to wrest some temporary benefit from the capitalistic master. He could not well do otherwise. He instinctively understood that there was strength in union, that to stand alone was suicidal. He had listened to the Republican campaign orator promise glorious conditions if the tariff wall were maintained, and he saw the protected barons resort to lockouts, wage-cutting and the smashing of unions. He listened to the free silver orator promise unbounded prosperity to labor, and he saw the mine barons declare lockouts, secure the annulment of eight-hour and mining laws, erect "bull pens" and use every effort to destroy unions—the one and only protection against absolute slavery.

To learn all this has required time, the expenditure of vast sums of money, and object lessons galore. The conscientious unionists have viewed with some amazement and disappointment how legislators juggled with "labor bill"—either by pigeon-holing them or passing them in such form that courts found it an easy matter to declare them unconstitutional. In time of strike or lockout, the executives of nation, State or municipality, heralded far and wide before election as "the friends of labor," supinely called out troops, militia and police to do the bidding of employers. While blacklisting has been winked at by the powers that be, boycotting has been tabooed and is regarded as a conspiracy and crime in many States, punishable by fine and imprisonment. Besides the waste of immense treasure, these lessons have been costly in the spilling of blood, in the jailing of men, and in the sacrifice of human life.

To declare that these cold, grim facts have made no impression on intelligent trade unionists is to place them in the category with dumb brutes or inanimate things. Time was when the trade union was the stamping-ground for corrupt politicians, a market-place where votes were bought and sold. A dozen years back it was common to hear that certain "labor leaders" carried their unions in their vest pockets. City central bodies were an easy prey for the "workingman's friend," and a little "inflorence" and beer secured endorsements for any office-seeker. If perchance some union man was placed on a ticket and elected, one of two things happened. Either he "sold out," that is, betrayed his constituents in the matter of fighting for palliatives, or, where he did attempt to secure some advantage for his class, he was quietly relegated to obscurity by the bosses.

Thus we have passed through a bitter school of experience, and as before stated, the trade unionist has and is still learning valuable lessons. The question asked at the beginning of this article may be answered with the statement that the trade unions are at last moving in the right direction. Distinct and important progress has taken place. In the first place, the unions are no longer endorsing-machines for politicians, and where some local or central body still allows itself to be used by some unconscionable member, it is the exception rather than the rule, and such organization is regarded with contempt by all active unionists. Secondly, the old false hood that "the interests of employers and employees are identical" is now seldom heard in union circles. Once that generalization was considered gospel, and men were sharply criticized in union meetings if they dared to express the opinion that the claim of "identity of interests" was out of harmony with the truth under the profit and wage system of capitalism. Thirdly, there is a steady growth of sentiment among trade union people that they must act together politically as well as industrially, and where there is any step taken by organizations it is usually a declaration for independent political action. Still better, where union men accept nominations on old party tickets they are coming to be regarded with suspicion as decoy ducks and bellweathers for the capitalist class. Fourthly, quite a few of the national organizations have declared for the downfall of the capitalist system and the institution of Socialism, and many more of the unions (in fact nearly all of consequence) have declared that it is the duty of their membership to take up the discussion of economic questions for the good and welfare of the organization and the labor movement as a whole.

Socialist School Notes

Comrades Mills and Lockwood will work together on the new magazine, *The Socialist Teacher*, to be started by the school on January 1st. Mills will prepare the lessons and Lockwood will illustrate them. There will be a series of lessons for children and for grown people. The Branch Classes for the Correspondence Course will use the magazine and the work of the Correspondence Course will be enlarged and

strengthened in many ways. This magazine will be strictly limited to the educational work. Then it will fill the field it will have to itself.

The students sent a letter of congratulation to Father McGrady. Comrade Mills spoke to the school at length on the incident of McGrady's resignation, pointing out how both ecclesiastical and political officialdom are forever on the wrong side of the greatest questions affecting the very interests they are supposed to represent.

Comrade Lockwood will give a course of lessons at the Training School in the use of charts and illustrations in the propaganda work and Comrade Miss Wilkins of California is in charge of the work in the correction of common errors in speech.

Kate O'Hare is in New York. She is on the editorial staff of *Wilshire's Magazine*, and is doing a large amount of extra literary work with Socialism in it all. Frank O'Hare is on the road and everywhere he is making things happen as usual.

Comrade E. Backus was married at San Francisco December 7th to Miss Clara Powell, one of our San Francisco Training School students. J. Stitt Wilson married them. Two hustlers got together.



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