

The Vanguard

Vol. 6. No. 1. MILWAUKEE, WIS., NOVEMBER, 1907. Whole Number 57

The Month's Story

**A
Fallen
Standard.** The American standard of living has fallen! The proud, prosperous Americans always took so much pride in the fact that our plane of living was higher than in Europe and that our working class enjoyed comforts and luxuries unknown to the workmen of England or Germany.

But now they have been obliged to suspend their bragging.

There is scarcely a family of the working class or of the lower middle class in this country which has not lowered its standard of living this year. One family eats less meat. Another economizes on fruit. A capitalist newspaper has a long editorial to prove that we drink more milk than is necessary. The rises in prices of the different commodities come like Job's messengers of evil, treading on each other's heels. Milk followed beef, and bread is following fruit. The problem soon will be, what can we eat?

And the question stares us in the face, why these war prices in time of peace?

Is America passing through a year of famine? Oh, no! The crops are as good as usual. Fat cattle are grazing on a thousand hills and plains. Rich milk-producing grass grows lush in the pastures. The orchards have their average load of red and golden fruit.

But between these good things and the table of the workingman some invisible barrier has arisen.

What is it?

Nobody seems to know. Only the Lords of the Bread have so decreed it.

And we are the descendants of the men who rose against King George just because he put a tax on tea!

Our ancestors pitched into Boston Harbor the tea which was an emblem of this despotic tax. It would not help us at all to throw our high-priced meat, fruit, bread and milk into Lake Michigan or New York Bay. But if we had one grain of the spirit of '76 we would rise against these new and worse tyrants who coin wealth out of the burdens of the people, and we would take the means of production and distribution into our own hands.

We should take over the meat trust's plant, and the elevators which control the price of wheat, and the railroads in league with these trusts. And we should own and run all these collectively, and cut out the enormous profits of the Lords of the Bread.

Thus we should be able to bring to the tables of the workingmen, at a reasonable cost, the good things which America so freely produces.

It is a shame and a disgrace to the American people that we meekly allow these exorbitant prices to be loaded on one necessity of life after another. Such prices are nothing less than a tax paid for each kind of food to the respective trust which controls it. And it is a tax for which the American people has never voted either directly or through their representatives. And how often have our Fourth of July orators sworn to us that "taxation without representation is tyranny!"

If the Yankee nation submits without a murmur to this undemocratic taxation, it will deserve to be weighed down with still heavier taxes. We shall deserve to see the prices of food soar higher and higher, until at last we are compelled, like the Chinamen, to subsist upon puppies, kittens and rats, and other such "untrustified" edibles.

Oh, for a modern Declaration of Independence!

* * *

A "A lie well stuck to is better than the truth wavering,"
Fourfold says an old, but immoral proverb. Teddy the Talkative
Lie must believe in this old adage, if the newspapers report
 him correctly.

"You will remember that a year ago I expressed my opinion of *certain undesirable citizens*," he said in Canton recently, "and I stand by what I said." He added, according to the press reports, that he would always condemn the man who incites to murder. In other words, he considers it worth his while to repeat, for the *fourth* time, his charge of murder against Haywood. Twice he made this charge while Haywood was on trial for his life, and twice since twelve good men and true—even from a bourgeois standpoint—have declared him innocent.

Now why this insistence on a cowardly accusation, which has been exploded long ago? Why, but because Roosevelt wants to show that although a "trust-buster" by *profession* (if not by practice), he is not in sympathy with the working class. He wishes it clearly understood that while he may fight against certain combinations of capital, he stands for capitalism.

In short, he is the friend of the middle class, the representative of the middle class, the mouthpiece of the middle class. Whatever his performances may be, he at least talks for them.

And if the working class helps the middle class next year to send Talkative Teddy back to the White House for a third term, they will be doing just what the French proletariat did in the French Revolution. In the great French Revolution, as well as in the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, it was by means of the working class that the bourgeoisie climbed into power. And it must be feared that the majority

of American workingmen as little understand the difference between the interests of the middle class and their own interests. It is not impossible that they will help to give four more years of authority to this persistent enemy of labor—the man who before he became president invented spiked policemen's clubs to lacerate the flesh of striking workingmen, and after he became president invented this phrase of "the undesirable citizens," to judicially murder, if possible, the leader of striking workingmen.

But some day the American working class will get their eyes open to their own interests. And then the capitalistic inventors of spiked clubs and spiked phrases will meet their merited retribution.

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Known An exchange, the Duluth (Minn.) *Labor World*, certainly
By Their belies its name. Judging from a recent editorial, it ap-
Fruits parently knows little of what is going on in the labor
 world.

This editorial, headed "Unionism and Socialism," professes to contrast the programs of these two isms, very much to the disadvantage of the latter.

"Trades unionism, in a word," says the *Labor World*, "differs essentially from Socialism in this—it seeks to benefit workers now and in the immediate future." It "seeks results rather than theories." And "it is because trades unionism holds this view that it has, as a whole—in America at least" (a wise qualification!) "refused to commit itself to the theories of Socialism."

All of which only proves that our esteemed contemporary is sadly ignorant of what Socialist workingmen are doing just over the border, in the neighboring state of Wisconsin.

If this labor editor, who thinks that Socialism does *not* "seek to benefit workers now and in the immediate future," had taken the trouble to follow up the records of the six Social-Democratic members of the Wisconsin legislature in its last session, he would have learned something very much to his advantage.

He would have discovered that a big crop of labor bills favorable to the working class were introduced in the last session of the Wisconsin legislature. And he would have discovered that these bills were *introduced by Social-Democrats*.

Here are a few of the labor measures proposed by the Social-Democratic members.

A child labor bill cutting out night work for children, excluding them from dangerous occupations, reducing their hours of labor and improving their conditions.

A bill providing for an eight-hour day on all public works.

A bill giving one day's rest in seven to all employees.

A bill providing for state insurance of all working people against accident, sickness, disease and old age.

A bill to legalize peaceful picketing and the use of persuasion by labor unions in trade disputes.

A bill providing for a "public defender" to defend worthy cases of poor workingmen free of charge.

A bill requiring all corporations to pay their employes semi-monthly.

A bill for protecting workingmen from dangerous machinery.

A bill granting an eight-hour day to every telegrapher in Wisconsin.

A bill requiring companies to provide a full crew of men to handle every train instead of loading all the work and responsibility upon one or two men.

A resolution asking Congress to investigate the intellectual, moral and physical effects of child labor.

Socialists do not "seek to benefit workers now and in the immediate future," eh?

* * *

**The
Socialist
Program**

Now the Socialist position on this point is clear. Socialism aims at a complete revolution of society, the abolition of the wages and profit system, and the inauguration of the Socialist Republic. But at the same time it is fighting for the immediate improvement of the condition of the working class, under the present system.

Socialists fully realize that a stunted, weak and ignorant working class must be fearfully handicapped in the class struggle. Therefore, as well as for humane reasons, the Socialists fight for short hours and good conditions, and against child labor.

Hence it is that workingmen can safely intrust their present as well as their future interests to the Social-Democracy.

And their interests are safe in no other hands. The most and the best of the labor bills introduced by the Social-Democratic members in the Wisconsin legislature were ruthlessly slaughtered by the Republicans and Democrats. The few Social-Democratic labor bills which were passed, owed their lives only to the old politicians' salutary dread of the Red Specter.

And yet we find trades union editors and leaders rejoicing that American Federation conventions have refused to commit themselves to Socialism!

From Milwaukee, where the trades union and the Socialist movements are almost identical, come such labor representatives as those whose activity we have described above. Where do you find such labor representatives in any other state or from any other city? Are they elected in localities where trades unionism and Socialism are imagined to be opposed to each other? Do they come from places where unionists refuse to endorse the Socialist program?

It is a thousand pities that in other towns besides Milwaukee the organized workingmen are not wise enough to elect Socialist represen-

tatives, who would fight for the interests of labor as the Social-Democrats fought in the Wisconsin legislature.

But it is nothing surprising. As long as labor leaders and editors ignorantly or wilfully belie the aims of Socialism, and misrepresent its program, as long as they preserve a conspiracy of silence about its activity and achievements in places where it has some power and influence, the rank and file will naturally follow.

But only for a time. By and by, they will get at the facts. And then they will make short work with their present labor leaders—unless those leaders get wise, face about, and lead forward, not backward, and in double-quick time!

The Flag Fetich

By VICTOR L. BERGER

An Item on the first page of the *Milwaukee Sentinel* says:

Clarence S. Darrow, the well-known Socialist lawyer of Chicago, created considerable comment recently when he refused to rise in his seat while "The Star Spangled Banner" was being sung in the Silver Grill restaurant of a leading hotel in Spokane, Wash. Among the many who took dinner at the time at this restaurant was C. W. Mott, general emigration agent of the Northern Pacific road, who was in Milwaukee yesterday. Mr. Mott, like all other guests of the hotel, and the restaurant was crowded at the time, was greatly incensed over the action of Mr. Darrow.

"Out West people dine more in restaurants than here in the East," said Mr. Mott yesterday, in speaking of the incident. "Under the circumstances it was but natural that the Silver Grill was crowded. The orchestra had just finished a selection from 'Tannhaeuser' when a young woman stepped forward to sing 'The Star Spangled Banner.' As a fitting prologue the orchestra struck up a medley of national airs that made the blood of each one of us tingle, and when the strains melted into 'The Star Spangled Banner' every one arose in his seat as a mark of respect to our flag. All except Mr. Darrow. He was seated at a table with an associate who arose like the rest of us, but Mr. Darrow remained seated. His friend apparently pleaded with him to rise also, but he shook his head.

"The incident did not pass by unnoticed. Suddenly a woman began to hiss, and before the next second had passed hisses came from every part of the room, but Mr. Darrow paid no attention to it. Others called to him to rise like an American, true to his country, but he remained undisturbed to the end amid all the excitement.

"Mr. Darrow is considered the archangel of Socialism in this country. If that is their principle of love and gratitude toward the flag that protects them at home and abroad, it seems to me that the people can do no less than crush Socialists wherever they may appear to spread their doctrine of hatred and discontent. Socialism is a serpent gnawing at the root of the nation."

I have not the pleasure of knowing C. W. Mott—although I do know that he used to live in Milwaukee and was considered a "good fellow," whatever that means.

But I do know Mr. Darrow. And, therefore, I believe I am safe

in saying that Clarence Darrow has more brains than all those present in the Silver Grill combined—"Charlie" Mott thrown in to the bargain. Darrow is one of the best lawyers in America.

Yet Clarence Darrow is no "archangel of the Socialists." In fact, he is neither an angel nor a Socialist. He is the man who wrote the famous booklet "Resist Not Evil." He is a "philosophic anarchist" and so considered by every body, including himself.

Clarence Darrow is not now, and never was, a *member* of the Socialist party.

But what he did at the Silver Grill is surely not to his discredit. And I believe I might have done the same myself—coming as he did from the trial of W. D. Haywood and seeing what "patriotism" means in Colorado and Idaho.

* * *

And what is patriotism at the present time? Today, if ever, patriotism may be considered the "last refuge of the scoundrel."

John D. Rockefeller is a patriot. August Belmont is a patriot, Tom Ryan of New York is a patriot, Sherman Bell and ex-Governor Peabody are patriots, Richard Crocker *was* a patriot until he expatriated himself.

The "yellow dog fund" was a patriot fund, and so is the Republican campaign fund. Every big thief, every great exploiter, every huge leech sucking the life blood of the people is a patriot. He will tell you so himself.

And he is protected by the flag, by the star-spangled banner. He is protected not only in life and limb, but also in his stolen possessions.

* * *

But the common workingman, the proletarian, is not protected. He does not have anything, so he does not need any protection. He owns nothing of the country, not even enough of it to build a house on for himself and family.

"This flag" cannot protect the home of a man who owns no home.

And as for his life and limbs—the owner of the factory "insures" himself against any accidents that might befall the man. The man has to fight it out in the courts.

And the flag has nothing to do with it.

And the worker never goes abroad except as a sailor, a stoker or fireman, or a stowaway.

So we cannot see where the principle of love or gratitude of workmen toward "the flag that protects them here and abroad" should come in.

* * *

Yet I will say that the proletarians in general are patriots in the *highest sense*.

They not only build the cities, railways and work-shops, but they also protect them against fire and flood. And it is the working class that furnishes the soldiers, or at least the overwhelming majority of them. It is the working class that has to do the fighting, although they have nothing to do with the declaration of war.

If the railroad managers and the bankers and the capitalists should have to do their own fighting, a war would not last long.

And it is no more than right that the workingmen as a whole should love their country as a whole. They will inherit it as soon as they make use of their brains for themselves. They have created these cities with their magnificent palaces, museums, libraries, art institutions, schools, etc., and by right these belong to them and not to the capitalists.

This brilliant culture of our country—art, education and literature—is by right an inheritance of the white race.

And a nation that will own its country again will be a nation that will have a real reason to become patriotic again. And I hope that America will be among the first.

* * *

The flag fetich is silly when it is not hypocritical. And it is hypocritical when it is not silly.

It is a remnant of feudal barbarism, when it represented the feudal allegiance of the vassal to the "coat of arms" of his lord—usually emblematic of some carnivorous beast or some bird of prey.

I despise every fetich. The green flag of the prophet Mohamet, or of Ireland, is as dear to me as the red flag of the Socialists or the star-spangled banner. A flag is a piece of dry goods that one can buy for 75 cents in any department store.

It is the *idea* that is *behind* it that is to decide whether the flag is worth following or not.

And just now the stars and stripes cover all sorts of oppression, misery, prostitution, graft and exploitation of women and children, not to mention the exploitation of millions of men.

This flag is now the coat of arms of the meat trust and the oil trust and every other trust. It is the banner of E. H. Harrimann, Tom Ryan, August Belmont, Chauncey Depew and Tom Platt of New York.

* * *

And as for the silly custom of getting up whenever the Star-Spangled Banner is played—that was imported from the old country. There the officers and their women—legal or illegal—stand up in the cafe or in the German "Wirthshaus" whenever "God Save the King" or "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz" is played.

Ten, twenty or thirty years ago, before our plutocrats and our middle class traveled so much in Europe this custom was not practiced in our country.

It is a shoddy imitation of a feudal custom—just like the "coats of arms" on the carriages of our millionaires.

I personally would just as soon get up when the band plays "Hiawatha" or "Hail, Hail, the Gang is all Here" as for the Star-Spangled Banner. "Hiawatha" stands for a good time, the Star-Spangled Banner stood for Hell in Colorado and stands for the same thing in Pennsylvania and other places.

If they want the workingmen to sing "The Star-Spangled Banner, long may it wave,"—then this must become again "the home of the *free* and the brave."

Tear the flag away from Simon Guggenheimer of Colorado, who has openly bought his seat in the Senate, and return it to the people. And the people will love it again.

* * *

There is a very serious aspect to all this.

The question is, what are we coming to? Here is the "general emigration agent" of a thievish road—the tool of a Harriman or a Jim Hill—having the criminal insolence to tell people that "Socialism is a serpent gnawing at the root of the nation." Whereas, as a matter of fact, the only persons who gave the sign of the snake were the "ladies and gentlemen" (including Mr. Mott) who hissed Clarence Darrow.

Quo vadis—plain American citizen?

* * *

While the people of the United States have a quasi-Republican form of government, the tendency—not only in capitalist circles but also in the well-to-do middle class—is decidedly anti-Republican.

While we are supposed to have a democracy, we are hampered by having an uncrowned king and a senatorial oligarchy—and the well-to-do middle class applauds both.

While we have no established church to support, *church property is not taxed*, and so we are made to support *all* the churches, whether we want to do so or not.

While we have no hereditary nobility, we have a moneyed aristocracy which has now become hereditary. And it is the most oppressive and contemptible the world has ever seen.

And while we have the general franchise in this country—we have at the same time the most stupendous political frauds. Six million black men are now disfranchised, and very soon an attempt will be made to disfranchise the poor whites.

* * *

In short, unless the people will rise in all their might and shake off or kill off about 500,000 human lice which infest our economic and political body, then this country is lost.

And the Star-Spangled Banner, within a few generations, will have about the same meaning as the Green Dragon of the Chinese Empire.

Theodore Liebeck, Milwaukee ex-street railway employe, was fined \$10 and costs in our Milwaukee police court this week, for embezzling \$10 from the company. "I spent the money for medicine for my sick wife," he told the court, "I am earning only \$10 a week, and with sickness in the family I have been unable to reimburse the company." And labor and capital is in partnership, you know!

Press Morals and Immorals

By MORRISON I. SWIFT

I desire in this article to do some unpaid advertising for the *Saturday Review of Books*, which is a literary appendix of the *New York Times*. Incidentally I want to discuss standards of morals, sources of literary judgment, and international amenities. These are overpowering themes, but a great deal of the weightiest importance can be said about them in a few minutes.

Arthur Machen, an English author of morals said to be good, writes in the London *Academy* a piece on "The United States of Gehenna," meaning our United States. Some of his sentences are these:

"The question of the utter and abominable corruption and wickedness of the whole legal system of America, from the bribed bully on the bench to the unspeakable policeman at the station, is but one out of many."

"It is nothing that all the municipalities are putrid with corruption; this they are from one end of the land to the other, openly and undisguisedly they are in their places to sell whatever corresponds in an American soul to our (English) honesty, honor, comparative decency. North and south and east and west the story is the same; corruption everywhere in all things both great and small; not the feeblest pretense at the mere elements and skirts of honesty. It would be a horrible insult to any ordinary band of brigands to mention their names in conjunction with the aver-

age mayor and alderman of the average American city."

"There is no space for any consideration of the miserable trash which these Americans call literature. One must leave their newspapers unconsidered, one can only allude to the wholesale adulteration of everything that can be adulterated, to the streams of molten filth, the mountains of ordure, poisoned rot, typhoid germs and tubercular bacilli called 'canned beef' in Packingtown."

"Nero? Yes, but Nero was not an oily hypocrite; he was probably a madman. No, there has been nothing like the United States of America since the foundations of the world were laid. One wonders how long it will be suffered to endure."

"My space is almost filled; and I am tired of quoting proofs of the abominations of this most detestable and abominable nation. I could fill a whole number of *The Academy* with the shameful record of a people who have deliberately, rejoicingly, boastfully prostituted themselves to the devil; and call upon the world to admire the results. I have no space in which to deal with the social system generally; at the top a ghastly and repulsive imitation of what these poor idiots think is the tone of good society in London, at the bottom misery, vice, degradation, dirt, loathsomeness of every kind so shocking that it passes all description."

I, for one, am warmly grateful to Mr. Machen for saying these

things. They are the truth, or a fraction of it; though compared with the facts their statement is weak, for to say all that ought to be said about the conditions of the United States would require sentences of lightning, which would strike as well as sound. I disagree with him only where he calls England better. The two nations dip in the same sewer and clothe themselves in the same slime. England's rottenness is older and has a thicker crust, to the stench of which its people are accustomed, and its literary men call the reek sweet. But some of them can nevertheless truly see and scent our filth.

America is a den of devils and their victims. The majority are victims and they remain so through false ideas. Through false ideas they even become the aids and "trusties" of the devil's torture and macerate them. The devils own all the important literary instruments for spreading false ideas, which they manufacture with the same method and deliberation that slaves forge chains.

One of these literary instruments is the *New York Times Saturday Review of Books*, and it has reduced the writings in the London *Academy* to dust by a process familiar to lawyers. A principle of legal pleading is: When you have no case, abuse your opponent. To refute the above black photograph of the United States the *Times Review of Books* assails the character of the owner of the *Academy*. This, let me say, is a very convincing argument among fools. It is good law. You have just stolen a woman's purse, which is in your pocket. A passerby saw you take it and accuses you. Prove him to be a rake or a sot, and that proves you did not steal the purse.

The *Times* lawyer-editor throws a scarlet light on literary standards of morality. Says he of Machen's sentences which I quoted: "Lying and infuriated obscenities? Ravings of a dipsomaniac? *Not so*. These words are the inspired utterances of *a faithful man*; faithful to the work he knows his master expects him to do. . . . Mr. Machen is no Boanerges. He has been personally conscious of no call to curse and excoriate America, though he can do it sturdily at the command of his master." He wrote a book recently which was "a marvel of literary psychopathology."

This in the mind of the *Times* editor purifies Machen. Since he was *hired* to emit what the *Times Review* regards objectively as "lying, infuriated obscenities and dipsomaniac ravings," he is *personally* without blame. Mark the meaning of this—a "literary man" may sell himself to the vilest rascal on earth and write what the villain bids him, and yet have no moral obliquity. This is simply saying that literary men have no character, are not supposed to have, and are not ashamed of it. We knew this, but did not before know that they boldly published it.

In working the principle of literary responsibility out as the literary men practice it, there is no one responsible at last but the Croesus who owns everybody and owes nobody. How can we tell then what newspaper writer is a sinless liar and what one a liar on principle?

The bully on the bench is the true description of our American and English judges. But there is also the bully in congress and parliament, the bully in every "great" place in business, and their army of bought agents in the pulpit and press.

Hotel Parlor and Kitchen

By AN EX-HOTEL WAITER

Dear reader, let us take a stroll through some fashionable, first-class hotel or restaurant in the city of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, St. Louis, San Francisco or any other of the larger cities of the United States.

Let us walk into the Waldorf-Astoria, New York City. As we enter through one of the fine entrances leading into the hotel the first thing that we see is the splendor and luxurious outfit of the lobbies. Next to them the well-equipped parlors with massive sofas, arm, rocking and comfort chairs. Further on we get into the Palm Room or dining room of moderate size with twenty-four tables. Next to these is the Astoria Garden, another dining room about twice the size of the Palm Room. Both of these dining rooms are most of the time brilliantly lighted both night and day. From there we get into the two large Dining Rooms—the one with the black marble walls and huge black pillars, its enormous red plush curtains, white gardines, immense candelabras and very expensive fireplaces, which are there for show only, with the ornamental mantel pieces and the things that are placed thereon. Adjoining this brilliant dining room is the Astoria Restaurant, just as big and luxuriously fitted up as the other, but instead of the black marble you see here pink marble walls and pillars with pink plush side curtains, etc.

As we leave this dining room through its main entrance we get

into a long hallway which is called the promenade or piazza, where the rich guests of the hotel attend an unannounced dress show every evening of the year, and where a huge crowd of well-dressed men and richly gowned women promenade up and down to see and to be seen. It is simply an impromptu dress exhibition. This promenade is the same for the rich people that the street corners are for the loafers, cheap sports and gamins. Passing along this promenade we arrive at the Gents' Cafe, where gentlemen only are served with meals and drinks. Here smoking is permitted at all times. Ladies are not served in this huge dining room. Leaving this room we go through a spacious marble hallway and get into the South Cafe, which is the assembly room of the richest men and women of America after theater. This is a very busy place between the hours of 8 p. m. and 2 a. m. It has the most expensive grill in the world, where many of the finest dishes are cooked, the kind of which 98 per cent of the working class has never heard of. As, for instance: Lobster Newburgh, Crab Meat Newburgh or Maryland, Diamond Back Terrapin, Chicken a la King, Chicken Breast on Virginia Ham with broiled fresh Mushroom on top, Broiled Squab with bacon, Roast Canvas-Back Duck, Partridges, Pheasants, Mallard Duck, Real Imported Astrachan Cavier, Pattie de Foi Gras (which, translated into English, means potted goose liver), etc.

etc., etc. Yes, there are a good many more very expensive dishes, also wines, liquors, cigars and cigarettes, served in this room which I cannot mention in this short article.

After leaving this room we go to the second floor where we find the largest and most expensive Banquet Hall in the United States, if not in the world. Adjoining this banquet hall is a smaller banquet hall. West of this is a still smaller one. Not far from this is the Room with the Royal Plate. As many plates are shown as there are rulers of importance in the world, hung up in glass cases on the four walls. Each plate bearing the likeness of some emperor, king, duke, prince, empress, queen, sultan, mikado, shah, maharajah or president of a republic. It is said that each of these plates cost \$125, but there are some fish, meat and game plates which cost between \$500 and \$1,000 each.

Now we will go to the kitchen, bake shop, meat room, pastry room, oyster room, engine room, wine cellars and to the part where the dishes are washed and the silver cleaned, and to finish our tour we will visit the many help halls, the help dining rooms and the help dressing rooms. The kitchen is the most spacious in the world—with its glittering, white glazed brick walls, its white marble floor, two long rows of ranges and its huge broiler and ovens to bake and roast meats and game and fish. There is in one corner the butcher shop and in the other corner of the kitchen the bake shop and in the third corner the pastry shop, while in the last corner is the dish washing and silver cleaning department. When a person visits this kitchen he must be convinced that this is certainly

the best arranged, and equipped kitchen in the world.

But this, as well as every other kitchen in the hotel or restaurant, has its shady side also. Visitors are never shown around the bake shop, butcher shop or the part where the poultry, game and fish are cleaned, or where the frying pans and sauce pans are scrubbed and washed. Why not? Because these places are dirty, filthy and neglected, as much so as they can be. Nor are they ever shown the place where the garbage and slop pails and tubs are standing; nor the places where all the rubbish from this huge building is dumped before it is carted away. These places may affront their eyesight and offend their nostrils. Thousands of men and women have worked in this immense establishment without ever having seen any of the guests' dining rooms or banquet halls or any of the living apartments for guests, and thousands of the visitors have never stopped to think that there was going on behind the scenes a continuous show, where the help work, which they have not seen. The help they have seen on the trip around the hotel are all well dressed or uniformed, with a lot of brass buttons on their coats or vests, or the waiters in their black cloth jackets, low cut vests and clean white aprons, or the cooks in their white kitchen apparel. They have not seen those who work in the ice houses, in the cold storage room, those who wash the pots and pans, those who clean the poultry, game and fish, or the vegetables, or those who scrub the floors at night time. They have not been shown the helps' dining room where the least paid help eat. Oh no, that might spoil their appetites! It is a large, filthy place with a long row of board tables and common benches.

The food for the help eating in this dining room is cooked in this room. Well, they call it food! Truly it is food, but of what quality, and how is it prepared? A poor tramp or hobo who has eaten in some of the Salvation Army one-cent restaurants could give a pretty good description of the food these pious people serve, and the same kind of food is served to the men and women who perform the labor in the hotel.

This holds good in 95 per cent of

the hotels and restaurants in the United States. It is simply a case of a shoemaker having no shoes to wear. And the hotel or restaurant employees of the lower rank have nothing to eat unless they want to eat the rotten, cheap stuff which is placed before them.

But then the hotels are run for profits, and most people seem to like this beautiful system or they would not support it. But I can see some light breaking in on them and with light there comes the change.

The Joy of Hard Labor

By TOM SELBY

"No man can work too hard, or hours too long, if his health will permit."—Prof. Eliot of Harvard University.

Said the miner deep down in the earth

(And he laughed at the humor of it.)

"It's a joy and a revel to dig like the devil,

As long as my health will permit;
And, although it's a loss of delight to the boss,

He doesn't seem jealous a bit!

Said a girl in the thundering mill,
With a smile that was grateful and sweet:

"It's pleasant, this spinning; I fear that I'm sinning,

In wanting to sleep and to eat!
Oh, it would be so grand to be able to stand

The other twelve hours on my feet."

Said the child in the tenement shop:
"Don't send me to play, if you please;

I'd rather be sewing and stitching,
you know, in

This hotbed of filth and disease,

For a sweatshop, you see, is dearer to me

Than the birds and the blossoming trees!"

Said the college professor with glee:

"They think I'm in earnest, but—shaw!—

I'm boss of a college, and that's why my knowledge

Impresses the rabble with awe;

But I'm out for my health, and honor and wealth

By working my graft, and my jaw!"

Telltale Figures

By NEMO

A report on railroads has appeared, giving various figures. If the fool working people turn book-keepers they will make certain calculations, such as the following:

Gross earnings.....	\$2,325,765,167
Number of employes	1,521,355
Earned by each employe	1,529
Total wages.....	900,801,653
Wages for each employe	592

Such industrial reports usually show as the product per worker \$2,500, or more, and average wages about \$400. Consider the high salaries of officials, which reduce the net earnings and show a too high average wage, inflated by salaries of \$10,000 to \$100,000. Of these officials the report gives, under "general administration," 57,054 persons. We would be thankful to know amount of their salaries. The result would likely be the usual one that the worker gets one-fifth of the product.

Net earnings — \$788,887,896. This is what goes to the holders of paper, after those are paid who work and those who do pretend to some sort of work, office hours probably 11:30 a. m. to 1 p. m. How do you real workers like it? It is 34 per cent of gross earnings. It would more than pay all United States government expenses.

Capital stock — \$6,803,700,093. How much water, we are not told. On the face value the net earnings are 11.5 per cent. As most stocks are two water to one capital, the rate is probably 33 per cent. Capitalists are not content these days

with less than 33 per cent, or replacing their capital in three years. The telegraph companies and street car lines do better even, and Standard Oil replaces its capital, water and all, in less than two years. We may admit that the railroads do not do quite so well.

Mr. Worker, what if you had a graft that would enable you to chalk up three, four, five or six days on the pay roll for every day you work? It would be a snap. This is exactly what the capitalists do. We are told (even by good preachers) that capital is entitled to its reward, and the amount is the current rate of interest, about 5 per cent. But Standard Oil marks up ten days' time for every day its capital is at work, besides fancy salaries for favored ones.

As above shown, the railroads allow more than two days' work for each day its capital is at work. But that is on the face value. Will some one give the amount of water, which these reports always omit? I do not mean that the companies show the above rate of profit. There are other ways of absorption. This report gives mortgage bonds, income bonds, etc., \$7,766,661,385 more than the capital stock. This may or may not represent property, but its income is surer than dividends. And the report says \$641,305,000 of these bonds are owned by railway corporations. They owe themselves, or each other, so profits will take on a different shape. A brass monkey ought to see the fun in that.

Don't tell any one about these figures. If such use of them is noticed the reports will be stopped.

The Social Evil

By VICTOR L. BERGER

CERTAIN Social Evils in Relation to Public Health and Morals" were discussed in the Sunset Club of Milwaukee. It is characteristic that of the six speakers of the evening only *one* dared mention the word "prostitution."

Said Dr. F. Rogers:

Three great perils threaten the health of modern society. The alcoholic peril, the tuberculosis peril and the social peril.

This foul ulcer has lodged and vegetated in the vitals of society, infecting rich and poor, innocent and guilty alike, wrecking families, converting strong men into weaklings, dragging blooming womanhood down to hopeless invalidism, killing our unborn children, condemning thousands at birth to go through life sightless. And yet when a proposal is made to recognize its existence and devise ways and means of treating it, society shudders, closes its eyes and hides its head like the ostrich, calls it unspeakable and so hugs the venomous serpent closer to its bosom.

And the doctor suggested "that every private school, primary school, high school, college and seminary should provide courses in the hygiene and pathology of sex."

The above was the only suggestion of the evening deserving any serious consideration—but it will *not cure the evil*.

* * *

There can be no question that syphilis, next to tuberculosis, is the worst enemy of the human race. And gonorrhoea is almost as bad. From 60 to 70 per cent of all cases of blindness of children are ascribed to that dread malady, which is very seldom cured; 75 per cent of all men in Chicago and New York are said to be affected.

I will not go into details—that would be beyond the scope of a newspaper article, although I agree with the speakers that the *full-est publicity* is imperative.

* * *

And what is the cause of it all?

Prostitution.

There are no trustworthy statistics on this vital question in American cities—there is too much hypocrisy. But Paris has about 100,000 prostitutes, London has the same number, and there is no reason to believe that New York is any better in proportion to its size.

Prostitution is as old as *matrimony*.

* * *

Originally it had the form of *religious* prostitution—in honor of the goddess of love or matrimony. Thus women prostituted themselves in the temples of Babylon (for Mylitta), in Phenicia (for Astarte), in Egypt (for Isis), in Greece (for Aphrodite), in Rome (for Venus, later on also for Bacchus), etc. And the priests took the money.

Christianity abolished these forms, but the seducing of girls and women and the commerce in vice took its place. Syphilis, which was

absolutely unknown to the old Germanic tribes when they were heathens, came to them with Christianity and civilization. By the way, this is also the manner in which all the wild tribes—Indians, negroes, or South Islanders—got it in later centuries. They received it when they got the whisky from the traders and the bible from the missionaries. Civilization for them usually means syphilization.

* * *

And I will say that the doctors are pretty well at sea, when it comes to the treatment of this question. The above mentioned opinion was about the best.

Another "doctor" proposed sexual abstinence as a remedy, and branded as a "heresy"—and a heretic is evidently the worst being he knows of—the idea that "sexual continence" is not compatible with the best of health.

In the first place only *one* institution has ever tried this—namely the Roman Catholic church for its clergy. It has ignominiously *failed*. Prostitution was never so universal as during the period when the church ruled supreme—according to Catholic authors. It was nowhere so much a state institution as in Rome and Avignon, where the popes resided. Nor was there ever such an aggregation of prostitutes seen in the world's history as during the church councils of Trient and Constance—and that in spite of all the efforts of the church to keep its members moral.

* * *

And that is natural enough. *Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret*—even if you knock nature with a club, it will always come back—and the strongest impulse of every organism (be it plant or animal) is to reproduce its kind.

And as far as human beings are concerned—Love is the sum and solution of all desires in man—that in which they converge, for which they *all* exist.

The *other* desires, the self-preservation desires—hunger, thirst, the desire for power—are strong indeed, but when they are satisfied, they all empty themselves in this one. Love is a flame which uses all the rest as its fuel.

This natural law cannot be suppressed by any artificial law—statute or ecclesiastic.

The trouble is only, when man *cannot* get the *real* article, he will accept a *poisonous substitute*.

* * *

And what is prostitution? Before all things, it is also a remnant of the days gone by when men used to *buy* their wives. Prostitution is very much the same thing today. Men buy their wives—some buy them for life, some buy them for a shorter time.

The man who sells himself for life to a rich woman, or the woman who gives herself for life to a rich man, without love, is also a prostitute.

The difference between the prostitute of the street and the woman marrying for life without love is simply a difference of degree, not of kind.

And now to come to the bottom of the subject. Today the *main-spring of prostitution is poverty*.

Very few daughters of rich men are to be found in the houses of prostitution. There are probably as many pathological cases—nymphomaniacs and ethical defectives among rich women as among the poor—possibly more.

But the rich find other ways of satisfying their propensities.

An investigation in 1888 in Massachusetts of 3,866 prostitutes found 1,236 poor girls with no previous occupation, 1,155 were formerly servant girls, 505 were formerly dressmakers and seamstresses, 292 came from factories, 126 from stores, 52 from the stage.

* * *

Let us take the case of the average hired girl or factory girl, long, tedious hours and lack of refining pleasures. She naturally longs for something better. Besides, she is miserably underpaid. Is it a wonder that she often falls a prey to the first man who will take advantage of her?

After she has once made a misstep, she rarely regains her hold, because every hand is against her. Everybody will push her further down.

This is particularly the case of the women clerks in stores, who, besides, are continually in contact with the so-called upper classes, dressed in silks and satins.

The temptation to accept offers of a "good time"—a dinner, an automobile ride—are tremendous.

* * *

And then there is the *double standard of morals*—still pretty generally accepted.

It is the woman alone who is punished. It is the woman alone who is called a prostitute, although no woman has ever prostituted herself without a man. But nobody ever mentions the man. If he is caught, he is usually let go with a smile—or perhaps they run him for mayor later on.

* * *

And here is another source—the majority of marriages in the middle and upper classes are simply convenience marriages, marriages without love. Naturally the men, in many cases, look for "substitute love."

Still other men marry late in life. And many men cannot marry at all for economic reasons.

All this means additional customers for prostitution.

* * *

It is generally claimed and conceded in bourgeois circles that prostitution is necessary today in order to protect the virtue of their wives and daughters against attacks.

Thus the prostitutes are made out to be a sort of patron-saints for "virtue" and "morality."

Furthermore, many highly "respectable people," and even some churches, like Trinity church in New York, draw profits from the rent

of these places. And some very respectable people in our city get big revenues from old shacks by renting them for purposes of prostitution.

Now these highly respectable people are removed only one degree from the keeper of the house, as far as the source of the money is concerned.

* * *

One other point I want to bring out. Under our present society we permit everybody to marry without any regard for his moral or physical make-up. Wealth is the only consideration. We are more careful how we mate our horses, and dogs, and cattle, and even our swine than we are in the mating of our boys and girls.

* * *

We shall have to make the dissolution of marriages much easier, than it is today. There is a great outcry in press and pulpit against the divorce courts—yet the divorce court is one of the greatest agencies that we have *against* prostitution.

* * *

In short, if we want a different world we must emancipate men and women economically, politically and socially. We must break with many prejudices—if we want to look this grave question square in the face. We must cease to regard superstitions as holy because they are old.

Courses in hygiene and pathology of sex are very laudable—but this remedy is very much like Mrs. Partington trying to sweep the ocean back with a broom.

* * *

But what is the use of going into this matter any further? I have said enough to prove that it is impossible to cope with this subject under the present capitalist system.

. St. Louis *Labor* says Roosevelt was received in St. Louis as if he was a king. Well, he is more of a king, when you come down to the actual facts, than the king of England, and if this country's official flunky to the "Court of St. James" (Whitelaw Reid) rags himself out in silk knee breeches and the tinselled finery and lace of the throne-fawners while in England, it shows what his kind would like to do round the American throne—if they only dared.

In the closing session of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress at Winnipeg last week, the

Socialist delegates refused to sing "God Save the King." In the Provincial Parliament of Vancouver last winter the Socialist members refused to stand when the representative of the king condescended to appear. This will make some anglomaniacs writhe, but sensible Americans, who have inherited some of the spirit of 1776, will certainly smile approvingly.

A facetious eastern exchange advises people to mail their own telegrams and thus save the high price the monopoly exacts for the service.

It Sounds Like Russia

By INDEX

The Socialists of Hancock, Mich., have issued a large sheet for circulation among the people there and at other places in the northern Michigan peninsula mining country, where the capitalist authorities have been outrageously persecuting our party members. In it is given verbatim some of the court testimony of the chief of police, who broke up the Socialist parade recently. The trial was before a jury, which, however it may have been selected, was evidently saturated with class hatred and stood by the administration oppressors of our comrades. The chief's testimony shows him to be an ignorant, despotic specimen of a man, and one ready to defy the law in order to carry out the capitalistic bidding. Moreover, he appears to have also been willing to commit perjury, for he testified to hearing one of the Socialist marchers—it is significant that he could not say just who it was—cry out "Down with the republic." Of course we were not there, but that any Socialist would utter such a sentiment is simply unbelievable, because utterly foreign to the Socialist view. The chief said he had always been taught to believe that Socialists and Anarchists were alike, and when asked what he understood by Socialism he made a queer answer: "I think, if we were going to have a spread and have a good time, we would be quite sociable." If Socialism were the thing that such a man understands as "having a good time," we are pretty sure no capitalist

chief of police would see anything wrong in it! More's the shame!

But some of the further testimony of the chief is illuminating. First he said he intended to arrest the marchers for carrying the red flag along with the American flag, then he said he arrested them "to save their lives," because the people along the street intended to attack them, and that the marchers were entirely peaceable. And then he explained his failure to arrest those who rushed at the marchers and tore up their flags by the crawl-out that "he meant to stop the conduct of the disturbers by 'removing the cause.'" This, we are afraid, is quite the prevalent police idea of "law and order" in such capitalist ridden places as Hancock. For the chief finally testified that he "didn't like the Socialists," anyway.

And then the capitalist party mayor of Hancock was called to the stand. He was very positive that the red flag was the flag of Anarchy, and it probably made no difference to him that history proves him in error. And when the question was asked him: "If they (the Socialists) have a legal right, do you think the citizens are doing right in opposing the carrying of those flags?" he promptly answered "Yes." So here we have a "law and order" mayor advising citizens to ignore the law. That answer is an entire give-away. It shows how hypocritical is the usual baiting of the Socialists by the office-holders of the capitalist class, and how hollow their pretended

worship of law and of order really is. "Law and order" is simply one of the things they spar with in their game of keeping control of the governing power which is so useful to capitalist interests. We have no

doubt that the Socialists in upper Michigan will win out in the end, for right cannot be crushed to earth for long in a republic where people grow more enlightened every day.

Labor and Capital

By DANIEL KISSAM YOUNG

E. J. Watson, commissioner of agriculture, commerce and immigration of South Carolina, in his recent speech said: "The hour has come for the American manufacturer and the American laborer to join hands and eliminate the political demagogue whose mission in life seems to be to array labor against capital."

If Mr. Watson be talking for "buncombe" there is nothing to be said, but if he really means what he says above he shows great ignorance of present conditions and what he does not know about political economy would fill a Carnegie library.

The class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class is as capable of demonstration as is a problem in geometry. The interests of the two classes are diametrically opposed and, under our present system, can never "join hands." Let us demonstrate this mathematically:

In figure A let the rectangle DFGE represent any product—wheat, corn, cotton, iron, leather, in fact, anything that is produced by wage labor. The whole product must be divided into several parts. First is the part HIGE, which represents the reproduction of the raw

material, which must appear in the new material produced before any new wealth is created. Second is the part JKI^H, which represents the reproduction of the wear and tear of the machines, which must be reproduced in the new material before any new wealth is produced.

Figure A.

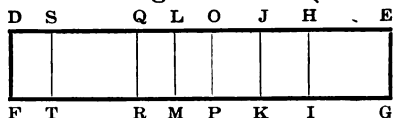


Figure B.

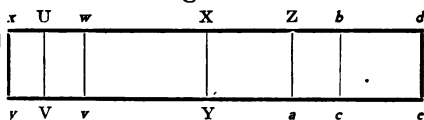
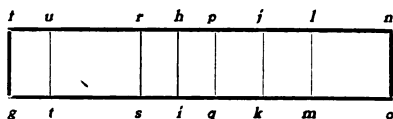


Figure C.



The balance of the rectangle DFKJ is divided into two parts. One part, LMKJ, is the part that labor receives for producing the entire rectangle DFKJ. The other part, DFML, goes to the owner of the machine. In money, according to the census of 1900, the part

DFKJ, is represented by \$2,451, which the average worker produces in a year. The part LMKJ, which he receives in wages, is represented by \$437, the average wage paid to the laborer. The worker therefore receives about one-fifth of what he produces.

Now it is manifestly to the interest of the worker to push the line LM in the direction of the line QR, because he might then receive \$500 in wages, but that would leave the owner only \$1,051, instead of \$2,014 which he receives at present.

It is also manifestly to the interest of the owner to push the line LM in the direction of the line OP, because then he might have to pay the worker only \$400 in wages and retain \$2,051 for himself.

So that it is to the interest of each class to "do up" the other class, and they might "join hands" in the same way that tug-of-war teams might "join hands," each trying to pull the other fellow over the line. The "interests of labor and capital are identical" in the same way that the interests of two cats with their tails tied together over the clothes line are identical, i. e. each is trying to make fiddle strings of the other.

It is also manifest that so long as one class owns but does not work, and the other class works but does not own, this war can never be stopped except by the extinction of one class or the other. Suppose the owning class is pushed by the working class to the line ST. The struggle will still continue, for the capitalist class will try to push the line toward QR and the working class will try to push it toward DF (which the working class is at present). As it is manifestly impossible that the line can be pushed to JK by

the capitalist class, for in that event the working class is the only class that can by any possibility be exterminated, the struggle can only be ended by pushing the line LM out to the end of the rectangle to DF and the worker securing the full product of his labor. This, of course, means that the worker must own the machine and work for himself instead of for wages—in other words, that we must have the co-operative republic advocated by the Socialist.

Now turn our attention to Figure B. Let the rectangle UVed represent a ten-hour day's labor. This must also be divided into several parts. The first part, *bced*, represents the first hour which is employed in reproducing the raw material, which must appear in the new material before any new wealth is created. The second part, or hour, *Zacb*, is the time required to reproduce the wear and tear of the machine, which must reappear in the new material before any new wealth is produced. The third part, *XYaZ*, represents the two hours in which the worker earns his wages. Now the worker has reproduced the raw material and the wear and tear of the machine and has earned his wages, all in four hours, and it is therefore time for him to take his hat off the hook and go home, but the capitalist says he must continue to work six hours more, for which he receives absolutely no payment in any form. He is therefore robbed of \$2,014 by the first diagram and of six hours' work by the second diagram.

Now in the second diagram (figure B) the class struggle is transferred to the line UV. It is to the interest of the capitalist class to push the line out to *xy*, as then the capitalist will get an eleven-

hour working day and get seven hours' work for nothing, while it is to the interest of the working class to push the line to *wy* and make the working day nine hours, because then they will be compelled to give up only five hours' labor for nothing. So that in the working day, as well as in the product in dollars, the "interests of the capitalist and the worker are identical" in the same way that the interests of two tigers are identical, i. e. each to eat up the other. And the only way that this war can be settled is by the worker working the whole day for himself, which means that he must own the machine and we must have the co-operative republic advocated by the Socialist.

We will now turn our attention to figure C and let the entire rectangle *fgon* represent the product of the worker—say ten pairs of shoes, or ten hats, or ten of any commodity. The part *lmon* represents the production of the raw material, we will call it one pair of shoes. The part *jkml* represents the reproduction of the wear and tear of the machines. Thus far no new wealth has been produced. The part *hikj* represents, say two pairs of shoes which the worker receives for producing the ten pairs. The part *fgih* represents, say six pairs of shoes which go to the capitalist owner, who may not know anything about the manufacture of shoes, who may indeed be in the insane asylum or in jail, but he owns the stock or the bonds. The class struggle is here again at the line *hi*. The worker's interest is to push the line toward *rs*, because then he would get three pairs of shoes for himself out of the ten he has produced. The interest of the capi-

talist is to push the line *hi* toward *pq*, for then he would get seven pairs of shoes instead of six out of every ten. It is evident that the capitalist cannot push the line as far as *jk*, for then the worker would get no return for his labor and could not exist. It is also evident that the class war can never cease, even if the worker pushes his share over to the line *ut* and gets, say nine pairs of shoes out of the ten; seven for himself and two to replace the raw material and wear and tear of machines. The class war, therefore, can never cease until the worker gets the entire eight pairs of shoes which represent the new wealth produced. To do that the worker must own the machine and we must have the co-operative republic advocated by the Socialist.

The only way, therefore, that the manufacturer and laborer can "join hands" is in the same way as two wrestlers join hands for the purpose of each throwing the other. "The interests of labor and capital are identical" in the same way that the interests of two prize fighters are identical, i. e. each to pound the life out of the other.

So that it is not the "political demagogue" who "arrays labor against capital," but it is the robbery inherent in the capitalist system. It is the capitalist system that has divided the world into the robbers and the robbed. The "political demagogue" did not make this division of classes. He merely points out the fact that it exists. For the capitalist class to cry "political demagogue" is like the highwayman complaining of the policeman who shouts "look out" before the highwayman has the chance to sandbag his victim.

Shots at Capitalism

By FREDERIC HEATH

A government *for* the people by capitalism is always a remarkable thing. At the last session of the Pennsylvania legislature the chief factory inspector of the state, John C. Delaney, appeared before a committee of the house and uttered these significant words: "Gentlemen, there is no question in anybody's mind but that the children of the state need protection. No one has the interests of the children more at heart (!) than I have. *But there are other interests that must be protected.* I refer, gentlemen, to the *industrial interests* of the state." And largely through his work the child labor bill was defeated. Now the hundred thousand working children cannot take advantage of Pennsylvania's capitalists! What a narrow escape! This labor "inspector" is really in the employ of the glass factories, textile works, coal mines, and other forms of capitalist exploitation of baby blood and muscle, but draws his pay from the state. For these industries were the ones he wanted "protected," these and the hundred others in Philadelphia, where the child labor committee found children from 8 to 13 years of age at work. In the Pennsylvania glass factories boys of twelve years work in night shifts from 5:30 p. m. to 3:30 a. m. And then there are the breaker boys that owners of the industries "must be protected from," little fellows many of whom are not over 9 years old, and who are paid fifty cents a day. They have also children as young as 8 years working in Pennsylvania tex-

tile mills. And child labor bills have to be defeated in order that this form of capitalistic vampirism maybe "protected!" And "no one has the interests of the children more at heart than I have," say the factory inspectors—the capitalist factory inspectors!

Commissioner of Labor Neill's investigation of strikes and lockouts in the United States for the years of 1901 to 1905 inclusive, together with summaries covering the twenty-five-year period from 1881 to 1895, has been published and formally transmitted to Congress by Secretary Straus of the department of commerce and labor. It contains valuable data concerning labor troubles in this country for the last twenty-five years.

One of the facts shown is that employes who struck succeeded in winning all the demands for which the strike was undertaken in 47.94 per cent of the establishments, succeeded partly in 15.28 per cent of the establishments, and failed to win any of the demands in 36.78 per cent of the establishments.

On the other hand, employers succeeded more often than they failed when they locked out their employes. Lockouts resulted in favor of employers in 57.20 per cent of the establishments thus involved, succeeded partly in 10.71 per cent of the establishments, and failed in 32.09 per cent of the establishments.

Without doubt one factor in the success of some of the strikes was

the fact of public sympathy. People know more about the affairs of the workers than they used to, and they are beginning to see that the struggle of labor for better conditions has its effect on the standard of citizenship. Wherever strikes are clearly justified the public does not withhold its sympathy. Organized labor has still some things to learn, however. And one is that a strike should be a last resort and that boycotting should never be indulged in unless absolutely justifiable. Every move made by labor that cannot be justified in the eyes of the public is an injury to the cause of labor—a greater injury than labor may realize at the time.

Here is the form of the order postals sent out by the Anti-Municipal Ownership Bureau, reference to which is made elsewhere in this issue:

"Please send us the plates of the page giving facts and arguments opposed to Municipal Ownership, as per proof just received, and similar pages, once in . . . weeks, the understanding being that this shall be sent *entirely without cost to us*, and that we will notify you promptly if we discontinue using them. Name . . . Paper . . . Address."

The expense in metal, typesetting, stereotyping and expressage in getting out such a service must be very great, even if the number of papers round the country that use it is not so very large. Yet all this *for nothing*. But do not be alarmed, the corporations never give anything for nothing. It is worth a good deal to them to have editors betray their readers and beguile them away from their own interests. The corporations can well afford to pay for it. And yet isn't the very conduct of the corpora-

tions in this direction of itself a powerful argument IN FAVOR of municipal ownership? If the corporations do not want municipal ownership it is because it will hurt *them*, not *you*. See the point?

Dr. Gasper, the city physician of Stuttgart, Germany, examined the school children of that city and found that scarcely one-third could be set down as healthy. A like examination has just been made in New York City and the result is given out as showing that fully two-thirds were found defective. The superintendent has issued a circular of advice to mothers recommending milk, butter, eggs, cereals and whole wheat bread, and advising against coffee and meat for growing children. Not long ago the British nation was rudely awakened by discovering that the larger percentage of the men sought to be made soldiers of were found lacking in stamina and physically unfit for service. To such a pass have we come. And yet, why should there be surprise? The main purpose of the capitalist system under which we live at present is to deplete and exhaust the working population in order that profits may be wrung out of their lives to swell the coffers of the capitalist class, and there is no concern for the broken down worker in the process, for under the competitive wage system it is easy to replace a worker who gives out with a new applicant. So it is not at all surprising to a student of social conditions that capitalism is weakening the race.

No classes in society, did you say? No class feeling, except that stirred up by "agitators?" Oh, we don't know! Here's a big two-column, illustrated advertisement in

the Milwaukee daily papers for the Prospect Hill Land Company. In its residence lots in Prospect Hill, the writers' old stamping ground, are urged for sale. And the advertisement says in big type: "There are no factories to pollute the air, no dark and dirty streets to traverse. THE EVIL INFLUENCE of the TENEMENT - BRED scholar is absent. Prospect Hill is an ideal spot in which to rear and educate a family." If this isn't an appeal to class to go on breeding class, then we do not understand the English language. Better change the name to Snob Hill, for the appeal is made to snobs. The "humanity" of the capitalist class sticks out of the said advertisement so that almost anyone can see what it stands for. It is the humanity that wants to herd the working class (usually pronounced "working classs," and spoken with a sneer) in tenement and factory districts and to keep them "tenement-bred" while plundering the wealth they create from them and using it in fine living on the Prospect Hills where one's children will not be "contaminated" by contact with mere working class children. The class that likes to profit by factory smoke always wants others to breathe it, you will notice. And there are no classes in society! Of course not!

The Western Federation of Miners has succeeded in getting a copy of the itemized expense account of the Pinkertons in connection with the Haywood trial and is running it in its official magazine week after week in chapters. It makes astonishing reading. It is made up largely of incidentals, mostly booze, and there are such items as "\$20 for cigars consumed in room, Jan 11

to 31 inclusive," and the like. The expense account for the special train in which Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were kidnapped out of Colorado and taken to Idaho chained to the car seats and under heavy guard, includes such items as \$10 for cigars, \$9 for Budweiser, and \$2.50 for Old Crow." In all the state of Idaho will have to pay to the active workers for the prosecution \$104,000, which must be just fun for the people of that state to whack up in order that the mine barons may use a state to try to put down labor organization. A list is given of the deficiency warrants already against the partially bankrupted state. Senator Borah, who has just been tried for conspiring to defraud the United States out of timber land, has such warrants out for \$5,000, Hawley, the state's special attorney, who was drunk through a good part of the trial, is after over \$25,000; the Pinkerton agency wants over \$30,000 and so on. Poor Idaho—and the Pettibone trial yet to come!

The Wisconsin Supreme Court, which has long enjoyed the distinction of being one of the worst class courts in the land, has again proven true to its reputation by deciding that picketing is illegal. The courts of our day are so far removed from the common people, through the capitalist parties having the ability still to select the judges, that they constantly reflect the views and interests of the capitalist class and actually menace the lives and living of the working class. And in connection with the decision just handed down it is also interesting to note that the latest member added to the Wisconsin Supreme Bench, Justice Timlin, *was in court as an attorney for the big Allis-*

Chalmers Co., in its use of the courts against the striking molders, after he had been elected to the supreme bench and before he took his seat there. And this man's elevation was urged by the "reformers" of the Republican party, and many workingmen undoubtedly voted for him. So it is easy to see what "reform" will do toward getting the supreme court into sympathy with the real people. So that the Wisconsin Supreme Court is altogether likely to remain the worst labor-hating supreme court in the country until the workers definitely impress themselves upon the elections in Wisconsin, not as an aid to old party factions, but as a definite working class demanding things as such. And meantime the Supreme Court will look with contempt on labor until labor shows enough strength at the polls to inspire political fear.

The Socialist movement has produced men who are men enough to withstand the temptations of prosperity and to remain unshaken by change in station. Here's Maxim Gorky, for instance. Gorky came from the dregs, grew up in the most miserable walks of wage slavery, contemplated suicide to escape the economic hell he had to live in, and then became a rich man through his literary genius. Put a beggar on horseback and he'll run you down, says the old saw, and there are many instances of workmen who have been elevated to foremanship, for instance, entirely changing their views of human rights and becoming oppressors of those under them. Of no such stuff is Maxim Gorky. It is reported that his income last year from his literary work was \$100,-

000, and that out of this big sum he gave \$90,000 to the cause of revolution in Russia. Grand, indeed, is the soul of Gorky.

C. W. Post, of Gripe-Nuts fame, made an address this week to the convention of the National Manufacturers' Association, of which he is president, in which he again referred to organized labor as a trust. But in thus trying to smear the unions with a capitalist taint he seemed to forget that a trust is a scheme for getting the control of things into the hands of a few men, whereas the labor unions can only be successful when they get as *many* into their ranks as possible. It is therefore mere name-calling to speak of a union as a trust.

Here is the modern reading of a well known scriptural quotation: "Little children suffer who come unto me." And the "me" in this case is not the representative of a child-pure heaven, but the twentieth century Christian owner of a factory *hell!*

When the President at St. Louis referred to babies as a "stock that should be kept up" he showed how refined are his ideas concerning the human race. Most rulers look on their subjects as livestock.

It is reported that August Bebel, the great leader of the German Social-Democracy, will pay a visit to America in May next to gather an idea of the economic conditions in this country.

The longer capitalism lasts the looser will the family tie become. Look about you and see if it is not so.

PIONEER AMERICAN SOCIALISTS



Robert Owen

Etienne Cabet

Wilhelm Weitling