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## Capitalist Liberty!

### Comrade Jos. J. O'Brien Jailed For Speaking On the Streets of San Jose

Sentenced to Thirty Days in the City Prison—Malkmes and Ryan to Share the Same Fate.

A Detailed Report of the Arrest and Court Proceedings.

San Jose, Cal., January 24, 1901.

Free speech has been suppressed in San Jose, the center of the prune industry; whether this state of affairs will last remains to be seen, however.

The thoughts of the community of this fruitful valley are so thoroughly enveloped in the raising, pickling, curing, packing, canning, storing, selling and shipping of prunes, that should a person happen to express an opinion on any other subject, he would be regarded as abnormal. The people eat prunes, think prunes, talk prunes, and are, literally speaking, "full of prunes." And, above all, the PRUNE TRUST is flourishing as any trust could wish to be. If it were not for those "confounded Socialists," this trust could rest in peace forevermore.

But, alas! these wicked Socialists could not and would not leave well enough alone. That is how it came about that Comrades Harry Ryan, F. C. Malkmes and irrepressible Joseph O'Brien, "the California Demosthenes," were arrested for expressing ideas contrary to those of the "Prune Growing Association," and on matters entirely foreign to "Prunes."

Comrade Harry Ryan, the organizer of Local Santa Clara county, Social Democratic Party, together with Comrade Malkmes and Joe O'Brien, were accustomed to hold open-air meetings on the corner of First and Santa Clara streets, the best corner in town for this purpose. On the evening of Saturday, January 12, 1901, these three lusty comrades proceeded, equipped with a soap-box in place of a rostrum, to pump some class-consciousness into the craniums of some of these prune-raising denizens of this prune-afflicted piece of earth. On one corner the Salvation Army held forth unmolested; on another the Mormons were ranting and singing without interference, and we posted ourselves on the third corner. Comrade Harry R. an opened the meeting by introducing F. C. Malkmes, who had hardly begun to speak when a police-officer accosted him, saying that it was against the City ordinance to hold street meetings; but he added that we could go to the next corner. The speaker informed him that he would continue to speak as he had a constitutional right to do so, and defied arrest. After speaking for about fifteen minutes, the officer approached him again and ordered him to move on, and was promptly refused, whereupon Comrade Malkmes was placed under arrest. Harry Ryan then took the stand, but had hardly opened his mouth when he also was pulled down. Then came O'Brien's turn to be, for the ninth time in his young life, introduced to prison walls—a remarkable co-incident, as both he and Ryan had been arrested eight times before for the same act. They were taken to the city prison, where the bail was set at \$10 each, which was forthcoming after they had spent thirty-five minutes behind the bars, during which time they amused themselves by singing the "Marseillaise."

Joseph O'Brien was tried first, his case having been set first. He demanded a jury trial. The date was set for January 21st, and twenty-four "substantial business men" had been summoned to act as jurors, among them the complaining witness, who owns a cigar store on the corner in question, which is a general lounging place of the young prune aristocracy and petty politicians of all descriptions, and whose class interests had been offended by the truths uttered by the Socialists.

Comrades Harry Ryan and F. C. Malkmes appeared as counsel for the defendant. The prosecution experienced a surprise thinking that the comrades were not able to conduct a case, and expecting to have a walk-over. The judge, a recent appointee of the Common Council and a young man with political aspirations and pull, proved his prejudice from the very beginning.

When the case was called, Comrade Ryan stepped forward and asked for dismissal on the ground that the city ordinance, on the strength of which the arrest had been made, was unconstitutional, being a violation of both National and State Constitution, and also conflicted with Ordinance No. 1665, Section 1, which reads:

"No person shall willfully disturb any lawful assemblage or procession of persons by noise, profanity, rude, obnoxious, or indecent conduct, or in any other manner whatever"—and on the ground that it delegated the power to create laws to the police-officer, allowing him to discriminate as to what constitutes "lawful" and "unlawful assemblages."

The ordinance in question reads as follows:

"ORDINANCE NO. 1644.

"Section 19, Article 4: "It shall be unlawful to stand in a crowd of two or more persons so as to obstruct the free passage of any part of a street or sidewalk, after being requested to move on by a police officer, or to allow or suffer any wagon or vehicle to stand on any street, within the city, so as to obstruct any part thereof, after being requested to move on by any police-officer."

The prosecuting attorney maintained that the constitutionality had nothing whatever to do with the

case, it being a violation of the City Ordinance. The judge sustained the prosecution.

The names of twelve men were then called and the men ordered to the jury box, whereupon the examination began. It was evident that it was the intention of the judge, as well as the City Attorney, to pack the jury in order to secure a conviction, by the fact that the first man to be examined, the complaining witness himself, after positively stating that he was opposed to all street-meetings, and being objected to by Comrade Malkmes, was admitted as a juror. Another man who emphasized that he would like to see all Socialists hung, was also admitted. One man who said that he could not understand why some men were arrested for causes for which others were not, was promptly excused by the judge, as was another, who created quite a sensation by saying, after being asked by the prosecution whether he would uphold all laws regardless of their constitutionality, that if he regarded any law, including the Constitution, unjust, he would oppose it.

At 12 o'clock only nine men out of twenty-four had been accepted. The comrades had used their right of peremptory challenges quite effectively, as both of the above mentioned gents had been excused, to the great surprise and chagrin of the bench and prosecution, who, judging from their actions, did not expect that they were aware of this legal power. The venire having been exhausted, the court adjourned until 2 p.m., and fifteen more men were summoned as jurors, after the prosecution had moved that the case be taken up with nine jurors, to which Comrade Malkmes replied that we demanded a full jury. When court convened again, three more jurors were secured without much trouble, and the cross-examination of witnesses began. The prosecuting witnesses testified in our favor, with exception of the arresting officer. The main point laid in the fact that the defendant had not been asked to move on and had therefore not violated the ordinance, all witnesses testifying that the officer had said nothing else than, "I arrest you, too," omitting the order to move on.

An amusing incident happened when one of the witnesses for the defense was asked by the prosecution whether he was a Socialist. He answered that he never had voted the Socialist ticket, and scored the prosecuting attorney for trying to obtain too much information about his private affairs, but finally said that he was not a Socialist, but wants to see fair play.

All witnesses having been examined, the attorney for the prosecution then addressed the jury. Notwithstanding the fact that the witnesses had testified in our favor, he claimed that the evidence proved the guilt of the defendant conclusively. He resorted to all kinds of abuse, maintaining that no decent woman could be expected to pass on the street and listen to the vile talk of the criminal Socialists.

Comrade F. C. Malkmes addressed the jury next for forty-five minutes in eloquent terms. He compared the rights of citizens with a pair of cheap socks, asking the jury whether they priced the former or latter of more importance. He appealed to them as men who may some day be placed in a similar position. When he started to read the law to them the prosecution objected on the ground that neither he nor the jury were competent to decide on questions of law; the objection was sustained. Comrade Malkmes then proceeded by saying: "You see, gentlemen of the jury, the learned gentleman does not wish to have the law read, as it would clearly show to you that the defendant has committed no crime. No matter what verdict you will render, you must not imagine for one moment that by finding the young man guilty you would stop the Socialist movement or the wheels of progress."

The prosecuting attorney took the floor in rebuttal. He told the jury to come out of the clouds and down on the solid earth. "Do not allow yourselves to be misled by a windbag." Malkmes thanked him for the epithet. He further claimed that there was a concerted conspiracy on the part of the Socialists to tie up the courts and create as much expense as possible to the county. Malkmes interrupted him by saying: "That's a lie!" for which the judge rebuked him. Comrade Ryan then asked the judge to instruct the prosecution to remain within the boundaries of truth. The prosecutor then appealed to the pocket-books and business interests of the jurors. Comrade Malkmes asked to be allowed to speak again, but was denied the privilege.

The judge then instructed the jury to bring in a verdict of guilty, as the point as to the unconstitutionality of the ordinance was immaterial. The jury remained in session not more than three minutes, after which they brought in a verdict of guilty. The judge then pronounced the result, whereupon Comrade Malkmes asked for arrest or pronouncement of sentence until Thursday, which was granted. The bail was then raised to \$100 for the second case, the comrades having been arrested again on Saturday, January 19th. In consequence of these arrests both Comrades Malkmes and O'Brien have lost their positions.

On Thursday, January 24, 1901, Comrades Ryan and O'Brien appeared in court to hear sentence pronounced. When the judge asked O'Brien whether he had any reason why sentence should not be pronounced, Comrade Ryan offered the objection that the ordinance, in accordance of which O'Brien was convicted, was unconstitutional. The objection was overruled and O'Brien ordered to rise to receive sentence. After reading the nefarious document, otherwise called charges, the judge sentenced O'Brien to a fine of thirty dollars or thirty days imprisonment in the city prison. O'Brien took the sentence coolly and said to the judge: "Your Honor, I do not know whether I have the legal right to object, but I object

anyhow. You have violated the State and National Constitutions alike. You have usurped powers which are not even delegated to Congress. I consider the sentence unjust and take it under protest. I will not pay a fine and take the punishment of thirty days in prison for an uncommitted crime, because I cannot help myself. I will continue to exercise my rights as a man and a citizen, and you will find me on the same corner speaking on the day of expiration of sentence."

Four deputies took charge of O'Brien to lead him to jail; they marched past the judge's desk, two in front and two behind the comrade; he hummed the Marseillaise.

The judge asked the bondsmen into his chambers, where he told them that they could pay \$25 out of the bail money and let him serve five days; the proposition was refused on the ground that the money was not his and that he did not wish to pay a fine. He need not feel lonesome during his stay behind the bars, as all the comrades will visit him daily. On the first day he was almost buried in flowers. He will spend his time mostly in studying and writing on economic and political subjects, so as to be better able to combat the capitalist system after his release. After his second day in prison the officers in charge left the outer doors wide open, he being the only one confined. Asked why they left the door open, one replied that they were tired opening them all day long to admit the visitors.

The Brewery Workmen's Union started a "Free Speech Fund," and collected \$22 on the first day.

Now is the time for all comrades who have the cause at heart to contribute their mite to this fund. It is the duty of every Socialist to do his level best to help us defeat this court decision. If we do not succeed this time there will be no end of persecution, as this would surely encourage the police all over this "free and glorious country" to follow suit.

PAUL HARTMANN,

Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 72 North Second street, San Jose, Cal.

### COMRADE O'BRIEN WRITES A LETTER FROM BEHIND PRISON BARS.

City Prison, San Jose, Jan. 25, 1901.

Dear Comrades:

Branded as a criminal, classed as a convict, in a prison cell, surrounded by bars of steel, caged as if a beast, I sit and silently contemplate the enormity of my crime. Carried through the public streets in the hands of a police officer, arraigned as a criminal before an alleged Court of Justice, and convicted by a jury representative of San Jose Capitalist interests, and sentenced to pay a fine of \$30 or serve thirty days in prison, for the "deliberate and malicious" crime of "freely assembling for the consideration of questions for the public good" with my fellow-citizens and Socialists at First and Santa Clara streets, and refusing to move on at the unlawful demand of a petty police-officer (who assumed greater authority than the State Constitution), I can now, for the period of thirty days, rejoice in the fact that America is the land of the free and the home of the brave. They have imprisoned my body, but thanks to Socialism my mind is free, and all the persecution Capitalism or its agents may employ will not cause me to fail in a moment of duty to express my honest and sincere convictions and to voice the appeal of the international Socialist movement: "Workingmen of all countries, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain."

We are told by our persecutors that a violation of law was committed and the officers were "duty bound" to arrest and punish the offender.

But this is simply rot; the class-conscious Socialist sees something operating that is a little nearer "the ground." Class interest it is work.

It is strange that on November 5th, the night before election, when a crowd of a dozen or more hoodlums stood on the corner of the arrest and for an hour and more persistently interrupted a meeting (held by the S. D. P.) and disturbed the peace of the community by repeated yells and continued boisterous conduct, that this same Police Department, when personally notified, refused to act and restore order, though "duty bound."

It is still stranger that meetings have been held and allowed for months on this same corner, and not until election is over and the people have cast their votes is it discovered that it is a violation of the city ordinance for citizens and especially Socialists to assemble in a public street meeting.

Gambling is allowed to run wild, corruption is silently permitted, but citizens must not have the right to "freely assemble for the consideration of public questions," even though a thousand State and National Constitutions make such gatherings lawful, and moreover make it a criminal offense for any one to disturb such gatherings.

But, says Attorney Partridge, in his argument before their jury: "These crowds are composed of disrespectful people, and no lady or decent gentleman would pass such a crowd, and no business man can profitably allow such meeting to gather in front of his store."

So, gentlemen of the prosecution, it is not the alleged offense, but the character of the assemblages which you are considering; it is not, whether the law has been broken, but rather, shall Socialist propaganda be allowed to continue; or, in your own words, shall these crowds of disrespectful people be allowed to gather and injure business men.

Yes, class interest is at work. Thoroughly conscious of the danger of an enlightened public mind,

fully aware of the existence of the Socialist movement, the Capitalist class are working silently and openly to confine and kill it. But on the other hand, Socialism grows, taking an additional step forward each time its enemies endeavor to impede its growth.

"Oh, liberty, can man resign thee,

Once having felt thy generous flame?

Can dungeons, bars, or bolts confine thee

Or whip thy noble spirit tame?"

With the spirit of Socialism heaving in my heart, and the duties of the Socialist movement guiding me, I answer, No.

Comrades, do your duty! It is a class war. The principles of the Socialist movement warrant us in doing whatever is in our power for the cause. With a manly stand we have nothing to lose and everything to gain. Fraternally,

JOS. O'BRIEN.

## Oakland Convention

A Strong Socialist Municipal Platform Adopted and a Complete Ticket Nominated.

Local Oakland, Cal., of the Social Democratic Party, held an enthusiastic municipal convention on last Sunday evening, January 27th, at Becker's Hall, 918 Washington street, and adopted the following platform:

### Platform

In view of the fact that the Municipal Election of the City of Oakland will take place in March, 1901, the Social Democratic Party, in convention assembled, again affirms its allegiance to the principles of International Revolutionary Socialism.

In calling upon the working class and all persons inspired with a love of justice, to rally to the support of the principles of Socialism, the Social Democrats wish to emphasize the fact so often reiterated, that until the complete triumph of the working class, which can only find expression in the overthrow of the Capitalistic System, be accomplished, any temporary pallatives must of necessity be partial and insufficient. Therefore, with this distinct understanding we present the following immediate measures, which our candidates will enforce according to the amount of power conferred upon them, for the consideration of all workingmen who desire to achieve the emancipation of the class by means of the ballot:

1st. We demand that the full power of the City shall be exercised in providing employment for its unemployed citizens.

2d. That the City shall furnish support and assistance to all workmen upon strike, and aid them with every public power which can be used to help them accomplish their object.

3d. That school facilities be made adequate for every child of school age in the City, including free books, clothing and meals, and that all children of school age shall be registered, and that there be a strict enforcement of the law prohibiting child labor; that in all systems of public education adequate kindergarten and primary instruction be the first consideration; and that in the higher grades manual training be introduced wherever possible, not as a means of learning a trade only, but as a means of education.

4th. That adequate medical and hospital care be provided free of cost by the City for the sick and injured.

5th. We demand that the contract system in public works be entirely abolished; that all work done for the City be paid for at full or union wages, in no case less than two dollars per day; that eight hours constitute a day's work; that men and women receive equal pay for equal work; and that all materials used be purchased from firms employing union labor.

6th. We demand that the City obtain possession of the water works, gas and electric light plants, the street car lines, and all industries requiring municipal franchises, and operate the same so as to secure the best possible service at the lowest rates consistent with the best interests of the employees; and that any profits accruing to the City from such industries shall be used in extending and improving the service and providing pensions for aged and disabled employees and otherwise improving the condition of the working class.

7th. We demand that the City provide free public baths and gymnasiums, and that toilet facilities be provided in parks and such other public places as are required for public convenience.

8th. We strongly condemn the policy of the present City Government in allowing our public streets to be maintained in the present deplorable condition, due to a great extent to the non-enforcement of the laws provided for the proper repair and maintenance of the streets by street railway, gas, and water companies, to whom valuable franchises have been granted, who use, tear up and destroy the streets and fail to replace them in proper condition; and pledge our candidates to enforce the laws provided for the proper repair and maintenance of the streets of the City by said corporations, until such time as the City shall have secured ownership of the said public functions.

Pending the accomplishment of our ultimate purpose, we pledge every effort of the Social Democratic Party for the immediate improvement of the condition of labor, and also for the securing of its progressive demands.

The Social Democratic Party never compromises truth to make a friend, never withholds a blow at error lest it make an enemy. In firm assurance of final

(Continued on Page 4.)

ADVANCE

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"Edward and Kaiser tie nations closer. Germany's Emperor has been made a British Field Marshal and England's King is a German Admiral. Duke of Connaught presents the Sword to William in the Presence of the household at Cowes." Thus does the cause of international solidarity prosper.

UNITY AGAIN IN SIGHT.

The Chicago Convention of those who affiliated with the N. E. B. of Chicago has declared for unity and puts forth a plan upon which we shall comment in next issue. The report of the N. E. B. states that unity is desirable and the convention indorsed this sentiment. Some of our readers may be a little startled to learn that the Chicago people have all along been very anxious to have unity, yet so they now declare. Probably, it was too good fun to let out such a dear secret before.

We are glad to hear it at last. ADVANCE can, with all modesty, say that it has fought valiantly under its different editors and with the directing wisdom of Local San Francisco, to secure unity of the class-conscious Socialists of the United States. We desire to indulge in no recriminations and will let bygones be bygones. All that we now ask is this: If the N. E. B. of Chicago truly desires unity, let it, from now on, seek to restore in its membership some confidence in those who are assailed as the "Kangaroos" and "Fusionists." Let it cease insulting talk of "political schemers who tried to disrupt the party." Let it honestly acknowledge the valuable services of those who first sought for unity and have never ceased their propaganda for straight-out Socialism.

We want unity. We will get unity. We want harmony also. We want an end to continual suspicions and charges and jealousies. Let the N. E. B. help and we will accomplish that, too.

AND STILL THEY COME.

Chicago, January 27th.—It is now rumored that the Morgan-Harriman-Vanderbilt railroad syndicate is planning to buy out the Pullman Car Company and absorb, so far as possible, all the private car companies.

The Pullman Company controls the sleeping-car privileges of every railroad in the United States except the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul and the New York, New Haven and Hartford. In the general plan of consolidation the two companies doing business on these roads will also be purchased with those of the Pullman.

Scarcely a week goes by but that some combine or rumor of combine appears in the industrial field. Since the American people endorsed ultra capitalism last November the trust magnates are losing no time in securing and solidifying their power. The remarkable feature and the most menacing feature is that in these various new deals the same names keep reappearing. Morgan and Rockefeller, Carnegie and Frick and others seem with the immense revenues of their present monopolies to be reaching out to absorb all industries. If this is ultimately accomplished, then it will be a serious question for the American people whether they will be able to overthrow such an oligarchy.

WHAT A SOCIALIST WANTS.

As a class-conscious Socialist who has been in the labor movement for fifteen years—a victim of the black-list, injunctions and the competitive system—I was immensely amused, if not enlightened, by the attempt of our constitution-moulder, Bro. Hiller, in his grand and lofty tumbling efforts to justify our great international game of grab and wage slavery, and to show that the O. R. T. should make no investigations nor take part in the great economic changes and forces that are revolutionizing industries and society. His attitude is that of the pure and simple trades-unionist, who believes that labor—the creator of all things—should inherit a gunny sack (wages) and an empty stomach, and look appealingly to those superior beings whose massive (?) minds move the world. Bro. Hiller is in close touch with our National Constitution. He would have the "inspired" document passed along the misty corridors of time and cause the human race to be fitted, for many generations, to its prehistoric conditions, because the revolutionary fathers couldn't anticipate the changes of today. Had cannibalism been in vogue when Bro. Hiller made his entree upon this sphere he would have been its foremost defender, and his vocabulary badly ruptured in showing what a moral and gratifying thing cannibalism was to those who were served a la ragout. The wage system is the corner-stone of his faith, and if he ever took a header into the sea of Socialism there is nothing in his diatribe to indicate that he even got his feet wet. He would have the wage slave be content with a tenth of his product—there would be no pipe-dream there; to build mansions and inherit hovels; to raise school houses and inherit ignorance; to vote the bosses' ticket and inherit disfranchisement as soon as they begin to see the game; to bear the burdens, do the work, live in misery and die in poverty. The brother asks: "Is it the system, or the human beings under the system, that are responsible for its failures?" Man is a creature of environment. What Socialism proposes is a change of surroundings. As a swamp breeds malaria, so our present planless system breeds failure for the many and successful exploitation by the privileged few. Co-operative colonies are not indorsed by scientific socialists and never have been; they recognize their limitations and point the workers to universal co-operation as the only remedy. Socialism is intensely practical and materialistic,

and inspires the proletariat with the knowledge that in his own strong arms and aggressive acts lies the power to break the chains of creed and political superstition that have bound him so long a slave to capitalism and its apologists.

Certainly, as a labor organization the O. R. T. should cultivate a knowledge of Socialism, indorse it by tongue and pen, vote class-conscious Socialists into power, who will enact legislation that will never be "unconstitutional," because labor would then be supreme and sustain its servants, and quit trucking to and crawling at the feet of capitalist politicians, begging for favors they never get, and sustaining a lot of fakirs who are continually stripping them naked to their enemies. What a striking contrast is presented by the platforms of the two capitalist parties and the S. D. P.—Read, reflect and quit this capitalist cat's-paw business. The class struggle is well illustrated by labor organizations themselves, which are organized protests against the very system that Bro. Hiller so valiantly upholds. A Socialist believes in agitation, education and organization—along class-conscious lines. He believes it is supreme folly for labor to beg for a tenth of its product when, by intelligent application of its power, it can capture all of it; he sees the inconsistency of talking unionism 364 days in the year and voting a scab ticket on election day. Socialism embodies all the demands of labor and shows that only by class-conscious action at the ballot box they can be secured. To paraphrase Bro. Hiller: "Fill the pages of 'The Telegrapher' with Mother Goose melodies and plute platitudes, so that when we are awake we can W-O-R-K; the pipe stories of the yellow press will give us the Goo-Goos if we ever get time for sleep." A. S. D., in The Railroad Telegrapher.

Victoria, a Good Woman--But Why Gush Over Royalty?

By R. A. DAGUE, Alameda, Cal.

"There are 28,000 Englishmen in India holding official positions and drawing salaries amounting to 15,000,000 pounds a year. The natives of India have no control whatever in any shape or form over their own taxation; they have no voice in the expenditure of the taxes they pay. The taxation of the land is so heavy that farms are rapidly going out of cultivation. In the central provinces the land tax is one-half of the product of the land. Under the native rule, in the years when the land lies fallow, it is taxed one-eighth. In the British provinces fallow land is taxed to the full. The net revenue in India today is 61,000,000 pounds. Of this amount 25,000,000 pounds is raised by land tax. Salt, which is a necessity of life for the people and their cattle, is taxed one thousand per cent on the value of the salt. Half of the total net revenue of India is drained out of the country. A yearly sum of 30,000,000 pounds is taken by England from the peasantry of India, and nothing is given in return. Eleven hundred retired colonels draw over a million a year in pensions from the Indian revenue. The people of India are the poorest peasantry in the world. The average income per day is less than 2d. Since the great famine of 1876 we have abstracted five hundred million pounds from India, and this has prevented the development of the resources of the country; hence we have the famine today. India is in a state of bankruptcy, caused by the drain of its wealth to England. In the best of seasons the peasantry have only enough to barely support life. In the province of Madras there are always 20,000,000 pauper peasants. It should be remembered that 150,000,000 of the population of India are dependent upon agriculture. England is the absentee landlord of India." (The above is taken from Collectivist of Australia.)

England is not only a heartless robber, but a hypocrite as well. She is rich, cruel and self-righteous. A year or two ago, when Emperor William of Germany visited Queen Victoria, and sat down at her table, there was spread on that board plate to the value of \$10,000,000. Victoria is lauded to the skies as a wise and pious Christian Queen, and doubtless she was a woman of good intentions. Her salary for more than half a century was about one and a half millions per year. She leaves an estate estimated at fifty millions. Her royal family was supported in idleness from the earnings of working people. How painful to every true American is the flunkysm now manifested by millions of citizens of this Republic over the new king, and every minute detail pertaining to Royalty. Let a duke or a lord visit this country, and though he has nothing to distinguish him from an ordinary mortal except an ancient title, and our capitalist newspapers fill their columns to overflowing with descriptions of his clothing, his comings and goings, and even tell all about his poodle dog. There are 600,000 paupers in England today. Royalty makes one-fifth of the people of London so distressingly poor that when their wretched life ends they are laid in pauper graves. Just now there are Americans who laud the English government and English methods to the skies, yet the fact is that that government and those methods are the cruelest and wickedest among civilized nations. A few decades ago England forced the infamous opium traffic on China at the cannon's mouth, and the evil that resulted to the people of that country has never been estimated and never can be estimated. England is now killing the Boers, burning their homes and devastating their country, that they may rob those quiet people of their gold mines and of their liberty. Instead of feeding the starving people of India whom they have robbed, they are spending their money in destroying a young republic in Africa, and preparing to grab a portion of China, while they go to the whole world and beg other people to contribute money with which to buy food for their victims in India. Let all honest men and women be done with hypocritical cant about "Christian England." Let every true American refuse to give his sanction to the alliance of the United States sought to be formed, if not already consummated, by the Plutocracy of this country now in control of one of the great political parties. England, with her king, her dukes, her lords, her titled nobility and her paupers, her grasping greed, her hatred of republican principles, her inhumanity in dealing with India and the Boers, is a modern Babylon and is Christian only in name. Under the universal reign of Socialism India would be free; kings and lords and robber millionaires would be no more; and in the place of war and outrage we would have prosperity and peace.

IN THE Industrial Arena

BY A. R. ANDRE.

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.

This is a twentieth century tale of a tub. Whether it will ever be anything more than a tale now rests with the Board of Supervisors. The committee of the council has done its best, the committee of the Dairymen has done its worst, and the committee of the Board has risen nobly to the occasion and, where merely a wash basin was asked, has generously granted a bath-tub. The eyes of the world—that is to say, the eyes of the Dairymen, the Milkmen's Union and a few of the milk consumers of San Francisco—are centered on the City Fathers. Will they insist that the cow-stables of this City be thoroughly cleaned at least once a day and the milkers be given an opportunity to take a bath at least once a week?

Many and curious were the truths brought out by the last conference of the three committees. The Dairymen explained that to wash the stables every day would be dangerous to the lives and limbs of the cattle. The floors of the barns are made of wood, and the milkers have nice large brooms with which they sweep out the manure every day, and water is not at all necessary and would create a nuisance around the barns. If the milkers would only keep themselves clean the milk would be pure.

Then the habits and customs of the milker became the subject of discussion. Among other things, such as infrequent changes of underwear, it was discovered that the milker seldom takes a bath. And this led to the still more startling discovery that in all the milk-ranches of San Francisco there is not a single bath-tub for the use of the milkers.

So the Health Committee of the Board rose in its wrath and inserted after the words "washing utensils," the word "bath-tubs." This marks the beginning of a revolution undreamt of in the annals of San Bruno Road and the Mission, where the milk ranch announces itself to the affronted nostril of the curious like a modern edition of the Augean stables. A bath-tub on every milk ranch in this City and County! You couldn't make a milker believe that! However, the Board of Supervisors may possibly pass the ordinance, bath-tubs and all. Who knows? It is always the unexpected that happens.

The Drug Clerks of the City have organized. The Milkmen's Union held its first organization meeting at 12:00 midnight, for the reason that at no other hour could the milkers leave their work. The Drug Clerks are in almost the same condition. Experience has taught them that they cannot come together before 11 p. m., the hour of their meeting next Friday night. For from fourteen to eighteen hours the drug clerk explains the respective merits of competing hair dyes and tooth brushes, and dispenses the necessary bromo-seltzer and uncertain sure-cure-for-catarah. He has a cure for every ill that flesh is heir to, except his own. However, the agitation of the early closing movement, the success of the Retail Clerks Union, shutting up the stores of this city at six o'clock, in a word, the noise of the battle and the shouting have reached the ears of the drug clerks, and they have concluded to put up a prescription for themselves. They are fully convinced that they need rest and leisure and an opportunity to become acquainted with their wives and children. The prescription has been sent East to be filled, and consists of an application for a charter of a Local Union of Retail Drug Clerks of the International Retail Clerks Protective Association.

The San Francisco Labor Council is rapidly becoming the most influential legislative body in this City. When its edict goes forth that a nuisance must be abated, an evil abolished or a wrong righted, the edict becomes law more often than the ordinances of the Supervisors. One hundred and sixteen delegates of labor unions of this city were present at its last meeting and participated in the election of officers for the ensuing term. All offices were keenly contested, and the election was by secret ballot. Mr. Walter Goff of Carpenters' Union No. 483 was elected President, with seventeen votes to spare, and Mr. Edward Rosenberg of the Sailors' Union was elected Secretary by the same majority. The growth of the Council necessitates many constitutional changes, which will, no doubt, be made in the next few months. The organizing committee is badly over-worked, and many Unions are organizing without proper assistance and advice from the central body. An amendment to the constitution has been submitted, increasing the organizing committee from five to twenty, which will be voted on at the next meeting of the Council.

Politicians, anxious to catch the votes of workmen at election time, talk loftily about the dignity of labor. This is rubbish, or worse. There is no dignity about physical exertion that is not shared by the amiable mule or the placid car-horse. But there is a dignity about the Labor Movement, the movement to abolish unnecessary toil and to distribute the fruits of the toil that is necessary equally among the toilers. There is a dignity about a movement that rescues the wage-slave from the sweater and sets the feet of the worker on the road that leads to self-government and industrial democracy. If every delegate in the San Francisco Labor Council does his duty, with an eye single to the interests of the working class, he can do a great deal to better the condition of workmen and women. Could any work be nobler or better?

At last the Socialists of America have realized the necessity of organization. The Social Democratic Party has issued a call inviting all Socialist Parties to meet in convention for the purpose of uniting all the Socialists of this country in one grand party. There is no doubt that the rank and file will respond enthusiastically to the call. No one has ever been able to successfully oppose the ideas set forth by the Socialists. They are championed, not only by the workers, the emancipation of whom from industrial exploita-

tion is Socialism, but by the world's greatest and best in every walk of life. The chief obstacle to the rapid growth of Socialism in America has been the lack of organization among Socialists. This obstacle once removed, the political wing of the labor movement will soon equal the industrial wing in numbers and influence. We are living in the midst of a social revolution as rapid and profound as it is hidden to the casual eye. The future is bright for the labor movement in America, and the call issued by the Chicago Socialists for a united convention is a bright augury for the new century.

There is nothing so misleading as old saws and proverbs, but the saying, "As mad as a hatter," has a certain application and significance in San Francisco at present. Of all the store-keepers who decided to oppose the six-o'clock early-closing movement, but three were open after that hour. A boycott of seven days closed two of them. Now there remains but one—Quinn, the latter, of 136 Third street. This gentleman does not realize that it is an easy thing to remember that Quinn, the latter, does not close at 6 o'clock and that there are thousands of people in this City who will remember it for a long time to come. In justice to the rest of the hatters of San Francisco and to prove that there is nothing in wise sayings, it is only fair to state that there are plenty of hat stores here that close at six and that we can all pass Mr. Quinn's door without any danger of going bareheaded. But this is merely the first battle in the campaign of early-closing. We shall never rest satisfied till we have closed every place of business at six o'clock, and given the tired, brain-weary sales-people an opportunity to be men and women, an opportunity to live as well as work, to have a few brief hours of their own to do what they please. Just that. A few brief hours in which to do what they please.

And now the laundry workers have plunged into the struggle. Organized but three short weeks, they now number over two hundred members and in a short time will frame their Magna Charta and present it to the Laundry Proprietors of this city for signature. The French Laundry Workers have formed one union, the Washers and markers of the steam laundries another, and the polishers, drivers and other divisions of the industry are wheeling into line. A headquarters and free employment office will soon be started, and the day and night exploitation of the laundry-worker will soon be a thing of the past. The Laundry Workers' Unions have all passed resolutions to affiliate with the Labor Council and the American Federation of Labor. In a short time organized labor and its friends and sympathizers will be called on to wage a war of extermination on the fetid, steaming dens where life and decency are outraged and where men, women and children wear out their lives in never-ending labor for a beggar's pittance. The Steam Laundry Proprietors are taking time by the fore-lock and have already discharged some of their "help" who were too active in the formation of the union. They are only hastening the end they try to avert. Unions scientifically organized do not go out of existence because a few of their members are discouraged. The bosses are playing a dangerous game. The demands of the Laundry Workers will be extremely modest; probably for a ten-hour workday and a slight increase in wages. There is so much indignation already in many of the labor organizations of this city at the treatment meted out to laundry workers, that when a campaign is inaugurated to change these conditions, there will be few laundries refuse to work under union rules, and if there are any, to drive them out of business will not only be a pleasant duty but a source of satisfaction far greater than Dr. Parkhurst's famous crusade against the social evil.

All stationary engineers and firemen, two branches of industry not yet organized in this city, are requested to send in their names and addresses for organization. Address: Labor Editor, ADVANCE, Murphy Building.

POTTER SPEAKS THE TRUTH.

New Haven (Conn.), January 27th.—Bishop Potter of New York tonight laid the blame for the Chinese war at the door of the so-called civilized races whose commercial greed, he said, caused it. He said if called upon to take sides, he would take the part of the Chinese. He addressed an audience of 2,000 Episcopalians at St. Paul's church and said in part:

"Our policy in China has not been a happy one. The professing Christian engineers, capitalists, merchants and bankers there are responsible for what has happened the past year. If I were to defend any nation against the charge of unchristian outrages I would take out a brief in favor of China. Nothing could have been more brutal than the policies of Christian nations the past year in dealing with this pagan people. We have trampled under foot everything the Chinese have held most sacred. The newly constructed railroad could have passed around the tomb of the ancestors of the ruler; but instead, we tore it down and went through the spot where it stood. This is but a type of the treatment we have given the Chinese, an illustration of what they have received in the gross at our hands and in detail as well.

"As far as the American missionaries in China are concerned, they have been the heroes of the situation. They went to China, not to get, but to give, and their efforts have been rewarded by making peace where it has been made. There can be no settlement of the Chinese question as long as we go to that country in the spirit of greed and until the white man learns to respect the brown, white and yellow man."

When we Socialists say such things and advance logical arguments to support such statements, the papers ignore us or merely say we are crazy. Sooner or later, however, the truth of our contentions dawns on the theretofore benighted intellect of some prominent person and he reaps the glory of Socialist wisdom. It is the same old scheme of exploitation. However, if the people will learn we care not who the teacher is.

Nothing could better emphasize the victory of Comrade Job Harriman in his debate with Daniel De Leon than the fact that the "biological astronomer" has not even yet ceased trying to rebut the masterly logic of his opponent. If you doubt this send to us for the stenographic report of the debate and judge for yourself.

## Correspondence

## Why Comrade Holmes Left the S. L. P.

Los Angeles, Cal., January 28, 1901.

Editor Advance:

In the Daily De Leon Slanderer of January 12th, there appears a column and a half of Billingsgate, of which I have the honor to receive a fair share. The article is headed by a letter inviting Section Los Angeles of the S. L. P. to a public meeting held for the purpose of discussing the differences that exist between the Socialist organizations, with a view to unity. The article is signed by a committee of three—Gunsberger, Hurley, and Schade as secretary.

A word in regard to this committee may not be out of place. Gunsberger does not believe in the tactics of his party and is strongly opposed to the Alliance. He has been talking against the S. L. P. for some time, alluding to De Leon as the "Pope." Before resigning, I told him I could not conscientiously support the party longer and would get out. He said he would wait a week longer and then get out also. During this time he came to where I was working and annoyed and wearied everybody, telling us what arguments he put up against the Alliance and what he would do in the future. He is a mental acrobat, and if he had any sense of shame would not have signed that article.

Hurley is a good-hearted, sentimental individual, afflicted with spinal weakness. He has nothing in common with his party and only remains through long association and the fear of losing his well-worn seat in the headquarters.

Schade was the self-appointed delegate to the National Convention of the S. L. P. For some time prior to the convention he had been a member of their section in 'Frisco. He announced he was going to New York and offered to serve as their delegate. They refused him. He was not elected by the State Committee or any section in California, and consequently had no credentials. A delegate without credentials is certainly a curiosity. If the sections of California did not elect him delegate, who did?

To return to the meeting for Unity. It was called by individual Socialists who were disgusted with the spectacle of two Socialist parties in the late city election, with identically the same platform and both believing in the class struggle, fighting each other tooth and nail, while our common enemy, the capitalist, sat back and smiled.

The members of the S. L. P. came to the meeting not to honestly and logically discuss, but to abuse and obstruct. Schade took the floor first and indulged in personalities and slander, winding up with some stale platitudes committed to memory from De Leon's "People."

In their article they state that the S. L. P. men were the only ones who made a manly and logical talk. Well, no doubt, from the standpoint of the De Leon "People." They were perfectly logical and consistent in their abuse.

Gunsberger followed with a personal attack on Wilshire. It is needless to say they disgusted the audience.

The S. D. P. men put up a manly and dignified argument, very clean and concise. As a result six new members were taken in at the next meeting, and more are coming right along.

These gentlemen (?) also state that on a number of occasions I had been sent out to do important work for the party, and had smiled on the flowing bowl, always to the detriment of the party, and the members had regarded me with disfavor for a long time. As they are always boasting of their strictness in expelling people, how did it happen they gave me important work to do after committing myself? Can it be that all their assertions are mere bombast, and the "fighting" S. L. P. nothing but the traditional Ass in the Lion's skin?

We all know they are fond of expelling people after they have resigned, and of retaining all kinds of stuff which they never find out until the member leaves them. So it is plain that if there had been the slightest ground they would have expelled me, notwithstanding the fact that I had resigned.

They further showed their disfavor by kindly allowing me to do three-fourths of the work and nearly all the speaking for the last two years, including the speaking in the last two elections. My reasons for leaving the party are:

1st. The Alliance which I have found out is a mere farce—a hell, consisting in many cases of mixed locals, like the one in Los Angeles, which never accomplishes anything and never can. They are a few men who meet once every two weeks, wasting their time in talking about nothing with an organization built upon sand, and an organizer who never organizes. In the whole country they amount to nothing. They are not under obligations to vote the S. L. P. ticket. And I would like you to know the difference between a workman in the Alliance who votes for a capitalistic ticket, and one outside who does the same.

The Alliance is fastened like a barnacle to the party and the members are compelled to waste their energy in defending it instead of propagating Socialism.

2d. The new constitution of the S. L. P. makes it practically impossible to alter anything.

3d. The Daily and Weekly People. Ever since the National Convention they have been getting worse, being filled with nothing but abuse of "Kangaroos" and "Organized Scabbery." The latter is the gentlemanly term applied to labor unions by their dignified editor.

After looking through the paper for some time in the vain hope of finding a socialist article, and realizing there was no hope of changing anything, I resigned.

I am now a member of the S. D. P., which stands for International Socialism. It is narrow enough to be straight, and broad enough to succeed, believing that logic is superior to abuse.

The S. L. P. has accomplished its mission. Today it is only a block to progress. Old and conservative, its methods are out of date and stupid. The time will

come when the members, seeing their mistake and how they have been misled, will join the S. D. P. in the grand march forward for the emancipation of the toiler and the establishment of the Socialist Republic. Yours fraternally, GEORGE S. HOLMES.

## SUGGESTIONS WORTH CONSIDERING.

In the ADVANCE of January 19th there appeared an extract from a comrade's letter, under the above heading, and as free discussion is invited upon the suggestions made, I should like to consider the one embodied in these words: "Say what we will, the man who becomes active in the cause of Socialism, in any of the positions named above, is entitled to consideration at the hands of his comrades throughout America, and for that matter, internationally also."

We infer that the comrade refers to that sort of consideration commonly known as "pecuniary consideration," or at least some sort of consideration which shall be of pecuniary value, as he in the same paragraph speaks of the liability of the worker to lose his opportunity to earn his living. And, for that matter, a pecuniary consideration outright is usually a simpler, more satisfactory and in the end a cheaper method of settling an obligation than any other form of favor which may be given in its place. We would say, for instance, that if a man had served in his local organization faithfully as treasurer, secretary, printer, janitor, or what not, it would be cheaper and more for the interest of the party to pay him outright a money consideration for his services, than to endeavor to repay the obligation by appointing him to some higher office in the party which he may be totally unfit to fill.

The question of a money consideration, however, is one concerning which as My Uncle Toby remarks, "There is much to be said on both sides." There is probably little doubt that we shall soon arrive at that stage of our growth where we shall find ourselves compelled, as a matter of course, to pay in money for the labor performed in the organization. Then the question will arise "How shall we obtain the most efficient, conscientious workers to fill these salaried positions?" That will be the difficult question to decide.

The idea that the office should seek the man is the proper one, for if the office seeks the man it will continue to seek the best man. If, on the other hand, the man seeks the office, it is often the case that it is the inefficient man, the man lacking in conscientiousness, who is doing the seeking. The popular voice, the vote of the organization, if uninstructed as to the competency of different candidates, cannot be expected always to elect to office the men best qualified. Popularity, personal magnetism, free use of language and ready address are very desirable attributes for the candidates for some of the offices in our organization. There are other offices, however, where these qualities are not necessary; and where other qualities, not so readily perceived, are really essential. If it were possible for our local organizations to have some sort of a civil service test for the candidates for an office within their ranks, whereby it should be ensured that the successful candidate for an office was the one most competent to fill it, it seems to us that the best results would be obtained. In other words, the interests of our organization will be better served by filling its offices with the most able men, rather than by those who appear for the time being to be the most popular.

The fact that as our organization grows larger it is every day more and more easy for a few of the politically inclined members to get together and promote schemes for controlling the most prominent offices in the party, should make us cautious about making these offices salaried. It is not difficult for men to work up a popularity for themselves if they diligently set about it. It is very easy to disparage the work of men holding office by throwing out hints and suggestions which could not be proved, but which can be used successfully to undermine the standing of members who have perhaps worked conscientiously for the party for years. These things must be expected. They are unavoidable. They are sure to come. Our comrades are not men endowed by heaven with special graces, they are just common, every-day men, and they will act like other men who are not socialists, occasionally. If, however, it were possible as I suggested above, to have some sort of a test of efficiency for our party offices, we would obviate, in a measure, the work of the regular party politician.

I would also suggest that where an office requires no particular skill, and where it is intended to make that office a salaried one, a choice might be decided by lot. This, if fairly carried out, would do away with the political wire-pulling, which accompanies election by ballot.

For my part, I think that if we are to have competent service in any line of our work, we shall have to pay for it, and it is my desire that the party shall secure the very best service that is within its ranks, and the best workers are very frequently those who are least in the habit of putting themselves forward for public consideration. X.

## CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE—NOTICE.

The Senatorial District Clubs will please notice the referendum vote on propositions for unity must be taken on or before February 15th and returns made to the C. C. C. immediately thereafter. The questions proposed by the N. E. C. will be found in the ADVANCE.

The District Clubs are also requested to send in immediately to the C. C. C. nominations for a member of the S. E. C., vice Thos. Beresford, resigned.

Notice—Jack London will deliver an address on Thursday evening, February 7th, at the Academy of Science, 819 Market street; subject, "What Communities Lose by the Competitive System." Seats free.

M. A. CLENNAM, Sec. C. C. C. 826 Waller street.

The cigarmakers' union gained 6,000 new members during the past year.

When purchasing goods see that they bear the union label.

## Labor and Politics.

BY JOHN PENNY.

London, January 6, 1901.

## Scottish Workers' Parliamentary Elections Committee.

The First Annual Conference of the above is to be held at Glasgow, to-day, January 6th. It promises to be well attended and in every respect representative. Probably not less than 250 delegates from co-operative societies, trade councils, trade unions, socialistic organizations will come together from all parts of Scotland.

In their report the executive committee points out that their work during the past year has been mostly of an organizing character. This was inevitable, seeing that it was the first year of their existence as a committee. The only Parliamentary candidature officially supported was that of Mr. A. E. Fletcher, who polled 3107 votes in the Camlachie division of Glasgow, but several members of the committee gave strenuous aid to Mr. Maxwell in Trades-union. Local committees are now established in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Paisley, Burnbank, and West Fife, and steps are being taken to bring them into being in other important centres. The total income of the committee was £109 4s 9d, and the expenditure £91 17s 3d.

Among the principal resolutions to be discussed is one condemning the Government for holding the General Election on a worn-out register, and for its policy, or lack of policy, in South Africa; another calls for the nationalization of the land, railways and mines as a matter of pressing and immediate importance to the workers; a third declares in favor of Free Maintenance for school children; and a fourth demands old-age pensions. Probably, however, the bulk of the time of the Conference will be taken up in discussing organization, for the question is a very complicated one, and a great deal of skill will have to be exercised in devising a workable scheme which will not engender overlapping and friction between the various bodies affiliated.

## Scottish Miners' Federation.

At the Annual Conference of the Scottish Miners' Federation, which was held in Edinburgh last week, Mr. Smilie presiding, fifty-one delegates were present, representing 57,500 members, a larger number than at any previous conference. Evidently the miners have kept pace with the general increase in the number of trades unionists during the last five or six years. The two chief resolutions passed related to the employment of foreign labor in the mines and the limitation of work to five days per week. With regard to the former it was pointed out that a very large number of Polish workmen had been brought into the country, who were not acquainted with the English language and who, therefore, did not properly understand the orders and regulations in the mines, and consequently the dangers attending the occupation were very materially increased. It was also stated that managers frequently gave preference to the foreigners, not because they were better workmen, but because they were more docile. With regard to the five days per week, it was agreed to ballot the whole of the members.

## Municipal Licences.

The London County Council is much exercised in spirit just now as to what it shall do with a whole batch of public house licenses which have come, or are about to come, into its hands in connection with the important improvements in the Strand and the new thoroughfares from the Strand to Holborn. Thirty-four licenses in all are affected.

Hitherto the policy of the Council has been to lapse the licenses acquired, and it is calculated that the market value so sacrificed already amounts to several hundreds of thousands of pounds. Thirty-four in one installment, however, is a rather tall order, and various proposals are being made with regard to them. The official valuer advises the Council that if the licenses are abandoned it means a direct loss of at least £30,000 to the community, and he states that if the Council vetoes the sale of drink in the district where they have control, the magistrates, in all probability, will grant additional licenses in the adjoining areas. So that, even from the Temperance point of view, the entire effect of the Council's policy, if pursued in this instance would be lost.

It is suggested that the Council should obtain powers to establish a number of Municipal Public Houses which would be under the direct control of the Council, and that managers should be appointed for the same who would be paid fair salaries and granted a commission on all non-intoxicating refreshments sold. It is believed that public houses run on these lines could be made model establishments, that they would be a great boon to the people, and that the profits for the benefit of the community would be not inconsiderable.

One would like to see an experiment of this description properly tried. It has been realized that drunkenness is one of the greatest evils our nation has to fear, but it is beginning to be realized equally clearly that prohibition of the liquor traffic is quite impossible, and the alternative is to put it under proper management. Give the people reasonable facilities for obtaining drink if they will have it, but do away with the excessive temptations which are now prevalent, make it impossible for men to become drunk in public places, and probably some diminution of the drink curse will be speedily accomplished. The action of the County Council will be watched with interest, not only by the ratepayers of London, but by temperance reformers and labor advocates of every shade throughout the country.

## Housing.

That public attention is gradually being riveted on the Housing question there can be little doubt. Every week we hear of committees being formed in various parts of the country to agitate for the adoption of the Workmen's Housing Act, Part 3, by their respective local authorities, and almost as frequently we

hear of some scheme under that act being accepted by this or that urban or town council. In his great speech a few days ago, Lord Salisbury referred to the matter with no uncertain voice, and as presumably the Conservative Premier does not take up a question until he is sure there is urgent need for it being dealt with: his speech alone is fairly strong evidence that a very serious evil exists.

The nature of the evil may be judged from the revelations made concerning the state of housing in Hulme by Mrs. Clay, a lady who has "visited" in this district for twenty years. A few days ago she said the whole of the property was old and in a bad state of repair. A large number of houses had been condemned and closed altogether, but nothing had been done to replace them—and this in a district already so densely crowded that every place that had a roof on was crowded with humanity. The people were obliged to herd together without regard to health or decency. In one house which had two bed-rooms and a kitchen and scullery lived three families—six adults and eight children. In another house a sandstone hawker, his wife and three children occupied one room, and all the dirty rags he collected during the day occupied part of the same room at night. One of the children died and lay unburied a week, the rest of the family living, eating and sleeping in the room as usual. In another back-to-back house, with one small bedroom, a young woman was dying of consumption. Her husband and four children shared the bedroom with her. Another house, consisting of five rooms and a scullery, was a home for nineteen persons. A few doors away, in a house of the same size, lived sixteen persons. Not a stone's throw from there lived two families, one with six children and one with seven. In each case the eldest was a daughter, aged respectively fifteen and sixteen. Each house contained one small bedroom. The family income in both cases was 18s and the rent 4s. Habits of morality, cleanliness and decency were under such conditions an absolute impossibility. In a court off Lord Street was found a woman in bed in the kitchen. Her only covering was a potato sack and her own filthy garments. In the bed with her was a baby less than a week old. In a corner on a heap of filthy rags lay another baby less than a year old—a mass of dirt and disease. Two other children sat on the floor before a handful of fire. The stench, filth and wretchedness were indescribable, but dirt and foul smells had long ceased to trouble these people. At the next house the means of livelihood were tea-cakes made by the mother and hawked from door to door—an undoubted danger to the community generally.

So much for housing in one part of Manchester. In Liverpool and London even worse conditions could be found, but it is not only in the large towns that the evil exists. Strange as it may seem it is a recognized fact that in many of the villages of Merrie England a great deal of overcrowding is to be found. That is to say, that while there may be only a few houses in a village, there are frequently from three to four times as many people living in those houses as there should be.

What does over-crowding involve? The principal evils may be stated thus:

(1) It destroys family life. The children find their only playground in the street where they pick up all kinds of vice. Home to them is never a place of peace and comfort. It has no happy associations to be dwelt upon in after years. It is simply a dreary room to eat and sleep in and to be avoided as much as possible. Some philosophers tell us that the influence of family is greatly overrated, and that it is not an unmixed good, but up to the present no better alternative has been devised.

(2) The invariable concomitant of over-crowding is a high death-rate—especially among infants. In some parts of London as many as two hundred children out of every one thousand born die before the completion of their first year.

(3) The absence of comfort at home drives both men and women to drink. The workingman with a growing family around him speedily begins to look upon the public-house as a club and haven of refuge and among women gin-drinking becomes terribly prevalent.

(4) The lack of privacy for the sexes leads to immorality at a very early age.

(5) The breathing of polluted air produces both physical and moral degeneration. This is not so generally recognized as it should be. If we drink prussic acid it causes instant death. If we assimilate large quantities of alcohol the poison gets into our system. A large dose involves a coroner's inquest; a more moderate quantity induces insanity; persistent over-consumption leads sooner or later to mental and physical breakdown. Other poisons act similarly, and air which has been breathed over and over again is distinctly a poison. The boys and girls brought up in slums owe no small portion of their immoral after-life to this cause.

One great fault that can be found with our churches is that they have preached almost exclusively individual regeneration. They have told us that people cannot be made good by Act of Parliament. Every individual must save himself.

We need not quarrel with the demand for personal effort, but we must point out how utterly inadequate it is to deal with our great problems. In London fully two million people are living in overcrowded houses. That is, they are existing under conditions which tend to produce physical and moral deterioration. An individual here and there, of abnormal powers may save himself, but the great mass must go on deteriorating and deteriorating. Happily annihilation steps in when the decaying and dehumanizing process has reached a certain stage. Otherwise, the slums of our great cities would become inconceivable hells.

The contention of the Socialist reformer as opposed to the individualist reformer is that if the evil conditions could be done away with, many of the immoralities would also cease. Place the over-crowded slum-dwellers in comfortable houses with proper sanitary conveniences; by systematic inspection ensure that they are kept clean and fresh; and then it will be reasonable to expect a better manhood and womanhood.

It is true that comparatively little improvement

(Continued on Page 4.)

