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THIS IS NUMBER

404

# ADVANCE

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

WHOLE NUMBER 404

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## THE INTERNATIONAL ARMY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT.

THROUGHOUT the world on the First of May the revolutionary hosts of Labor celebrate with parades and speeches and dances and songs the hope of the Co-operative Commonwealth. While the capitalistic governments, American Republic and Russian despotism alike, are arming themselves to the teeth that each may secure more plunder from defenseless nations of the earth and preserve it from their fellow-plunderers, the battalions of labor stretch a fraternal hand across continents and seas and form around the world an international solidarity, which all the quarrels of the robber classes cannot break. Let us turn briefly, then, to all our comrades and listen to their answer, when in the good old friendly way we ask, "How goes it with you, brother?"

ENGLAND.

During the last five days of March two conventions were held by the socialists. One was assembled at Blackburn by the Social Democratic Federation and the other at Liverpool by the Independent Labor Party. These two organizations represent all that may be termed really socialist parties—the Fabian Society, having sadly degenerated into the merest reform movement and the Clarion Clubs being somewhat similar to the "Appeal Army." Both of these conventions were the largest ever held by the respective organizations and each seemed hopeful of the future. The I. L. P. is the larger organization of the two, owing to its looseness of discipline—no definite stand on the fundamental question of the class struggle seems to be required and its candidates do not always run on a thoroughly socialist platform. Keir Hardie, the acknowledged chief of the party, is a member of Parliament and other close contests for the Social Democratic Federation occupies about the same position as the Socialist Party in America. It is, perhaps, or has been, a little less friendly to trades-unions and a little more friendly to palliatives. In the last two conferences the viper head of delectionism has shown itself, but only to be well stamped upon. A movement is on foot to unite the I. L. P., the S. D. F. and the Clarion Clubs into one socialist party. The I. L. P. elated with its own success seems very coy; but it is probable that complete unity will be achieved within the next two or three years, possibly before. One thing is sure, socialism in England is steadily forging to the front.

BELGIUM.

It is only a few weeks since the great struggle for universal suffrage startled the world. Although our comrades failed to gain a revision of the constitution, yet there is nothing but encouragement in the situation. Our Belgian comrades have the misfortune of being too far ahead of the other countries. Their propaganda and organization, facilitated by favorable conditions of industry have outrun the movement in England, France and Germany. Their progress is so marvelous that at the present time they command almost a majority of the population. This the Government knew, and it knew that if universal suffrage were granted its downfall was certain. It preferred therefore to fight out the battle with its parliamentary majority behind it and the army under its control. Our comrades, while not shrinking from force when it becomes necessary, deemed it inadvisable to draw upon the unarmed people the fire of 60,000 soldiers and contented themselves with calling a general strike. Upwards of 350,000 men went out and thus demonstrated the power of the socialists. But the government was not to be intimidated this year as it was in '94. It had nothing to gain by yielding. On the contrary, if it could provoke the socialists into a bloody conflict, it might gain the death of the leaders, the slaughter of thousands of the people, and the complete cowering of the revolutionary spirit. It knew it would have behind it in this act William of Germany, Edward of England and Nicholas of Russia. The socialist leaders understood this and, rather than hazard all their past work upon the uncertain fortunes of a civil war with such a formidable force against them, decided to call off the strike and submit to the government's tyranny for the time, meanwhile continuing their active agitation and organization, preparatory to a renewal of the struggle. Prolongation of the time of the final struggle for universal suffrage only weakens the government and renders our success more sure. Belgium has done nobly. Let us hope that when she feels

ready to grapple with the Clerical tyranny for its complete overthrow, our comrades elsewhere can assure her at least the neutrality of their governments. We await, expectantly, great gains, in the election of May 25th, when one-half the Chamber of Deputies will be balloted for.

FRANCE.

The first of May finds France in the midst of one of the most exciting elections. Reactionary forces have striven with might and main to overthrow the liberal radical ministry of Waldeck Rousseau. In this they seemed to have failed. This is a healthy sign. The nationalists and republicans represent all that is vile in politics, anti-semitism, jingoism and bigotry. After a virulent campaign they seem to have been badly beaten. The socialists have thus far elected sixty-two members to the Chamber of Deputies and there are over one hundred and seventy-five rebalots. It thus appears that despite the internal dissensions which have rent the movement for the past two years, the socialist vote has forged ahead. The first ballot was held April 27th. The second, in which the two leading candidates are voted for when no one has received a majority of the total vote cast in the first, will be held May 11th and we will then know the exact condition of affairs. Mil-leard, whose rebellious independence resulted in his repudiation by the socialist parties, failed of re-election and will need the socialist vote to win him his seat on the second ballot. Perhaps this will teach him a needed lesson. The fact that the socialist movement has three warring factions need not cause any gloomy feelings. That has been the normal state in France all along, a condition fostered by the character of their political institutions. The prospect for unity, however, is good, and unity or no unity the movement marches steadily ahead.

SPAIN.

The Barcelona strikes and the discontent of the workmen have recently received attention in "Advance." In these troubles, however, the socialist workers' party has had little hand. For this reason it has been criticized by some journals and in reply has put forth a statement of which the following is a condensation:

"Because of certain ill-informed criticism on the part of journals outside of Spain, concerning the opposition of the Socialist Workers' Party to the recent general strike, its National Committee has directed a letter of justification to all socialist organizations interested. The letter declares that the general strike was not seconded by them because their experience of these in Spain, where the conditions are less favorable than in most countries, has been disastrous. Recent attempts of the kind in Ter, Corunna, Seville, and Cadix, fomented as in the present case by Anarchists, ended in blood, riot and reaction. In Barcelona there was no serious struggle between the strikers and soldiers. Only two soldiers were wounded, and the majority of those killed were innocent foot-passengers. The strike, when it became general, was chaotic; in part it was a lock-out, the employers fearing damage to plant as a result of anarchist excitations to social revolution.

"If the Socialist Party, with its solid organization and influence, the letter says, had seconded the action of the anarchists, it might have become master of several important towns, and have brought about the downfall of the government. But the achievement would soon have been wiped out in the blood of the working class and the establishment of a military dictatorship. The cause of the workers can only be served in Spain, as elsewhere, by orderliness and organization, with friends; not by haphazard strikes, hunger, hatred, passion and the advocacy of violence as propagated by the anarchists and their allies of the republican party.

The committee offer to lay their case open to the judgement of the International Congress.

ITALY.

The growing power of the socialist party in Italy is attested by the notable victories it has gained. The several defeats of the corrupt Camorra, or Italian Tammany Hall in different parts bears eloquent witness to the fact that socialism stands for purity and virtue. The defeat of the Cabinet Zanardelli and the impossibility of forming another that would not also be beaten compelled the King to refuse to accept its resignation and to instruct it to proceed along the most liberal and "socialistic" lines. Its effort to suppress the rail-

way workers was summarily stopped and its dependence on the favor of the socialists most thoroughly demonstrated. A schism threatened the party during the past year, over the attitude to be taken toward the bourgeois government. But it has been settled. The socialist party of Italy supports the present Cabinet so long as it is good. Its goodness is secured by the surety of its downfall when socialist support is withdrawn. The socialist party, however, is at perfect liberty to repudiate the cabinet whenever it chooses. It has formed no alliance, but lends its support while maintaining complete independence of judgement in all measures brought up. On this basis, holding to the class struggle it is growing rapidly in numbers, knowledge and organization.

### The Revolution in Russia.

Spring, the vivifying season of the year, has again come round, and Russia's passionate yearning for freedom is once more bursting out with a flame. The numerous official telegrams and the still more numerous and trustworthy private information that reach us, show unmistakably that the students' revolt is again assuming national proportions and may at any moment transform itself into a universal storm that will sweep the country from one end to the other and shatter the autocracy to pieces.

I use the words "once more" and "again," as if there had been a lull in the movement since its startling outbreak last year. But that is not so. There has been no lull, only a natural interruption owing to the academic vacations. On December 24 (o.s.), came the promulgation of the long-promised charter of academical liberties. A cry of dejection and indignation resounded from one university and high school to the other. In terms worthy of a Falstaff the document sets forth the various "liberties" which the Government have decided to grant the students in response to their demands for academical autonomy. The students may form reading circles, clubs, various caisses de secours, etc, but each time with the express permission and control of the authorities, and under the presidency of some appointed professor; the students may elect their elders as permanent representatives, but subject to the approval of the authorities, and on the condition of their being responsible for the misconduct of their comrades; the students, finally, may hold meetings to discuss their business, but each time with the permission of the authorities and under the eyes of their representative, who at any moment may stop the proceedings, and is in any case bound to report on them.

Such a mockery was more than the academical youth could stand. Everywhere the "Temporary Bye-laws," as they were called, were indignantly repudiated—in some places solemnly burned—and meetings were convened with a view of organizing a general strike, or a systematic obstruction at the lectures.

As to the tone and purpose of the resolutions passed by the students, they can be gathered from the following, resolved at a gathering of the Kiev undergraduates, to the number of 1,500:

"We, undergraduates of the Kiev University, assembled on January 27 (o.s.) 1902, resolve: (1) to express our contempt to the Minister of Public Instruction for throwing to the students a shameful sop in the form of the temporary by-laws of December 22, 1901. We declare that the temporary by-laws do not create in academical life anything new, do not bring with them any improvement, but take away and complicate everything that the students have succeeded in gaining through their long and stubborn fight. We remain of our former conviction that a regular course of university life is only possible under a wide autonomy of the universities and the elimination from university life of all police tendencies. We, therefore, refuse to accept the temporary by-laws, that rather meet the needs of the detective service, than satisfy our imperative wants and demands. (2) After life itself has shown to us the only possible way of realizing our sacred aims, the way of struggle; after the ministry and the government have finally discredited themselves by their unrequited promises and hypocritical policy; after the declaration of Vannovsky at Moscow; after the numerous expulsions of our Kharkov comrades; after the Ekaterinoslov slaughter; after the publication of a shameless "constitution" which completely ignores our long-standing demands, only one thing remains for us—to start the struggle afresh. From today we declare the University closed, and from tomorrow we begin a strike and an obstruction. The strike will continue till all our demands are satisfied. We demand: (1) a wide autonomy of the universities, (2) the admission to the universities of all who have finished the intermediate schools, without distinction of sex and nationality, (3) the restitution of all comrades who suffered in the students' disturbances, both in our university and in all other high schools."

Identical resolutions were passed at all other places. In the south, in Odessa; in the north, in St. Petersburg; in the far east, in Tomsk; in the center, in Kharkov; and everywhere strikes and

obstruction brought the academical life to a stop. A big street demonstration took place in Kiev, which ended in bloodshed; similar ones followed in other towns, and only the other day, on March 16, a crowd of 50,000 men, composed of students, workmen and general public, swept the chief thoroughfares of St. Petersburg.

Thus the events of last year are repeating themselves this year. The students have again raised the standard of revolt and again the country is seized by revolutionary throes. Yet the movement this year is not quite identical with the former. There is something in it that has not as yet been present last year, and it is this "something" that lends to it its great significance. Since last year the students' revolt has ceased to be the mere academical movement it was ever since it had started some half-a-century ago. The participation of the street crowd, and, above all, of the workers, has made of it a movement of national dimensions, a social movement of a revolutionary character, the issue of which could be but one—the downfall of the autocracy. Yet it lacked in that element without which every movement, however conductive, in the long run to its aims, is bound to commit all sorts of errors before it enters on its right course. That element is the true and intelligent appreciation of the end, and the adaptation to it of the means. Last year it could hardly be said to have existed; this year, with the marvelous intuition that is only born of the passion and the stress of a struggle, the actors of the drama have with one leap almost completely risen to it. It is some forty years since the famous surgeon and publicist, Pirogov, on somebody remarking that academical autonomy on the lines of the English Universities would, of course, cure the Russian students' discontent, first pronounced the winged words, "But you forget that the English possess the Habeas Corpus Act, too." Since then it took numerous generations of Russian students—aye, of Russian men and women generally—to fathom the depths of Pirogov's saying; but at last they were fathomed. For the first time in the history of the Russian universities we witness the differentiation of the Russian students into two groups; the "academists" and the "politicals"—the former still trying to believe in the possibility of reaching an oasis of academical autonomy amid the desert of universal lawlessness; the latter, rightly merging the course of academical liberties into that of national liberties. This in itself is significant, with more significance than the

former are in a helpless minority, at every moment ready to join the general current, while the latter everywhere constitute the overwhelming majority that "bosses the whole show." Accordingly, we see the demonstrations invariably wearing a political character—nay, proclaiming it by revolutionary songs and red banners inscribed with mottoes, such as "Down with the Autocracy" and "Long live Political Liberty," and we hear such declarations as that "the events of the last few years have convinced us that the conquest of academical liberty—this fundamental demand of the entire students' movement—is impossible under the further existence of the present political state of things" (the Dorpot students); or that the students' riots depend not only on causes of an inside character, rooted in the system of university life, but also on many outside circumstances that cannot be removed by any changes in the statute and by-laws of the University (the St. Petersburg Professors); or, best of all, that "regarding the anomaly of the present academical system as but the echo of the general lawlessness prevailing in Russia, we once for all divest ourselves of the illusion of a purely academical struggle and raise the banner of general political rights fully convinced as we are that for a regular course of social life it is necessary to reconstruct the entire social and political systems on a basis of guaranteeing for the individual his public rights. We are sure that without these guarantees Russian life will make no single step forward, that all the best and noblest will periodically be struck down, that the ignominious motion on one and the same spot will not cease" (the Moscow students.) Lastly, at a congress of students from all over Russia held just a few days ago, it was resolved: "The students' movement is a political movement. By this thesis the congress wants to declare that the students' movement is deeply rooted in the present social regime of Russia. The realization of academical autonomy would have been contrary to the policy of the Government, which stifles every aspiration towards individual independence. The struggle for the rights of the students is, therefore, a struggle against the government. The students' disturbances will continue till popular representation shall give the necessary guarantees of the liberty of person, totally absent under a monarchical regime."

This opens quite a new phase in the history of the students' movement. Last year the working classes have supported them out of sympathy, now the two allies will fight a common battle on the distinct understanding that they both fight one and the same enemy and for the same object. Already various students' groups have declared that there is no salvation for them and their comrades except in Socialist ranks and on a Socialist programme. Already in some places the various committees of the Social-Democratic party have been acting for the two, inviting both the students and the workers to demonstrate on certain dates and on certain spots. The rapprochement is rapidly turning into fusion, and the day—nay, the

(Continued on page 3.)

ADVANCE



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THE CARMEN'S STRIKE AND POLITICS.

"NO politics in the union," has received another blow. Two weeks ago we showed that the Chinese exclusion lobby of the A. F. of L. proved that, not only was it necessary for the union to go into politics, but that, if it wished to be successful, it must go into politics by electing union men independently of the old parties. On the day of our publication of that article another instance developed lending additional weight to the argument that the "union must go into politics." Last fall the candidate of the Union Labor party was elected mayor of San Francisco. The formation of the Union Labor party was due to the outrageous partisanship of the Democratic administration on the side of the Employers' Association and against the Labor council. This hostility was manifested in many ways but most effectively by the arming of "special police" and placing them on the trucks of the employing draymen. Bloody conflicts were frequent, but the extraordinary protection afforded "scabs" and the aid of the police themselves secured the hauling of enough freight to break the strike. The Socialists were active in pointing the lesson that the strikers should have been in control of the government so that no police aid would have been given to their enemies, the boss draymen. The union men learned the lesson and proceeded to form a Union Labor party. Why they did not unite with the Socialists is a question we shall not touch on now. But, owing to peculiar political conditions labor unionists who were members of the Republican primary league secured control, a conservative platform was adopted and E. E. Schmitz nominated for mayor. The campaign that ensued was one of the most enthusiastic ever carried on in San Francisco and by a large majority Schmitz was raised to the executive chair.

Two weeks ago the carmen went on a strike. The railroad appealed to the chief of police for men to put on their cars, it also applied for permits to arm "specials." Both appeals were denied and what was the consequence. Absolute peace? Yes! But more than that, only two scabs had the courage to run cars and as they were harmless to break the strike, they were unmolested. Whether or not, if more scabs had been found the peace would have remained inviolated is a question. The important fact is, that by withholding the police, preventing them from riding on the cars, the mayor contributed enormously to the success of the strike. Most of the carmen assert that if instead of a Union Labor man they had had a Democrat or a Republican in the Mayoral chair, before one week was out half their executive committee would have been in the hospital and the other half in prison. Here, then, is an actual demonstration of the value of having a union man, not where he can plead and beg for justice as the Labor Council vainly did with the Democrat, Phelan, but where, as Schmitz has done, he can administer justice and do it without waiting to be begged or pleaded with. We have said this not to boom Mr. Schmitz, for our opinion of him is not modified. We do not believe that he has shaken himself free from the Republican Primary League. We know that he has no conception of the real interest of the working class. Only lately, he managed to say, that he thought capital and labor could be reconciled although faced at the time with the imminence of the carmen's strike. If he knows anything of Socialism he has most successfully concealed his knowledge. But with all this, his blindness to the facts of the class struggle, his inadequate conception of the rights of labor, he has done three very valuable things: First, he secured the organization of the carmen. Second, he taught the value of the union in politics. Third, he has shown that a labor man elected on a labor platform will not betray the laboring men. These are lessons the workmen badly need.

OUR NATIONAL COMEDY.

One of the most dignified contributions to the debate on the "Anarchist Bill" was made by Senator Hawley of Connecticut, that staunch friend of law and order, who declared: "I have an utter abhorrence of anarchy and would give a thousand dollars to get a good shot at an anarchist."

Peace and brotherhood and respect for law cannot fail in a country which selects such gentle and conscientious gentlemen as Mr. Hawley to sit in the lofty seats of its national legislature.

And by the way what anarchist will the law deter from killing anybody?

All the men who have killed either public servants or public parasites in the last century have been men who were prepared to give their lives as the penalty.

Do gentle, loving, simple-minded persons like Mr. Hawley of Connecticut believe that when he is prepared to hang for the things he does a man will be frightened at the possibility of twenty years in prison?

Such funny, funny gentlemen!—The Socialist Spirit.

THE DEPARTMENT STORE.

METROPOLITAN TEMPLE ADDRESS BY  
Walter Thomas Mills.

Mr. Mills outlined how the modern industrial evolution had first driven the small manufacturers out of business and compelled to become wage-workers in the great shops. He showed how the same great and expensive equipments and organization of labor and capital under scientific and most capable management was now invading the fields of agriculture and of the retail trade and then said in part:

When the shop workers used to strike, the farmers and the storekeepers took sides with the owners of the great shops and against the manufacturing working men. The wage-workers in the factories and mines have been obliged to stand alone for four centuries against their employers, and these employers have all along had the support of the farmers and the merchants. But now at last the same organization and equipment, owned by the great capitalists, organized by the best skill and managed by the most successful in actual experience, has at last reached the store and the farm; and the solidarity of interest between all who work as against all who exploit is coming to be felt among all the workers. This is true whether the workers are weighing groceries, digging potatoes, mining coal or founding iron.

The department store is capitalism in advanced form applied to the retail trade. There is no way by which the small store can withstand the large one. All of the economies of trade are on the side of the large concern.

In the small store the same man buys and sells and wraps and weighs and then has long hours of idleness, waiting for customers who do not come. In the large store one buyer buys for a thousand who sell and all are busy or the force is cut until they are. The small store buys in small lots; the large store buys all the factory makes, and in the end owns the factory as well as the store.

The small store ships in small quantities at enormous rates. The great store is in alliance with the railway as well as the factory and ships in the most profitable shipments and at its own rates.

The small store has a slight chance at the banks and must pay for collections and for carrying an account and does not use its credit if it has any.

The large store is a stockholder; is represented on the board of bank directors, and while it has any service the bank can render, it can determine the standing and terminate the existence of its smaller competitor.

The salesmen in the small store must support a family. The selling in the large store is done by a girl, whose wages are fixed by competition with other girls who live at home and work for spending money.

The small store must give credit on personal grounds, and is always the looser. The large store refers you to the credit department with its facilities for investigating the customer; for protecting itself by interfering with the workers' employment should he fail to pay, and in the last extreme has a justice, a constable and an auctioneer in its own employ, as regularly a part of its outfit as are its shelves and counters.

Under such conditions the small store cannot survive. In the mean time the wretched conditions of the employees of the great stores and the helplessness of the small ones will grow worse and worse.

There is no hope for the workers who are running the small stores in rented buildings and with a lessening market except in alliance with all other workers.

The grocery clerk and his small employer must both of them form an alliance with all others who toil; not for the benefit of the merchants as against the miners or the blacksmiths, but for the equal opportunity and benefit of all.

The small merchant has been deceived into thinking that his interests and Rockefeller's are identical. He is coming to understand that he is in another boat, and looking around can see about him and sailing in the same boat, bound for the same destiny all others who toil anywhere.

Keep your store as long as it will keep you, but get hold of the oars and pull for the place of safety. Don't be disturbed because the only harbor is the Co-operative Commonwealth.

SCHOOL NOTES.

The International School of Social Economy is making a beginning in Bombay, India, and in New Zealand.

Comrades A. C. Sorenson and Cameron H. King, Jr., are taking an important part in the great San Francisco street-car strike. All of the other students wear "I Walk" badges, and make impromptu speeches wherever they can get the attention of a few of the strikers.

Misses Anna Strunsky, Nina Wood and Mollie Bloom are the most recent additions to the training school. Two of these are from the Leland Stanford Jr. University, one is also a graduate of the medical and law departments of the University of Oregon, and the third is the president of the William Morris club of San Francisco.

William Prahl of Butte, Montana, and Miss Jennie Stewart of Cherryvale, Kansas, were married last week, and have gone to St. Louis, where Comrade Prahl will talk Socialism for a business and lay bricks for a living. The young people were members of the training school at Girard, Kansas—but match making is not a part of the regular curriculum.

WAS THE JUDGE CONVERTED?

Judge Short of Fresno, California, arranged to debate the question of socialism with Walter Thomas Mills, but when Mills arrived in Fresno the judge reported that he had been busy and was very tired, and would be unable to speak. It is understood that after arranging to debate with Mr. Mills, he went to San Francisco and heard Mr. Mills speak in the Metropolitan Temple. The question is whether Mills made him so tired that he was unable to speak on reaching home, or was the judge really converted to socialism and unwilling to place one straw in its way, which is about what his speech would have amounted to had he not been weary.

A. M. Marshall, of Duluth, one of the main guys in the new \$120,000,000 hardware trust, says the labor organizations are responsible for present high prices, and that the new combine was formed in self-defense. What next?

A FEW REASONS FOR WANTING SOCIALISM.

A Socialist barber of Oakland crossed the street recently to visit a non-Socialist barber. While talking, a pretty, finely dressed young girl flitted past and up into a lodging house of unsavory repute. "Look at her! look at her!" said the non-Socialist barber, "six months ago she was working in a cannery for fifty cents a day, and now she wears silks and satins, and he laughed a mean, mean laugh. "Yes, you — fool," said the Socialist barber, "you have told her story in a nutshell. Six months ago she was working in a cannery for starvation wages, and tiring of that she became an outcast, and you, a WORKING MAN laugh at her downfall. Then the non-Socialist barber hung his head and blushed.

Let us hustle for Socialism.

When one reads of American soldiers waging a war of extermination in the Philippines, shooting all above ten years by order of an American general; and these same American soldiers, acting under official orders, rivaling the cruelty of the Spaniards in torturing helpless Filipinos, to force them to reveal the location of arms and ammunition, even going so far as to torture a ten year old child to compel him to tell of the whereabouts of his own father, it makes one feel like strenuously shouting for the quick coming of Socialism and the overthrow of the barbarous system under which such deeds are possible, lest we all forget that we ever had the right to call ourselves civilized.

Don't stop working for Socialism.

Last week, a young brakeman of the Southern Pacific, the son of an Oakland comrade, was run over at Hayward's station, and one leg was cut off. A surgeon, or a half dozen of them, might have been brought to his relief within twenty minutes, yet he lay and bled for over an hour before a surgeon arrived. Then he began the trip to the hospital, up through Oakland, past the Receiving hospital where he could have been well cared for, on down to the ferry, and the long trip across the bay, then jolted over the rough paving stones to Fourteenth and Mission streets, where he arrived four hours after the accident, and where he died ten minutes after arrival. His parents might have been reached by telephone within fifteen minutes, but it was three and a half hours before they were notified, and the boy was dead before they saw him. The poor mother is crazed with grief, and it is feared she will lose her sanity. The father's life is clouded with grief and anger for he believes his boy was murdered through the railroad company's indifference. The life of a workingman isn't worth much under commercialism.

Let us work and vote for the co-operative commonwealth.

He was an old man. Time and Life had not dealt kindly with him. His hand were knotted, his form bent with toil. He had lived a long while here in the land of the sunset. His neighbors said: "He has always been hard working, honest, temperate and trustworthy." Yet old age had found him penniless. He was unfitted by nature for the grab game of competition. He lacked the art of money getting. During the past year he had been sick a great deal, and his support had fallen on his wife, an old and feeble woman. She had gone to the authorities and told them that she was unable to support him longer. The county fathers had taken up his case, and had said to him: "You must go to the poor house." You should have seen the look of despair on the old man's face. It was a life tragedy with all the parts played out. His chin quivered, the tears ran down his cheeks. There was a hunted look in his eyes. He was casting about for a way of escape from the sham and humiliation of it all. His body was found hanging in the barn.

Keep up the fight for Socialism.

It was a pitiful story. The father was sick in a hospital. The three children contracted diphtheria, and one died. Then the mother came down with the same disease. There was not a penny in the house, nor a bite of food, and no one to care for the sick. The city physician had said: "I cannot take care of them; my other patients wouldn't like it." All of this happened recently in a big California city.

Put in your best licks for Socialism.

He was a ticket-of-leave man. That fact was stamped all over him. His walk, the pallor of his face, the very clothes he wore, said, "jailbird." He had served two terms, yet for several months after his second term had tried to be "square." But things were against him. He had left San Quentin with five dollars, a poor suit of clothes, and with the prison authorities for reference. Thus equipped, he was expected to go forth and lead a virtuous life. He found the task too hard for him, small wonder. He tersely tells the whole story. "The world is against the man who has worn a number. The good people with homes and families can have on conception of the feeling that comes over such a man when he applies for a position and is asked for references. I have told people frankly and honestly that I was an ex-convict. A man who has never been there can have no idea how hard it was. When I have applied for work and the prospect was good it was all off when I told what I was. There have been a few people, who have said "God bless you my boy" and "we will pray for you" but they have not helped me to get a job where I could help myself." He was found in the haunt of criminals, where there was a lot of stolen goods, and he will probably go up for another long term.

N. O. Nelson, the profit sharing philanthro-

pist, was asked the other night, the questions: "What do you think of the theory that we must change human nature before we can have Socialism?" and "Did you pick out good people for your ideal town of Leclaire?" He replied, "I don't believe at all in the theory that we must change human nature to establish Socialism; and we didn't try to pick out good people for Leclaire, but took them as they came. We have several ticket-of-leave men, and they are amongst our best citizens. All that men need to be honest, is a chance to earn a comfortable living under decent conditions of service."

Let us make a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together for Socialism and decent conditions.

M. W. WILKINS.

POPPIES and WHEAT

BY MARY FAIRBROTHER.

We will speak out, we will be heard,  
Though all earth's systems crack;  
We will not bate a single word,  
Nor take a letter back.

Let liars fear, let cowards shrink,  
Let traitors turn away;  
Whatever we have dared to think  
That dare we also say.

—JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

SOME good brother has written the editor of ADVANCE that if he does not muzzle the author of this column he will stop taking the paper. Good. If that brother was postmaster-general or 3rd assistant, in charge of the newspapers, more of them would have to move to Canada. As he objects to my opinion of a preacher, I'll devote myself to another class of men this week, who have not done as much injury to women and reforms in the scheme of this world as preachers, who lead all the rest, in respect to being a curse to woman-kind, yet who have done what they could to make women's lives a burden. I refer to architects. Now, who blames the architects. Not I. They are working for a boss who is saving money, they are forced to prostitute one of the noblest arts, because of the curse of competition, just as the preacher is—only we despise the preacher because he poses as a reformer—the architect simply does the best he can.

THIS idea suggested itself at the last propaganda meeting. Comrade Everett gave a talk on architecture under socialism and while he was describing some of the beauties of ancient Rome and the wonder of the Pyramids and the stability and grandeur of the model home of the future under better conditions, a picture of the kitchen, where the ordinary workingman's wife does the cooking and dishwashing for her family came up before me in all its hideousness and its incompleteness.

Out on Willow ave. is a house of six rooms where certain people undertake to pass their daily existence. It would be too much of a joke to call it living. In that house is a room labeled a kitchen. It has a chimney for the pipe of the cook stove and it has a sink. Both are as immovable as the principles of a socialist and not nearly so reasonable. The chimney is exactly in the center of the wall and the kitchen is about eight feet wide. The sink is in the corner and when the stove is set so its pipe goes into the chimney it is exactly twelve inches from the sink. If a woman is slender she can manage to get in front of the sink, when she wishes to fill the tea kettle or wash her hands or do any one of the thousand and ten things that a woman does in and around a sink when she is trying to cook and so on, for a family of five or six. It is tolerably certain that a man planned that kitchen and it is more certain that he will never get adequate punishment in this world. There ought to be an eternal fire, if there is not one, for the punishment of men who plan kitchens for women to work in. If the gods believed in compensation they would make those men do the cooking, but the woman has to do it and she is toiling without even the poor consolation that all the misery is necessary.

When Mr. Everett was holding up before our enchanted eyes the picture of the home under socialism, I could not help but wish that every woman had heard him, who is wailing and groaning under the hundred inconveniences and murdering schemes, called kitchens, which incompetents have planned for her from the time the world was wed to a frying pan and a stove. For if there was no other reason for belonging to the army of the socialists, the ordinary workingwoman in her little home could find reasons enough without even opening her eyes.

There was nothing, nothing, ever created so patient and so foolish as a woman. She does without everything. She saves and economizes and loses her beauty and her youth working at impossibilities without any tools. The men who plan the houses are trying to save a dollar and dollars are hard to get, women are cheap. The poor have no business to expect anything and ought to be thankful they are allowed to breathe. But the most irritating feature of the whole kitchen plot is, that it would cost nothing extra to plan a house so it could be used if only the person who did the planning knew the requisites of a kitchen.

COMRADE Everett proved that under the new order, under the improved system of living, the home would be built for use and the architect would be requested to give not the most he could for the money, but the most possible. In other words, the homes would have every convenience which human ingenuity could contrive. No class of people will reap the benefits of such a new order to the extent that the women will, unless it be the children. Why not all help and hasten the day. The woman in the miserable, dark, ill-furnished, unhealthy hovels can all do something, if they only could see what socialism would do for them.

**HUMAN NATURE.**

**The Manifestations of Self Interest.**

The argument which the Socialist has most often to answer, is: "Oh, you cannot change Human Nature." Little does the one who has advanced this argument know that by so doing he has partly accepted the argument of the Socialist. The Socialist well knows that Human Nature is as unchangeable as the fixed laws that govern the Universe and it is on the very fact of Human Nature being so much unchangeable that the Socialist builds. He points out that Human Nature has never changed, but that conditions and environments have and are constantly changing. He points out that the formation or ground work of Human Nature is self-interest and that self-interest is the incentive to all action. This is manifested in the various evolutions through which society has passed. When our early fore-fathers ate the captives taken in battle they were simply following the instinct of self-interest, brought out by the struggle for existence, cannibalism was then highly moral. As they became more intelligent and turned to the ground for subsistence they discovered that their captives could be made to furnish a good many more meals by being turned loose on the ground to cultivate the same for them, than by being cut up at once into steaks and chops. In the other stage cannibalism was highly moral, now it was tabooed. What had happened? Had mankind become more humane? Had Human Nature changed? Not at all. The economic system simply had changed and they were simply following the old incentive—self-interest. The main factor in the change, the captives, had not been consulted at all. Their captors had simply discovered that they could come out of the struggle for existence a little better, by instead of eating their captives at once, letting them produce for them and so in following their self-interests, cannibalism was now immoral and slavery highly moral. Again when finally slavery fell, and made way for feudalism, the main incentive to the fall of that system was the self interest of the slave class as strictly opposed to the possessing or ruling class and so slavery made way for feudalism or serfdom.

In the former stages Cannibalism and Slavery were each in their turn highly moral, both were now highly immoral. Why? Had Human Nature changed or mankind become more humane? Not at all, the economic system had simply once more changed and it was now discovered that the self-interest, the old incentive, of the governing or possessing classes, the feudal lords, demanded that production should now be carried on in their interests by the producer being tied to the land which they the Lord owned, and so land slavery or serfdom was now highly moral and the other two, highly immoral.

We now come to the last change, the one which affects the workers the most, to the change from Serfdom to Capitalism or Wage-slavery. During the latter part of the middle ages a new class began to germinate. That was the trading or commercial class; the forerunners of our present Capitalist class. This class which handled the products of the free workers, who existed during the period of serfdom, began to extend the existing markets, and they soon discovered that if these markets were to be filled production must be carried on on a larger scale than it was being done, consequently they began by collecting the workers into certain districts put up manufactories and by hiring the workers, getting them to cooperate in production, thereby putting the entering wedge into individual production. They demand the inauguration of the "let alone" policy, also demanded free and unrestricted competition, or as they put it: "A free field for all and no favors!" Soon they began to work for the downfall of Feudalism. Why? Because they felt sorry for the Serf? Not at all. The main factor in this change, the Serf, was not asked at all; the rising Capitalist class was simply following, as its predecessors had done, its self-interest. They demanded free competition under which to carry on trade and manufacture, and they knew that in order to fill the markets and succeed in business under competition, all goods must be produced at the most economical cost and only he could hope to succeed, who could undersell his rivals. How could this be done? Only through free labor which would produce for just the cost of its production and which could be forced under competition to constantly lower said cost and again which would not be dependent on its masters when production ceased. The supply of this kind of labor must be constant. The only way in which it could be obtained was through the abolition of the feudal system, under which the laborer was attached to the soil and following its self-interest; the capitalist class bent every energy for the overthrow of that system and finally succeeded, and in its place was ushered in the last stage of slavery for the producing or working class, the Capitalist system under which that old incentive of action, self-interests of the Capitalist versus that of the Workers are opposed to each other in that last final struggle which must end in the interest of the class most fitted to survive—the wage working class.

I have thus taken the reader through four stages of evolution of human society and if he has followed my line of thought closely, he will have discovered that the advancement of mankind was not on account of moral regenerations of mankind, that morals had nothing whatsoever to do with it, that all advancement was in spite of the then existing morals and that through it all Human Nature never changed, but steadfast as a rock clung to its self-interest and that though this self-interest all human progress has been made in fact that all progress has up to now, been selfish progress. That morals cut no figure in this progress can be seen in the fact that in none of the changes or evolution of society have those most vitally interested (the captive, slave or serf) ever been asked; the rising, ruling or exploiting class in each case sim-

ply followed its self-interest and thereby in each case ushered in a new organization of society.

Through all these evolutions of society has run an intense struggle between the classes composing each system or organization of society. Again each system contained within itself the germs of the system which would supercede or kill it as soon as the time were ripe. The struggle mentioned above was most intense between the ruling class and the class which was slowly forming to overthrow it and supercede it in the exploitation and ruling of the producing class. In each instance the rising class would follow its self-interest and win out. When the rising capitalist class came on the field, again this intense struggle took place, following its self-interest and organizing the workers to follow what seemed at that time their, the worker's, self-interest, they got them to unite with them, the capitalist class, for the overthrow of the feudal system and this had finally to make way for capitalism. But with the inauguration of the capitalist system the class struggle has now been narrowed down to a struggle between the possessing and exploiting class and the propertyless and exploited class. It is the final struggle and which, when finished, will have done away with once and for all with all class struggles, for the capitalist class does not contain the germs of any new exploiting class. Human nature has not yet changed and again will self-interest be the incentive to usher in the new society.

The working class being now the most persecuted and exploited class in our present society, sooner or later will follow the same course of all its predecessors, and following its self-interest, will overthrow the present capitalist class and system and again following its self-interest will institute the co-operative commonwealth. This struggle along the lines of self-interest can be watched by any one who wishes to do so. In the economic field stand the trades unions, not yet intelligent or conscious of their class interests, but nevertheless fighting along the line of self-interest. Sooner or later the struggle will make them thoroughly conscious of what does just exactly constitute their class interests, and they will then intelligently seek those interests. In the political field stand the socialists who, following along the line of self-interests, know that in order to succeed they must do as their exploiters have done, subjugate the political power. They are thoroughly class-conscious and follow intelligent action. This political movement of the class-conscious working people, socialism, along the lines of self-interest is world wide and socialism is to day a world power and every government in the civilized world, wherever capitalism is entrenched, is compelled to recognize and deal with it. Sooner or later the entire laboring world will be forced into the ranks of the socialists, simply through self-interests and as soon as there is an intelligent majority, this system will have been overturned and the co-operative commonwealth is inaugurated.

The self-interest of the worker dictates to him that he must have the right to work whenever he sees fit to produce for himself, that production should be for use, not for profit, and that he be guaranteed the full social value of his product. This he cannot obtain under the present capitalist system, for as the capitalist is to-day the nominal owner of the means of production and distribution, his self-interest is opposed to that of the laborer, the only way the worker can subserve his self-interest is through socialism, which calls for the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution. Thus again it will be seen that the next great change or evolution in society will come about simply because Human Nature does not change, but that its great incentive to action is ever the same, self-interest, so that the argument of him who advances it so wisely that "you cannot change Human Nature" falls flat.

Socialists do not propose to change Human Nature, they simply point out that conditions and environments have been and can be changed, and that self-interest itself constantly has and will change them. W. F. E.

**THE INTERNATIONAL ARMY**

(Continued from page 1.)

hour—is not far distant when the union between "science and labor," of which Lassalle once spoke, will be accomplished.

We must understand what a tremendously revolutionary effect the students' movement—I mean specially its latest phase, that of street demonstration and the regular battles between the street crowds and the police and military—has on the general mind of society to appreciate fully the importance of the present events. People see that the dark power of autocracy is not the invincible natural element they have so long thought it to be. They see with their own eyes how it is being attacked in the broad daylight in the open streets and squares—and their hearts rise in them and the sinister charms fall. In its turn the autocracy cannot simply believe its own eyes and ears. What, students? What, workmen? How dare they! But there is daring, there is courage, and in the measure, as they gain in volume and in strength, the autocracy feels the ground slipping away from under its feet. It has tried in the past the Cossack's whip; it may try yet in the future the artillerist's shrapnel; but all its efforts will be in vain. It has no longer to do with a handful of conspirators, it has to do with the masses of the people thrown on the revolutionary path by the inexorable forces of the economic evolution. And the giant is yet unborn who could grapple successfully with that.—Th. Rothstein in London Justice.

**Local San Francisco.**

Local San Francisco met April 30th with Comrade Nisbett in the chair. Comrade Fairbrother was chosen chairman, Comrade Smith reader and Comrade Bersford critic for the propaganda meeting, Sunday evening, May 4th. The rules were suspended and H. L. Mathews, L. L. Nevins, Jno. Kriwanek, Jno. C. Wesley, Mrs. Frances Perry, Dr. Johnson were admitted to membership. The discussion of a new constitution was then taken up by the educational meeting.

Adjourned. T. E. LATIMER, Sec'y.

**SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA ATTENTION.**

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., April 25, 1902.

To the Locals and Active Socialists of Southern California:

Comrades: I take this method of introducing myself to you as my constituents of Southern California, and to thank you for the honor of my election to a position that affords such opportunities for service to our mutual cause. No time is more opportune for the thorough organization of the growth and development of the present social impulse towards the goal of our efforts. Events are crowding rapidly upon us. The world is balancing for a final plunge into the universal democracy of all nations. The co-operative commonwealth will soon be the cynosure of all eyes. Let us play well our parts in the events that are to follow. Southern California has been called classic ground for Socialism. Let us show that we can not only think but act. Experience has shown that the local organization is the life of the movement, and that when well based no local opposition can withstand it. The sum of the local conquests mark the national victory. Comrades, I call upon your co-operation in capturing every outpost in the district. It can be done.

For the purpose of mutual understanding, I beg to submit the following:

To the Locals: The secretaries will be expected to report to the state executive committee and the local organizer to report monthly (weekly if possible) to State Organizer Edgar B. Helphingstine, care of Thos. Bersford, 609 Stevenson Street, San Francisco, Cal. The report to include, 1st, number of members; 2d, number of members in good standing; 3d, speeches made in vicinity during current month; 4th, amount sent in on organization fund during current month; 5th, literature distributed; 6th, information regarding possibility of organizing adjacent districts, including names, suggestions, etc.

The first report to be sent in at once and to have in addition to above nominations of locals for choice of circuit speakers; 2d, voting population and number of Socialist votes cast in town, city, and county at the last election; 3d, number of Socialist papers read; 4th, number of trade unionists.

To Socialists in unorganized locations: Please answer all of the above questions that pertain to your situation. Can you get five Socialists together who will send for a charter and organize according to written instructions pending a visit from the organizer? Please answer or refer to someone in your neighborhood who can and send list of Socialists.

At a meeting of the state executive committee April 21st, it was decided that the pay of state organizer should be as provided by the state constitution, \$2.00 per day and traveling expenses while on the road. The preliminary correspondence work to be paid for at the rate of \$3.00 per week and postage. State organizer to raise his own fund. An average monthly assessment of \$3.50 levied according to the proportional strength of the eighteen locals of Southern California will furnish a minimum sum of one dollar per day for car fare and one dollar per day for salary. The balance to be raised by means of individual subscriptions, collections, sale of literature, entertainment on the road, etc. A committee of the local should be elected at once to canvas for names for enclosed blank. Every comrade receiving this should act as a committee of one among his neighbors. An account of receipts and expenditures of state organizer will be published weekly in ADVANCE and Los Angeles Socialist.

Comrade Walter Thomas Mills will make a second lecture tour through Southern California after the adjournment of the School for Social Economy at San Francisco in June. The opening gun for the campaign will be fired at Long Beach, July 4th. Write for dates. Fraternally,

EDGAR B. HELPHINGSTINE,  
Organizer Southern District.

**Socialism in Small Cities.**

While it may seem strange that one of the smaller cities should take the lead in working class political activity, there are good reasons why this should be so. In the smaller municipalities, it is true, there are not the great extremes of wealth and poverty as in the large cities, but there is a much freer interchange of thought among the working class, and consequently a better opportunity to disseminate a knowledge of socialist doctrines, once the seed is sown.

Socialism has little to expect from the slums of the large cities; the slum dwellers are notoriously subservient to the corrupting influences of capitalist politics; ignorance, brutality and crime go hand in hand, and the enlightenment of socialist propaganda finds its most impenetrable field in the dark recesses of the sweat shops and the dens of the "submerged tenth."

Contrary to the idea generally conveyed by its opponents, socialism is the highest expression of the awakened intelligence and consciousness of the working class—not of besotted ignorance and class hatred—and it can only make headway to the extent that knowledge of economic and political science is diffused.

Then, again, the larger the city the more heterogeneous the elements to be harmonized, the more languages must literature be printed in, and the more difficult it is to reach all the varied nationalities with speakers. So, although the exploitation of the workers is more intense in the great centers of population, it is not surprising that they are not the first to organize politically for their own emancipation.—Saginaw Exponent.

Now look out! Attorney-General Knox has instructed his underling to "investigate" the robber beef trust. But the barons don't seem to be quaking in their boots to any great extent.

**THE WORKING CLASS.**

But the application of labor-saving machinery to the production of wealth has displaced thousands of wage workers who now constitute the army of the unemployed. These are men with labor power for sale but no demand for it in the labor market. Their constant struggle for jobs results in keeping the price of labor power down, for the machine and factory owners will pay but little more than what the unemployed are willing to work for, and the latter are willing as a rule to work for less in order to get the job.

Workingmen in order to live must work. But they cannot work where and when they please. Why? Because the machinery which they use in producing wealth, and without which they are helpless, has passed into the hands of another class, that of the capitalists. The latter own and control the machine while the workers possess the labor power necessary to set in motion. The capitalist class by owning the machinery of wealth production also owns the product and lives in luxury and "refinement" undreamed of in any other age.

The working class produced these fortunes and yet they have what they started in life with, their labor power still for sale. No man has ever been known to amass a fortune by selling his labor power. It is always the class who buys it that reaps the rewards of the workers' industry. How comes this? The reason is plain. While it is true that the capitalist class must buy labor power to operate their machinery, yet they do not have to buy all that is offered for sale. The machine comes in one door and the workers go out at another, or at least some do.

As the machine invades industry, the number of those of whom the capitalists must buy labor power is decreased, while the number of workers who must sell labor power and have no market for its sale, increases. Thus a glutted labor market results and is intensified with every labor-saving device that is invented. Possibly we can not see why it is that the buyer always, and never the seller of labor power, is enriched under the capitalist system.

Every improvement in the method of wealth-production has resulted in reducing the number of jobs and at the same time increased the number of men applying for them. There being more men than jobs the result is in the struggle to secure work, the price of labor power (wages) goes down and fluctuates at the point known as a "living wage." Here it is held and at times of industrial stagnation it even falls below this level. Let any workingman who doubts the truth of this inevitable law of wages look over his past life and ask himself if, in all the years of toil and drudgery which he has endured, he and his family has ever enjoyed little more than a bare existence.—Terre Haute Toiler.

**THE WILLIAM MORRIS CLUB.**

On Friday evening, April 25th, the William Morris Club tendered a reception to Mr. N. O. Nelson of Leclair, and Mr. and Mrs. Walter Thomas Mills of Chicago. Occidental Hall in the Supreme Court building was prettily decorated for the occasion and held comfortably the assemblage of nearly 200 socialists, men, women and children. Comrade Mills recounted briefly his experience at Leclair and introduced Comrade Nelson who for twenty minutes talked about his profit-sharing experiment at Leclair. Comrade Nelson made no pretense that this was the solution of the social problem, but merely claimed for it success as an ameliorative measure, which for his own satisfaction, he had carried out. It afforded him some relief from the ugliness and wrongs of the average capitalistic world. His remarks were attentively listened to and frequently applauded. Afterwards many comrades had the pleasure of personal conversation with the distinguished guest. A song and dance by Master Butler and a song by Miss Edna Herold added to the entertainment. Afterwards refreshments were served in which the editorial force of ADVANCE distinguished itself for zeal. An informal dance closed a most enjoyable evening.

The William Morris Club deserves great credit for the service it is doing, not only in interesting the women in socialism but also in supplying a much needed social intercourse between the socialists of the city, whose knowledge of each other has been chiefly gained in the not too mild debates of the party meetings.

Tit for tat. Supreme Court of Missouri says boycotting is legal. "Not in the grand old commonwealth of Pennsylvania," says Judge Ferais of Wilkesbarre, as he hurls an injunction at the building trades and re-trains them from boycotting a scab concern.

**OFFICIAL.**

**LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO' Socialist Party** holds regular weekly lectures every Sunday evening on social and economic subjects at Academy of Sciences Hall, 819 Market street. Meetings begin at 8 o'clock. Open discussion follows each lecture. Questions answered; free platform; public invited. Admission free.

**LOCAL OAKLAND, Socialist Party,** holds regular monthly lectures first Thursday evening, 8 p. m. at Grand Army Hall, 419 13th st. Address correspondence to M. W. Wilkins, 1279 Alcatraz ave., Lorin, Cal.

**LOCAL ALAMEDA, of the Socialist Party,** holds open educational meetings every Monday evening in room 11 Methodist Block, corner Park street and Central ave. Free discussion, questions, etc. Everybody welcome. Address communications to Allen A. Crockett, 1010 Walnut st.

GRAND MAY DAY CELEBRATION of the Trades Unions

German Social and Singing Societies SUNDAY, MAY 4, 1902

CREMATION. Odd Fellows' Cemetery Ass'n. Point Lobos Ave. SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.

George R. Fletcher - Manager. J. GEORGE SMITH, 309 Hearst Building, Market & 3rd.

Workingmen's Sick & Death Benefit Society. Of the United States of America, Branch 102.

Bonestell & Co. PAPER. 401 & 403 Sansome St., S. F., Cal.

Henry Warnecke & Co. CIGAR MANUFACTURERS. 2971 Twenty-first St. Near Folsom.

Elcho House. 963; Market st. opp. Powell & Eddy. W. W. WALMSLEY, Prop.

GEORGE WIELAND. Dealer in Wood & Coal. 1685 Howard Street S. F.

JOHN F. RULFS. Choice Groceries. WINES, LIQUORS AND CIGARS. 549 Natoma Street

F. M. Phelan. Job Printer. Estimates Furnished. Prices Reasonable. 1010 Buchanan St.

RIPANS. I did not know what it was to eat a good breakfast in the morning. By noon I would become so sick and have great pain and discomfort.

LAWRENCE, BELSHOR & CO. Clothing, Furnishing Goods, Shoes, Hats, Macintoshes etc. 92 North Market St., San Jose

THE UTAH FACTIONS. Statement of National Committee. St. Louis, April 21, 1902.

To the Members of the National Committee and to the Socialists of the United States, GREETING: Comrades:—We, the Socialists of Utah, desire to present a brief statement of the facts existing in relation to the disagreements which have recently arisen in this State among the Socialists.

Resolved, that we claim the right of organizing our own State in our own way in conformity with the National Constitution, to call the convention at such time as we see proper to do so, to decide the number and method of representation, to elect our own State officers, and conduct our own affairs as seem to us best suited to the local conditions existing in our own State.

Resolved, that while recognizing the power of the National Committee under the Constitution to organize the party in an unorganized State or Territory when requested so to do, yet Utah is not in that helpless condition, having the ability in our own ranks to organize the State to our own satisfaction and for the best interests of the Socialist Party.

Resolved, that we, fourteen locals in caucus assembled, hereby respectfully request from the National Committee a State Charter, said charter to be sent to Comrade William Bogart, of Murray, Utah, temporary State Secretary, or to Comrade Kate S. Hilliard, of Ogden, Utah, temporary State Chairman of the Socialist Party of the State of Utah.

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ization, elected State officers and made application in the usual form for a State charter. Said application in now in possession of the National Committee, but under the rules of the committee must lay on the table for a period of 30 days before being granted.

The authority under which the National Committee acted is contained in the following clauses of the National Constitution:—

ARTICLE III. DUTIES AND POWERS. Section I. The duties of this committee shall be to supervise and direct the work of the National secretary; to represent the party in all national and international affairs; to organize unorganized States and Territories; to call national nominating conventions and special conventions called by referendum of the party; to submit questions of referendum; to receive semi-annual reports from the State committees and to make reports to national conventions.

ARTICLE VI. STATE ORGANIZATIONS. Section I. Each State or Territory may organize in such way or manner, and under such rules and regulations, as it may determine but not in conflict with the provisions of this constitution.

Section II. A State or Territory shall be deemed organized and shall have a right to affiliate upon the organization of not less than four branches, each branch to consist of not less than five members. Each State or Territory so organized shall receive a charter.

Section IV. In States and Territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party and representing at least ten local organizations in different parts of such state or territory respectively, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda organization and financial affairs within such state or territory, and the National Committee and sub-committee or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organization.

The report of the credential committee at the national committee meeting was to the effect that both state organizations of Utah had been effected in violation of article VI, section I. The presence of two contesting committees and the existence of two organizations in Utah at that time, rendered section IV. of article VI. inoperative.

The revocation of the state charter placed Utah in the position of an unorganized state. The National Committee is charged by article III, section I. "to represent the party in all national affairs," "to organize unorganized states and territories," and it was under these provisions that they sent George E. Boomer into Utah in order to effect a safe, united and harmonious state organization.

The authority of the National Committee being challenged in the premises, we submit this statement of the facts, together with the sections of the national constitution bearing on same to the comrades.

Yours Fraternally LEON GREENBAUM, Nat'l Sec'y.

CALIFORNIA STATE COMMITTEE. Meeting held April 28th, present Comrades Appel, Messer, Hefferin, Johnson, Reynolds, Ober, and Bersford. Minutes approved. Communications read from J. X. Siwczynski, Jos. Canning, A. F. Snell, E. Fletcher, Jas. P. Dunn, F. Lake, A. J. Underwood, Leon Greenbaum, O. T. Fellows, Geo. Orken, Cameron King, Thos. M. Hitchings.

Remittances received: San Diego, \$3; Sawtell, \$3.45. Total \$6.35. Campaign Fund: F. Lusardo, San Luis Obispo \$1; J. X. Siwczynski on list No. 846, \$6.35, T. M. Hitchings \$5.50. Total \$12.55.

Bills ordered paid; Eastman & Mitchell, printing \$6.25, Secretary, salary \$12.00, postal orders 10c; postage on supplies 20c; Geo. S. Holmes \$12; Donation Nat'l Committee \$23.45; Dues to Nat'l Committee \$39.97. Total \$93.97.

Nominations for National Commitman closed on Comrades N. A. Richardson, Cameron King Sr, George S. Holmes, M. W. Wilkins, Emil Liess and M. V. Rorke. Secretary instructed to submit these names to vote of the locals, vote to be canvassed on June 16th.

Local Los Angeles having donated \$41.15 advanced to Nat'l Committeeman Roche to the State Committee. M. & S. that the balance due on Nat'l Committeeman's expenses, \$32.45 be donated to the National Committee. Carried.

National dues for the month of April ordered sent to Nat'l Secretary. M. & S. that Comrade Holmes be advanced \$12 to proceed to San Joaquin, Contra Costa, Solano and Sacramento counties to procure signatures for the petitions, there being no sign of any movement in the first three named counties. Carried. Meeting adjourned 10:20 p. m.

THOMAS BERSFORD, Secretary. STATE CAMPAIGN FUND. Money Received by State Committee up to April 28th.

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes G. H. Cuplin, Nordhoff \$75, W. Eastman, S. F. 1 00, Chris. Hack, Winters 2 00, J. J. Stevenson 50, Mr. Hill 1 00, F. Lusardi, San Luis Obispo 1 00, J. X. Siwczynski, Porterville 2 00, G. B. Moore 1 00, E. O. Wisner 50, G. D. Avery 25, John A. Miner 10, J. F. Wright 50, Geo. Anthony 1 00, Cash 50, Cash 50, On list No. 381: Thos. M. Hitchings, Arcata 2 50, A. T. Gastman 1 00, Burt Beers, Fairbrook 1 00, J. D. Dean, Vance River 1 00, Total to date \$18 10

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