



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

House in the Reichstag

The German Ministry, eager to get through their infamous first measure before the spring elections, have attempted what is admitted on all hands to be a parliamentary coup d'etat. Instead of permitting debate on each clause of the bill, which procedure would delay decision on the bill as a whole for a couple of months, the Centre leaders have sought to compel the Reichstag to jump the whole thing and vote on it without further delay. It seems that the longer the bill is debated, the less its chances of success become and the more likelihood of its being hurled "into the abyss," as Comrade Bebel said in his opening attack, and that the Ministry and the Centre party would be dragged down to ruin after it. Naturally, therefore, the Ministry want to shove it through without delay. The Socialists in Germany are not a milk and water breed, however. Their revolutionary strength made the "Blood and Iron" Chancellor, Bismarck, bite the dust. Of his party's successes, they have no fear. The very desperate nature of its procedure shows the government's weakness and weakness, if still more. The "supra" and "fictitious" conduct of the Socialists is greatly to be deplored—from the stung and hypocritical bourgeois standpoint. But men in earnest, men willing to lay down their lives for the cause of the Social Revolution, men shot through with a mighty passion for the people's rights, will not sit quietly by while the mailed fist is lifted to strike the toilers in the face. Politics are not run on the lines of parlor etiquette, and a parliamentary rough-house is a good warning not to drive the people to more desperate measures.

What a funny joke, yet. General von Kautz, Kaiser that he is, only of Germany had been in St. Louis, Mo. Milwaukee, Wis. And, then, the

Alameda County Vote

Socialist vote of Alameda county, California, November 4, 1902:
The vote in 1900 was for Presidential Electors, and 828 was the highest vote cast. For Governor, Gideon S. Brower, 1009; Lieutenant-Governor, Frank R. Whitney, 1132; Secretary of State, Fred C. Wheeler, 1132; Controller, S. Edgar Alderman, 1294; Treasurer, Oswald Seifert, 1378; Attorney-General, Cameron H. King, 1418; Surveyor-General, Walter Stevenson, 1264; Clerk Supreme Court, Scott Anderson, 1254; Superintendent of State Instruction, Ann F. Smith, 1309; Superintendent of State Printing, S. H. Lavery, 1185; Chief Justice Supreme Court, E. C. Walker, 1337; Associate Justice Supreme Court, Emil Lies, 1217; Associate Justice Supreme Court, Wayland Shepard, 980; Congress-man Third District, M. W. Wilkins, 1125; Member State Board of Equalization, H. Hanch, 1290; Railroad Commissioner, Second District, G. A. Garrett, 1320.
H. G. Walker, 906 Broadway, Oakland, Cal., Nov. 26, 1902.

Humboldt County

Editor Advance: I enclose official report of vote in Humboldt county.
Our vote has fallen some short of what it was two years ago. Eurika lost over 50, but the balance of the county increased about 30. Leaflets sent out by the S. L. P. must have befogged the minds of some. However, we are not discouraged and our campaign for 1904 is already on and you may expect better results then. I am somewhat new in the harness, having made my first campaign on the new I was at the convention, but I am going to keep myself in trim for the fray and will over be found in the front ranks battling for the right of humanity.
Fraternally yours,
M. E. Shary,
Organic Local Arrangements.
One million new subscribers 5 more than we could handle next week, but you just try sending in ten or your share of the thousand we want for Christmas. We'll attend to them all right.
One thousand. Your share is ten

Brower's Vote

Official returns give 9,593 votes for Brower, the Socialist candidate. Many candidates will go over 11,000 and the average will be about 10,500. This gives us our necessary 3 per cent. No more petitions our standing is assured. The Prohibition vote sinks from 5,500 to 4,636.

Pennsylvania's Magnificent Increase

By a vote of 21,910, the Socialist party of Pennsylvania on November 4th, more than quadrupled its highest vote (of 1900) and gained official standing on the State ballot. This brings Pennsylvania into line with the remarkable increase in the Socialist vote all over the United States. It also presents to the public and to the bewildered politicians the significant spectacle of the three leading and most conservative of the Eastern States—Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania—the bulwark of conservatism for the whole country and the home of capitalism uniting to the extent of more than 81,000 votes for Socialism.
It is no wonder that in the face of this aggressive action on the part of the working population in these three States—for the vote came from the working class and not from mere theorists and dreamers—that the managers of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Reading Railroad and the Rapid Transit Company of Philadelphia are falling over each other in their haste to announce to the public a "raise" in the wages of their employees.
In Pennsylvania 12,000 votes are credited by the official count to the anthracite coal regions; and here, it is interesting to learn, that the campaign for the spring elections began on the night the fall campaign closed, November 4th.
The soldier vote of the Hollidaysburg

For Pennypacker (Republican), 11,100; Patton (Democrat), 10,300; Adams (Socialist Labor), 36; Slayton (Socialist), 61.
This company was stationed in the anthracite coal regions during the strike, and from the strikers and the Socialist agitators learned their first lessons in Socialism with the above result.
Charters have been granted new locals by the State Committee (since election day) as follows:
Bradford, McKean county, Wyoming, Luzerne county, Oswayo, Potter county.
J. Maklon Barnes, Secretary.
Jos. Edelman, Treasurer.

Wyoming's Fine Showing

Dear Comrade: Wyoming cast two years ago about twenty Socialist votes for Presidential electors. This year, out of a total of about 25,000 votes, the vote for Governor on the Socialist ticket was 552; for Secretary of State, 602; for Judge of the Supreme Court, 1,000. This county gave five Socialist votes in 1900, and now gives 206, and for our candidate for Supreme Judge, 756.
We had no campaign and nominated a ticket in order to get free advertising on the official ballot. With systematic organization, this sparsely settled State could be made the first one to vote for the cooperative commonwealth. We feel elated over the growth and the kindly disposition of the people to hear Socialist speakers.
Sincerely yours,
H. F. S. Grosbeck.

Ocean View Entertainment

Branch Four will hold a literary entertainment and dance Saturday night, December 6th, at A. W. Hall, and the public generally and Socialists in particular are invited to attend.
A musical and musical program of unusual merit will be presented, the whole to wind up with a dance.
Tickets have been sold in large numbers and a jolly time is assured. Admission 25 cents; free program 10 cents. Come everybody.
Get tickets to sell at Advance office.

Can This Be Possible?

WEST TAMPA, Fla., December 12.—The deportation of Max Miller by a committee supposed to be working for the big trust factories in the wildest outburst of excitement known for some time.
That the mayor would order the Cuban cigar man out of this city is evidence in itself that he was not responsible for their big strike of a year ago when the business of the city was seriously demoralized.
Responding to a knock on his door at mid-night, Miller was accosted by a party of men and saw him safely on a steamer which sailed for Mexico the following morning.
When his absence was reported the next day the fever of the people had reached its height.
The city faces a grave situation. Five thousand Cubans, many of them cigar makers, are on the verge of another strike as a result of the forced removal of the mayor.
The "Appeal to Reason" prints the above as an Associated Press dispatch. This dispatch was censored before it got to San Francisco. If true, it is certainly a monstrous condition. We know that their committees have been seized and transported by the lawless minions of the lawless trust. But it is almost incredible that the infamous trusts would dare raise their hands against the lawful head of a municipal government. The records of the Standard Oil show that their greedy organizers hesitate not at the crimes of arson and murder, but they always managed to cover up their capital crime of treason, of assaulting the government has been committed. It is possible that the same party

in the United States.
ARE YOU WORKING to get that thousand of new subscribers we want for Christmas? If not, why not? Your share is ten new subscribers. Get out now and hustle. Your neighbor will subscribe if you'll only have said enough to ask him.
The Millennium? What is it? Why, a thousand yearly subscribers. You are scheduled to send in ten.

SOCIALISTS' Entertainment and Dance

Tuesday Ev'ng Dec. 9, 1902
At Scottish Hall, 107 Larkin Street
Under the Auspices of LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO, SOCIALIST PARTY.

BENEFIT OF 'ADVANCE'

Tickets 25c. Hat Room Free.
Socialists should attend and bring in their friends.
Exercises begin at 8:15
Get tickets to sell at Advance office.

Terrible! Awful! Horrible!

The San Francisco Call, kept-paper of the corporation, declares that Socialism would destroy incentive. Poverty, according to this oracle, is the great incentive; Just think, Socialism would abolish poverty. Then there would be no incentive for men to work. There would be no incentive for women to prostitute themselves. There would be no incentive for men to cut each other's throats in a mad struggle out of the abyss of poverty. There would be no incentive for the parents to rob their children of playtime and schooling, and put them into the great factories where mutilation and death await them.

Utah Well in Line

In Utah, containing twenty-seven counties, there were but eleven tickets in the field. The vote in fourteen counties so far reported gives 2,818 for Congressman and 2883 for Supreme Judge. It is certain that the other counties will report a sufficient number of votes to bring the total up to 8000, this being an increase of nearly 500 per cent over the vote of two years ago. The increase, while not remarkable, is satisfactory, and all we can fairly expect, considering the deplorable condition of the party locally and the total and systematic lack of propaganda during the campaign.
The Salt Lake Tribune's special analyses of the Congressional vote shows a total vote of 84,538 for Congressman, of which Wilson (Socialist) received 2927, or 3 1/2 per cent. This is not an official census, but it is doubtless approximately correct.
Our candidate for Supreme Judge, Warren Foster, ran considerably ahead of our Congressional candidate—receiving more than 3000 votes.

Dear Comrade—
Have been absent for some time so send in only new official return of election. You will notice that neither of the Socialist nominees for Governor, Chief Justice and Congressman has been even as much as mentioned, although I know that there was nearly 60 votes cast for each of them. Upon inquiry, they tell me that the vote was so small that they did not think it worth while to take notice of it. Still, our gains have been tremendous in our country, and we are jubilant about it. We shall keep on making new converts until they will be amazed by the large vote cast, and then they will be compelled to recognize us.
The exact Socialist vote can only be had in Sacramento, and there only, I guess, when insisted upon.
Hurrah for the Co-operative Commonwealth. We shall not desert our guns, but increase the men behind our guns.
Yours fraternally,
Jos. Haggren, Sec. Local Merced.

A Decided Set-Back

The movement for a State or National Union Labor Party received a decided setback in Los Angeles at the election Monday, December 1st. McFahan, the Union Labor candidate for Mayor received but a paltry 1800 and lost 18,000 to Snyder, the Democratic Mayor, was re-elected by between 2,000 and 3,000 votes. It is an indication that the working people of Los Angeles are not yet ready to break away from the old parties. The necessity for it was not doubted into their heads, as was done in San Francisco in 1901. It is good proof that the Union Labor movement will not absorb the Socialist movement in California. On the contrary, the activity of our Los Angeles comrades has welded together the two parties in that city into one coordinated unit, the sole cause for a merely Union Labor party, is shown to be impossible of attainment, those workmen who have decided on independence of the old parties will now decide to work with the Socialist party, which, though it grows more slowly, yet builds more solidly and is sure of which strength it may at any time attain.
If you don't take the Advance you don't get the news.

What Socialism Is

By John Spargo, Editor of the Comrade.
Socialism may be briefly defined as the ownership of the means of life by all the people in common, to be used by them, through some form of collective organization for the common benefit.
By the term "means of life" is meant all the means of production and distribution: the land, mines, factories, machinery, railroads—in a word, all those things that are necessary to enable people to live in comfort and happiness.
All present these means of wealth production and distribution are not owned in common. They are not owned by a majority of the people, even, but by a comparatively small number of people, ever growing less numerous, called "capitalists." And because they own the land, and the mines, and the factories, together with the machinery, tools, and the railroads, these few possess a power out of all proportion to their number. They enslave those who do not own these things.
For they do not own the means of life—the majority—must, if they are to live at all, live upon the means offered by those who do own them—the minority; and those terms are everywhere pretty much the same: that the majority use the means of wealth production to produce wealth, but for the few that do no labor whatever. For the wealth produced, belongs not to the workers—they only get sufficient to keep them in fit condition to continue working with profit to the idle few, who get all besides.
So we have in society, two classes: The workers, producing all the wealth, and owning it not; and the idlers, producing no wealth, but owning all.
Every strike and every lockout is a manifestation of this conflict. Every labor organization is but an effort on the part of the workers to obtain more of the wealth they produce, because they recognize through their own misery, that they are largely by reason of this counter organization of the master class, comparatively few strikes are won. When keen competition was the rule of business, then the workers could often obtain concessions by taking advantage of the rivalry between individual employers. But that day has passed. The giant trust has taken the place of the small manufacturer, and has its ramifications everywhere. If you step on the tail of the capitalist crocodile in New York, you hear its jaws snap in Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, or even in Europe. For the trust knows no barriers of nationality, and has no patriotism but that of the pocket-book.
This does not mean, however, that the workers should abandon their organization. That would be foolish, indeed. The Socialist does not want to destroy the unions, but to build them up. He says that at present the workers, organizing into unions to obtain better conditions of life and labor, and the better capitalist into power, to the legislative and administrative bodies of the country, are about as foolish as a general would be, who facing a well-equipped foe in battle, ordered his men not to use their bayonets, longdistance rifles, machine guns, and the like, but to give them to the enemy, and use bows and arrows instead.
What other view can be taken by the intelligent observer? The vote is a mighty force, either for good or evil; everyone admits it. We must use it, or we perish into office, what can we expect but evil results? Is it not as foolish as the conduct of such a general as described above would be?
Follow worker—and these words are only addressed to the workers; we have nothing to say to the strikers—is it not better and wiser to vote for Socialism, the election of members of our own class, who will work to bring about the common ownership of the product of our common labor? Think it over.

EMPHASIZED IN QUALITY AND QUANTITY
That's what you will say of Advance after New Year's. Don't let your duty before New Year's. Ten new subscribers is your share of our Christmas present. Don't be backward about coming forward with it.
Tell the man when you buy that you saw his "ad" in the Advance.

Womans Socialist Union

Edited by M. Alice Spadlin. Officers of the Union. The Socialist Union will be glad to receive any communication concerning woman's work...

Advance is published weekly by Local San Francisco. It is published weekly by Local San Francisco. It is published weekly by Local San Francisco.

We ask every subscriber who does not regularly get the Advance to notify us by postal card and it will be corrected at once.

Please notice the number on your yellow address label and renew in time to insure getting the paper regularly, since your name will be taken off the list on expiration.

Receipts are never sent to individual subscribers. Acknowledgment is made by changing the number on the wrapper, the week following receipt of money.

Communications concerning the editorial department of the paper should be addressed to the Editor.

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

San Francisco, December 6, 1902.

"Divide up?" Why you blessed maverick! don't you know that's just what the Socialists are kicking against.

The Labor Clarion, official organ of the S. F. Labor Party, thinks that the Union Labor party is a mistake.

The poor Labor Clarion don't know just what to do. It's like a hen that has hatched a brood of ducklings and is all cackle and flutters because the youngsters take delight in the water.

Attention, San Francisco

Every Socialist in San Francisco should exert himself or herself for the next few days in making the entertainment and dance of the local a success.

It is at all times subject to the will of the local, and at all times strives to build up the whole party organization.

It is the mouthpiece of the party through which when all the other avenues of expression are closed, the party can speak its thoughts and purposes.

Cash on hand November 3, 1902, \$170.16; Dues, Hanford, \$4.55; Visalia, \$1.50; Santa Maria, \$1; San Diego, \$2; Descanso, \$1; Dixon, \$6; Alameda, \$5; San Francisco, \$10; Chula Vista, \$1.50; Stockton, \$1; San Diego, \$5; Santa Cruz, \$1.85; Stockton, literature, \$1.50; total, \$209.06.

Disbursements, postage stamps, \$2; M. Mally, \$3; postage stamps, \$2; week ending November 10th, Harriman, \$12; rem. L. A. campaign fund, \$15.00; Falconer manifestos, 65; week ending November 17th, Harriman, \$12; National Executive Committee, 2 dues stamps, \$50; week ending November 24th, Harriman, \$12; total, 173.90. Balance on hand, \$36.06.

Job Harriman/Sec. Treas.

And failing it life's lore and wealth a dream. And all the world a dream. —Wall, Whitman.

SOCIALISM FOR CHILDREN. By Catherine Bruce Glaser. Lesson V.—Schools. But for the schools, that Socialists want for all the children, I think you will agree with me that something more will be needed than Lead and Machinery and Work-ers.

SONG OF THE UNIVERSAL. 1. Come, said the Muse, Sing me a song no poet yet has chanted. Sing me the universal.

2. Lo! keen-eyed towering science, As from tall peaks the modern overlooking, Successive absolute flats issuing.

3. Forth from their masks, no matter what, From the limp festering trunk, from the craft and guile and tears, Health to emerge and joy, joy universal.

4. Over the mountain-growth, disease and sorrow, An uncaught bird is ever hovering, hovering, High in the purer, happier air,

5. From imperfection's murkied cloud, Darts away, forth one ray of perfect light.

6. To fashion, custom's discord To the mad, Babe-din, the deafening orgies,

7. Along the mighty labyrinth, And that America, For the scheme's clumination, its thoughts And its reality.

8. The measured faiths of other lands, the grandeurs of the past, Are not for thee, but grandeurs of thine own.

9. Defic' faints, and amplitudes, absorbing, comprehending all; All, eligible to all.

10. Give me, O God, to sing that thought; Give me, O God, to sigh or her I love this quenchless faith.

11. In Thy emblems, whatever else withheld without not from us, Belief in plan of Thy enclosed in Time and space.

12. Healthy peace, salvation universal, Is it thy dream? Nay, but the lack of it the dream.

13. Further Answer to Riverside. In addition to the answer to Riverside last week, Dist. Club No. 3 adopted the following:

14. Another very important consideration is that if a political party desires official recognition, it must appoint an executive or governing committee for the party of the State.

15. The political code of the State provides the only way in which such executive or governing committee shall be appointed, and no other way is recognized by law.

16. Political Code, section 1186, provides for a State "CONVENTION" in which shall be made nominations of candidates for public office, appoint or elect a governing committee for the political party which the delegates to such convention represent.

17. All of the comrades who have assisted in getting up nomination petitions will realize that even in these nomination petitions every petition contained the names of a committee, not less than seven in number, to form the governing committee of the party for the locality.

18. It is sufficient to say that if a party has any State executive or governing committee the statute law of the State (Political Code, section 1186) requires that such committee shall be appointed or elected by the convention making nominations of candidates for public office.

19. This was done by the State Convention held in San Francisco, September, 1902, in obedience to the requirements of the State law. More than this, the certificate of your nominations for Governor and State officers, which was filed and is still on file with the Secretary of State at Sacramento, contained the names of the persons composing the present State Executive Committee, namely: Mary E. Garbutt, W. A. Corey, L. D. Biddle, J. J. Patton, P. D. Noel, Wm. Smith, L. H. Edmiston and Job Harriman.

To John Mitchell, A Protest

"Mr. Mitchell, in reply to further questions, said that he regarded as living wages for a miner six hundred dollars a year."—Daily Papers of November 28, 1902.

Mitchell, spokesman of the miners, I had hoped for better things. Than this bit of information that my morning paper brings? You have named six hundred dollars to the Arbitration Court.

As sufficient yearly income for a family's support— Scarce enough to keep the miner an efficient working tool. In a fairly good condition, like a wagon or a mule: It will save him from starvation until he finishes his task—

Thinking you that is all a workman can reasonably ask? While defining thus the limit of the laborer's desire, Had you not a strong temptation to responsibly inquire,

Which among your arbitrators, who have ever been his sphere, Lives on three-six hundred dollars as his salary for a year? Possibly it might have shocked them; let us then concede that they are superior to the miners, and composed of those class?

In their households, do these gentlemen, so just, and kind and wise, Feed their children in proportion to their smartness or their size?

Have we banished "equal rights" as an impracticable scheme? But a figment of the fancy, and an irrelevant dream?

In the face of gospel teachings shall we forswear brotherhood? "Human brotherhood" as being a delusion and a snare? Does the boasted Declaration of our Independence mean,

One man shall be lord and master and his brother a machine? Mitchell, tell your Arbitrators, Justice is your sole demand:

Equal rights to Nature's bounties—water, air, light and land; That the mineral treasures hidden in the earth were all designed,

Not for one man, nor for some men, but for all men, and for all things that God has made; That the wonderful inventions of the progress of every age,

From Prometheus to Marconi, are the toiler's heritage; Leave him all his labor's product—with an equal portion of all spent:

Others to enrich with profits, interests, dividends or rent; Ere his of his present burden—'tis the heaviest he bears—

Of supporting suddenly a horde of greedy millionaires; Let the laborer's wives and daughters, of low degree and high,

Earn their bread by useful work—unless they choose to starve and die.

Let the workman who builds them dwell in costly marble halls; Let the sculptor's and the painter's finest gems adorn its walls;

Let the orator and the poet all their choicest treasures bring— Ablest actors play their dramas, grandest prima donnas sing;

Let the laborer's wives and daughters be the ones that shall receive Rarest silk and finest laces human skill can plan or weave;

Let them visit distant countries with historic memories stored, Gain the knowledge and the culture foreign travel can afford;

Let the long-delaying twilight of the worker's life be blest With abundant store of comforts, while he takes his well-earned rest;

All of which could be accomplished—no one wealth or leisure lack; But for these insatiate idlers mounted on the laborer's back, Then no longer lend and truckle, and as uncomplaining slaves,

For a miserable pittance, crawl to ignominious graves! —J. J. McCreery.

The Social Revolution

shown by Marx's generalization ago, and has for us I know, never been refuted by anybody. Those who deny the fact of the increasing exploitation of the proletariat...

SOCIAL REFORM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

(Continued from last week.)

We have seen that the social revolution is a product of particular historical conditions. It presupposes not only highly trained class antagonism, but also a great national State, which abolishes all provincial and regional privileges, and bases itself on a mode of production which equally has the effect of bringing all particularism to a common level and, moreover, a State rendered powerful by a bureaucracy and military science of political economy, and a rapid pace of economic progress.

None of these factors of the social revolution has in the last decades been weakened, on the contrary every one has been strengthened. Never was the pace of the economic development so quick. Scientific economics advances, if not in depth, at least, thanks to the press, in popularity. Never was economic understanding so widely spread as to-day; never were the ruling classes, as well as the masses, able to see to such an extent the distant consequences of their activity and endeavors as to-day. That alone shows that the transition from capitalism to Socialism cannot be accomplished imperceptibly. The rule of the exploiting classes cannot be undermined slowly without those latter perceiving it, putting themselves on the defensive, and employing all their power in order to keep down the proletariat in strength and influence.

If, however, the insight into the correlation of social phenomena was never so widely spread as to-day, on the other hand the power of the State was never so great as today, its military, bureaucratic, or economic means never so wonderfully developed. This means that the proletariat, if it conquers the political power, acquires with it the power to at once be able to carry out the most far-reaching social alterations; it means, however, also that the ruling classes of to-day, with the help of this power, can continue their existence and their exploitation of the toiling masses long after their economic indispensability has ceased. This means, however, the ruling classes rely on the machinery of the State and misuse it for the purposes of exploitation and oppression, the more must the bitterness of the proletariat against them, the more must they be forced to endeavor to conquer the machinery of State increases in violence and strength.

It has been objected that this conception does not take into consideration the latest social phenomena, which clearly show that the development is proceeding quite differently. The antagonism, it is said, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat does not increase, but tends to become milder; and in every modern State we see a sufficient number of democratic institutions which allow the proletariat to gain, if not the power, at least some power, that can be increased little by little, slowly and gradually, so that all necessity for a social revolution disappears. Let us see how far these objections are justified.

Chapter V.—The Settling Down of the Class Antagonism.

Let us examine in the first place the first objection. The social antagonism between the middle classes and the proletariat tends to diminish. I will pass here over the question of the commercial crisis, of which it was predicted some years ago that they would become weaker. This view has since then been so emphatically refuted by undoubted facts, that I am in the position to forego on that head all further discussion, which otherwise would have taken us too far out of our way. Nor am I going to make any further contribution to the debate on the already ad nauseam discussed theory of the progressive increase of misery which, with a little, could be debated forever, and in which the debate turns more on interpretation of the word "misery," than on the recognition of certain facts. We Socialists are unanimous in this, that the capitalist mode of production, when left to itself, has for its result an increase of physical misery; equally unanimous, however, are we in the opinion that even in the present society the organization of the working class and the interference of the state are in position to check this misery; finally are all agree that the emancipation of the proletariat is to be expected not from its increasing decadence, but from its growing strength.

Another question, however, is that of the growing antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This is, in the first place, a question of the increasing exploitation.

shown by Marx's generalization ago, and has for us I know, never been refuted by anybody. Those who deny the fact of the increasing exploitation of the proletariat, must in the first place be able to back their words by a refutation of Marx's "Capitalism" theory, which will be said in opposition to this that this is but a mere theory; we only recognize as true and demonstrated what we can grasp for ourselves. We do not want economic laws, but statistical figures. These are not easily found, it has not yet occurred to anyone to demonstrate statistically, not only the wages, but also the profits, for the very simple reason that the safe is like unto a castle to the bourgeois which, he even the most working and most spirited of the lot, has never ready to defend like a lion against the encroachments of the aristocrats!

Nevertheless, we can find some figures as to the increase of wages and other incomes. Some of these, the latest which we know, shall be given here. They were computed by Mr. A. L. Bowley, who read a paper on the question in March, 1895, before the London Royal Statistical Society (printed in the Journal of the Society, June, 1895, pp. 291-85). We take the following table:

TOTAL YEARLY WAGE INCOME. Table with columns: Year, Amount in millions sterling, Per cent of total national income. Rows for 1860, 1866, 1870, 1874, 1878, 1882, 1886, 1891.

INCOMES NOT ARISING FROM WAGES. Table with columns: Year, Amount in millions sterling, Per cent of total national income. Rows for 1860, 1866, 1870, 1874, 1878, 1882, 1886, 1891.

NOT SUBJECT TO INCOME TAX. Table with columns: Year, Amount in millions sterling, Per cent of total national income. Rows for 1860, 1866, 1870, 1874, 1878, 1882, 1886, 1891.

Against this picture many objections may be raised, but we do not propose to meet too objections, but to show that the sum of wages come out much bigger than it is or was in reality.

In reckoning the wages the author did not allow for unemployment. He, moreover, took for granted that a number of important factors bearing on the conditions of the working classes remained the same wherever the alterations could not exactly be determined. As a statistician he had naturally the right to do so, but these are precisely the factors which alter more and more in a direction unfavorable to the workers. Thus, for example, the proportion between male and female, skilled and unskilled labor, etc.

The greatest objection, however, is that the computation is but limited to a few trades, all of which, with the exception of agriculture, are very well organized, and that the author takes for granted that the condition of the entire working class has, on the average, improved in the same proportion as that of the organized workers who, even in England, form a fifth of the workers of all trades. It is not uninteresting to consider the alterations in the wages of this class of workers. The rates, in comparison with those of 1860 (the latter taken as 100), were:

Table showing wage rates for various professions in 1860 and 1891. Columns: Profession, 1860, 1891. Rows include Agricultural, Building Trades, Cotton Spinning, Woollen Industry, Iron Industry, Engineering, Gasworkers, Seamen, Miners, Average.

We see that the increase of wages by 40 per cent from 1860 to 1891, which Bowley calculates for the whole of the English working class, is not even held good for the entire labor aristocracy. With the exception of the cotton spinners, who in England are not without reason, conservative and the pattern for all dreamers of "social power," the average is only exceeded

by the gasworkers, the sailors and the miners. The gasworkers, however, rise partly due to their having gone into potteries, which, in larger towns, has brought to the municipality of brotherhood harmless enough in special employees some improvements. In the case of the gasworkers, considerations of competition and exploitation enter into least account. Partly also the rise in 1891 must be accounted for by the sudden advent of the "new unionism," which aroused so many hopes, but soon fizzled out. Still more even than in the case of the gasworkers does the rise of wages in 1891 appear sudden, almost accidental, in the case of the seamen and the miners. With the miners the wages were, in 1886, on a level with 1860; and in 1891 they were 50 per cent higher. This cannot be called an assured advance. In the case of the workers in the building trades, and the woollen and the iron industries, the increase of wages since 1860 falls far below the average. Bowley, therefore, wishes us to believe that the wages of all of the unorganized workers of England rose 40 per cent in the same period in which those of the excellently organized iron workers only rose 25 per cent!

But let us take the figures as they stand. What do they prove? Even according to this quite exceptional optimistic view, wages form an ever-diminishing portion of the national income. In the period 1860-74 they form on the average 45 per cent of the national income, in the period 1877-91 only 42-23 per cent. Let us assume, for lack of more reliable figures, the sum total of the incomes subject to income tax and not arising from wages to be equal to the total amount of surplus value. Thus the latter was in 1860, 96 per cent, the total amount of wages by sixteen million pounds; in 1891, however, the sum total of the surplus value was greater than that of the wages by eighty million pounds.

The above figures, therefore, witness us to exploitation. The rate of surplus value, i. e., the rate of exploitation of the worker, would, according to this, have risen from 96 per cent to 112 per cent. As a matter of fact, according to Bowley's figures, it has risen to 120 per cent. The exploitation of the mass of the unorganized must have increased to an even greater extent.

We do not attach any very great importance to these figures. But as far as they prove anything at all they do not speak against the assumption of the increased exploitation of labor, which Marx, by another method, and by an inquiry into the laws of the capitalist mode of production, has proved in a manner of no doubtful. Now it may be said: Granted that exploitation increases, does this wage rise, as well, if not at the same rate as surplus value, low is then, the worker going to feel the increasing exploitation, if it is not patent to his eye, but must be discovered by means of a lengthened inquiry? The mass of the workers neither carry on statistical researches nor ponder over the theory of value and surplus value.

(To be continued.)

Class Consciousness

By Father Thos. J. Hagerly. To the average man, especially when he chances to be a small capitalist, the term "Class-consciousness" spells the passion of hell set against all that world which lies above the grinding machinery of the field and factory, and throbs with the blind fury of the worker who knows no hope save in the ruin of things. He looks upon Socialism, therefore, as a dangerous force which chief function is to stir up envy and hate in the brains of workmen against the rich in high places. The truth is that he measures all things with the rule of self-interest and holds the larger concept of brotherhood harmless enough in theory but most harmful when its practice would touch the hoards of commerce.

Class-consciousness, in reality, simply means the recognition of the basic equality of all labor as the source of wealth and the fundamental right of every man to the full product of his toil, as against the "serfdom" of self. The grovelling hope of interest and gold, unqualified, unmingled, unrecruited. Even by hypocrisy.

The need for this class-consciousness grows out of the fact that the machine is

rapidly breaking up the aristocracies of trade and absorbing the skill of the most exclusive crafts. Labor, of human effort intelligently directed in the products of wealth, is becoming a common factor in respect of the mass and cleverness of its application. Class-consciousness seeks to bring this fact home to the highly skilled mechanic as well as to the unskilled

"The slave by force of famine driven. Bona-fide vulgar modest to perform. A task of cold and brutal brutality. Hardened to hope, insensible to fear. Scarce living pulleys of a dead machine. More wheels of work and articles of trade. That grace the proud and noisy pomp of wealth."

When all these fully understand their absolute interdependence and their common rights as wealth-producers, they become conscious of their solidarity as a class. This consciousness, however, is not final in its effect; for it is only an unifying guidance to that victory in the class-struggle between labor and capital, between producers and non-producers which must eventually wipe out all class distinctions.

The triumph of the wage-workers over the hosts of interest, rent and profit will leave only one class into which all men must be enrolled—the class of workers. Provincial and national differences will no longer dominate the affairs of the world. Patriotism, as we now understand it, will vanish. It is only an exaggerated class-struggle; and it has its origin in the battle of one nation against another for industrial supremacy. It is, in its very essence, a denial of the immanent humanity of all peoples and of the cosmic rights of every son of God. Under Socialism it must give way to the universal brotherhood of man.

Class-consciousness must broaden out into race consciousness. The war of man against man must cease and peace envelop the nations in a world-fellowship of wealth and happiness.

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Action brought in the Superior Court, City and County of San Francisco, State of California, and the complaint filed therein within ten days (exclusive of the day of service) within this County, or if served elsewhere, within thirty days, of the said action in law to defendant's willful desertion, and without appeal. Also for the said complaint, which shall appear in the complaint on file, in which said reference is hereby made.

All of which must 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, this 10th day of December, 1891, in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and ninety-one.

ALBERT B. MAHONEY, Clerk. (Seal) By JOSEPH MITCHELL, Deputy Clerk. JOSEPH A. MITCHELL, Attorney for Plaintiff, 1097 Market St.

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The reader who has thoughtfully perused these pages is now aware, if he were not so already, that a world-wide struggle is on between two opposing forces. That struggle is fundamentally an industrial one. It will end in the determination of a new system of production and distribution for mankind.

On one side in the struggle is arrayed a body of persons relatively small in numbers, who are the chief beneficiaries of the established order or system of industry. These constitute the capitalist class—not necessarily the rich alone, for, properly speaking, it includes all who live wholly or in part from the labor of others—from exploited labor. This class is thoroughly entrenched behind all governmental authority, as, of necessity, the beneficiaries of any order must be. Their interest lies in maintaining things as they are—in the retention of the powers conferred upon them—in conservatism. Hence they are conservative. They well understand that their existence as a class—the retention of their power to exploit—depends upon control over the actions of those to whom governmental authority is delegated—the legislative, executive and judicial departments of a revolutionary society. They must control the delegates. This is a duty they never shirk, even though they must occasionally sacrifice an administration by one "grand old party" for one by another "grand old party."

Internal disputes arise of course over which of two particular policies is best calculated to contribute to their common interests, whether high tariff or tariff for revenue only, whether one monetary standard or two, whether reciprocity of a closed door, whether expansion or exclusiveness; but all these at most are merely reformatory measures. Nothing in them savors of a revolutionary character; nothing that even suggests aught that is fatal to the retention of their power to exploit the toilers.

That power cannot be removed by any strictly reformatory process. A reform can but change a system in some one or more of its aspects; but leaves the system intact; a revolutionary process abolishes a system and build anew entirely. Unfortunately, the American revolutions that have overthrown the inheritance of governmental powers and a system of chattel slavery were such sanguinary. In its final accomplishment, but of those not fallen, all that revolutions must terminate.

On the other side is arrayed the toiling mass of mankind—those who live from a wage, from a part of what their labor produces—those who toil in the industries for wages—those now necessarily excluded from ownership in the means of production—those who live by suffrage of those whom they support—those universally designated, though not in derision, the proletariat—the laboring class.

The interests of these two classes are diametrically opposed. One is the exploiter and the other the exploited. The interests of the one are served—his dividends increased—by lowering wages; the interests of the other are served—his income increased—by raising wages. And it is the friction between these opposite interests that has produced in this nation 33,000 strikes in twenty years—1880 to 1900—an average of three per day. More than 6,700 of these battles, whose average duration is twenty-four hours, have been waged in the one State of New York—Commissioner C. D. Wright, in *North American Review*.

The unguared and misled by the specious argument that "contention between these parties cannot for the purpose of class because labor is owned by one person and operated upon by another, or others. Political economists include under wealth and capital as well, such things as the quality of voice and the training of a great singer, education, skill in labor, etc. It is evident from the discussion of "Private Property Under Socialism," that the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth would not affect or be affected by the private possession of any of these things—nor by private possession of such things as kits of tools for a carpenter's own use, or any form of wealth through which labor cannot be exploited.

We therefore use the word capital in conformity with our definition—**including therein that which is the purpose of exploiting labor; wealth owned by one person and operated by others in production of wealth.**
 Labor to be efficient must use capital just as capital to be productive must have labor applied to it. Hence efficient labor and productive capital are mutually dependent upon each other.
 Now, with capital—the machinery of production—in private hands, two results follow about which an opponent of Socialism has little or nothing to say, because they reveal that which forces the class contention which he would conceal. First,

the owner, the capitalist, stands between the laborer and the capital necessary to his existence, with power to exclude the laborer from the use of this essential thing.

Second, the absolute ownership of the capital authorizes the capitalist to compel the laborer to purchase access to the capital by yielding to the owner a part—and often the major part—of the resulting product; authorizes the capitalist (or as we have previously shown, compels him) to own the nation.

The enemies of Socialism have much to say about the mutuality of dependence between labor and capital; a dependence that no one disputes; but they have little to say of this dependence of labor upon capitalists and the dependence of capitalists upon labor.

Labor demands free unqualified access to nature's resources; demands the privilege of using the earth as the natural heritage of humanity; demands the right to create enough wealth to meet every requirement of the race and to own it when created by labor and when the attainments of these demands stand the capitalists, the exploiters. They cry: "Stand aloof. You shall work when our best interests demand it. You shall produce only what is our disposition of each person and profits as we may determine. Production is not carried on for your benefit, but solely to augment our wealth and power. When it fails to accomplish this purpose, production must cease, though you go hungry. Our interests are also our interests we need you. When we need you not, go your way."

No, there can be no "war between labor and capital," but between laborers and capitalists the war is on and will cease only through the complete and entire elimination of the capitalist class.

Socialism or Dissolution

"Since the advent of civilization, the outgrowth of property has been so immense, its forms so diversified, its uses so expanding and its management so intelligent in the interests of its owners, that it has become, on the part of the people, an unmanageable power. The human mind stands bewildered in the presence of its own creation. The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to the mastery of property, and define the relations of the state to the property it protects; as well as the obligations and the limits of the rights of its owners. The interests of society are paramount to individual interests, and the two must be brought into just and harmonious relations. A new property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been of the past. The time which has passed away since civilization began but a fragment of the past duration of man's existence; and but a fragment of the ages yet to come. The dissolution of society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end aim, because such a career cannot be sustained by self-destruction. Democracy in equality, brotherhood in society, government in rights and privileges, and universal education, foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. It is a revolution in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes."—Lewis H. Morgan's *Ancient Society*.

The National Platform

The Socialist party of America in National Convention assembled, reaffirms its adherence to the principles of International Socialism, and declares its aim to be the organization of the working class, and those in sympathy with it, into a political party with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transforming the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into a collective ownership by the entire people.
 Formerly the tools of production were simple and owned by the individual worker. To-day the machine, which is but an improved and more developed tool of production, is owned by the capitalist and not by the workers. This ownership enables the capitalist to control the product and keep the workers dependent upon them.
 Private ownership of the means of production and distribution is responsible for the ever-increasing uncertainty of livelihood and the poverty and misery of the working class, and the present system into two hostile classes—the capitalists and wage-workers. The once powerful middle class is rapidly disappearing in the mill of competition. The struggle is now between the capitalist, small and the working class. The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit and the schools enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intense poverty and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery.

The economic interests of the capitalist class dominate our entire social system; the lives of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit, wars are fomented between nations, indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged, and the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalists may extend their commercial dominion abroad and enhance their supremacy at home.

But the same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish the capitalist class and the class of wage-workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the working class. All other classes, despite their apparent or actual conflicts, are alike interested in upholding the system of private ownership of the instruments of wealth production. The Democrats, Republicans, the bourgeois public ownership parties and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production, are alike political representatives of the capitalist class.

The workers can most effectively act as a class in their struggle against the collective powers of capitalism, by constituting themselves a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

When we declare that the development of economic conditions tends to the overthrow of the capitalist system, we recognize that the time and manner of transition to Socialism also depend upon the stage of development reached by the proletariat. We therefore consider it of the utmost importance for the Socialist party to support all active efforts of the working class to better its condition and to elect Socialists to political offices in order to facilitate the attainment of this end.

As such means we advocate:
 1. The public ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening of hours of labor of the employees, to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of workmen against all accidents, invalid employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be collected from the revenue of the capitalist class, to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and State and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movements as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.

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