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### The Great Strike at the Keswick Smelter

### Our Socialist Brothers in Benighted Shasta County Making a Grand Fight for a Principle.

The Western Federation of Miners, which is recognized in our ranks as a militant Socialist army, is fighting a battle up in Shasta county with the Mountain Copper Company, Keswick and Iron Mountain which is of vital importance to Socialism in Northern California. Trades-unionism is a big step towards Socialism, and the Western Federation leaders have used their organization to advance the cause of Socialism to the attention of their brothers that the great body of Western Federationists recognize Socialism as the only solution to the gigantic war now on between capital and labor. Up in Shasta county, while we find evidences of the early mining in California, we also find abundant proofs of its benighted attitude to progressive thought. The Federation is fighting with this Mountain Copper Company, Limited, whose directors and shareholders are located in London, England, for the recognition of the union and reinstatement of discharged unionists, and either willfully or ignorantly the press and people (capitalist section at least) of Shasta county, are doing their damnest to smash the Federation's fight and keep the county a scab one. These parasites, the so-called business people of Shasta county, and all the attorney vultures and political bugs and grafters, along with these rust-burn newspaper editors, are howling and screeching at the men and leaders of the strike. The smeltermen are named as hubbs, stiffs and such, and open threats have been made of "white-capping" against the miners and strikers. "White-capping" is the company's name for the men who are the Federation's doctor, a man named Lamus and two or three others, went to Redington and tried to vilify Donnelly, the Socialist President of Union No. 143, but in the dirt throwing availed them nothing. J. L. Donnelly happens to be a born general; B. F. Barbee, the State Organizer, is a staunch Socialist; and all the Executive Committee claim the red flag of fraternity as theirs also. The Mountain Copper Company reckoned without the fact that it threw down the gage of battle to the Federation of Miners. It thought the "hobos of Keswick" were as brainless as its manager, Lewis F. Wright, and his superintendent, A. S. Haskell, but fortunately for unionists and Socialists, the "hobos" were old hands at the game of war, and soon had this corporation on the run. The union has completely outgeneraled this foreign lot of fossils and mossbacks and the company is busy seeking what cover it can find. Donnelly tried the old bluff of arresting two of the leaders, Barbee and Donnelly, on a trivial charge, and made them put up heavy bonds, expecting they would have to go to jail in lieu of bondsmen. But again we knocked them out in their game and we have a hearty laugh on them. This strike is more like a well fought battle than a labor struggle. We have a captain and sergeants of pickets, tents are located at stated intervals with big watch fires, and every inch of the lines round the smelter and mine are patrolled incessantly. We have our commissary, feeding hundreds of men at our "Mulligan;" families have all they need supplied by wagon daily, and free barber and cobbler shops are run, and a bathhouse, too. We have our own doctor and dispensary. So you see we are very near a Socialist co-operative basis and we are all getting a No. 1 lesson in good, sound, practical Socialism. I enclose a circular detailing the facts of the strike, which please append to this article.

A Member W. F. of M., No. 143.

### The Strikers' Manifesto

Before this strike at Keswick and Iron Mountain proceeds any further, and in order to correct the wrong impression about it on the Pacific Coast, it will be well to clearly state the issues of the campaign; then there will be no difficulty for all reasonable persons either to decide for Lewis T. Wright and his actions or for the Western Federation of Miners.

At the outset we wish to emphasize that the Western Federation of Miners always courts the fullest publicity for its work, and if it can be shown and proved that its members are at fault, it does not hesitate to remedy the fault at all costs. The leaders of the Federation are eminently fair and judicially minded men, and thoroughly recognize the disastrous effect of strikes. But if its members are unjustly treated or discriminated against, it demands justice, and failing justice, declares a strike. In the case of the Keswick Smeltermen and Iron Mountain miners, the Western Federation has fully investigated the points of contest and endorsed the strike without qualification.

For a year past since the elevation of A. S. Haskell as superintendent and the retirement of Superintendent J. W. Benzie—the man who put the smelter on a sound working basis and who was popular with the employees—there has been trouble in the smelter. The management has been poor and as a consequence the men received little encouragement to form a union last fall. Just before the formation of the union, Lewis T. Wright went to London to see the directors and left W. S. Cole in charge as acting manager.

In the case of Keswick and Iron Mountain the strike which led to the climax of the strike, it was plainly shown that either he had no real power or was afraid to exercise what he had. In the middle of October, Crane and Read, two prominent union men, were operating the slag train, and when returning from dumping the rehot slag, knocked down a man and ran over his legs, damaging one quite badly. This man had been twice warned to get out of the way, and had no business on the track. The foreman had his train well in hand—so much so that he brought it to a standstill after only one wheel had passed over the man. That the accident was no fault of the trainmen was admitted by all who saw it. Immediately after, however, J. J. Murray, Haskell's assistant, went to Crane and Read and asked him a question or string of questions in an effort to defend himself. He was up to the office to get his "time." He also gave orders to Chapman, foreman of the smelter, that Read was to get his time, enraged the whole body of men. It was plain to be seen that unionism was the real offense of the discharged men.

Next day the men interviewed Cole, who said that if they had been in his division and the accident had happened on his road, he would not have discharged them, but that as Murray had done so he could not interfere in the matter. This was a statement of having the discharged men and at this juncture a strike was narrowly avoided, the men deciding in a special meeting to await further developments. The company admitted its liability by fencing the track where the accident occurred, and thus Haskell and his assistant Murray involved the company in two costly battles.

Donnelly's Case. It was now known that J. L. Donnelly was the President of Local Union No. 143. Shortly afterwards, he asked for and got a lay-off from Jack Chapman, his foreman, and at its expiration he presented himself for work. Chapman told him that "it had come at last," which meant his discharge. Everybody had been anticipating this because of his activity in union affairs. Donnelly went to headquarters to endeavor to find out what he was discharged for, but he could not get a hearing from Superintendent Haskell. He was among, realizing the fact that their former President, J. W. Kitzmiller, had been discharged in like manner, and that the old union had become defunct through wholesale decapitation of its active members, determined to ask for Donnelly's reinstatement or have good reasons for his discharge.

DeHaven's Case. DeHaven, of the power-plant, was known to be a union man, and his foreman, C. S. Branch, a young man who has lost his head entirely in this strike—told him that if he did not quit the union he would be discharged. DeHaven refused to do this and accordingly got his time. Branch is one of Haskell's chief supporters.

Resignation of the Union. There are many other cases similar to those specifically mentioned above.

We have enumerated the leading causes of the strike, and while we insist on the reinstatement of the above men, we also insist on the recognition of the union. We Americans are reasonable men and ask for nothing hurtful to the Mountain Copper Company. It is a notorious fact that where unions are strongest the best work

is done and companies get the best service. By recognition of the union we mean this: The men in their union appoint a committee to wait on the manager, whoever he may be, to lay before him and settle any grievances that may arise from time to time. What could be more reasonable? It is only natural to expect that friction does not sometimes arise in the handling of so many men. It is, therefore, surely the strictest economy, commercially speaking, to have a body of responsible men who can meet the management and settle disputes peaceably, and thus avoid disastrous strikes. The union does not back down on or non-union men. When the committee went to meet Mr. Wright with their troubles, not only would he not see them, but he would not hear the message they had to deliver, and in a day he does not know what the men wanted. Whether he had acted with wisdom or folly the public must judge.

To sum up: The Mountain Copper Company has discharged good and able workmen, not for proved negligence or disobedience to orders. It has seized the finest pretext for the discharge of men who have been loyal and faithful employees. The Western Federation of Miners possesses indisputable evidence of the truth of the above facts and if the Mountain Copper Company does anything false in then, let it obtain redress in the courts of Shasta county. We are ready to prove our case. We beg nothing, and merely stand to fight on our feet and we have. If it is impossible for the company to run its works decently and up to the American standard—a standard that leads to the world's markets to-day—let it sell out and make way for some corporation that will do the business of the country better than Lewis T. Wright and his directors. We will do it. It is only a matter of time, whether short or long.

J. L. Donnelly, President.  
Frank L. Rowley, Secretary.  
W. S. Cole, Treasurer.  
B. F. Barbee, State Organizer of W. F. of M.

December 6, 1902.

### The Victory in Brockton

The following is from the local columns of the Brockton Enterprise the day after election:

Obviously the Socialists strolled in from the highways and byways last evening to unite in one conquering army that literally swept the city and carried the prestige of victory into the very heart of the territory taken from the enemy. Election night may come and go, but it is a question if there will ever be another like last night, another so vivid with picturesque details or so sweeping in the force and strength of its enthusiasm.

The Socialist demonstration was a memorable one. Beginning in the early evening, not for an instant did the rank and file of the astute, keen leaders feel any doubt as to the outcome, and ending at midnight with a big rally in Perkins' Park, there was not a single break in the ranks or a moment of depression.

Before 8 o'clock Coulter's election was assured and hundreds of Socialists had gathered at the headquarters on Center street, Lasers' hall, at the corner of Main and East Elm street, and other points.

When the vote was announced for a certainty, with figures to substantiate the announcement, and with it the news of the election of three Socialist Aldermen, eight Socialist common councilmen and two members of the city board, you know no bounds; but poured forth like a torrent released.

Chair man Charles T. Laird of the Socialist city committee was marshal of the parade. Music was furnished by the Socialist band of twenty pieces, John C. Leavelle. Every man was in uniform. Mayor-elect Charles H. Coulter marched at the head of the army that followed.

The rally in Perkins' Park did not commence until nearly midnight.

### Haverhill May Win.

At Haverhill we had only 14 votes. It now appears that enough blank ballots were counted for the Republicans to insure the election of the Socialist Comrade, Flanders, on a protest. The case will be carried to the Supreme Court.

### Father McGrady Forced Out of Church

Cincinnati, O., December 7.—Father Thomas F. McGrady, the pastor of St. Anthony's church in Bellevue, a suburb of this city on the Kentucky side of the river, announced to his congregation this morning that he would retire from the church. This action of the priest was taken on account of his pronounced Socialist views which he has advocated in the magazines and from the lecture platform for several years. Father McGrady has been warned and admonished by his superiors in the church to discontinue his course, but he had steadily refused, and in reply to orders from Bishop Maes of the Covington diocese, has submitted eight propositions covering the theory of Socialism, and demanded a reply. He said in his pulpit this morning that the bishop ignored his letter, and for the reason that if he combated the propositions, he would thereby condemn the teachings of the church for the first four centuries, and if he approved them he would subscribe to Socialism.

McGrady has become well known through his lectures in the face of the ban of the church, and for a number of years he has been under the ban. Bishop Maes, in a recent letter, demanded that he retract his praise of Zola, Renan and other Socialist writers, and to this Father McGrady replied that he had used the names of these men to show that men of high intellectual caliber had been Socialists and went on to show that under the rubric of Bishop Maes no Catholic could ever be a Declaration of Independence, and that a Catholic could be a Communist, and that a Communist could be a Socialist, and went on to say that the Jefferson was a Socialist. He said that to retract any of his writings would nullify his own Declaration of Independence, and that he would never retract anything he had said, and his memory from Christianizing ignominy."

Father McGrady intends to remain in Bellevue, assured that the pastor will continue the advocacy of the Socialist doctrine. Bishop Maes has refused to make any statement since the public announcement of Father McGrady, and Vicar-General Brossart, the next in rank, says that he has not heard whether Father McGrady is to be communicated or not.

### National Socialist Returns

The following are the official returns of the Socialist vote so far as they have yet been reported:

State	1900	1902
California	7,485	10,729
Colorado	684	730
Connecticut	17,411	28,577
Idaho		1,800
Illinois	9,687	20,167
Indiana	3,274	7,134
Iowa	1,643	6,360
Kansas	1,605	3,236
Kentucky	760	1,665
Maine	878	1,974
Massachusetts	9,935	33,029
Missouri	6,128	5,335
Montana	708	3,121
Nebraska	823	3,171
New Hampshire	790	1,032
New York	12,869	23,400
Ohio	48,447	14,970
Oklahoma	596	1,963
Oregon	1,486	3,532
Pennsylvania	4,431	21,910
South Dakota	176	2,748
Utah	720	2,927
Washington	2,006	4,739
Wisconsin	2,095	13,827
Wyoming	50	562

### Elsewhere

At Portland, Me., the Socialists cast enough votes to tie the election under the law that a candidate has to have a majority or there is no election. Our comrades polled 461 votes.

At Springfield, Mo., our candidate for Mayor got 863 votes, a gain of 344.

At Fitchburg, Mass., the vote was 581 in gain of 399.

At Lawrence, Mass., the vote was 301, in gain of 49.

At Quincy, Mass., 283, in gain of 95.

### The Tanners' Strike at Benicia

### Union Men Enjoined—Murderous Scabs Run Free

For several months past a detachment of Labor's army has been carrying on a desperate struggle against the Capitalist foe. The Tanners' Union of California has attempted to unionize the Tanners of the State, the chief of which are located at San Francisco, Redwood City, Brockton and Benicia. As the fight has progressed, Benicia has become the storm center. The Kullman-Salz Company is a powerful and insolent corporation, which having been in operation several years ago, thinks it can destroy this. The President of the Benicia union is E. J. Doyle, a staunch Socialist, and our candidate for Assembly in that district. Many of the union men are also Socialists. It is evident, therefore, that the battle will be a fight to the finish, so far as the union is concerned.

From its inception, the struggle went along smoothly until after election. The few scabs the corporation were able to get they kept under cover, until the present time, their number being known, ready to prevent their character being discovered.

After several fake offers of settlement, the bosses tried a new scheme. It is known in California that any man who goes out on a writ of injunction against the union leaders. As in always the case a subsequent tool of the bosses was found on the beach and an injunction was issued against Comrade Doyle and other union leaders. Benicia is a hotbed of lawlessness. That Doyle is not such a "sheep" character as to require the special attention of a judge is shown by the fact that he allowed himself to get up a hearing before the court, and in the process of the hearing, he carried out the court's mandate for the Assembly. Nevertheless he and others were enjoined to keep the peace and to so conduct themselves that Kullman, Salz & Company's scabs could have fall sway.

Be assured that the justice who has proceeded to hold high carnival in Benicia. Though not many, they are a thoroughly lawless lot—ruffians of a very low type. After many minor incidents in which the scabs have bullied innocent and inoffensive citizens, the natural climax has come in murder. Started by merely the cry of a small boy, the whole gang of scabs went up one of the main streets of the town driving peaceable citizens before them, and after firing several volleys from the firearms they carried, killed a man who was unarmed and entirely innocent of any offense against them.

This is what might be expected of scabs. They have regard neither for the welfare of their fellow-workers nor the lives of their fellow-citizens. Benicia is aroused over the shooting and the entire community is angered with the insolent company which, to beat the very moderate demands of its former employees, harbors a gang of murderous ruffians.

The San Francisco Labor Council has issued an appeal to union and sympathizers everywhere to send in funds to maintain the strikers. All sums sent in through *Advance* will be acknowledged from week to week.

The San Francisco *Call* is one of the most notorious haters of the labor movement. It is not surprising therefore that the immense increase in the Socialist vote recorded at the recent election should inspire it with fear and move it to cunning antagonism. The many editorials, which appeared, have uniformly seized upon the most violent expressions of the *Call*—say that Socialists do not advocate violence. Then again, to back up the impression given by such expressions, it discovers an "Anarchist Anarchism," in which "extremes appear to meet," for it declares the goal of Anarchism to be Socialism. Communism. We would like to meet the intellectual prostitute who is the author of these editorials. It is hard to keep our opinion of him to ourselves.

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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 20, 1902

It must be remembered that the Socialist movement is inalienable from the labor movement. In the working class, alone as a class, is to be found the pressing necessity and the solid organization required to accomplish the gigantic task of the social revolution at which the Socialist party aims.

The contemplated transference of the transport service from government to private control is arousing much indignation. One of the most forcible protests comes from the Red Cross Society. The officers of that society express themselves in the most condemnatory terms of the proposed measure.

Money Needed

The leaflet containing the platform of the Socialist party with biographical notes of its candidates, 100,000 of which were distributed during the campaign, was gotten up by Comrade Alderman of Sacramento, who had to be personally responsible for the payment of the printers.

The California Situation

To correct false statements and misapprehensions in regard to San Francisco's position we wish to make a few statements of fact.

- 1. The Socialist party never fused with the Union Labor ticket in San Francisco.
2. We never endorsed the Union Labor ticket.
3. We never compromised or attempted a trade of votes.
What we did do was this: We refrained from nominating for judges, justices of the peace, superintendent of schools, State senators and assemblymen.

At this time the Democrats had not en-

dorsed the Union Labor men, nor was it possible for any endorsement to appear on the official ballot. It was after the time for nominations had expired that a Republican Supreme Court knocked out the Democrats which prevented endorsements being shown on the ballot. It was upon this decision that the success of the Democratic party depended, in attaching itself to the Union Labor party.

From the time the Democrats endorsed some of the Union Labor men, and they allowed that endorsement to stand, the Socialist party continually declaimed against such an alliance. One joint Democratic and Union Labor party meeting for Congress was held and that worked so much to a protest in the Union Labor camp that no other was attempted. The "fusion" between the Union Labor party and the Democrats was by no means as complete as has been represented. Nevertheless, it was sufficient for the Socialist party to be able now to repudiate the Union Labor party in San Francisco. We are now in this impregnable position. We gave the Union Labor party all the chance it desired to hold the local field as a work-ing man's party. It failed, in so far as it permitted alliances with the political tool of the capitalists, the Democratic party. We can now claim the field ourselves without the possibility of being attacked as opposing independent political action by the working class.

Again let us say, we neither fused nor endorsed. We never asked union men to support our State ticket because we had not nominated locally. We gave no word to support their local ticket. We asked them, as Socialists throughout the nation, to support our State ticket, because it was a working class ticket. We gave them a chance to prove whether they had a right to such a title.

In Memoriam

These resolutions were passed by the City Central Committee of San Francisco in memory of Comrade W. E. Butterfield, who died December 3, 1902, and was a member of the local at the time of his death.

Resolved, That as Socialists we cannot but feel the loss of a true and valued comrade, who has been removed from our side by our common foe, Death. That we regard and honor the glorious task which he has set before them, viz., the emancipation of the human race from every form of wage-slavery, there is work for all. Comrade W. E. Butterfield knew his field of labor and worked in it. He was a true friend of a leaflet, the industrial friend to join the party, or the taking of a subscription for a party organ, as valuable and necessary as a grand orator. Comrade Butterfield loved the cause to his latest hour; and desired that his comrades should bear his remains to the place of their final restoration to the elements of which they are composed.

Resolved, That in parting with our comrade we are assured that his labor is not and cannot be lost. True his place in the ranks is vacant, his name is no more before us, but the good seed sown will raise up a score, may a hundred, to carry on the work to a glorious completion.

We, therefore, representing the Socialist local of San Francisco, tender to his wife, his children, his relations and intimate friends our heartfelt sympathy in this their hour of trial. When a true man passes away, when a social life is ending, the lessons left behind compensate in large measure for the loss.

Nevertheless the vacant chair, the silence of those loved voices and the removal of the leader and friend, causes suffering and sorrow.

But we say to all and to ourselves, be of good cheer. In working for the cause Comrade Butterfield loved lies our highest joy and most solace as for his loss.

With a heart for any fate— Still achieving, still pursuing, Learn to labor and to wait." Signed on behalf of the local.

Scott Anderson, C. H. King, Sec.

Married

Elijah Backus and Miss Clara E. Powell were married on Friday, Sunday, December 7, 1902. Both are comrades of Local San Francisco. Comrade J. Stitt Wilson performed the ceremony, which was beautiful and impressive. The happy couple take the best wishes of all comrades. 24 long life and much opportunity for service in the cause for both.

Ed Elder has been elected Secretary of Local Porterville, vice H. Roy Wright, resigned.

The Lord's Feast

Written for Advance by Emma G. Hunt.

Ever set the gladsome Christmas bells Their welcome chimes had rung, Ere yet the merry children had their Christmas carols sung, An angel bright—from heaven came— This message brought to earth: "Your Lord will celebrate with feast And the Lord has waited long, The day that have him birth."

"Once more will end the humble garb And mortal, and come back, And on earth a manly boy— Leave again His sandals' track; His ministr'ng angels He will send To spread the Christmas feast, And bid to all a welcome, From the greatest to the least."

The merry Christmas bells Their sweetest chimes have rung, The children bright and happy Have their Christmas carols sung; The heavenly feast is ready And the Lord has waited long; At last an angel brings to Him A carol, hungry throng.

"These, Lord are the lonely ones, These, Lord are fast to share; Life is to them a bitter one Of struggle, want and care; They bear upon their pallid brows The mark of many a thorn, And on Life's jagged cross they've hung, Their feet and hands are torn."

"As through the cities of the world I plied my weary search, I found great throngs of people Grogg here and there to church; They begged to be excused—and said, There is no better way To make a Christmas holy Than to go to church and pray."

"Others were hidden from the world By high and massive wall; That seemed to say, 'Don't enter here, Within these sacred halls; Here dwell the chosen ones of earth, The sheep within the fold. As battle, late and fast and pray As did the saints of old."

"Many I found bowed down to wealth, They worship at a shrine Where Fashion's dictates plainly say, 'My will be done not Thine.' They spend their Christmas in the whirl Where Fortune's favor sets; Ne'er mingle with the lowly ones; They, too, seek their regrets."

"And those who sit in places high, With power they call divine, Have not one minute's time in which To share this feast of Thine; Their 'peace on earth, good will to men,' As battle, late and fast and pray And in the nation's council halls They feast on human gore."

The heavenly feast is over; each And all have gone their way; To far-away gethsemane, The Lord has gone to pray: "Father, once more the bitter cup My lips will have to drain, And once again on Calvary, My blood must leave a stain."

"For in this world of bigotry, Of folly, hate and sin, Mammon has made a sepulchre, The soul lies stark within. So through the lonely vale of death, Once more would I alone, To help the struggling ones of earth, To roll away the stone."

Emma E. Hunt.

Woman's Socialist Union

Edited by M. Alice Spradlin.

This column is indebted to Mrs. N. M. Burnside, the President of the William Morris Club, for the following synopsis of a talk on the Socialism of Lowell, given by Miss Bloom at their last meeting. We most heartily thank Mrs. Burnside for this kind favor.

The William Morris Club held its regular meeting on Thursday, December 4th, at the home of Mrs. J. M. Reynolds, 1213 Laguna street. There were eighteen members present and several visitors, and a most enjoyable afternoon it proved.

Following the regular business of the club, Miss Bloom gave a talk on the Socialism of Lowell. She said in part, that although many people think of him as an aristocrat, a conservative, yet a careful study of his poems on "freedom" prove him to be the reverse, for what could more truly express the thought of Brotherhood and the solidarity of the human race than "If there breathes on earth a slave— Are ye truly free and brave?"

vision to have been larger than this movement, great as it was, for he was a world man, as expressed in "The Present Crisis." Further quoting from his poems:

"All thoughts that mould the age begin Deep down within the primitive soil, And from the many slowly upward win To one who grasps the whole." Showing that he believed after centuries of thought on the part of the great mass of people there is evolved a master mind who gives back in a concrete and crystallized form, their own thoughts, thereby becoming a leader. "The Present Crisis" (Marx.) He also says: "It may be glorious to fight Thoughts that shall glad the two or three High souls, like those far stars that come in sight."

Once in a century; But better far it is to speak One simple word, which now and then Shall waken their free nature in the weak And friendless sons of men."

Again in "Prometheus," Lowell points to the fact that when man kills he may secure that which he desires. In his defiance of Jove (force), Prometheus (love) says: "Let man but will and thou art God no more."

Miss Bloom said that this applies to present day conditions, for when men become intelligent enough to vote for what they want, our present day commercial god will be no more.

The Immolation of the Wealth Producer

By John Robertson.

While the object of the Socialist movement is to abolish capitalism and wage-slavery in order that the working class may enjoy the full product of their own toil, other reasons are to be found in the merciless waste of human life and multi-tudinous injuries to the bodies of the workers must, use is so vast and so complicated that it is impossible for any man to fully guard his life while he is in connection with it. Explosions are an almost daily occurrence. Boilers explode, fuel oil-gas explodes, cupolas explode and the workmen are boiled or roasted to death. In the lumber mills heavy knives and saws, revolving with lightning speed, demand so much per annum of human flesh. Men fall into huge vats of boiling oil, beer, soap or other liquid. They are drawn by belts to revolving shafts and battered to pieces or flattened out, thin as a pancake, between rollers that weigh tons. They are mangled in the drums of thrashing machines, ground under harrows, poison ed by fumes, suffocated by dust. Accidents will sometimes happen in the best regulated families. But more than half, perhaps nine-tenths, of these calamities would be prevented if Socialism prevailed.

Preventive measures are not popular with the bosses. They cost money. He is out for profit and anything that lessens profit he fights. It took three years to gain an automatic coupler on railroads. Inspection of mines and mills was resisted successfully for many decades; while such horrors were perpetrated in them as would tempt to prescribe any other remedy in the fiery regions below. But the proprietors at the same time made from 500 to 1,000 per cent.

Profit being that fictitious surplus value over the value of production, which is added by the capitalist, will have no place under Socialism. The life, health and comfort of the worker will be the first consideration. He who produces wealth is entitled to the highest consideration. As it is now the labor gets nearly all these in comfort, luxuries and pleasure. What becomes of poor wretches maimed to incapacity in our mills? Some of them are on the sick-walks selling pencils or playing upon an apology for a musical instrument. In other words, they are beggars. Would it be so under Socialism, when the working class would operate the government and use it for their own benefit, even as the capitalist class uses it now for its own? No, we would have no dangerous places fenced, poisonous gases carried away and dust removed by ventilators. Ignorant, cheap and rushing farmers would give place to trained experts, but when, after all, some unfortunate should be maimed or dead, society would provide a comfortable home for him or for his family.

Workers, cast your votes for what you want—Socialism. Elect Socialists to represent you and you will get Socialism.

Perhaps you are thinking that unfortunately it is not given to every man to know his own real needs. Even the chattel slaves in the South in many cases, refused to be made free. We are certain, however, that the great majority of American workmen will be with us, Socialists,

in the near future. With them we shall triumph and they with us. On for freedom and happiness.

The Poor Wealth Creator

Poverty and slavery are very ancient institutions. They seem to be inseparable. They have accompanied each other through the centuries, from the dim past, before the first Pharaoh reigned in Egypt, to the present day. Their opposites, wealth and oppression, are just as ancient and just as continuous. Where the richest spots occur, there are always on the contrary is most favored by nature, where wealth can be produced with the least effort, there we find the greatest extremes of wealth and poverty, despotism and slavery.

The wealth of the large cities of Europe and America is so great as to be inconceivable. Single individuals are known to be possessed of tens and even hundreds of millions of dollars; while in those same cities, thousands are always on the brink of starvation. The effort of the poor to make an honest living, while all around them are the flaunting evidences of fabulous wealth, is an astounding monument to their patience and their virtue. The entire impossibility of those rich men and women earning the wealth they own, proves that others have earned it for them. In other words, the poor are kept poor by the steady draining of the wealth they create into the pockets of the rich.

Nature simply provides, but the supply of good things is not unlimited, hence if one man takes enough to keep a thousand, and many of them do, can it surprise any one that poverty for thousands is the result. What is it that has the right to drain the poor of the wealth they create? It is the ownership of the land and machinery which enables them to claim the product of the workers on payment of a small wage. Having gained wealth by that skinning process, they hold on to it, how? By hiring the poor to produce it for them against those of the poor who in their desperation and despair might be driven to do a criminal act. The rich man did not create the earth, he did not clothe parts of its surface with valuable forests nor place beneath the rich deposits of coal and iron; he did not invent, make or operate the machinery by which this raw material is got out and worked into small wares. He offers the man a wage, he neither plows nor sows nor harvests; yet the results are his own, by reason of his ownership of the means by which the poor wage earner produces them.

This great wrong, this usurpation, of the fruits of a man's own labor, is obviously the abolition of private ownership in the means of producing wealth. It can be none other. This is the doctrine of Socialism. The abolition of private ownership means a public ownership. When that is gained no man can get rich by keeping others poor. It will not be gained, however, by the issuance of bonds as the capitalists would still be the real owners, only instead of dividends on his stock he would receive interest on the bonds. The working class would still be in wage-slavery. None but a true class-conscious representative will ever propose legislation by which the working class can acquire the means of producing what they need in order to live. Hence the necessity of the workers lining up under the banner of the Socialist party, and marching to the election booths casting such an ocean of ballots that their will may be clearly and unmistakably shown; their determination to own their own tools and thereby their own product and abolish poverty forever from the land.

J. R.

Report of State Organizer

San Diego, Cal., Nov. 8, 1902.

Editor Advance: The perpetual campaign in Southern California promises to have an added impetus in the next few months. The Strickland-Jones combination is headed this way from the East and will be with us in February. Comrade Benjamin Wilson is back again from his great campaign in Montana, and will do service for a month after Christmas in California. Comrade G. W. Woodbey and J. L. Drviden of San Diego are preparing to take the southern circuit. I shall start on the 13th for a second trip through the district. Will both lecture and organize as usual. My subject is "The Logical and Inevitable Development of Labor and Capital into Socialism." I have announced the following dates:

- Orange County—Tustin, December 19th; Santa Ana, December 20th; Westminster, December 22nd; Orange, December 23rd; Anaheim, December 24th; Fullerton, December 25th.

Other dates will be announced later. Fraternal, Edgar B. Helphingstine,

### The Death of the Cannon King

The sudden death of Herr Krupp, the German millionaire and manufacturer of the guns which have made his name so terribly famous, has come as a surprise to Europe. Paragraphs appeared in the English press last week hunting at certain "scandalous allegations" made by its contemporary, the Vorwärts, concerning the private life of the great German capitalist, and now it is said that his unexpected decease is mainly due to the grave charges that he would have had to face in the libel trial which he was being forced to enter against the Vorwärts.

The exposure which the Vorwärts published last week of the life of Herr Krupp at Capri, the little island off the bay of Naples, where he spent five out of the twelve months of the year, must have created consternation throughout official Germany. It was not merely the description, based upon almost indisputable evidence from Naples, of orgies of vice suggestive of the times of the Emperor Titus on the same island rather than that of the twentieth century. It was the fact that the participation in these vices, though not criminal in Italy, would bring whomever practiced them under the lash of the German penal code; and it is alleged that these excesses had been carried on to an extent which compelled the Italian government, despite the position of Italy in the triple alliance, to request Herr Krupp to clear out of Capri and to return there no more. It is not, however, with the personal character of Herr Krupp, be it virtuous or vicious, that we are concerned, but with the economic power which a man in his position must necessarily possess. We need only refer to the allegations against the "Kanonenkönig" to be true in half of their revolting details, it only shows the power and opportunity for the moral corruption of others which great personal wealth affords. It is a train-to-day event as in civilizations of past ages.

With the death of Herr Krupp our German comrades lose a formidable opponent in an opponent harder to combat than those who use brains, arguments, or even rifles in defense of capitalist society. For Herr Krupp was a capitalist despot of the "benevolent" school. He did not want his "hands" to be too badly off. He wanted them fairly well-fed, decently clothed and comfortably housed. He was willing to give them their certain advantages in the way of insurance and benefit societies, of clubs and libraries. But he was not so because his policy was to force his wage-slaves to work for him entirely beholden to him for their livelihood. Against those who dared to question his authority he used his absolute power with no uncertain hand. No member of a trade union could obtain employment at Essen lest he had not a workman's organization courted instant dismissal. If a workman were dismissed, even after fifteen years' service, he forfeited every penny he had paid into the sick and benefit funds. His "philanthropy" to his workpeople was in the nature of a carefully-considered investment; those who had few desires outside of their ordinary life and the moderate satisfaction of their children, might have been content to feel themselves fairly well-cared for, so long as they were obedient to the orders of those placed in authority over them; those who might see through the hollowness of this capitalist philanthropy were forced into silence for fear of the consequences to themselves and those dependent upon them if they dared publicly to clothe their thoughts with words.

The work of the great factories and foundries at Essen kept nearly 50,000 persons employed, and their production made Herr Krupp the richest man in Germany. His income exceeded a million sterling yearly, and it may be noted in passing that this sum went into his pockets after and not before the firm had spent those hundreds of thousands of pounds upon "philanthropic benevolence" for the employees for which he received so much laudatory commendation "philanthropic benevolence" which made the recipients of it almost the personal property of Herr Krupp, and held them in complete economic bondage. The dead millionaire cannot be said to have been in any way the "architect of his own fate." Unlike his father, who, according to reports, gave personal attention and inventive aptitude to the great business of which his son came into possession in 1887, the latter was a thorough-going capitalist of the mercantile type. He lived latterly as a luxurious recluse, whether at his Villa Hügel or at Capri—that is, to the outside world! He seldom came to the works from which he drew his vast fortune, and to thousands of his "hands" he was purely a mythical personage. He took no part in public life after his defeat at the Reichstag elections in the nineties; by a Socialist Democratic candidate, and he apparently

lived solely to gratify himself. As the Arbeiter-Zeitung of Vienna truly says, the younger Krupp drew, in fourteen years, with scarcely any personal effort, four times the amount that his father obtained in sixty-two years of close attention to the iron works.

The great and increasing wealth possessed by men like Herr Krupp is a convincing proof of the economic fact that modern capitalism tends to concentration and amalgamation in every direction, and that the possession of great wealth gathers unto itself more and more wealth automatically whether its possessor troubles himself or not. We have seen how the development of the Essen works brought profits to the younger Krupp such as his father perhaps never dreamed of, and that these vast profits came to the son without personal effort. In the same way, he was gradually obtaining possession of profitable property in spite of himself, so that the younger Krupp, such as his father, conscious desire to trustify various industries may be ascribed to Pierpont Morgan, nevertheless he was acquiring one after another such works as the Grunson steel and iron foundry and the famous "Vulcan" ship building yard at Stettin, besides innumerable coal and iron mines in Germany and Spain, and some of the small or shipping lines. Here we see the relentless development of capitalism, concentration, even without conscious effort in that direction on the part of the owner of these great concerns.

A great capitalist has indeed passed away, but he was great only because of his wealth and possessions and the economic power which they enabled him to wield. As a private individual he performed no great work which will live in history, and though Kaiser and chancellor mourn the loss of his name and prestige for their capricious and impetuous desire to have cause to regard his death otherwise than with indifference.—H. W. Lee in London England, Justice.

### The Socialist Party and Union Labor

W. G. Randall answers "Comrade Alderman on Union Labor as follows, which we clip from the L. A. Socialist:

In the sense in which I understand it I think you may concede his claim that "our party is first and foremost a workingmen's party." Its program contemplates the equal opportunity of all as its end aim. In this sense it is the Socialist party, the party of the wage-slave.

But the entire social body is not aiding in the accomplishment of the party's final purpose. Of the various classes into which society is divided by its immediate material interests the wage-working class is the only one which is identified in any way with the Socialist party and its aims. With very few exceptions the individuals of any other class do not identify themselves with the party until they believe they are in danger, more or less immediately, from the demand of wage-workers. The great purpose of the party will not be accomplished through the efforts of society in general, but through the working class practically unaided.

In this sense it is a working class party. It is a very important question, as may be seen, for the party cannot hope for aid from any other class, and it must have the support of the working class in order to secure the contemplated benefits for the entire social body. It is plain, therefore, that the Socialist party's relation to the working class is of greater immediate importance than its relation to society as a whole, for its very life and the accomplishment of its final aim depends upon the working class, and the party's immediate demands, which, for this reason are designed to uphold and strengthen the hands of the working class, must take precedence over any conflicting immediate demands whose introduction into its platform may be desired by those few party members whose occupation and immediate interests lie in some other direction.

Only from such a member can the insistent demand that the party's ultimate social aim shall be regarded as inconsistent with an intimate and exclusive alliance with the wage-working class, and from a member too who has failed to divorce himself in his party work from his interest as a member of the alien class. The plans for working out most great purposes involve some individual. In building a skyscraper the workmen start in the other direction, and dig a great hole in the ground. But the only person who will see at such a procedure is one who does not understand the necessities of massive architecture. An equal lack of comprehension, it seems to me, must lay behind the fear that the idea of the Socialist party's entire dependence for success upon the wage-working class, or any action consistent with this dependence, puts the party in danger of losing consciousness of its ultimate purpose.

### State Autonomy What It Is and What It Is Not

By W. H. C. Sullivan.

So much abuse has been thrust upon the term "State Autonomy" that it has become almost unpalatable subject. It has fared at hand as its own name has the term "Socialism" at the hands of the capitalist papers. It appears that the opponents of State Autonomy having been unable to meet the arguments of the "Autonomists," have attempted to vulgarize the term with the intent of hiding the real issue until such time as the advocates of centralization could come forth and control the field.

State Autonomy, properly applied, means the right of each State to conduct their own business as pertains to organization, propaganda and financial matters. It means that the State organization will be held responsible for the safe conduct of the affairs of their respective States. The placing of this responsibility means the development of a large army of workers and speakers that could not be otherwise reached. It means a better organization of each State. It means that each State will be able to give a little more of the work of their respective States and conduct a better and more thorough propaganda than were this responsibility to lie all with the national organization. It allows the national organization to conduct the general and executive work of the party in place of confining them to the routine details of the entire nation and having no time to do the more important work.

State Autonomy does not mean that Wisconsin can refuse the national organization a list of their State locals; that Kansas can abolish the dues-paying system; that the California comrades can fuse with another political party or that each State can use a separate kind of printed supplies. No, indeed, comrades, State Autonomy does not allow of this. If the National Constitution does really allow of these things now it is then a matter to be remedied at the very first opportunity.

There should be uniformity of printed supplies to be issued by the national organization and sold to the locals direct in the unorganized States and only to the State committees in the organized States. There should be a compulsory dues system enforced upon the States. There should be a perfect system of monthly reports from the States to the national headquarters. Now to apply these ideas to the abolition of State Autonomy, the least. They are simply reforms made necessary by experience. We certainly did not expect to launch out into a new system or organization and have it perfected at once. Why, no, of course not. So now these things must be done to correct the abuses to which State Autonomy has been put in the past year.

Our organization has outgrown the old form and we must not retrogress. We must look forward to a more progressive measure. Our organization is now too large and unwieldy to be handled direct from the national headquarters. The national organization could not have done the work of the past campaign. I do not believe that their general body has done the work of three of the larger State committees. The Ohio organization has done more work in this State during the past year than the national organization could have done in six years.

We must have State Autonomy sooner or later as a permanent measure. We have it now, and in case of its being abolished we will be forced to return to it by force of the manner in which the political laws of the country are enacted. We now vote by States; get official standing by States; use party emblems by State, and use different names in the different States. All the election laws are made by States and therefore the Socialist party must be organized with the States as units of the party or disintegrate.

We now allow the cities to conduct their own business and organize themselves into ward clubs. This is local autonomy and it is a pronounced success. However the organization is large enough to warrant the division into branches.

This arbitrary and utterly unjust conduct of it is then the correct principle for the organization of cities, then it is likewise correct for the States.

If it would be a good thing for our organization to have a strong central power at national headquarters and they doing all the business direct with the locals, why would it be well to extend the form of organization and shift the work directly and have the national headquarters to do all the business direct with the members, and each individual member be responsible to no one except the national organization? This would be a centralization, to be sure.

Then with a centralized power and the national committee doing all the party

business, it would be impossible for them to do the necessary work in getting the tickets on the ballot where we have not yet gained official standing, and as a result it would become necessary to have a State organization. Then this State organization would be without any means of support and in order to raise the necessary funds they would be forced to adopt the form of organization that we now enjoy—State Autonomy.

Without State Autonomy Ohio would not have obtained official standing and become the third party in the State this year.

No, comrades, we must not abolish State Autonomy, but we must correct its abuses. To abolish it would mean a reactionary policy that it would take years to overcome. The organization is growing and we must keep pace with the ever-growing movement. We must pay no attention to the wails of discontent that occasionally emanate from the national headquarters against State Autonomy. They want more power and there lie many dangers in granting it to them. They have shown what they could do to give a little more constitutional power. If the officers at national headquarters would be given the authority to expel Wisconsin; expel Kansas; force the Western Socialist locals to club the American labor union out of existence and then change the name of the Socialist party to the Union Labor party would be much pleased.

However, they are not going to have this power and the Socialist party is going to retain the form of organization which they adopted at the unity convention in 1901, and under which we have made such wonderful and unprecedented progress during the past year.

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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 hereto 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 25th day of October, in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and two.

ALBERT B. MARONEY, Clerk. (Seal) BY JOSEPH RICHARDSON, Deputy Clerk.

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

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The Social Revolution

By Karl Kautsky. Chap. 5.—The Softening Down of Class Antagonisms

Quite different it is with those sections of the petty bourgeoisie which have not yet become completely subjected to the large capital, but stand on the verge of ruin, as well as with those who look for their customers in other than proletarian circles. They doubt their ability to raise themselves by their own efforts and expect everything from above, from the upper classes and the State.

It is to this division in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie that the decline of the bourgeois democracy is due. A portion of it joins the proletarian Social-Democracy, others the reactionary democracy, which, though flying different colors of anti-Semitism, Nationalism, Christian Socialism, of certain sections of the Conservative and Center parties, are nevertheless always essentially and socially the same.

Many of their phrases and arguments this reactionary democracy have borrowed from the Social-Democratic mode of thinking, and some of the beginning believed that they had formed but a special transitional stage from Liberalism to Social-Democracy. To-day this view is manifestly no longer tenable.

Social-Democracy has no more bitter enemy than the reactionary democracy. If it has developed on Social-Democracy to champion every and any kind of progress, whether it directly advances the class interests of the proletariat or not, the reactionary democracy is by its whole being, driven to oppose all progress, even where it does not directly threaten the petty bourgeoisie. If Social-Democracy is the most progressive, the reactionary democracy is the most reactionary of all parties, since over and above the other classes and reactionary classes feel towards progress, it is yet inspired by the determination which comes from crass ignorance of everything lying outside its narrow mental horizon.

To this must be added that the petty bourgeoisie succeeds in dragging on its feet, that only to the merciless exploitation of the weaker and most defenceless human labor, that of women and children. In this it naturally meets, first and foremost, with the opposition of the Social-Democracy, which by its organization and compulsory laws to prevent such a wastage of human life.

Thus the petty bourgeoisie, so far as it does not come over to Social-Democracy, turns from an ally and an intermediary element between the upper classes and the proletariat into a bitter foe of the latter. Instead, therefore, of softening down, the class antagonisms become here as accentuated as can be; indeed, they increase very rapidly, since it is but recently that they have been noticable at all.

What is true of the petty bourgeoisie is also true—with but few qualifications—true of the peasantry. This also splits into two camps, one of proletarian (peasant owners of tiny plots) and another of proprietary elements. It is our task to accelerate this process by enlightening the former as to the solidarity of their interests with those of the proletariat, and by thus winning them over for Social-Democracy.

We hinder it, however, if we ignore it and appeal to the entire agricultural population without distinction of class. The reactionary democracy in the country, though, perhaps, not always fully conscious of this antagonism, is, in its essence, just as hostile to us as the towns. Those, therefore, who believed that the peasant association movement is for the peasants but a stage of transition from the old parties, viz.: the Center (Clerical) party to the Social-Democratic party, were just as mistaken as those who expected the same from anti-Semitism in the towns. The middle and large peasant proprietor here the Social-Democracy, if but for the reason that it champions shorter hours and higher wages for the worker, and constitutes thereby an important factor which draws the laborer from the land and leaves the peasant in the lurch.

life is not that between the worker and his exploiter, but between town and country. But in town the proletariat forms the most numerous, the best organized, and the most militant class; and so the seller of the necessities of life comes here again into direct conflict with the proletariat as his most energetic opponent.

No wonder the big ground landlord thinks of the industrial worker nowadays differently to what he did formerly. In former times the struggle between the industrial capitalist and his workers left him indifferent—nay, he watched often with an unconcerned malicious pleasure, even with a certain sympathy, for the proletariat. It was not the latter who then stood in his way, but the capitalist, who demanded protective tariffs where he, the ground landlord, wanted free trade; and vice versa, looked on ground rents as reducing his profit, and wished to snatch from him the monopoly of the better-class positions in the army and bureaucracy.

To-day all that has changed. The times when there were friends of labor among the Tories and the Junkers, the Diarcks, Robertus, Vogelsangs, are long gone. Like the petty bourgeoisie and the class of the middle and larger peasant proprietors, the big ground landlords, too, have become more and more hostile to the labor movement.

But the capitalist class? This is to-day the paramount class. Does not it at least become more friendly to labor, like the Intellectuals?

I am sorry to say I have not noticed anything of the sort. Certainly, even the capitalist class changes; it does not remain always the same. But what are the most important of its changes within the last decades?

On one hand we find a softening down—nay, sometimes even a complete cessation—of the competition in which the capitalists of a single branch of industry are engaged throughout their particular countries, by means of cartels, associations and trusts, etc. On the other hand, we see the accentuation of international competition through the rise of new capitalist countries, especially of Germany and the United States.

The employers' associations abolish competition among the masters, not only as against the buyers of their products, but also as against their workers. Instead of being confronted with numerous purchasers of their over-power, the workers have now only to deal with a single master. How much the advantages of the employers are thereby increased, and also to what extent their opposition to the workers is thus accentuated, needs no further elucidation.

According to the last census of the United States, the wages of the workers in American industry have, during the decade 1890-1900 suffered an absolute decrease. If that is so we cannot be far wrong in attributing it to the work of the syndicates and trusts.

In the same direction, moreover, works the growth of foreign competition. Here, too, in addition to the consumers, it is the workers against whose interests the development proceeds. Over and above the raising of prices by means of protective tariffs, which in their turn favor the formation of employers' associations, it is the increased exploitation of labor by which the workers are to meet foreign competition. Hence the accentuation of their struggle against the militant organizations of the workers, political and trade union, which stand in their way.

Thus, here, too, there is no softening down, but on the contrary, an intensification of the class war.

To this may be added as a third factor, the increasing fusion of the industrial capital with the money capital, with the *banque d'acier*. The industrial capitalist is an employer in the domain of production (this taken in the widest sense and including transport) in which he exploits hired wage labor and extracts a profit out of it. The money capitalist, on the other hand, the modern form of the ancient usurer. He draws an income from his money, which he nowadays lends on interest, not simply to needy private individuals as formerly, but also to capitalist employers, local authorities, states, etc.

(To be continued.) There was no attempt at "trading rules" in San Francisco. So the remarks of our Eastern contemporaries concerning "disappointing results" are not quite appropriate. We would ask though whether an increase from 915 in 1901 to 993 in 1902 is especially disappointing or not? Does it disappoint one more than the decrease from 2035 in 1900 to 915 in 1901, obtained in 1909pramgovec.enwhrdtas-bharhrlsd by pursuing the policy they advocate?

Kirkpatrick has joined the working force at the Training School. He lost his chair in one college and resigned in another because he was a Socialist. He is one of the best read students in the movement and is teaching Socialism all the time now instead of by occasional remarks only as was possible while he was holding down a professorship in college. Send us some more such men, Mr. Rockefeller!

The Right to Life.

So far the operator is right. But he does not go far enough. Nature has made work a necessity. The right to work is supported by that necessity. It is one of the first duties of government to protect its citizens in the free enjoyment of that right. But there is an important truth which the operator fails to see. His failure to see the whole truth makes his half-truth a lie, and while he seems to be pleading for the right to work, he is, in reality, pleading for the continued right to hold slaves. In all probability, he is not conscious of this. He may not know that he is standing sponsor for a one-sided freedom. How can government secure to the miners, union or non-union, the right to work when it permits the operator to monopolize the mines? Without the right of access to these mines, the vaunted right to work is merely a phrase. By owning the mines or the railroads which open the mines, or both, the operators virtually hold in their own hands, and are masters of, the mine jobs.

There is a fundamental injustice in the law which makes private property of the coal mines. While that law stands the relation of miner and operator will be the relation of slave to master. Until that law has been changed, the use of the military to quell strikes will be the use of brute force to hold men in subjection. Such wars may be waged in the name of freedom, and men who are blind to the elements of slavery in our present social arrangement may feel that such use of force is in the interest of freedom; and those who see that there can be no real freedom of a contract between a mine monopolist and a man who works, have no faith in Federal troops and little more in organized strikes as a means of securing justice.—The Pilgrim for December.

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