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## Labor's Political Struggle

NOTES INDICATING THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD'S SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

### GERMANY.

The "Almanack de la Question Sociale," edited by Argyriades, has been sequestered in Germany. It had a caricature representing the German emperor as a butcher holding up by the hair several heads of Chinamen. Though His Imperial Majesty likes to put on different uniforms, he did not like the one which faithfully represented him according to his celebrated Hun speech. And yet the allied troops can hardly complain if they are represented as butchers in China.

### AUSTRIA.

Otto Wittelshofer, a well-known Socialist writer, died a few weeks ago in Vienna. He was a great authority on finance, and for many years a valued contributor to the Socialist press. He was only 46 years old, and his death is a great loss to the movement.

### BELGIUM.

Another hot discussion has taken place in the Belgian parliament. The Radical member, Janson, moved a resolution that all political prisoners, and especially those of 1886, 1889, and 1893, should be released. Monsieur Janson stated that the Anarchist Moineau had already been more than ten years in prison for attempting to use dynamite. Though Social Democrats do not approve of such acts, they rightly think that Moineau has been the victim of a reactionary and clerical government policy. This humane resolution was opposed by the government. After a heated debate, the resolution was withdrawn when its first two clauses had been defeated.

### ITALY.

If Italy is a poor country it is not because she has a scarcity of clergy. For in that poor country there are no less than 49 Archbishops and 221 bishops. And she has no less than 76,560 priests. In addition to this there are a large number of monks and nuns. All these clericals have to live at the expense of, perhaps, the poorest population in Europe.

The government has sent some help to the districts of Bari, Lecco, and Foggra. The "Avanti," while approving these gifts, points out that what is wanted in Italy is economy and a reform of taxation. These things are excellent, and are needed in more countries than the Italian peninsula.

### SPAIN.

Spain is evidently awakening from her long sleep and preparing to take her place in the ranks of progress. Following closely upon last month's popular demonstrations against the Jesuits and other clerical orders which have long plundered the people and kept them in ignorance and subjection, came strikes of railway employees, textile workers, and other laborers, in which the cry of "Success to the Social Revolution" is raised.

### GREAT BRITAIN.

Socialists report increased votes in the local elections throughout England.

### NORWAY.

The Norske Arbeidersamfund, or the central organization of the Norwegian trade unions, has severed its connection with the Radical Party, with whom they formerly acted. It is generally thought that they will now act with the Social Democrats.

### UNITED STATES.

Agitation is reported as exceedingly active in Dayton, O. The Sunday evening meetings are largely attended.

Comrade Fred Lennon writes that a Workingmen's Educational Club has been organized at Adger, Ala., which will do good work for Socialism.

Comrade G. E. Pelton, one of the leading workers in Equality colony, Washington, was killed by a limb from a falling tree. He was said to be a hard worker, and esteemed by all who knew him.

Joplin, Mo., Social Democrats have nominated a municipal ticket with Comrade James Graves for mayor. They have issued a neat twenty-page booklet, containing their ticket, platform and address to voters.

The Socialists of Rockford, Ill., are organized under the name of the "Socialist Educational Society," meeting on the second and fourth Wednesdays of the month at Skandia Hall, Seventh street. They are having good success.

The Socialists of Puerto Rico are keeping up the agitation for the emancipation of labor. Comrade Hascher writes us from San Juan that energetic work is being done, although under great difficulties. A small paper, called "La Miseria," is being published for agitation purposes.

Comrade Willard Barringer writes from Dayton, O.: "Comrade McGrady lectured to over six hundred people on the 13th. The hall was crammed and the audience appreciative in every sense. The address was reported in the city papers in full, and was the topic for the entire week."

Comrades Cooney and Neely addressed the two hundred students of the International College at Saginaw recently on invitation of the president. The address was listened to attentively, and many questions were asked about Socialism, which revealed the interest taken in the speakers' remarks.

Social Democrats of Ann Arbor, Mich., held a rousing convention on March 6th, and nominated a city ticket, headed by Comrade Frederick Partridge for mayor. Comrade D. J. Jeanerett was nominated for clerk, and Comrade James Jones for justice. Comrade Theo. Stanger presided and delivered a stirring address. Five thousand copies of the platform will be printed in English and German and distributed.

Comrade J. W. Slayton of New Castle, Pa., writes

an enthusiastic letter about Comrade Vail's address in that city on March 15th. He says "the hall was well filled, most of those present being young men, a most gratifying sign. There was also quite a few ladies present. Comrade Vail's magnificent presentation of the Socialist principles is doing much to break down the old party bigotry and prejudice. The meeting was a revelation to many and will do great good."

Local Philadelphia celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the Paris Commune by a monster mass meeting in the Labor Lyceum. The great hall was filled to the doors. Job Harriman was the principal speaker of the evening. He spoke for an hour or more, and held the closest attention of the audience. The program was enriched by revolutionary songs rendered by a large chorus of united workingmen's singing societies. In every respect the demonstration was a success.

The anti-Socialist Primary Law proposed in the Washington State legislature was defeated, receiving one vote less than a majority. The Seattle "Socialist" is given credit for this victory over attempted disfranchisement, and very wisely it says: "Now it becomes every Socialist to work as never before to make our vote so large before the next legislature meets that they will not dare to attempt any disfranchisement measure." This warning can be heeded by Socialists in every other state, for the secret and open attempts to disfranchise us will increase as the lines become clearer drawn.—N. Y. People.

## HELP OUR PUERTO RICAN COMRADES.

The following open letter from Comrade Santiago Iglesias deserves the attention of all our readers:

"To the Members of the Social Democratic Party and Its Sympathizers and to the Trade Unions of the American Workingmen—Greeting:

"Comrades: You must permit me to call your attention to a subject which concerns not only us, but yourselves as well. We hereby appeal to your sense of solidarity.

"The organized workingmen of Puerto Rico, whose condition is far worse than your own, hope that you will hear their appeal, and will help them in their struggle with our common enemy, the capitalist class, for the conditions in Puerto Rico are such that they cannot continue it alone. It must at least in part be encouraged by you, by moral and financial assistance.

"First of all we must give sound to a never-ceasing protest against the barbarous way in which the American government treats the working-class of Puerto Rico.

"The undersigned has assumed the duty to give publicity to atrocities which were perpetrated and still continue as a practice against the Socialists as well as the trade unionists of Puerto Rico. In order to be successful in our agitation, we must first be in a position to meet, through the press, our inhuman, cruel oppressor, Republican or Democrat, white or black, American or native, who aid our capitalists and bosses in exploiting us.

"It is no more possible for us to publish our newspaper, 'El Porvenir Social,' in Puerto Rico, for it may be at any time suppressed there by the tools of the capitalists on the ground of the still subsisting infamous Spanish press laws. We must, therefore, publish the paper here, and the best place for it is the city of New York.

"We shall be in a position to enlighten from here the workingmen of Puerto Rico of the aims of the Social Democratic Party, and I assure you that we shall succeed in a short time to have a majority in many municipalities of the island and to elect Socialists to higher public offices.

"The trade unions of Puerto Rico, which were organized through our efforts, present a selected, enthusiastic and resolute corps, which will spread our papers through the widest circles. They fight not only for higher wages and the eight-hour work day, but also on the political arena, and their efforts seconded by your fraternal aid will serve to free themselves from the unbearable burdens which oppress them, and will continue to oppress them so long as Puerto Rico is deprived of at least as much political liberty as is guaranteed to you by the American constitution—freedom of the press and of speech.

"The name of 'Porvenir Social' is known not only to thousands of workingmen of Puerto Rico, but also in Venezuela, Cuba, San Domingo, and Mexico, and into these places shall we, with your assistance, carry and spread the organization and propaganda of International Socialism.

"It requires, but little in order to publish the paper in New York. The 'Porvenir Social' is a weekly, and, if you help us, it will be put on such firm basis within the period of three months as to insure its existence. We appeal, therefore, to all organizations of the Social Democratic Party, to those who sympathize with its aims, to the members of the trade unions and central bodies to assist us with financial contributions, however small they may be, in order that we may issue the 'Porvenir Social' in New York, in the Spanish, English and German languages.

"We further request the Socialist press, which spreads our ideas, to publish this appeal and give it their support before its readers. We request the same of the trade union press.

"The National Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party endorsed our appeal and will lend us its support in the future.

"All contributions towards the establishing the 'Porvenir Social' should be sent to the 'New Yorker Volkszeitung' or 'The People,' 184 William street, New York, which will publish the same.

"We call on you, in the name of the organized workingmen of Puerto Rico, to show your solidarity.

"Yours fraternally, SANTIAGO IGLESIAS.  
"Delegate of Federation Libre of Puerto Rico.

## On the Way To Socialism.

In Southern Illinois 16 independent telephone companies combined.

A recent invention enables the marble carver to strike 6,000 blows a minute, as against 30 by the hand process.

The formation of an international trust is foreshadowed by this announcement of an international combine:

A new welding process has been discovered by Dr. Goldschmit, Essen, Germany. There is little cost and the work can be done with great rapidity.

Boston papers mention the fact that the ice trust has thrown 7,500 men and 2,500 horses out of employment in the State of Maine. The horses are probably pleased, but the men ain't.

United States Government reports that during the year 1890 there were 21,838 failures. Dun and Bradstreet, professional prosperity puffers, say there were only one-half that number of failures. The government is the best authority.

The yearly current cost of holding the Philippines amounts to nearly or quite \$2 per individual. It accordingly amounts to \$10 per year for each family. To the large majority of families in the United States this sum is nearly or quite equal to what the heads thereof are able to earn in a week.

Every year the metropolitan water companies draw from the public for water supply a sum equal to the entire expenditure of the London County Council for main drainage, parks, fire brigade, asylums, housing, bridges, tunnels, improvements, and other public services.

United States Consul at Robaix writes that in France new combination milling and bread-baking institutions are being established, and that everything is done by machinery from unloading the wheat until the loaves come out ready for the market. The bread is said to be the most nutritious ever produced.

In four years—1896, 1897, 1898 and 1899—the profits of the Standard Oil Company amounted to \$127,000,000. In the same four years the income of the United States Government ran behind its expenses to the amount of \$170,413,308.27. Is not Mr. Rockefeller already a "bigger man" than Uncle Sam?

The Standard Oil Company was organized in 1870 with a capital of \$1,000,000. It has just distributed a quarterly dividend in cash and script of \$23,000,000, representing an annual profit of \$92,000,000. But even if we admit that the last dividend is exceptional, the actual returns nine months during the past year was in excess of \$60,000,000.

The United States government was organized under the Constitution in 1789. Its total gross income—not profits—was less than \$52,000,000 as late as 1862, when it was seventy-three years old. The net profits of the Standard Oil Company are greater now than the gross income of the United States government was at more than twice its age.

A Cincinnati correspondent writes in the Southern Socialist of Louisville, Ky., that the Elkins-Widener-Whitney street railway trust, which is linked to the Standard oil and billion-dollar steel trust, proposes to inaugurate some great economies since gobbling up the Cincinnati corporations. One big power-house will be built to take the place of nine, and 60 per cent of the laborers will be discharged, as well as many of the clerical force. The combine, owning coal mines in West Virginia and Pennsylvania and securing every advantage from steam railways, will also make a fortune annually in the saving of fuel expense. It is estimated that the street railway trust controls 20,000 employes in transportation and 150,000 in mining.

New York, March 6th.—A cable to the "Sun" from London says: It is stated that negotiations are proceeding between the steel trust and the German Wire Nail Association aiming at agreements upon prices in competition. The association embraces eighty-five nail plants, but, lacking organization, it has not benefited by the combination. The association produces yearly 200,000 tons of nails, which are largely exported. German nails have been worsted in the world's markets by the American product, and during the last six months of 1900 the German manufacturers lost \$210,000 on their exports through cutting prices in an attempt to meet American competition. The production of nails in Germany costs 15 marks per ton more than in the United States.

A gigantic cigar trust has been formed and large factories will be established in several cities. In Jersey City 3,000 girls will be employed, with one man to each 100 girls. In response to an advertisement of "girls wanted" recently, 400 men and boys appeared looking for work, and prevented 200 girls from getting near the factory doors, and police had to be called to drive the men away. Samuel Gompers believes in competition, and the trust evidently intends to give his fellow-cigarmakers their fill of that article. The men who are thrown out of employment will, however, have some spare time to study Socialism.

United States Labor Commissioner sets forth some very interesting facts. Aided by machinery, he says, 4,500,000 men turn out a product which would require the labor of nearly 40,000,000 men if produced by hand. In America the advantage derived from machinery is about twice as great as in Europe, so that the actual population of the United States is equal in productive power to 150,000,000 Europeans. With labor-saving machinery one generation of men can do the work of four or five generations of handworkers.

## Labor's Economic Struggle

NOTES SHOWING THE STRIFE BETWEEN ORGANIZED LABOR AND CAPITALISM.

### FRANCE.

The strike still continues at Montceau. Here there are blacklegs who have formed a union which is supported by the masters and the reactionary journals. The genuine unionists, however, are receiving subscriptions from the different organizations, and meetings are being held in their favor. Unfortunately, Jaures is not able to speak on their behalf as he is suffering from an illness which prevents his doing any public speaking. But he is energetic in writing in the "Petite Republique."

### SPAIN.

A dispatch says that the owners of textile mills in the province of Catalonia, whose employees are on strike, telegraphed to the government for assistance and that troops were promptly sent. The factories were all closed. The use of troops against the strikers will soon show the working people what faith is to be put in the benevolent and patriotic professions of the ruling class.

### UNITED STATES.

St. Louis striking tailors secured their demands and returned to work.

The paper-hangers won a strike at Pittsburg, Pa., seventeen out of twenty-two firms signing a scale.

Atlanta, Ga., has a Garment Workers' Union two months old, which numbers 200 members, principally women and girls.

The carpenters' unions of Toledo, Ohio, with a membership of 1,000, have made a demand for 30 cents per hour and an eight-hour day.

Forty girls employed by the Dominion Suspender Company, at Niagara Falls, N. Y., are on strike because their wages have been reduced from \$4 and \$3.50 to \$3 and \$2.50 a week.

A compulsory arbitration bill is before the New York legislature which, if enacted into law, according to trade union people, will put organized labor out of business.

The United Mine Workers' convention of district No. 19, embracing Kentucky and Tennessee, adjourned after deciding to transfer action on the wage question to the scale convention in September.

The demand for union-made goods is so great that the merchants of Clinton, Iowa, are afraid that they will not be able to dispose of their old goods at any price. The ladies related to the central body are rendering valuable assistance in organizing the women wage-earners.

Two hundred and fifty girls in the John S. Britain overall and shirt factory at St. Joe, Mo., struck against a 50 per cent reduction of wages. They had been making as high as \$4 and \$5 per week, which the management considered exorbitant wages. The girls won out with the aid of organized labor of St. Joe.

The engineers on the Chicago and Southeastern railroad have compelled the company to pay belated wages. The company was two months behind. The engineers put out their fires and chained the wheels of their locomotives until at the end of a three days' idleness the company offered to settle. The pay car made its trip, and traffic was resumed.

After several years of agitation the unions of New Haven, Connecticut, secured the passage of an ordinance compelling contractors to employ union men whenever possible on city work. Now the corporation counsel has declared the act unconstitutional, as interfering with the "freedom of contract." Of course, the unionists are swearing and the capitalists and politicians are much pleased.

One million people exist in wretched tenement houses in New York.

In Lausanne, Socialists secured 44 seats against 55 for liberals and conservatives combined.

Machinery enables one man to cut 10,000 watch wheels in a day.

It's said the new glass-blowing machine turns out tumblers at a cost of six cents a hundred.

Seed trust has been memorializing Congress to cease distributing free seed, and it is probable that the government will stop scabbing it and allow the trust organization complete trade autonomy in the matter.

Lentz, the free-lance Representative from Ohio, lost his seat through the use of the U. S. secret service. Who said capitalism was blunt and un-cunning?

The Kansas woman who is attempting to stop the liquor traffic in Kansas by smashing saloons is akin to the fellow who votes for the Democratic party in the expectation of smashing the trusts.—The People.

The cigarmaking trust is an actuality, having been incorporated with a capital of \$10,000,000. The tobacco trust magnates are the owners, and they give it out that they are going after business, and with the hold they have on wholesale and retail distributors it looks as though they will cut some figure.

A movement has been inaugurated in York, Pa., having in view the organization under one management of all the independent telephone lines in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and West Virginia. The new company will be capitalized at \$27,000,000, and its promoters contemplate that it will ultimately embrace under one management all the lines in the United States.

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Communications must reach the office by Wednesday preceding the issue in which they are to appear.  
The first paragraph of an article is published does not commit the Editor to all opinions expressed therein.  
Contributions and items of news concerning the labor movement are requested from our readers. Every contribution must be accompanied by the name of the writer, not necessarily for publication, but as an evidence of good faith.  
Short communications giving reports of organization and progress of the Socialist movement are desired from comrades in all sections. Nothing is of greater interest to readers than this feature. Our readers want it and will pay for it.

Ever glorious is the First of May. Since it has been declared the International Labor Day a new significance has been attached to it. It is a day of parade and jubilee. Labor calls its muster rolls and the thronging millions rejoice in the strength of the army of emancipation.

ADVANCE will celebrate the First of May with an eight-page edition, containing articles and news from the Socialists of all countries. It will have two distinctive features: First, articles of propaganda, clear and convincing in style. Second, articles of news descriptive of the progress and present status of the movement in Europe and America. It will be a most valuable edition from all standpoints, and no local or general distribution. It will convert the unconverted, encourage the disheartened and invigorate the movement wherever it is circulated. It will be especially valuable to California, and the comrades should arrange to give it the widest possible circulation.

Bundle rates are: Less than 100 copies, 1 cent each; 100 copies, 75 cents; 200 copies, \$1.20; 300 or more, at 50 cents a hundred. As the expense of publication is very heavy, it will be necessary that cash accompany all orders for this special issue. Rush them in!

Say I did you know that the only way to enjoy yourself and have a clear conscience on the evening of April 6th, is to attend the Socialist entertainment and ball at Turn Verein Hall, 8 p. m. sharp? Tickets are on sale at the "Advance" office, 134 Murphy Building, 1236 Market street. Call up and buy one. Twenty-five cents. Ladies free.

The Trust is a good thing for those that own it. Why not let the people take possession?

A Methodist minister in San Jose says that to work is honorable. It is now up to him to go to work.

Read next week's ADVANCE, and learn of the big surprise which the Social Democratic Party has in store for the capitalistic politicians.

April 1st is All-fools' day. It is to be hoped that the workmen who voted the Republican or Democratic tickets will fitly celebrate this feast held in their honor.

On March 19th a telegram from New York announced that all the railroads in the southwest in which the Goulds were interested would consolidate their combined capital to be \$300,000,000, with 13,000 miles of road. On March 20th another telegram announces that the \$75,000,000 left by Jay Gould has increased since January 1st to \$115,000,000, the increase being due to rise of stocks in the Southwest railroads. Another illustration of cause and effect!

"Society merrily feeds the poor." So runs the headline of an article which announces that "Society folks and members of the diplomatic corps, dressed in fantastic apparel," waited on the three or four hundred inmates of a poor-house. If anything is calculated to make one's gorge rise with indignation, it is the exhibitions of "society," after impoverishing people by making profit out of them, insulting the poor, by making sport out of them. Not satisfied with exploiting the people in the fields and workshops, the rich must exploit the indigent to add to their glory.

The conduct of Mayor Flassieres in Marseilles, who has used every effort to aid the strikers in that city, is a sample of what Socialist mayors do wherever they have power. The Socialist movement is a labor movement; it is the political expression of the labor movement. The ideals of Socialism are the only ideals which labor can have without stultifying, dishonoring itself. Socialism means liberty of labor, equality of labor, and fraternity of labor. Necessarily, therefore, the Socialist movement is bound to aid labor in its class struggle against capital. When labor understands this, it will give its unequalled support to the Socialist party. Spread the light!

"The unknown man was about forty-five years old, five feet ten inches in height, gray eyes, dark hair and brown mustache. He wore a dark suit, gaiter shoes, soft hat and blue flannel shirt. He left a letter without signature or address, as follows:

"I am out of employment and sick. I can get no rest, day or night. My dear family, forgive me; I cannot help it. Try to live without me. Good by."

This clipping is one further indictment against the murderous capitalist system. Why should any man be driven to death because of lack of employment? A social system which renders it impossible for a man to engage in a productive industry and thus support himself, is wrong. This system is wrong and murderous, even in its present period of prosperity.

A combination of immense importance to the commercial interests of the Pacific Coast has just been effected by the companies engaged in the Alaskan

trade in mercantile supplies and provisions.

San Francisco, Seattle, Dawson and Cape Nome have been drawn into the union, the purpose of which is to reduce competition to a minimum and promote the commercial advantages of the four shipping points involved in the association.

The agreement is for the mutual protection of the companies involved, by making a scale of prices that will be uniform, and shutting off cut-throat competition. It will be a big thing for all of the companies in the deal, and means the advancement of each company's business interests.

Accepting the principles of evolutionary science, we Socialists assert that man is the creature of his environment, his heredity being but the result of the past environment of the race. Hence, when we are asked if Socialism will change human nature, we can confidently answer, yes! The effect of an environment of peace, equality and freedom must be to produce different human beings from one that is the result of an environment of war, inequalities and tyranny. But even before the effect is felt on subsequent generations, the tendency of the removal of the necessity of fierce competition and individual self-seeking and the substitution therefore of the necessity of co-operation and altruism must cause a different and more beneficent manifestation of present "human nature." See?

Let no one deceive himself with the notion that municipal ownership of water, gas or street-car lines is Socialism or Municipal Socialism. The main source of such agitation is the little middle-class taxpayer, who hopes, by the profit of these industries, when run by the city, to pay municipal expenses and lighten the taxation on his 2x4 property. The Social Democratic Party is not interested in fighting this battle of the middle-class. It will let the "reformers" municipalize to their hearts' content. Then, when the city owns and operates the "public utilities" for the benefit of the taxpayers, we shall take pleasure in showing how to operate them for the benefit of the workers. Meanwhile, we shall advance measures too hot for the middle-class reformers to handle—measures of real advantage to the working class.

The attention of the secretaries of the various locals is herewith directed to the important communication from our National Secretary. While we realize the difficulties which attend the fulfillment of the duties of the secretaries, yet we must insist on their performance, as it is necessary to the strength and existence of our organization. Let every comrade see that the secretary of his local does his full duty in this regard. To the National Secretary and Executive Committee we would suggest that the printing of blank forms for returns of such information and reports as they may need will greatly facilitate their work. Many a secretary would make a report if a form was supplied who fails to do so because of puzzling over what form his report should take. We take the further liberty of suggesting to several other committees that if they would display a little more enterprise and initiative, that a great deal more propaganda could be conducted and our agitation would become more fruitful.

TROUBLE IN RUSSIA.

The internal disturbances of the Czar's domain are just now attracting the attention of the people of the world and are the cause of considerable speculation as to their nature and outcome. From all reports they seem to be the greatest and most threatening troubles of the last half century. One feature, which is universally conceded to be the most significant and is of especial interest to Social Democrats, is the participation of the working class in the demonstrations and riots that have taken place. As is inevitably the case in any despotism, the intellectual element, the students and scholars of Russia, have long been hostile to the government. But now the agitation seems to have sucked into the revolutionary maelstrom the working class. When it gets completely on the move no power on earth can save the government from overthrow.

The Russian government has become an anachronism. It must give way to some form of constitutional monarchy or republic. To the student Russia presents a most perplexing problem, yet the inevitability of political reform seems certain. It is inconceivable that the twentieth century shall advance far without the end of despotism in one of the world's great powers.

The vast extent of the empire and its widely differing economic conditions are features which chiefly militate against a concerted effort of the people to free themselves. Only within the last quarter-century have the revolutionary effects of the introduction of capitalism begun to make themselves felt. And it is within the last ten years that Socialist propaganda, "the red spectre," which trends ominously close upon the heels of the capitalist, has spread amongst Russian workmen. Now the Social Democratic movement has virtually supplanted the other revolutionary propagandas and is the strength and source of the present demonstrations. The reason is not obscure.

The Nihilist movement was chiefly a movement of the enthusiasts and idealists amongst the Russian students. It was largely a protest against the exercise of tyrannical authority in matters of belief, speech, publications and in social and political affairs. Suffering from the limitations thus imposed on them, the independent and spirited students sought in philosophy of Nihilism the antidote for the poison of despotism. They rejected all authority in all matters—each was to be a law unto himself. This, of course, led them into conflict with the government, and the exigencies of the political situation obliged them to resort to secret conspiracies and attempted assassinations of the rulers and means of tyranny. If any one feels any repugnance to this method of propaganda or wonders how such humane, noble-souled people, as the Nihilists undoubtedly were, adopted such tactics, let him read Wendell Phillips "Oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society on "The Scholar in a Republic." The Nihilists, failing to reach the people because of the unsuitability of their program to the conditions of the proletariat, and, because of the dense ignorance of the proletariat itself, were forced to use their small numbers, not in open rioting against the Cossack hordes which the Russian tyrants could hurl against them, but in putting life against life with the heads of the government and thus by a reign of terror frighten them from their thrones. This propaganda was necessarily ineffectual. It sacrificed hundreds of the flower

of Russia and seldom secured titled victims it aimed at. The Nihilist movement is a bloody, terrible tragedy, yet it is not without fruit. Its mistakes and failures serve as warnings to the newer agitation.

It is perhaps not unjust to class the Nihilist movement as an agitation for the realization of the noblest ideals of the bourgeoisie. Absolute freedom was the keynote. But, though it expressed the aspirations of what is now a powerful class in Russia, it is not to be so much wondered at that it was not taken up as a general bourgeois class movement. The true capitalist is a coward. He will suffer all present ills rather than fly to others he knows not of, so long as his property is safe. Nothing will he engage in that endangers his title in property or places in jeopardy the means of exploiting his workmen. In conformity with his fear of confiscation, therefore, the bourgeoisie held severely aloof from the conspiracies of its class theorists and enthusiasts. It is even true that many a young student, whose generous and manly impulses led him into the revolutionary movement during his college days, afterwards, when he assumed "business responsibilities," "took on the print of the golden age," "repented his youthful indiscretions," and patiently, servilely endured the tyranny of the Czar. The material advantages of being able to exploit the workers under a despotism became preferable to engaging in any hazardous enterprise placing himself and his property between the devil of confiscation by the despotic government and the deep sea of bankruptcy due to revolutionary disturbances.

The awakening intelligence and closer association of the workmen due to the introduction of the factory system affords a new and solid basis for a revolutionary liberating movement. But the movement is no longer Nihilist in character, nor are the methods of conspiracy and assassination its essential tactics. The workmen, rubbing up against the hard facts of life, cannot appreciate the fine-spun theories of bourgeois Nihilism. They demand more than "Let there be nothing." That they have. The only successful propaganda is that which shall offer them something positive, something better in a material way. This, the obvious benefits of the Social Democratic program presents. And here we find an explanation of its rapid spread. The whole development affords an excellent illustration of the materialist conception of history.

It is perhaps idle to speculate on the immediate outcome of the present disturbances. The censored reports are unreliable and consequently it is difficult to form a correct estimate of the extent of the riotings. We may venture the opinion, however, that if a general rebellion or revolution is the result it will principally benefit the bourgeoisie. Economic development and political development alike are more favorable to the establishment of the capitalist class in power. The proletariat is not large enough, experienced enough, nor organized enough to secure for itself the realization of its ideals. It will probably be used as a cat's paw by the bourgeoisie to pull their chestnuts from the fire. Only too often have we seen this done in other European countries, especially France. The capitalists will secretly encourage the working-class to revolutionary acts until the Romanoff dynasty totters in the political upheavals. Then, when success is sure, they will assume the leadership by virtue of the power of their wealth and influence and mold the movement to their class ideals. When their power is secured and the revolution in its onward course begins to roll the proletariat on top, they will set up their counter-revolution and stop all further progress for the time. If such is the course of events, and the historic parallels in France furnish some grounds for such conclusions, we may expect that the intense nationalism of the Russians will result in a great Pan-Slavic expansion. Regarding the matter from the standpoint of scientific Socialism we hope for a speedy passage through these phases of development that the ground for a true and successful proletarian revolution may soon be laid.

An excellent illustration of Socialist philosophy is to be found in a telegram from Washington. It at once illustrates our contention that expansion is merely the effort of capitalists to secure under U. S. control foreign fields of investment and that the government is but a committee of the capitalists to attend to their political business. It reads in part as follows: Capitalists see a fortune in the Isle of Pines. Anxious it should be held by the United States because of its marble and other products of great value.

The island has been explored by a government official, and since that exploration it is understood that American capital has been industriously engaged in purchasing land and securing options. If the island of Pines is held as a United States possession, it is presumed that the product of the island will come into the U. S. free of duty, or that a nominal sum will be fixed as duty, as in the case of Porto Rico. In either case the advantage will be with the capitalists who own the property, all of whom will undoubtedly be Americans and friends of the Administration." What a beautiful scheme for plunder and prosperity.

Congressman Loud, the pliant tool of the Southern Pacific and Representative from the Fifth Congressional district of California, spoke Tuesday night to an improvement club on the postal service. He is credited with the following assertions:

"When I entered Congress I was an advocate of the postal telegraph, the parcel delivery system and the postal savings bank, but I am now of the opinion that these affairs should be left to private enterprise. A government cannot accomplish work as cheaply as an individual. Keep the government out of business. I hope that the time shall never come when railroads may be owned by the people."

When we consider the record of Loud, his change of opinion and his latest hope is in no way remarkable. There is not in all Congress a more subservient lick-spittle of the corporations. As chairman of the post office and post-roads committee he has repeatedly engineered through Congress immense appropriations for the railroads and secured the payment of exorbitant rates for the carrying of the mails. Then, after allowing the treasury to be plundered by the rich railroad corporations, he introduces a bill the excuse for which is to cut down expenses, but the real purpose of which is to cut off the independent press by increasing their postal rates eight times. For a vile, conscienceless, corrupt tool, commend us to Eugene F. Loud.

IN THE Industrial Arena

BY JOS. J. NOEL.

Wage-workers, who belong to any trade that is not yet organized should send their names and addresses to the "Labor Editor," these names will be classified into their respective trades and as soon as enough are obtained of any occupation, a meeting will be called and a union organized. All unions organized through the medium of "Advance" will be affiliated with the Labor Council and the American Federation of Labor. Address all communications to "Labor Editor ADVANCE" 134 Murphy Building.

The attitude of the Social Democratic Party towards "pure and simple" trades' unions is one of friendly toleration. The limitations of these economic organizations are too well known to allow of a closer relationship. If the first unfortunate impulse that made for the banishment of a discussion of politics from the unions could be overcome, they would be no longer "pure and simple," and the word toleration would be dropped. All Socialism wants is a hearing. There is no intention on the part of Socialists to subordinate the economic organization to the political organization, but there is an emphatic and a just demand that workmen be taught in the economic organizations working-class politics. The contempt for the working-class held by the capitalists in the places where unions are strongest (as witness Shoshone county, Idaho) rises from the fact that a discussion of politics is forbidden in the only organizations where workmen come together and exchange ideas. The reverse of this is seen, however, in the organizations of capitalists. There is not a "pure and simple" capitalistic organization in the country. From the handful of grocers, calling themselves a "Chamber of Commerce," near some cross roads, to the Union League clubs of "the centers of civilization," they are all in politics; and if it is a constable that receives a star or a president a nomination, they weigh well the qualities of each candidate and usually decide beforehand his policy. It is because the capitalists deliberate in their clubs upon questions of government that they constitute the government and because workmen allow no politics in their unions that they constitute the governed.

We had considerable hope that a new trades' unionism was at least in a process of incubation in this city. Our attitude of friendly toleration towards the unions was rapidly changing to one of sympathetic interest. The columns of our paper were given gratis to help organize new unions. We entered into every fight for shorter hours or better pay. And all we wanted was merely the inauguration of the new era in trades' unionism. It was an entirely unselfish wish. We desired no more than a discussion of political questions in the unions that had been organized with our aid. If the discussion of political questions redounded to the credit of Socialism or not was immaterial, we were more anxious about overcoming that pernicious first impulse towards pure and simpledom. However, we built our fire of shipwrecked wood. The spokesman for the new trades' unionism, selected, not because he has more diplomacy, but merely because he insists upon talking, said, "If a man stood up in my union and spoke for Socialism, I (the spokesman for the new trades' unionism) would feel it incumbent upon me to object. A trades' union is not a place for political discussions." Again he said, "If I found it necessary I would teach that capital and labor are brothers. There is more of a common interest between capital and labor than Socialists know of." At another time he said, "The Socialists are all visionaries. This is a century of economic organization, and through economic organization alone will the workmen secure control of the governmental functions." There is no betrayal of confidence in giving these statements publication. They were voiced by the spokesman of the new trades' unionism—not in the privacy of ordinary conversation, but always in a crowd. And his actions do not belie his words. He is an apt pupil. The only thing his instructor and guide missed, however, was a muzzle with every lesson. He talks too much. For this reason he will achieve greatness vicariously, if at all.

Despite the action of these Socialists who forget their Socialism in remembering themselves, we shall continue to have friendly relations with the unions. We know the political organization represents one wing, while the economic organization represents the other wing of the great working class movement. We recognize the good of these economic organizations, both for the members, and for those who have not sense to be members, and recognizing this we shall fight for the established unions and help to establish others. There are Socialists who are stanch in the matter of principle, fighting the battle of unionism in this city at the present time. And more will gather to their aid as the days go by. The onward sweep of the class-conscious workers to victory in the political field cannot be staid by one or two incapable of listening to the alluring note of "power and a fixed salary" without forgetting the greater trust.

In selecting men for place in the unions, the members could well take the following as a guide. It is from the report of the provisional committee of the Paris Commune: "Do not forget that the men who will serve you best are those whom you will choose from among yourselves, living your life, suffering the same ills. Beware of the ambitious as much as of the upstarts. Beware also of mere talkers. Shun those whom fortune has favored, for only too rarely is he who possesses or has possessed fortune prone to look upon the working men as brothers. Give your preference to those who do not solicit your suffrages."

Three items which explain more than could be explained in volumes, a human side that is governed in its expression by the immediate economic condition of the victims, came under our notice within the past week. One occurred in a coal yard. The owner of the coal yard was asked for an advertisement for ADVANCE. He scowled. Outside the golden sunshine lay on the pavement invitingly, yet the solicitor hesitated. He knew that one of the fairest days of the spring waited to embrace him and to reconcile him to all sorts of disappointments—disappointments that touched all the stops of life and could be really placed under the head of disillusionments, or a learning of the truth. He also knew that ADVANCE had taken a turn for the better since the determination to run the paper on business principles came into fashion, and if the "turn" were to be permanent he would be compelled to stay with the coal man and get the "ad."



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It isn't difficult to believe that out of it all will come ONE GREAT TRUST

Otto Sinz Watchmaker and Jeweler

Abet Bitters

Workingmen's Sick & Death Benefit Society

There is something sublimely childlike in the belief of the trade unionists

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Fred W. Klotz

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L. Van Alstine

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Abet Bitters

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There is something sublimely childlike in the belief of the trade unionists

Ernest Rehor Artistic Tailor

VINCENT'S MEAT MARKET

HAUCH'S Cash Stores

Alameda

THE SOCIALIST DEBATING CLUB

LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO

LOCAL OAKLAND

LOCAL ALAMEDA

Bottlers' Union Bulletin

THESE SHOPS REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE BOTTLETS UNION

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Correspondence. San Bernardino, March 23, 1901. Editor Advance: I think Bersford's article in last weeks Advance to be "babysish"

Oakland, March 19, 1901. Editor Advance: The excellent suggestions on co-operation in last weeks issue over the signature of X X merits thoughtful consideration.

Portland, Ore. Editor Advance: The Social Democrats of Portland have stopped paying dues to Chicago N. E. B.

CALDWELL College of Oratory and Elocution

Electrical Exhibition. The comrades who have not attended the electrical exhibitions at 813 Van Ness ave.

LEON L. REY & SON. French Hatters

ARTHUR CONTI Rubber Stamps and Printing

The "Underwood" Visible—Is the very latest—Endorsed by the U. S. Government.

PROPAGANDA MEETING. A large crowd gathered at the Academy of Sciences Hall Thursday evening, March 21st, to hear the lecture on "Ferdinand Lassalle"

SOCIALIST DEBATING CLUB. On Sunday evening the Debating Club held its usual meeting in Pythian Castle.

National Executive Committee. Some time ago all Locals were notified to forward to the Nat'l Sec'y a list of all members.

San Jose Defense Fund. Branch No. 9, Local No. 7 of the United Brewery Workers, 85.75. W. B. Brown of Struck; Wash. 25 cts.

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The San Francisco Rochdale Company (co-operative), incorporated September 22, 1900, is doing a general grocery business at 1818 Market street.

It is said that the name of the new steel trust of trusts will be the "United States Steel Company."

There is something sublimely childlike in the belief of the trade unionists that their employers will enact into legislation what the workers are refused in the shops.

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