



# ADVANCE

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THIS IS NUMBER  
**434**

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

WHOLE NUMBER 434.

SAN FRANCISCO, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1902.

FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR.

## Peace! Peace! But There is No Peace

Where is the initiative, where is the constructive statesmanship that is to build the nation's future. Is it statesmanship to avert for to-day a tempest that must break to-morrow? Is it statesmanship that patches up a petty truce over the pitfall of a crying wrong? In the vaporings of futile joy that to-day declare the coal strike ended I make the counter declaration that it is not ended, that it is just beginning. The great world-giant Labor is but testing his muscle. The coal strike was but a trial of strength, full of portent for the future. The real battle has not yet begun. To-day's struggle for a pittance is to pave the way for to-morrow's struggle for a portion; and to-morrow's struggle once begun will never cease until the toilers of the world shall gain their own.

Deep down in the heart of things a new life is growing: a life virile and purposeful; a life that shall rend our rotten civilization as the oak root splits the rock and blossoms into beauty.

Will this growth be arrested because the creatures of the present are too gross and dull to detect it?

Stories have come to us of the luxuries of Newport: of the reckless gambling at Saratoga; of social debauchery of a lower type than ever degraded court of Europe.

The same careless and profligate waste of the sources of the common life, the same fool feeling of "after us the deluge," which marked a certain celebrated period of France, sits grinning above the social boilers to-day.

But the strong hand of labor is slowly reaching upward from the mire; its fingers are closing about the controlling lever; it has learned the hidden secret of forced draught, and the great social engines are throbbing a dithyrambic hymn of freedom.

No longer shall youth be stunted and stunted no longer shall little children be denied the joy and innocence of life's morning. The day of the united people is dawning.

We who are not blinded by the sophistries of the present must build the high-road to the future. It is a task for manhood. It is a task for the pure in heart.

We must keep the Socialist movement clean, and united, and above all reproach, to do this mighty work. Our thoughts must be high, our hearts must be pure, our lives as open as the day.

Upon the Socialist movement hangs the sole present hope of human liberty. And everywhere the cause is growing. It is no longer confined to one nation alone. It is as wide as the world. In far-off Japan it is lifting up the hearts of men; in darkest Russia it is sustaining the serf in his dungeon; throughout continental Europe everywhere the peasant reads with glad, hopeful eyes the message of the dawn. At last, at last the brotherhood of man! In the hovels and huts of the poor you will find to-day the writings of Marx and Engels and Tolstoy and Kropotkin. The peasant begins to think; the man with the hoe is lifting up his head; he hears the voices of to-morrow, and a "thinking peasant makes a quaking throne."—F. H. Wentworth in the *Socialist Spirit*.

## Socialism and Union Labor

It is a mistake to assume that no good can come unless it is ushered in by the Socialist party; such a position is very egotistical and foolish. The working class through its trade unions has, so far, done more to raise the standard of living of the people than all the Socialist parties in the world combined. It is possible to appreciate the wrongs of the present industrial system and to make an honest attempt to remedy them even though one does not fully understand the "class struggle" and the materialistic conception of history. We are inclined to feel sorry that we are obliged to recognize that the trades union movements have been a benefit to the working class, and much time has been spent by Socialists in trying to combat this fact. The trades unions are now on the verge of forming a political party. They have been told by Socialists and they have learned from bitter experience that strikes are futile even when they win them and they are now arriving at the conclusion that their only hope of salvation lies in the class-conscious expression of their needs at the ballot box.

The trades union party will be attacked, their leaders maligned and called traitors in spite of the fact that every Socialist has continually advised the trades unions to enter politics and vote for their own interests. Now that they have virtually decided on the step, at least in Chicago; we Socialists should aim to influence and aid their movement, and lead it in the right direction and not let it fall into the hands of the politicians of the old parties. It is a matter of no consequence who brings Socialism; it must be brought; and if the trades union parties can hasten its coming our place is with them. The unions are recognizing the class struggle and with proper leading and direction they can be made to act along the lines that will lead them directly into the inevitable conflict between the capitalist and working classes. Philip S. Browne in the *Socialist Spirit*.

## Ca Ira!

In every country and in all ages an ideal is not easily understood by the common people nor is it much cared for by existing authority, whether the ideal be dangerous or peaceful. But when any ideal becomes prominent and influential by way of realizing it in the actual life of men, then society and its authority rises up and strikes at the root of the ideal and to check its progress by police force or by letting mercenary savants proclaim falsehood and twist things to suit the rich who control the society. With whatever means and force, however, the existing authority may attempt to suppress and root out any ideal once permeating among common people, it cannot be rooted out, for people take any ideal to themselves when it is real to them. Yes, there was a time, and is even now, when the realization of an ideal becomes life or death to some people. It was so in the time of Luther and of Robespierre and Danton, it is so now to the working classes. Socialism is an ideal as well as a principle that must be realized in this country. It has been gradually influencing people, and its growth and spread goes with that of industry. Thus in Japan Socialism has grown so rapidly that the working classes knew it instinctively and unconsciously they feel it to be their guardian angel, while those in power, the well-to-do classes, hate Socialism as an evil spirit and attempt to suppress it with all their might. They consider that Socialism is a most evil principle that destroys their welfare and happiness. They forget that their selfishness and greediness is the very cause of the steady growth of Socialism. Socialism is not an imported article as Parisian bonnet or Swiss watch, but it is a principle that works its ultimate goal in spite of all obstacles.

Socialists in Japan have been oppressed, their writings and speeches are severely censured without the least consideration. Their meetings are supervised as if they were meetings of criminals.

In spite of all this, Socialism is getting ever greater followers and many intelligent persons are declaring themselves in favor of Socialism. A few days ago the Risodan's monthly meeting was held at Seiyoken, Tsukiji, there were some fifty intelligent persons present and the discussion of the evening was Socialism, led by Mr. L. Kotoku. We expected some objections would be taken by the members, but, lo, there were none who opposed Socialism flatly, only a few criticized on minor points of the means of Socialism. On the whole Socialism was the influence of the meeting. Now Socialism has won the Risodan, whose organ is the powerful daily *Yorozu*.

Every Socialist meeting is well attended and studied earnestly by every rank of society.

It is planned to hold a Socialist meeting at Osaka in the first part of November. Osaka is face to face with a grave problem of city gas. A private gas company is trying to trample down the rights of the city by the aid of foreign capital. We want to arouse the citizens of Osaka to the necessity of waking up the civic spirit.—Tokyo (Japan) *Labor World*.

## Stevens to Lecture

J. D. Stevens, formerly of Portland, Oregon, is to deliver an address Monday evening, December 1, in Fraternity Hall, Foresters' Building, 102 O'Farrell Street, on "Proletarian Socialism, as Distinguished from Plutocratic or Bourgeois Socialism." A general discussion is to follow. This is simply an amicable propaganda meeting gotten up by a comrade. Adv.

## Ohio's Big Vote

We here give the vote cast for Secretary of State at election held November 4, 1902, with comparison vote cast in 1900 for the same office:

Vote for 1900, 4,650; vote for 1902, 14,270; net gain over 1900, 9,620.

In all there are thirty-four counties organized with a total of forty-two locals and eight branches.

In 1900 six counties gave us no votes. In 1901 five did likewise. In 1902 every county in Ohio cast votes for the Socialist ticket.

In 1901, for Governor we polled 7,359 votes. This was an unusually warm campaign and the State voted a very large vote. This year with a largely decreased State vote we polled 14,270, or even a larger increase over last year. In 1901 the Socialist Labor party polled 2,994 for head of ticket. In 1902 it decreased to 2,983, or eleven votes less. They lost exactly 1,100 votes in the five large cities and made nearly all of it back in the rural districts, where our supporters made mistakes and voted their ticket not knowing the difference.

We are now the third party in Ohio and will hereafter go on the ballot in third position without any nomination petitions. The emblem of the party will be at the head of the ticket. This is what we have gained.

The above figures are a study in themselves. The organized counties show votes for every blow that has struck. Some of the small organizations worked but little and the vote shows it as well. This proves conclusively that organization counts and we must organize the entire State before one more year. Comrades, has your town a Socialist local? If not organize one. Begin at once.

With best wishes to all the comrades, I remain

Fraternally,  
W. S. Crutcher,  
Ohio State Secretary, 26 Pruden Building,  
Dayton, Ohio.

## The Situation in California

California is twenty-first in rank in the total of its population, eighth in the actual number of Socialist votes polled, sixth in the percentage of Socialist to total votes and first in the actual number of members of Socialist clubs for whom dues are paid to the National Committee. We're not so terribly bad off, after all.

## SOCIALISTS' Entertainment and Dance

Tuesday Ev'ng  
Dec. 9, 1902

At  
Shottish Hall, 107 Larkin Street  
Under the Auspices of

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO, SOCIALIST PARTY.

## BENEFIT OF 'ADVANCE'

Tickets 25c. Hat Room Free.

Socialists should all attend and bring in their friends.

Exercises begin at 8:15

Get tickets to sell at *Advance* office.

## Vote! Vote! Vote!

Every Socialist should go to the polls Tuesday and vote for the acquisition of the Geary St. road.

## Socialism in the A. F. of L.

Two years ago the American Federation of Labor adopted, by a vote of 4169 to 685, a resolution which was hotly opposed by the Socialist delegates to the convention. This resolution was a substitute for a straight-out Socialist declaration and simply welcomed the Socialist into the trades-union work. Last year the shrewd manipulations of the machine shelved the question, so that no real contest was made. The Socialist delegates were willing to lay low and prepare plans for this year. Now the New Orleans Convention has passed into history. And the record of Socialist strength is made. So far from only controlling a pitiable one-sixth of the votes the Socialist host gathered in strength sufficient to give battle-royal to the conservative leaders of the great organization. By only 400 votes in over 9,000—4,774 to 4,344—was a declaration for political action on Socialist lines defeated. This is truly a magnificent record of progress. All day the debate held the close attention of the delegates. Berger of Milwaukee; Wilson, Secretary-Treasurer of the Mine Workers and Max Hayes of the Typographical Union battling for progress and Duncan, Lennon and Gompers upholding the traditional policy of simply economic activity. The vote was taken at a late hour, and though the resolution was lost, the marvelous increased strength of the Socialist forces has caused the greatest rejoicing and raised high the hopes of our trades-union comrades for winning the struggle in Boston next year.

The vote is a complete answer to DeLeonism. It has been dinned into our ears by a small group of fanatics that the A. F. of L. was so corrupt that it was impossible to regenerate it and that even though the mass were enlightened the organization was such that it would be impossible to oust the machine in control. But our comrades of the Socialist party have thought otherwise. DeLeonism repudiated; they have gone steadily to work to do the trade-union business to the best of their ability. While they have not forsaken the ideal which inspires them, nor forsown the ultimate goal, they have applied the science of Socialism and organized the working class and lent it moral and financial support in its every-day class struggle against the bosses in mine and shop. It has not been an easy task. They have met repulses from the conservative unionists and endured the criticism and sometimes even the scorn of Socialist comrades. But bravely and patiently they have done the real revolutionary work, the detail drudgery of organizing the working men and women. And now, after two years, what may they rightly claim to have accomplished? This—that Socialism from controlling merely one-sixth of the vote of the greatest proletarian convention has grown in strength until nearly one-half are willing to marshal themselves beneath its revolutionary standards. All honor, then, to those who have "bored from within." The solidarity of labor and Socialism has now the brightest prospects of being a realized fact before two more years have passed away.

## Chase's Southern Tour

A tour through the South among the trade unions and locals of the Socialist party is being arranged for Comrade Jno. C. Chase by the Labor Lecture Bureau.

Comrades in the Southern States are requested to send suggestions and applications for dates to

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

BRING THE MILLENIUM!  
A thousand yearly subscribers will give us such a boost that we will be able to publish weekly cartoons and increase the paper's size. Your share is ten to make up for what the others won't do. Send them in immediately.

NINE HUNDRED AND NINETY-WON'T DO.

We want that thousand, so you must send in your share. Get as many new yearly subscribers as you can.

## Report of Organizer Helphingstine

San Diego, Cal., November 15th.—Comrades and locals of Southern California: I have withheld my report until after election in order to give space in the Socialist press of the State to the ante-election and post-election news. I left Los Angeles October 6th and concluded at San Diego and Chula Vista November 3d and 4th. Addressed twenty-two meetings in twenty towns. Local organization were formed in Elsinore, Riverside county; Uplands, San Bernardino county; Anaheim, Orange county, and Fallbrook, San Diego county. Coming in direct contact with the situation, I was not surprised at the healthy increase of the Socialist vote in Southern California. Since the memorable 4th of November I have remained in San Diego, taking a short vacation and preparing for the next circuit. I am now thoroughly acquainted with the geography and personnel of the district, and with a careful study of the election returns the organization work can be more thoroughly extended and strengthened. Everything is ready for a systematic circuit. Every local should have a speaker every two months. To invigorate the intermediate points will form an important part of the work and the whole chain of locals now stand ready to co-operate in building up the solid elevation afforded by the recent vote.

Receipts—Received from locals, \$12; received from new locals, \$6.60; received from collections, \$32; total, \$50.60; by balance \$31.63; grand total, \$92.23.

Expenditures—Brought forward October 1, \$16.13; stationery and postage, \$1.50; carfare, \$14.60; salary, \$60; total expenditures, \$92.23.

Fraternally,  
Edgar B. Helphingstine,  
State Organizer Southern Cal. Socialist P.  
Headquarters, 145 Main street, Los Angeles, Cal.

## The Heroic Scab

President Eliot of Harvard has spoken a great truth and thereby made himself unpopular. He has declared that the strike-breaker scab is the typical American hero. And now Organized Labor throughout the country is replying that Eliot is an ass—or worse. But let us see. Is not Funston a hero? Is not Dewey a hero? Is not Chaffee a hero? Are not the whole gang of fellows who "kill, burn and make Samar a howling wilderness"—are they not all heroes? The American people so deem them. Why? Because, in the words of Seton-Thompson, the naturalist, "they fight well on our side." The Filipinos have another point of view. It is for the same reason that "the American people," speaking through the capitalist press, dub Funston and "Jake" Smith heroes, that "the American people" speaking through the capitalist professor raise up another ideal hero for the worship of our youth, the industrial skulk, the scab—he fights well on the capitalist side. But no, President Eliot, you may ease the conscience of the scab by your eulogy of his heroism, but you cannot, ennoble him. His fellow-workers know him to be a traitor to their cause. His masters and your masters despise him as traitors are always despised. The light of the class struggle blazes too fiercely upon him for you to conceal his moral deficiencies, though you cloak him over with the honorary degree of doctor of law. Beneath the shambling skulk and swagger bravoado alike, the moral idiot is seen—the man who would sacrifice the welfare of hundreds of his comrades in toil for a petty gain—the Benedict Arnold, traitor to his class—the Judas Iscariot clutching the price of the crucifixion.

## Local San Francisco Attention

An initiative from District Club No. 1, amending the Local Constitution, is to be voted on in all District Clubs at the next regular meeting. It is important that you should attend and vote.

Amendment 1—That the section and article of Local Constitution providing for a Board of Directors of *Advance* be repealed. 2—That the Manager and Editor of *Advance* shall render their accounts and be responsible to the City Central Committee.

E. E. Kirk, Secretary Local S. F.



**The Social Revolution**

BY KARL KAUTSKY.

Translated by J. B. Askew in London Justice.

**PART I.—SOCIAL REFORM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION.**

(Continued from last week.)

Things assume quite a different shape as soon as the capitalist mode of production develops. It would take us too far, and would mean a repetition of what is already well known were I to explain here its mechanism and its consequences. Enough to say that the capitalist method of production creates the modern State, puts an end to the political independence of the communes and districts, while at the same time their economic independence also disappears. Each becomes a part of the whole, loses its own particular law and its particular physiognomy; they all become reduced to the same level, and subjected to the same legislation, the same system of taxation, law courts and administration. Therefore, the modern State must also endeavor to become a national State and to add to the other uniformities the uniformity of language.

The influence of the power of the State on social life becomes now quite a different thing to what it was in ancient times or in the Middle Ages. Every important political change in the modern great State influences at the same time, and in the same way, and at one blow, an enormous field of social life. The conquest of political power by a hitherto oppressed class must, therefore, have now quite different social effect than it had formerly.

To this must be added the fact that the means of power at the disposal of the modern State have enormously increased. The technical revolution produced by capitalism extends also to the technical development of the weapons of war. Since the time of the Reformation the weapons of war have steadily grown more perfect, but at the same time also more expensive; they have now become a privilege of the State. By this alone the army has become separated from the people, even where universal service exists, so long as it is not supplemented by the arming of the people, which is nowhere as yet the case in any great State. And everywhere are the leaders of the army professional soldiers, separated from the people, and confronting it as a privileged caste.

But the economic power of a modern centralized State is enormous, too, in comparison with the former States. It keeps in its hands the wealth of an enormous field, where even the technical appliances leave the highest civilizations of antiquity a long way behind.

And, in addition, the modern State has at its disposal a centralized bureaucracy such as was possessed by no State before. So enormously have the duties of a modern State grown that it is impossible to discharge them without far-reaching division of labor and a highly developed specialism. The capitalist method of production deprives the ruling classes of the leisure which they at one time had. Even if they do not produce themselves, but live by the exploitation of the producing classes, they nevertheless are no idle exploiters. Thanks to competition, this mainspring of the economic life of to-day, the exploiters are compelled to carry on with each other, and without intermission, the most exhausting fights, which threaten the vanquished with total annihilation.

The capitalists, therefore, have neither the time nor the zest nor the education necessary for artistic and scientific activity. They even lack the conditions for regular participation in the administration of the State. Like art and science has the administration of State affairs too ceased to be the occupation of the ruling classes. That they leave to wage-workers, to bureaucrats. The capitalist class rules, but does not govern. It contents itself with ruling the government, just as its predecessor did the decaying feudal nobility, which assumed the form of a court of nobility. But that which, in the case of the feudal nobility, was the result of decadence, of the abdication of it by its social functions, arises in the case of the capitalist class precisely from its social functions, and is part of its very essence.

With the help of such an enormous political power a class can maintain its position long after it has become superfluous, nay, even mischievous. And the stronger the power of the State, the more will a ruling class rely upon it, the more obstinately will it cling to its privileges, the less will it be inclined to make concessions. The longer, however, they assert their supremacy in this fashion the sharper must the class antagonisms become, the more tremendous must the political catastrophe turn out when it finally takes place, the more radical must the social transformations be which proceed from it, the more readily must the conquest of political power through an oppressed class become a social revolution.

Simultaneously, however, the contend-

ing classes become more and more conscious of the social consequences of their political struggle. Under the capitalist mode of production the pace of the economic revolution is enormously increased. The economic transformation which the epoch of discoveries and inventions ushered in was carried further on by the introduction of machinery in the domain of industry. Since that time our economic conditions have become subject to constant change—not simply to the rapid decay of the old, but also to the quick building up of the new. The idea of the old, of the traditional, ceases to be synonymous with the tried, the worthy of respect, with the sacred. It has become synonymous with the imperfect, the inadequate, the antiquated. From the domain of economics this conception is transferred to those of art and science, to the sphere of politics. If the people formerly clung blindly to the old, they now reject it just as blindly for the sole reason that it is old—and the period which suffices to make a machine, an institution, a theory, an artistic movement obsolete and antiquated becomes ever shorter and shorter. And if before people worked with the idea of creating things for ever, with all the earnestness which such an idea inspires, they now work for the passing effect of the moment, with all the hurry born of such consciousness. In consequence, the thing created nowadays frequently becomes soon useless and obsolete, not merely for the fashion, but as a matter of actual fact.

The new, however, is that which is observed the quickest and examined the closest. The traditional and the everyday fact pass for self-evident. Men certainly ponder much earlier over the causes of the eclipses of the sun than over sunrise and sunset. In the same way, the inducement to study the law of social phenomena must have been but slight so long as they were the traditional, the self-evident, the "natural." And vice versa, it must have at once become strong when new and hitherto unknown formations arose in the life of society. Not the old traditional forms of feudal economy called forth in the seventeenth century scientific observations, but the new capitalist economy which was arising by its side.

But economic science was still more encouraged by another agency. The capitalist production is production *en masse*; the type of the modern capitalist State is the large State. Modern economics like modern politics, have to do with phenomena *en masse*. The larger however, the number of similar phenomena which one observes, the more, as already mentioned, does the universal, the normal, assert itself, the more do the individual and the accidental recede into the background, the more readily, therefore, it becomes possible to see the laws underlying their movements. The systematic observation of social phenomena *en masse*—statistics—and the science of society which starts from political economy, and reaches its high water mark in the materialist conception of history—these only become possible with the capitalist mode of production. It is only now that the classes have been able to acquire a clear insight into the social contents of their struggles, and could set up great social ideals, not as arbitrary dreams and pious wishes liable to shatter against the hard facts of life, but as units of scientific insight into what was economically possible and necessary. Well may this scientific knowledge also err and several of its conclusions prove illusory. Nevertheless, great as these errors may sometimes prove, they cannot obscure the characteristic feature of every true science, namely, the striving after a homogeneous conception of all the phenomena as a consistent whole, that is in application to social science, the recognition of the whole of society as a compact organism, in which single component parts cannot be altered arbitrarily and apart from the rest. The theoretical criticism of the oppressed classes is directed henceforth more and more, not simply against individuals or individual institutions, but against the *entire existing social order*, and in the same way every oppressed class, when gaining political power, will by this very recognition be forced to transform the *entire* foundations of society.

The capitalist society which sprang from the revolution of 1789 and its offshoots had already in its outlines been previously seen mentally by the Physiocrats and their English successors.

On these distinctions between the modern State and the modern society, and the ancient and mediæval organizations rests the difference in the forms of their development: there a development essentially unconscious, split up into continual local and personal feuds, struggles, rebellions of countless small communities of the most varied degree of development; here a development growing ever more and more conscious, striving after well-recognized, great-social aims, defined and propagated by the labor of scientific criticism. The political revolutions became less frequent, but embracing ever larger and larger fields, and growing more powerful in their social effects.

The transition from the ancient and mediæval civil wars to the modern revolution, the social revolution in the above-mentioned sense, forms the Reformation, which is already half mediæval and half modern. Still higher stands the English Revolution of the seventeenth century, till finally the great French Revolution gives the classical type of the Revolution, of which the risings of 1830 and 1848 are only a weak echo.

The Social Revolution, in the sense employed here, is a stage peculiar to the development of the capitalist society and the capitalist State. It is not to be found before capitalism, because previously the political forms were too narrow and the social understanding too backward. It will disappear with capitalism, because capitalism can only be overcome by the proletariat, which, as the lowest of all classes, must use its supremacy in order to abolish class rule and classes altogether—that is, *ipso facto*, the possibility of all social revolution.

Now, however, arises a big question, a question which deeply agitates us to-day because of its enormous bearings on our practical attitude at the present day—viz., is the time for social revolutions already past or not? Are the political conditions already to hand which render possible the transition from capitalism to Socialism without a political revolution, and without the conquest of political power by the proletariat, or have we yet to look forward to a period of decisive struggles for the possession of this power—in other words, a period of revolutions? Does the conception of the social revolution belong to those obsolete ideals to which only thoughtless repeaters of worn-out ideas or demagogic adventurers, angling for the applause of the ignorant masses cling, but which must be repudiated by every honorable up-to-date man who observes the facts of modern society impartially?

**BUT ONCE A YEAR.**

does Christmas come. Therefore you won't have another chance for a long time to make us that Christmas present of ten new subscribers. You know you can if you try. So get out and hustle.

**East and West**

Headquarters International School of Social Economy, Kansas City, Mo., November 8, 1902.

Since the first of January I have visited the centers of activity in the Socialist movement in all the States west of Pennsylvania. I had the curious experience of feeling at the start that every new place I visited was a long way in advance of all others. But I am convinced now that the Socialist movement in all these States is so strong that it can no longer be ignored by the defenders of capitalism.

A year ago I felt the greatest anxiety lest the Socialist movement be switched into a halfway-political conglomeration. But I do not feel now that there is the slightest danger of anything of the sort. Those who are coming from other parties, particularly from Populist organizations, are coming with a personal experience which has demonstrated to them the impossibility of doing any patchwork which will not result in tearing more than it mends. They are everywhere determined that this party shall not be thwarted in its purposes by fusion or by compromise or anything less than the whole Socialist program.

In all these States the trade union movement has become definitely and finally a fight for Socialism. Where labor parties are still in existence they are parties which were organized by the unions before the Socialist movement had shown its best terms with the Socialists, and it is only a question of time and patience when there will be one Socialist party and one workingman's party, and they will not be two parties, but one and the same party throughout this territory. And this will not be brought about by fusion. They will come together as one party with one organization, one single solid front—not because they have fused, but because they have grown together into one single, vital, political existence.

This activity of labor organizations in the Socialist movement guarantees more definitely than can anything else the working-class character of the Socialist party.

I am convinced that the American frontier—and by this I mean all the territory west of the Missouri river—is sure to lead in the Socialist movement in this country. If the center of agitation does not go further west than Denver it will certainly not go farther east than Omaha. The population in this district has less of the helpless dependence of their Eastern brothers on capitalistic employers. Where unions have been organized they have been made up very largely of men who in the East had been through the whole program of the old-school labor agitation and had one by one worked their way into the position of Socialists. The leading spirits in the labor agitation of the West are largely men who have been back-listed and boycotted and had become industrial

exiles from the East. Where they are not Socialists in name, they are in fact. They do not need to learn Socialism—they simply need to correctly name their own position and to correctly classify themselves along with the Socialists.

There are two classes of Socialists, those who become Socialists by studying Socialist literature and those who become Socialists under the pressure of those economic forces which the literature discusses.

I am sure the East has more better read Socialists—men who are Socialists because they have studied. I am sure the West has more Socialists developed, not by the study of literature, but according to the very processes which are outlined and discussed in the literature, that is, the East has more Socialists who are Socialists because they have studied Socialism; the West has more Socialists who are Socialists because they have suffered under capitalism.

The spirit of the Western workingmen is more free, more defiant—and whether found on the farm, in the mine, the forest or the workshop, they realize that they are the victims of exploitation and that there is no way out for those who are exploited except the overthrow of the political power of those who are their exploiters.

I ought to say to our Eastern comrades that this opinion is based upon my knowledge of the West and my ignorance of the East.

But when this term of the Training School is over I hope to visit all the Eastern States, and not only become acquainted with the comrades who are fighting on harder territory and under more difficult conditions, which the old-established order of things in the East involves, but also to have some share with them in the work they are doing.

Our Training School term will close on February 1st, after which I shall be in the field again until time for the International meeting at Amsterdam, which I shall attend.

Walter Thomas Mills.

**SAN FRANCISCANS, DON'T FORGET!**

December 9th, at Scottish Hall, 117 Larkin street, a benefit entertainment and dance will be given by Local San Francisco. An excellent program is arranged and the finest sort of time will be had. The proceeds should be made large enough to wipe out completely the small debt still hanging over *Advance*. Call at Room 5, Odd Fellows' Building, for tickets to sell.

Competition lowers wages and lengthens the hours of labor. Vote for co-operation.

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

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IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO, State of California, Department No. 5.  
Mary Richardson, Plaintiff, vs. George Richardson, Defendant. No. 82828. Action brought in the Superior Court, City and County of San Francisco, State of California, and the complaint filed in said City and County of San Francisco, in the office of the Clerk of said Superior Court. JOSEPH A. MITCHELL, Attorney for Plaintiff, 1037 Market St. The People of the State of California send Greeting to GEORGE RICHARDSON, Defendant.

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

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

Given under my hand and seal of said Superior Court at the City and County of San Francisco, State of California, this 29th day of October, in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and two.

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

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