

The Vanguard

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The Month's Story

Socialism The German Social-Democrats have begun at the right end—with the child. They are now recommending that the children of Socialists shall not be given toy cannon, tin soldiers, and wooden guns. They would not have the little ones familiarized in their infancy with the notion of legalized murder. Thus they will stop the spirit of militarism at its very source.

The Social-Democrats of Germany are wise. Socialists make a grave mistake in not teaching their children the *spirit* of Socialism in their earliest years.

This, of course, does not mean that the little ones' heads should be stuffed with phrases about "surplus value" and "class consciousness." No childish brain can comprehend the abstract idea of the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. But Socialism is something more than a theory. It is—or at least will be—a form of living society. It will be a new and better era. And the beautiful spirit of this coming era—the spirit of universal brotherhood, of humanity, of equality, of freedom—can be taught to the youngest child.

What a cruel dwarfing and distorting of the child's conscience is constantly going on in our public schools! It is systematically poisoned with jingoism and snobbery, with false standards and sordid aims. The little child is early trained to be a selfish individualist. The "captain of industry" is held up as the hero for him to imitate. And the natural result follows. Our nation is rapidly growing more and more money-loving, venal and corrupt. How could it be otherwise?

The hint our German comrades have given is good. As far as possible the children should be guarded, not only from the spirit of militarism, but from all the base and corrupting tendencies of the time.

And since the best of parents cannot do this individually for their own children alone, Socialists should use their utmost efforts to get control of our public schools. Having gained control, our next duty would be to introduce in them pure and rational ethics for the saving of the next generation.

"The river," says an old Norse proverb, "can be crossed at its source." The children of today will be the men—we hope—who will found the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Then of what tremendous importance is it that they shall be given high ideals! How necessary that they shall understand as early as possible the struggle that is before them!

And above all, set before them noble examples to follow. Quit corrupting them with eulogies of Rockefeller and Carnegie. Talk to them of Lincoln and Phillips, of Liebknecht and the Russian martyrs. Teach them aspirations and noble hopes. Arm them for the fight with the Old Dragon of Capitalism.

For that bloodless war true hearts and wise heads will be needed. Then give our future heroes a chance!

* * *

Latest Styles in Lies Fashions in lying, like fashions in clothing, change about so and so often. The old lie that "Socialists are the same as Anarchists" is now quite out of style. The lie about "Socialism breaking up the home," although still in use, is beginning to lose its popularity. But within a couple of years a new cut of anti-Socialist lying has come into vogue.

It is now "de rigueur" for the capitalist papers to print heartrending accounts of the sufferings of tax-payers in some Socialist-ridden city of England, Scotland, or France. We are given blood-curdling figures on the enormous debt incurred by Glasgow or Battersea. Of course, the capitalistic papers fail to tell us of the valuable assets for which these debts were incurred. We are warned that the Socialists have increased the taxes of the property-owning class. We are not informed that they have thus procured sanitary improvements, parks, playgrounds, model dwelling houses and many other benefits for the mass of the people.

Take for example a recent attack in the Milwaukee Sentinel. This capitalistic sheet declares that the London County Council's steamboat experiment is the "classic instance of municipal Socialism run mad." The Sentinel gives the cost of the steamboats built by the London Council, says the plan was given up at the end of two years, and that "the boats are now rotting." The total loss, it states, was over \$500,000.

Now, of course, it did not suit the purpose of the Sentinel to point out what an immense boon these boats were to the people of London. It failed to state that every month during the summer they gave one million inhabitants of sooty London a chance to breathe the unpolluted air. And, of course, the Sentinel did not say that these boats, although as a first experiment they were a financial loss, were gradually diminishing this loss. And above all the Sentinel took care not to state that the boats were given up because the Progressives (who, by the way, were not even Socialists) were succeeded by Conservatives on the London County Council. That is why the "boats are rotting," at "a loss of over \$500,000."

Here is a sample of capitalistic truthfulness, especially when the facts lie on the other side of the ocean.

We advise our readers to take with a grain of salt all newspaper reports that "the English are rising in revolt against municipal Socialism"—or that "Socialistic experiments in Europe have proved a failure"—or that "there is a split in the Social-Democratic Party of Germany."

These are only the latest styles in capitalistic lies. They are as crazy as the latest styles in ladies' hats. But like the hats, they will soon go into the rag heap. And then the milliners and the editors will rack their poor brains to invent some new monstrosities!

* * *

Russian Martyrs

We give as our frontispiece this month the portrait of Nicholas Tschaikowsky, one of the founders of the present movement for freedom in Russia. Tschaikowsky is a Russian noble by birth, but in his youth devoted himself to the cause of the oppressed laboring class. He belonged to one of the first agitation clubs in Russia—a secret society, of course. His work for freedom soon drew upon him the wrath of the Tsar. Tschaikowsky was obliged to leave his native land and escape to England, where he has resided ever since. Still, however, he kept up his agitation even in a foreign country and under tremendous difficulties. There he might have remained in peace and safety, but the call of his native land was too strong. A few months ago he was arrested in St. Petersburg. He now lies "buried in some deep dungeon's earless den." It is probable that the venerable agitator will there end his days.

Also imprisoned in the grim fortress of Peter and Paul—in the next cell, it is said, to Tschaikowsky—is Madame Breshkowsky, whom many of our readers learned to love during her tour in America. Of this grand old woman Kennan well said, "Not hardship nor exile, nor penal servitude had been able to break her brave, finely-tempered spirit, or to shake her convictions of honor or duty."

It was Madame Breshkowsky who said to Mr. Kennan when he met her in Siberia, "We may die in exile, and our children may die in exile, and our children's children may die in exile, but something must come of it at last."

Petitions for the release of Tschaikowsky and Madame Breshkowsky are now being circulated in this country and forwarded to St. Petersburg. But it is not likely that the weak and wicked Thing who disgraces even the throne of Russia will pay any attention to petitions not enforced by dynamite. At last accounts these petitions were being "taken into consideration." They will be considered long before the two brave old agitators again see the light of day.

We can do nothing for them. They can do much for us. Such lives are a rebuke to our cowardice, our selfishness, our indolence. They shame us into taking up the struggle for economic freedom with

at least a faint echo of their devotion and courage. We are not called to their martyrdom. But their spirit we can share.

* * *

Where Ominous indeed is the news from New York. The charity
Would organizations of that city have broken down under the
You Go? great number of the unemployed who have applied for help. It is announced that *thousands of men* have been turned away from the night shelters already full to overflowing.

The question arises, where then did these men go?

Just put this question to yourself. If you had been thrown out of your job at home, and had gone to look in vain for work in a large city, where would *you* have gone? Unemployed and friendless, repulsed by the charitable organizations to whose doors misery had driven you, in spite of your pride—*where would you have gone?*

The parks are cold at this time of the year. In summer, the policeman's club rouses up any tired tramp from his uneasy dreams on a park bench. But with our present weather your sleep in such a place would not be very deep or sweet.

Pondering over all your ill-luck, you might be tempted to try suicide. But the river is also cold, and you probably love your life.

Ten to one, honest reader—highly respectable citizen—you would not pass more than two or three midwinter nights under the open sky without remembering a place where snow and sleet and freezing winds could not reach you. You would say to yourself, "Although governments provide no shelter for the honest unemployed workmen, they do put a roof over the heads of thieves and burglars. Home I have none, charity discards me, but I can be fed, clothed and housed—in a jail."

About how many zero nights out of doors would it take to break down your honesty?

How many blizzards to drive you into a prison cell?

* * *

How To What a wretched farce, under our present system, is all
Make this matter of criminal legislation! What a thin plank
Criminals divides the "honest" and "respectable" world from the gulf of misery and crime below!

Every year, the approach of winter increases the number of robberies and hold-ups in all large cities. Statistics prove that every industrial crisis breeds a luxuriant crop of criminals.

In other words, crime or respectability is largely an economic question. It is probable that of the thousands of men turned away from the night shelters of New York a large per cent will find their way to

Blackwell's Island or to Sing Sing. They will be punished—for what? For the crime of poverty.

What a crazy "system!" Here is a man who wants to work—who is anxious to add to the world's wealth—but he is refused the opportunity. First society denies him employment; next, since he has no employment, it denies him the means of living. Then by law it denies him the right to help himself to a loaf of bread to satisfy his hunger—and by law it denies him the right to take his own life by hanging or drowning. And after hedging him in from all sides, it finally lands him in the lock-up. And then it "punishes" him.

Are we human beings—we who make up society—or are we some queer species of especially brutal and remarkably stupid apes?

Wolves' Laws For Sheep

By VICTOR L. BERGER

SAMUEL GOMPERS, the President of the American Federation of Labor, has reloaded his old blunderbus and fired his annual shot—a request to the state federations and central bodies to ask the Congressional candidates to promise anti-injunction legislation.

I hope the central bodies of the country will follow the example of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor and turn the proposition down cold.

For it is absurd and foolish.

If it is only *promises* that Mr. Gompers wants, he ought to know by this time by dire experience that his wishes in that direction will be readily gratified by all politicians. And the more crooked the politician is, the more readily he will promise. So Mr. Gompers will get all the promises he wants and more. And that is all there will be to it.

Sam Gompers and his Executive Council—who by the way stand all alone in the civilized world in this respect—should finally learn one thing. They should learn that the capitalist politicians could not fulfill these promises even if they wanted to fulfill them. They are not there to represent labor or the trade unions. They are there to represent the business interests, the capitalist class, the middle class, and so forth, but there is not one of them, whether he originally hailed from the working class or not, who was elected and sent there to represent labor as a class.

* * *

A political party is simply the expression—the political expression—of economic conditions.

The economic conditions of the working class are entirely different from the economic conditions of the middle class or from the economic conditions of the capitalist class.

The trade unions are the expression of the working class on the economic field.

Under no circumstances would we accept a member of the middle class—of the merchant and professional class—into our trades unions. Under no circumstances would we accept a manufacturer, a banker, or any other member of the capitalist class into our trades unions. We would not do this because the trades unions are class organizations. They were founded for the purpose of upholding the standard of living and improving the working conditions of the laboring class.

The trades unions are the expression of the *class struggle* in the economic field.

* * *

Now it is clear to see that the political parties are expressions of classes in the political field.

The Republican party is representing the capitalist class and a small part of the middle class.

The Democratic party used to represent a large part of the middle class and a small part of the capitalists. Today it represents these only in the South. In the North it represents nobody in particular, except a lot of political thieves, swindling contractors and their heelers.

* * *

Neither of these two parties ever represented the working class.

About twenty-five years ago some of the Republican politicians for a while laid claim to represent it and pointed to the high tariff. But now there is not a working man in the country outside of a few labor misleaders in Pennsylvania, who believes that a high tariff helps anybody except the manufacturers and their respective industries.

We all know that while the manufacturers' products are protected—the workmen are not.

We all know that in these very protected industries the manufacturers have displaced the American laborers almost entirely and are now using Hungarians, Italians, Greeks and Slavonians. And they would very much like to employ now, if they could, Chinese coolies and Hindoos.

So there is not the faintest doubt in the mind of any thinking man that the Republican party is not representing the working class.

* * *

I am not going to write about the Social-Democratic party at all—although it is represented in every civilized country the world over, and has polled over 8,000,000 votes in the aggregate. And although there can be no question, and there is no question, that it is the *Labor Party* of those countries where it exists.

And I believe that the masses of our trades unions are advanced enough to understand that they must have a *political party of their own* to express the wishes, the hopes and the fears of the working class in the political field.

* * *

They ought not to expect that the representatives of the two capitalists' parties will give expression to the needs and necessities of

the working class whenever these needs and necessities are in opposition to the interests of their respective classes.

These parties could not do so and live. It is unnatural to expect it of them.

Even Samuel Gompers does not expect that the Manufacturers' Association and Mr. Van Cleave will take care of labor's interests in the economic field.

Even he does not expect that Mr. Schwab and Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Baer—God's partner Baer—and Mr. Depew and Mr. Belmont and Mr. Ryan of New York and Mr. Murphy of Tammany Hall, will represent our class interests in the wage question. And neither of those gentlemen could be elected a delegate to the American Federation of Labor, or to any other union convention.

And yet Sam Gompers turns right around and wants us to elect these gentlemen or their direct representatives and attorneys to the legislatures and to the national congress to make laws for us, to bind us, to appoint the judges, to build the jails, to command the troops, and to shoot us down, if we do not obey those laws. All he wants us to do is to get a "promise" from these gentlemen that they will pass anti-injunction legislation.

* * *

Sometimes I believe, when I look at this situation, that reason has flown to the beasts. At least I have never heard that sheep would elect wolves to make laws for them. Or that geese would select foxes as their rulers so that the foxes could forbid the geese to use their wings to fly away.

But I will say that of all the workingmen of the civilized world only the American workingmen show less reason than geese and behave more stupidly than sheep.

In the *old* world and in the *newest* world workingmen have learned the lesson.

In England, Germany, France, Holland and Italy the working class selects its own representatives in the political field as it does in the economic field. It took the hard-headed Englishmen a long time to learn the lesson, but finally they learned it.

As for the newest world, Australia, they learned the lesson there much sooner. The laboring class there is of more account than anywhere else in the world. As we all know, the Ministry of the Australian Commonwealth last year—for a while at least—was a Labor Ministry. And the world still exists.

The working class exerts a tremendous political power in England, Germany, France, in the Scandinavian countries, and even in Italy.

In England the awakening came as a result of judicial injunctions. But I dare say they did not have the one hundredth part of the injunctions we have had in the past ten years. And we are still sleeping.

* * *

We know that there is not a country on the face of the globe where the working class has less power, economically or politically, or any other way, than in America.

Gompers, Duncan, and the rest, call themselves leaders. When do they lead? And where do they lead?

The individual unions, like the Printers Union and some of the Building Trades, have accomplished something. As a Socialist I am proud of the fight of the I. T. U. for the eight hour day. It was the greatest thing ever done by a trades union on the economic field.

But pray tell us, when has the American Federation of Labor—as a federation—in the twenty-six years of its existence, ever accomplished anything for the American working people?

* * *

Of course I will admit, that Mr. Gompers got several *pens*.

He got the pen with which Grover Cleveland signed the bill creating Labor Day.

He got the pen with which the Oklahoma Constitution was signed, of which feat he is very innocent indeed.

But these pens are *cheap* pens—and none of them has proven “mightier than the sword.”

The capitalists’ sword is mightier than ever.

* * *

The American Federation of Labor counts for almost nothing in this country.

In former years the big newspapers like the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Times-Herald and others used to send their representatives to the A. F. of L. conventions to report them. The Associated Press used to send a staff representative to report the proceedings. Nothing of the sort was done at the last convention.

And why should they send anybody? Nothing ever happened that was of more than slight interest even to the local press. And they feel sure that as long as the present rulers rule nothing ever will happen.

Even the N. Y. *Sun* and Pierpont Morgan were confident that nothing greater was going to happen than a raise of salary for the President and Secretary.

So if Mr. Hearst sent a reporter to Norfolk he was doing more than the rest of the press combined, including the Associated Press, The United Press, Scripps-McRae and all the others. And even Hearst took good care not to print anything his staff correspondent wired.

* * *

I say to the trades unions—wake up! Disappoint the master class at last!

Get into line with the labor movement of the world. We in Wisconsin have for years declared and fought for a labor movement with *two* arms, with a political arm and an economic arm.

For years both arms of the labor movement in Wisconsin, the political arm and the economic arm, have each of them been doing their own work, without ever interfering with each other.

For years the two arms of the movement in Wisconsin—the political arm and the economic arm—have assisted each other and both of them have fared well.

Now understand me well! I do not overestimate the value of the political arm. But I say this:

A labor movement which has *only* a trades union arm is one-armed and is therefore crippled.

A labor movement which has *only* a political arm is one-armed and is crippled.

A labor movement where the trades union as such is also supposed to do the political work is like a body with two left arms. And a labor movement where the political arm is also supposed to do the work of the trades union is in the same condition.

We must have a movement with a political arm and an economic arm, *each of them doing their own work* and neither of them interfering with the other.

* * *

In other words: we must unite on class lines politically. We must become partisans politically. Partisans to labor. We must make *election day* our Labor Day, as has been said so often. We must vote as we march.

And then we shall not have to beg the capitalist representatives for protection against capitalism.

The New Justice

By the COUNTESS OF WARWICK

Social-Democrats or Democratic Socialists are, as I consider, truly the conservatives in the anarchical capitalist conditions of today. We are anxious that the inevitable social progress, which no set of politicians can possibly prevent or set back, should be brought about peacefully and legally by a thoroughly educated and organized people. Is it atheism to ask the emancipation of mankind? With millions of our fellow creatures existing on the verge of destitution, with thousands of unemployed, with millions of ill-clothed, ill-housed, half-fed, unloved children

all around us—what would Christ say?

A Call to Arms.

I ask you this question, and I ask you further to be brave enough and good enough to come out with us Socialists and help in this work of emancipation!

We Socialists are in favor of securing to woman, as woman, the fullest, social, personal and economic freedom. This will put her in control of the sexual relations and of family life.

My opinion is that such an emancipation of the human being

who carries in her body the trusteeship and latent force of the next generation would put woman where she ought to be, as the controller of domestic life, sweeping away forever the "social evil" which is the necessary complement of our hypocritical virtue, regarded as a necessary evil to which even our churches seem as indifferent as they are to the sweating and the swindling of all the unskilled and unorganized labor of woman.

The Socialists are not stirred by fruitless sentimentality. We are working on the great lines of history and science. We see that the reckless competition for profit is breaking down of its own weight and omnipotence.

The Trust Problem.

Can you call what is going on in America today the organization of industry? Is it not rather the anarchization of industry? Can you not see that the huge trusts and monopolies which are sweeping away competition have long since

crushed the individual under the wheels of their juggernaut car?

Charity is a fraud.

What we call for is justice—not merely the abstract justice of the eighteenth century philosophers, but the justice arising out of material conditions in which the rule will be: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

We are rapidly progressing toward this new and happy period, even as I write. Hitherto the human race has gone forward unconsciously from stage to stage in its onward and upward career. Today, for the first time in history, it is possible by study and comprehension of their surroundings for men and women consciously and capably to control their own destinies as an organized and co-operative whole. Competition has given way to monopoly at the top. Competition will engender co-operation at the bottom, and in every grade of our social life.—Ex.

Capitalism doesn't like to look on some of the results of its work. It doesn't like to have the unemployed make a fuss or get too much into evidence. There were unemployed demonstrations in Boston the past week, large numbers of famished men marching to the state house to demand that the seared consciences of the possessors of society's wealth should at least provide work municipally for those they had stripped in the economic struggle. One of these processions presented resolutions to the new mayor, who asked time to give them a look-over. Several self-convincedly important

personages tried to discourage the leader, Comrade Morrison I. Swift, from "bothering" the mayor, but to no avail. The *Boston Traveller* printed a leading editorial in which it poked brutal jibes at the crowd that "called itself the unemployed," called the spokesmen of the marchers "public nuisances," and in other ways showed the blustering of the capitalistic bad conscience. It wanted the unemployed marched to the city limits and ordered not to return. Capitalism does not like to gaze upon the human wreckage it produces, for a fact.

The Tobacco Trust

By FREDERIC HEATH

"Ability, energy, foresight! Upon this blessed trinity we believe to rest the beautiful palaces, the spacious pleasures, the vast and swelling fortunes of the 10,000; from this origin comes the golden tide on which so gloriously they sail. Ability, energy, foresight! Precious qualities, for the lack whereof the 1,500,000 flat-dwellers and the 2,000,000 below them must be condemned forever and irretrievably to their respective stations. So we are accustomed to think."

Chas. Edward Russell, in his series, "Where Did You Get It, Gentlemen?" contributes an interesting chapter to the Literature of Exposure on the tobacco trust in the December *Everybody's*. This institution "dates back to 1890 and owed its existence to the cigarette habit," which seized upon the American people after the Centennial Exposition of 1876, where the foreigners exhibited cigarette smoking in an alluring manner. In 1885 many firms were supplying the demand. They were in competition with each other, and the competition became extravagant so that few of them made any money. Five of the leading firms, headed by W. Duke Sons & Co. of Durham, N. C., met in New York in January, 1890, to find a way to eliminate competition. Russell says that they were not a very strikingly brainy lot of men. Some of them had been in business a long time with nothing to show but mortgages and debts. And one of them at least was in practical bankruptcy. However, they blundered into forming a trust or combine and thus launched the American Tobacco Co., lightly fix-

ing the capital stock at \$25,000,000, although their combined assets were chiefly a speculative quantity. *Not one cent of money* was contributed to it. They simply put in their unprofitable businesses, which, combined, were trifling compared with the total tobacco manufacture. And of this capital stock two million was set aside to pay for the assets of the five firms, although there is evidence to show that altogether they were not worth \$400,000. The remaining \$23,000,000 was distributed among the firms. The holdings of the stock was then put on the market and the public bit at 117 so that in a day, without effort or investment or risk, this financial manipulation presented these firms with millions of dollars while they still had their business as before, or even better, because now competition was eliminated. The great advantage which the trust had from the start, was that the smoking public had been educated into demanding certain brands of cigarettes: Sweet Caporal, Old Judge, Richmond Straight Cut, and the like. And these brands were controlled by this trust. Dealers had to have these or cease dealing in cigarettes. The trust was compelled to suppress its competitors, and it could practically ruin any dealer in refusing to sell him the goods the gullible public insisted on.

At about this time these new trust magnates took advantage of the state of the stock market to

play a nice little trick in high finance.

In December, 1895, after a meeting of the directors of the American Tobacco Co., it was announced publicly that the unsatisfactory condition of the business had forced them to pass by the usual semi-annual dividends.

The effect was instantaneous. Down crashed the stock, the price going in a few days from 117 to 63. And the members of the trust helped it on by making gloomy statements. When the stock would go no lower these sleek men on the inside loaded up with all the stock they could get—at bottom prices. Then they met together again, declaring a cash dividend of 20 per cent and a watered stock dividend of another 20 per cent in scrip.

This astounding news to the public sent the stock up with a bound. It went up and up, literally among the stars, and when it hovered at 180, these financiers on the inside unloaded the stock they had bought at 63 *and reaped enormous profits*. Why should any man be poor when it is so easy to get money?

Repeated financiering gave the stock a bad name among conservative brokers and bankers. And yet the operation drew additional strength for the American Tobacco Co. by alluring one competitor and another by its seemingly fabulous profits. One firm held out however, the firm of Liggette & Meyers of St. Louis, and it is said that the war the trust waged on this firm's goods, cost it a loss of a cool \$1,000,000 a year. The scope of the trust's operations had been greatly enlarged by the firms that joined it by adding smoking and chewing tobacco and eventually the snuff and cigar industries. The

fight on Liggette & Meyers was a fight over plug tobacco.

Early in 1898, James R. Keene, a Wall Street profit bandit, gathered certain facts in regard to the trust and its manipulations and figured that the losses would have been unnecessary under wise management. And if the million a year loss in the plug tobacco war was eliminated, he could put the enterprise on such a business basis that the stock could be watered sufficiently to double its capital, and still make 10 per cent dividends. He found that Liggette & Meyers would consent to a union of plug manufacturers provided the officers of the American Tobacco Co. had nothing to do with it. Keene set about securing a majority of the \$17,900,000 of common stock of the trust, with enough of the preferred stock to give him the control.

He would then depose Duke, and Arents, the president and treasurer of the trust, and thus gain the ends peacefully that the trust was trying to secure by war and money. And this is how Standard Oil slipped into the game.

Keene secured the help in his schemes of Oliver H. Payne of the Standard Oil crowd, and brother-in-law of Wm. C. Whitney. Also Herbert O. Terrell, afterward attorney for the Sugar Trust, and the firm of Moore & Schley. Keene worked so quietly that when he and his crowd secured the control the officers of the company had never so much as suspected what was going on. The Keene associates got the bulk of their stock at about 90 and they planned to put it up to 200 and then pour in the water.

When the control had been secured, he and his associates called upon Duke and told him that he was

no longer "it." Duke lost his temper, pranced around like a wild Indian and threatened to do such rash things that he frightened some of them. He said that he would not only throw overboard all the stock that he held (which would make it hard to run the price up to 200) but he would start a trust of his own and compete for business. Either through fright *or otherwise*, for there is not much honor among frenzied financiers, Keene's associates cast in their lot with Duke. Keene then had to alter his plans, but still sought to put the stock up to 200, telling his friends that this was the opportunity of a lifetime to "make" money. However, the stocks did not go up.

Keene fumed and fussed and finally, when his patience was exhausted, caused \$3,100,000 of the stock that was in the trust treasury to be issued to Moore & Schley at the then market price of 108¾, and the stock then rapidly advanced to 150.

But here another internal row broke out and Keene declared that he was being betrayed by some one in the compact secretly selling his stock at 150 instead of holding it. After a lively rumpus Keene threw up the whole adventure in disgust, and sold all his stock at what he could get, actually clearing about \$1,250,000, but missing the gigantic profits that he had figured on. Keene was out, but the Payne and Standard Oil crowd *were in*.

The new crowd then joined Duke in a stock watering bee, actually *doubling* the capitalization. *Then they increased it some more.* The Continental Tobacco Co. was organized to take in the plug tobacco makers. Various ways were found to increase the enormous capitaliza-

tion without seeming to increase it, subsidiary companies and holding companies being the methods most used. There was the American Snuff Co., to monopolize the snuff business, and the American Cigar Co., to monopolize cigarmaking. And then they went at the tobacco grower and forced down prices and restricted the market. Then something happened.

The operation of the big trust roused the cupidity of some of the leading cormorants of the company.

They organized the Union Tobacco Co. of New Jersey. The incorporators were Thomas F. Ryan, P. A. B. Weidner, W. L. Elkins, Thomas Dolan and others. And their legal adviser was Roosevelt's present secretary of state, Elihu Root. The capital stock was ten millions, but only a little over one million was paid in. The new company went in on a large scale in the cigarette and tobacco business, and attracted a good deal of talent to their ranks. The Duke trust began to shake in its boots. For the Ryan-Weidner-Elkins-Root syndicate had no equals in manipulating securities and they were all powerful in *influencing legislation and manipulating the government.*

The Duke trust has been very successful in making something out of nothing, but in a crude and blundering way. The Ryan-Root syndicate hypocritically worked the anti-monopoly sentiment of the people. The consumers and the dealers thought that relief was really at hand. But it ended when the Duke trust bought the "anti-monopoly" crowd out for ten millions, and gave them the control of the trust.. It was a bitter surrender, for the Duke people, but there was no escape. They issued 35 millions

of additional stock, paid the ten millions, and also bought the anti-monopolists' subsidiary companies. The whole thing was now in Ryan's hands.

Liggette & Meyers had meanwhile been corralled. The Ryan-Root syndicate of anti-monopolists had gotten possession of that business and they then carried it over into the trust. And the trust had to pay eighteen million dollars for it. This netted the Ryan crowd a profit of nearly seven millions on this one deal alone.

The profits of the Ryan crowd in its deals with the trust were stupendous. It put in less than two millions and in six months cleared nineteen million dollars. "It did this without making anything, selling anything, or developing anything, and also without effort, risk or expenditure, except for options and the issuing of fictitious stock."

Of the thirty-five millions of additional American stock, twenty-one millions went as another scrip dividend. The new interests of the American Tobacco Co. had very good friends in Washington, as was to be expected. It seemed to be on the inside with the finance committee of the Senate, where all revenue duties are arranged. *And it was afterwards learned that the "honorable" Senator Nelson W. Aldrich held one billion of Tobacco stock.*

Senator Aldrich was chairman of the finance committee. In secret sessions the finance committee decided to reduce the tobacco tax. It also arranged changes in the revenue laws which gave the trust a great advantage over its competitors. Knowledge of these impending changes were kept a profound secret except from the trust. Immediately the trust people went into the market and bought all the continental stock they could find,

and secured vast loads of it before the market would rise. They then prepared a new issue of Continental Tobacco Company bonds, bearing 5 per cent interest, bonds that were exchangeable for Continental stock.

When all this was ready, out came the news from Washington that the revenue duties were to be reduced and up bounded the prices of all tobacco stocks. Then these fine schemers began to exchange the stock they had secured at 12 and thereabouts for bonds at 70, and pocketed a cool fifteen millions. How easy it is to get rich!

Meanwhile the capital stock of the Tobacco trust had risen with the subsidiary companies to two hundred million dollars. And Mr. Russell says, that with every desire to be temperate, he is obliged to say that "so far as he can discover, the creating of this colossal something from nothing had involved no risk, no effort, little or no investment, no development of any industry, no economic equivalent, and no higher type of mentality than controls the simplest operation of the smallest country store."

At the present time the total capitalization of the whole enterprise, "including dummy, subsidiary, fraudulent, decoy, alias, stool-pigeon and other companies" is about five hundred million. All created out of the twenty-five millions of speculative and paper assets put together by Capt. Duke, and his friends in 1890. The like successful exploitation of the people has never been known in any land at any time.

As tending to show who were directly dispoiled by the trust's manipulations, Mr. Russell gives instances of dealers who refused to make way for the trust and whose businesses were deliberately ruined by setting up rival stores and selling below cost. Many of its victims resorted to suicide. On a certain stretch of Broadway, New York, where were formerly thirty-six independent stores there are now but six, and some of the former proprietors are come to be clerks for the trust. The trust has also ruined many farmers. It is able to fix the price it pays for tobacco to suit itself, even going to remarkable lengths to protect its operations. In France,

Italy, Austria and Spain tobacco is a government monopoly. The trust arranged with the buyers from these countries that they should only buy in certain restricted districts, so as not to affect its control of prices. All appeals to congress have fallen on deaf ears.

* * *

"So here we have at last in the clearest colors the exact meaning and result of the formula for wealth-making," says Mr. Russell. "The bonds are issued, the stock is floated, the syndicate is enriched, the palace arises and every cent thus represented, the people furnish. Those who consume the tobacco, ship the freight, grow the crops, eat the beef, hang to the straps of the street cars, they, upon whose backs is piled the vast mass of watered stock, fictitious bonds, fraudulent scrip, and gambling securities, bear the burden."

"And the only profit obtained by society in all these operations is the spectacle of five or six men accumulating vast fortunes, fortunes beyond computation, fortunes for the few, comprising the sum of available wealth that should be for all."

Such are the facts—only that Mr. Russell has strangely enough overlooked the question of labor in his article. The trust has, along with its other sins, used its power to scourge labor. Its product is, in the main, non-union. It has a natural fondness for cheap labor. Its "United" cigar stores are stocked up with a cheap grade of cigars made by cheap labor—which means, too often, unclean labor. The same is true of its United Cigar Stands Company, operating in most drug stores. Like other trusts it has closed factories with no regard whatever for the workers, thereby ruined or driven into the army of the unemployed. And there is a labor consideration also in its enormous wealth. That wealth has had to be produced in the first place and in the usual ways. Speculative fortunes are built up out of the people, which broadly speaking means the workers. The extravagant cost to the people of the service of providing products to society is well seen in the operation of the Tobacco trust. For that service the people not only pay for what they get, but enough besides to make many individuals wealthy "beyond the dreams of avarice."

In Pittsburg

By H. E. BRIGGS

The industrial crisis which is being felt in every portion of the United States, hits Pittsburg, and hits it hard. It is probable that within a radius of twenty-five miles from here 100,000 have been thrown out of employment or put upon reduced time during the last twelve weeks. Large manufacturing concerns face the new year with a clean order book and no orders in sight. Down town stores, paying enormous rents, are doing a losing business and stare ruin in the face. Many of

them will be crowded to the wall before spring.

Banks have failed and more will fail because of the shrinkage of values and the squeezing of water from over capitalized stocks.

Railroads are operating short-handed and mines are running with half force. Men are walking the streets looking for work and children are going to school hungry. So I say Pittsburg is hard hit, for there is much of suffering and misery and crime.

But most pathetic of all is the fact that the brunt of this industrial breakdown must be borne by the class whose lifelong work is that of service to society. The "captains of industry," the "guards of finance," those who do nothing, but own the earth and all therein, they will drink not one quart less nor miss one meal all this winter because of hard times; *they* own the over supply.

Before spring hundreds of workers and members of their families will die of disease induced by insufficient food and clothing and inadequate housing. Hundreds of children will be hurried off by la-grippe, pneumonia and tuberculosis. Families will be broken up and homes destroyed; wives and children sent to live with the old folks while the husbands and fathers "hobo" it, looking for jobs. Hundreds of desperate men will commit their first crime, and many of them will never be reclaimed. Hundreds of women will be forced into a life of shame for the mere necessities; and scores of men and women will in a moment of acute suffering and deep gloom take their own lives.

All this and more will happen in Pittsburg this winter; and in the meantime the moneyed aristocracy will dance and drink for the sake of sweet charity.

And yet the situation, bad as it is, is not without a ray of hope. The financial powers are absolutely unable to cope with the problem. Everything they do undermines their position and multiplies the troubles for the future. This they are aware of and as a result are thoroughly terrified and demoralized. In fact, to such an extent is

this true that they dare not even acknowledge through the columns of the daily press that a crisis actually exists in Pittsburg.

On the other hand the people are gradually learning the real status of affairs and are no longer accepting the newspaper "con" talk as absolute truth. They are beginning to realize that the principle of the present method of distribution is wrong and that the wage system is fundamentally defective. They are beginning to feel the social injustice and inequality of the present situation. They are beginning to ask the question: Why, with all the natural resources, with all the great furnaces, mills, shops and factories of the country, with the vast army of unemployed workmen—why must the whole nation suffer? Why is it that great national wealth in the good things of life induces great national privation?

And herein lies the silver lining to the cloud. The people are learning that the great means of production and distribution have a social function and that the ownership must likewise be social. The common people are gradually being drawn into the belief that this, and only this, will give to the workers the full product of their labor.

But this is Socialism. The idea grows upon the working people of Pittsburg. The present commercial crisis is a great educator. The necessity for social justice and economic freedom becomes imperative. The struggle for life becomes a growing pain, out of which is developed the new conscience. "Each for all, and all for each," the highest social ideal, is rapidly becoming the only one that provides for the existence of the working class.

The Swiss System

By VICTOR L. BERGER

AT the last convention of the A. F. of L. in Norfolk, Va., I introduced a resolution asking for the abolition of the present militia system in the United States and for the introduction of the Swiss military system, or for some other method of arming in a well organized and orderly fashion *every* sober and reputable citizen in the United States.

I asked the A. F. of L. to advise union men to stay away from the militia as it is now constituted.

* * *

Now the purpose of this measure was very much misrepresented.

On one hand it was claimed that I would leave this country defenseless—that I was not a patriot—because I would boycott the militia.

On the other hand it was said that we want to “militarize” everybody. James Duncan, the most unscrupulous of all our opponents, even characterized it as a “pistol resolution.”

* * *

But, in the first place, why are we against the militia?

Simply because the militia is not a national guard as it was originally intended to be—but has simply become a body guard of the capitalist class and their property.

The militia is not now intended for the defense of this country against the foreign enemy.

The spokesmen of the militia say plainly that they are here for the “internal war”—that is for the purpose of holding down the masses.

They are here to shoot down union men when upon strike and when the employers are afraid of losing the strike—when they import strike-breakers.

The militia is the power behind “Boss” Farley, the king of strike-breakers.

The militia is armed for that purpose. It is armed with so-called riot rifles and with Gatling guns.

* * *

Our militia has never done any work against a foreign enemy since the Revolutionary War, when it was rebel militia—except once in 1814. And then it ran away in the most shameful or shameless manner before the English troops, and Lord Ross sacked Washington and burned the Capitol.

On the other hand, the militia has always shown a tremendous amount of heroism whenever arrayed against unarmed workmen.

Now why are they such great heroes? Because the workmen can't shoot back. It is easy to shoot at a crowd which at the worst has only brick-bats or clubs.

Every time the militia meets a mob of workmen the Battle on the Boyne is fought over *again*—and in many cases the battle is even fought against the Irish.

* * *

Now I say that shooting down union men is *not* union work and ought not to be done by union men. Union men in the militia have sworn to obey orders. And when they are ordered to shoot they must shoot. Therefore union men ought to stay away from the militia.

We know that the most peaceful strike is turned into a riot—and the most peaceful strikers are turned into rioters—the moment the militia appears in the field.

The agents and spies of the manufacturers, the temper of the workingmen on strike—and the behavior of the militia—will always bring about that result.

* * *

Almost invariably the appearance of the militia is also the signal for committing violence.

If the strikers don't do it, then the Pinkerton detectives look out to see that it is done. And then the militia gets into action and shows that it is made up of true patriotic and heroic stuff and it will shoot down men, women and children and break the strike.

* * *

We know how the railroad strike was broken in 1894.

We know of the "heroic" deeds of General Sherman Bell in Colorado. We know of the great maxim of the militia: "To hell with the Constitution." And how Bulkley Wells regards judicial decrees: "Habeas corpus? We will give them "post mortems" instead!"

There is not a country in the world where the capitalist class is as ready and as willing to shoot down workingmen as in this country, excepting Russia.

In Germany, Billy the Kaiser would think twice before he would give an order to shoot down workingmen. He told the Westphalian manufacturers and mine owners so, when they asked him for help in a coal strike.

In France such an occurrence is very rare. We never hear of it in England.

But in this country not only the militia shoots at workmen on the slightest provocation, but the deputy sheriffs and even the policemen do likewise.

* * *

In Switzerland there was also a very big railroad strike in 1897. Every railroad in the country was tied up.

Did the government use the militia and the regular troops as they did in this country?

Oh no.

In Switzerland every citizen is a soldier from his twentieth year until he gets to be forty-eight years of age. And he keeps his government rifle at home.

This fact makes it impossible for the employing class to use the militia against the workingmen on strike, unless there is an overwhelming sentiment among the other workingmen to do so. The employers cannot do it.

In the first place the working class far outnumber the employers. And in the second place, even if the militia of other cantons should be transported to the scene of the strike, the strikers themselves are just as well armed, and just as proficient in the use of arms as any possible assailants. And that, of course, settles the question.

The militia of Switzerland is in reality the Swiss people in arms. It can only be used where public opinion is entirely in favor of its being used.

So when the railroad strike of 1897 occurred in Switzerland, all the government could do to settle the strike was to buy the railroads and operate them. And the government has been successfully operating them ever since.

* * *

In connection with the arming of the people it might also interest our readers to learn that there are more murders committed in Chicago or in New York in a week than in all Switzerland in a whole year.

And, bear in mind, the Swiss are the best armed people in the world, and the Americans are the most disarmed, the Hindoos, Chinese and Russians excepted.

* * *

The big capitalists do not want the people armed. Why? The British would not allow the Hindoos to be armed. Nor can the czar of Russia afford to arm the great masses of his subjects.

And our plutocrats can least of all afford the arming of the people. The capitalist class might have to consider the people occasionally. And the capitalists do not want to do that.

And that is right. We are a subjugated nation. We have been conquered by the capitalist class. And *conquered nations are always disarmed*. And they deserve no consideration.

* * *

On the other hand, only an armed nation is always a free nation. Ever since the times of the Romans and the Greeks a nation in arms could never be held in subjugation.

The American colonists of 1776 were probably the best armed people of the world in their day. It was a population of hunters, armed farmers and armed traders. They were always ready, and knew how to use their guns, because of danger at all times from Indian attacks.

The American colonists of that day were practically all frontiersmen. And when the British did not like the American boycott of English tea and tried to send troops to break down that big strike in Bos-

ton, then they showed them at Lexington and at Bunker Hill and at Saratoga and finally at Yorktown, what it means to try to break down a strike with the help of soldiers when *all* the people are armed.

A similar example in history we witnessed a few years ago in the case of the Boers. The Boers were only a handful of armed farmers, but it took ten trained English soldiers to every one of those farmers to subjugate them and *disarm* them.

Now the Boers make no more trouble. They would now even stand for Coolie immigration, if they were compelled to do so—because they can not resist any longer.

* * *

But I will say this:

If the American people would accept the Swiss military system or some similar method of arming, in an organized and orderly fashion, every sober and reputable citizen, then this country at once would become the greatest and strongest Democracy this world has ever seen.

As it is now we only have the biggest plutocracy and may soon have a monarchy, based upon some "big stick," and the necessity of keeping the great "unwashed" in his place.

I predict that if a capitalist congress and capitalist legislature would tomorrow decide that no man is fit to vote who does not pay at least fifty dollars taxes per year—or if they would tomorrow decide that the working class is not fit for the ballot, because the workmen didn't know how to use it when they had it—then the working class would have to *submit* to the *inevitable*. It would have to accept the new condition without resistance as a new decree of God Almighty or of his junior partner George F. Baer.

* * *

On the other hand it is clear that a scientific and systematic arming of all citizens—a *real national guard*—and the general introduction of the Initiative, Referendum, Imperative Mandate and Proportional Representation—would *make it possible* to introduce a Socialist Republic gradually, peaceably and without any convulsions and revolutions. It might possibly take a little longer—and yet it would prove to be the *shortest route* in the end.

And it would probably be accomplished without the spilling of a drop of blood—by methods of Democracy and by having the power to assert the will of Democracy.

* * *

I say, if we want to save Democracy we must make it possible for Democracy to defend itself.

That was the purpose of my resolution.

What the capitalist high financiers really have is an accordion-pleated currency that can be inflated and deflated at the will of the players.

Why Is A Millionaire?

By M. YOUTZ

At this age we millionaires and masters seem to be in great disfavor.

We do not hesitate to tell you that it is not right that you should have such a bad feeling toward us.

We millionaires and masters own the things which you need to use to live upon, that is: the land, machines, the mines and factories. And we tell you that if we did not own these things so that you could work for us and use them you would starve, therefore you should treat us kindly and be our servants, for remember the great book the Holy Bible says: you should obey your masters always and be satisfied even though your lot be small down here below. Remember that your reward in heaven will be equal to ours—beyond the pearly gates of that great celestial city on whose pavements will patter your tiny angels' feet on its cobble stones of solid gold and from its silvery fauceted fountains your ruby lips will sip sweet nectar and drink unadulterated wines. Here your enjoyment after death will be equal to ours.

We know our wives and families have the best of the world's goods while yours have not a sufficiency.

We live in ease and leisure while you must work—

We have all the good things in life while you are in poverty.

But now you should not be angry over these things, for, as we mil-

lionaires and masters have told you, if we did not own all things so that you could work for us and use them, you would starve. Therefore, you see, you are better off even though you must suffer, than you would be if we millionaires and masters did not own the world in order that you might work for us so that we could pay you wages.

Many of you want more wages, and when it does not decrease our share any, we are always willing to give more.

You see we do not live by wages as you do, but must depend upon our profits.

And if you do not work so cheaply we will not make such large profits, consequently cannot pay you such high wages.

The Socialists say that you can get along without us, but you can easily see that you never can, for the same logical reason that inasmuch as fleas always have been, therefore a dog could not be happy without them. In the first place, he would have no INCENTIVE to wag his tail and he would lose his AMBITION to roll.

And again, reasoning from the same logical standpoint, inasmuch as bedbugs have always been, therefore you could not sleep without them. In the first place you would be denied the pleasing sensation of a scratch, as well as that religious feeling of remorse for having taken the name of God in vain when try-

ing to dislodge one of them with a pry bar.

Then again many times the life of the sleeper is saved by a faithful bug who pounces down upon you and harpoons you just as you are about to dream of banking a million dollars.

Once in a while there is one of

your own number becomes rich by saving.

You see, if you save \$1,000 a year (A VERY SMALL SUM FOR A WORKINGMAN) and live to be a thousand years old you will be a millionaire, PROVIDED YOU DO NOT SMOKE, CHEW, DRINK NOR EAT.

To Destroy Charity

By ROSE PASTOR STOKES

In her Milwaukee speech Rose Pastor Stokes related the following:

"Last year I was interested in the settlement and slum work in New York City, and one day I was sent to see a sick Italian, who, although dying of tuberculosis, refused to allow people to remove him from the house. I was sent there to see if I could secure his consent. I went there and found the man in a small room, without light, or any of the comforts of life, and slowly dying with the dread disease. When I came into the room and started to talk to him he said, 'don't come to me with any of your charity, Mrs. Stokes. It is not charity that I want, it is justice. I came to this country fifteen years ago and have worked every day since. I have never drank, nor do I smoke. I have never had a vacation or anything that you could call a rest, except when my employers laid me off. I have toiled, toiled, toiled, and what have I got in return? Nothing but this disease that was contracted in the shops. It would not have been profit to my employers to make the condition of our working place any better, so I have caught this disease and am dying from it. I do not

want your charity, give me justice.'

"The fact that he has to take charity is hades for the working man who takes it. We just manage to keep poverty here with us. We manage to keep it alive, and the great problems of poverty, which are vice, crime and wickedness, are on the increase all the time. Their charity is on the increase, too, but somehow it does not keep pace with the crime, nor does not seem to prevent it. The only real charity is the charity of the poor toward the poor. As I have said before, the other kind can never be charity. We should say to them, give us more wages, better conditions in the factories, but do not rob us of everything and then come to us and offer us your checks. We do not want that. One of the greatest statesmen of the present time said in one of his speeches the other day that Socialism was a menace to society because it wanted to destroy charity. Thank God, we do want to destroy that sort of charity. We are opposed to charity which robs us of our self-respect and that when our neighbors find out that we are taking it, robs us of their respect as well."

Two Pictures

By MAY BEALS

One is a lady of high degree,
Of high degree and beauteous face.
She is gowned and groomed luxu-
riously,

She is poised with pride, full regally,
She is painted for all the world to see
Her beauty and her grace.

And one moves slow betwixt black
walls,

Beneath smoke-darkened, lurid sky,
A child slave with her brothers crawls
To her drear home as darkness falls,
Her portrait graces no rich halls;
Her mother sees, and I.

It almost looks as if the law of lese majeste, which has been the shame of Germany ever since the government started in to definitely fight the growth of Social-Democracy, is at last to be expunged, or at least modified to some extent. An era of political liberty is dawning for the domain of Emperor Billum if we can believe the cable accounts. A modification of the lese majeste law now pending in the Reichstag proposes that such offenses only be punished when "done in a vindictive spirit or rendered with malice aforethought." And when the words are not spoken in public there is no offense. Heretofore persons were punished for speaking disrespectfully of their monarch even when the words were spoken in the privacy of their homes. Also it is proposed to have an offense outlaw in six months, which is certainly better than to have people imprisoned for words spoken years back, as has frequently been the case in Germany. The lese majeste laws are a survival of mediaeval times when the irresponsible power of kings depended on the reverence of the people, and so the people were taught that "the king could

do no wrong," and were foolish enough to believe it.

Such a state of things is always to the liking of a bully in power, and in modern times Emperor William is not the only one. Our own spoiled child of the White House has on occasion used his government secret service men to frighten off criticism of himself, a concrete instance of which was recently related in the Social-Democratic Herald.

The Rev. William Thurston Brown, formerly of Rochester, N. Y., whose activity for Socialism some years ago was quite helpful to the movement, is now located at Salt Lake City, and the pastor of a Unitarian church. His sermons are full of Socialism and are attracting the usual interest. Last Sunday he scored the churches for being behind the times and not looking out for the real needs of civilization. He called attention to the fact that in Germany, for instance, the bulk of the people went to Socialist meetings instead of to church, because the Socialist meetings stood much more for human betterment.

Shots at Capitalism.

By FREDERIC HEATH

A newspaper writer recently investigated some of the state prisons to see whether rich criminals got better treatment than poor ones and the result of the investigation showed a state of things almost beyond belief. The "reformatory" character of capitalistic prisons, for instance, is shown in the penitentiary at Columbus, O., where there is a "bankers' row" of cells; the two standards of treatment is most marked. The bankers' cells are single ones, have carpets and curtains at the doors so that visitors cannot annoy the prisoners by staring at them and the bankers have nice, soft snaps, such as librarians, clerks and the like, and they dress in immaculate linen and well-tailored dark grey cheviot and wear jewelry. Their crimes, no matter what untold suffering they have entailed on others, were merely mistakes. The prison officials treat them with deference—in fact you cannot even escape capitalistic injustice even by breaking into prison, where, of all places, all men would be "supposed" to be equal before the law. And while the capitalistic rascals are coddled and treated like visitors, how is it with the "common" thief, the man much more the victim of environment than the rich crook? You will find him out breaking stone or at other fatiguing tasks, locked up *two in a cell at night*, in an old and less sanitary part of the prison, with no running water in the cell and the stenchful bucket for the calls of nature, no

curtains on the door or carpets on the stone floor, and their fare and garb is of the coarsest. At the government prison at Leavenworth the banker prisoners even have "special diet" as compared with the ordinary grub. In the Joliet prison in Illinois a convict like Stensland, the bank looter of Chicago, for instance, sits and smokes and reads and eats dainties all day, as librarian, while the man made crooked by capitalist exploitation slaves at hard tasks, is poorly fed and wears stripes. Capitalism makes of its prisons what it makes of everything else—institutions of hideous injustice that pile up in the breasts of a good many men a resentment that bodes no good to the social peace.

Socialists take the human view of things, a view generally lost sight of by the believers in the capitalistic standards of morals and conduct. They are sometimes referred to as unpatriotic, which perhaps they are if we are to accept the capitalistic idea of patriotism. But Socialists are real patriots. They stand for the interests of the country as the *people's* country, rather than as a rulers' country. A good instance of this is shown in some resolutions recently adopted by the Socialists of Manitowoc, Wis., reading as follows:

WHEREAS, The mayor of Manitowoc in his capacity as a public official requested flags to be raised in honor of the heroes of war who left Hampton Roads on Monday, Dec. 16 on a \$175,000,000 fleet, and

WHEREAS, A mine explosion occurred near Pittsburg, Pa., today, Dec. 19, as a result of which 400 men lost their lives while engaged in the work of obtaining coal in order that the world may be warm, and

WHEREAS, This is but one of a recent series of similar disasters, and

WHEREAS, These men who lose their lives while engaged in doing the useful and absolutely necessary work of the world are heroes no less than those who go forth pompously to war, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That local Manitowoc, Social-Democratic party, hereby petition the mayor of Manitowoc that Monday, Dec. 23, be ordained a day sacred to the heroes of peace and that the mayor request that the flags be raised at half mast on that day in honor and memory of the men who in the past have given their lives that the work of the world might be done.

Be it further RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded at once to the mayor of Manitowoc.

Human and grand as these resolutions are, it is still a fact that they will grate on the ears of many who have been educated to capitalistic fustion and the evil standards of the buccaneering idea of government.

The effort of the government, impelled by interested capitalist and corporation interests, of course, to locate a great regular army training camp near Camp Douglas, the summer camp of the Wisconsin state soldiery, is a very good indication of what the present standing army of the government is for—for industrial police work primarily. A Milwaukee capitalist paper has had several editorials on the advantages of the Camp Douglas situation, with masked hints about the industrial points that could be quickly reached from such a place, meaning of course in case of labor troubles. For the same reason that Fort Sheridan was located midway

between Chicago and Milwaukee, would this proposed site be finally chosen. It is near to the workingmen of Chicago, Kenosha, Racine and Milwaukee, to the workingmen of St. Paul and Minneapolis, to the workingmen in the upper Michigan peninsula copper and iron mines and the mines in Minnesota, near to industrial Duluth and Superior and Ashland and Oshkosh and Manitowoc and other lake ports. Near to the lumber camps, and so on—for this government of ours, now used by corporation interests, does not worry so much about invasion by foreign foes as it does about invasion of the "right to fleece" of the corporate wealth interests by the exploited slaves of toil.

In the last seventeen years 22,840 human beings were killed (largely because of the capitalists' dividend greed) in the coal mines of the United States. And over half of these deaths—horrible deaths most of them—occurred in the last six years. These are government figures and may be obtained in a government bulletin, "Coal Mine Accidents," just issued for free distribution by the interior department. It holds that the increase in such deaths is due in part to the bad management of the mines and the neglect to provide proper safeguards and precautions.

Now that Judge Gould—Gould, mind you!—has decided that the A. F. of L. "We Don't Patronize" list is an illegal conspiracy, it is proposed to march ten thousand workmen to Washington to appeal to *their* senators and representatives to curtail the injunction-issuing power of the judges. Much

good that would do. How long will the great body of labor dodge the straight road to justice? Without labor's votes the men now misrepresenting the people in congress would be back in private life, plying their business wiles. And, the pity of it! it is just for fear of displeasing this sort of men that labor hesitates to stand alone and put its own kind in congress to represent it. Labor should make the laws itself, instead of electing capitalist party men with the crazy hope that those men will not represent capitalism in the making of the laws.

The following want "ads" are taken from a capitalist paper, and the two combined typify the morality of the capitalist system:

TOY, pure white, French silk poodles, the real small kind, 3 months old; parents' weight 4 pounds; long silky, fluffy hair, large black eyes; pedigree and eligible for registration; male \$16, female \$15.

BABY GIRL, 3 months old, will be given away to any one who calls.

May we not say substantially with the poet, Hood:

O God! that dogs should be so dear;
And human life so cheap!

The capitalists who grow red in the face in defense of the employers' right to hire, tire or fire his employes individually would probably become purple if it were proposed that a square deal rule be made that individual employers have the right to deal with employes individually but that where there was organization on the employing side, either by partnership, corporation or trust, the law should protect the right of organization on the labor side as well.

A Milwaukee reverend says that Milwaukee must be redeemed by the individuals. Individual salvation is all right for the individual, but social salvation needs social or concentrated effort. The Social-Democratic party has that work in hand for Milwaukee. Let us have a social conscience as well as individual consciences.

The privately owned street railways of New York City, run primarily for profit, killed 42 persons in August, 63 in September, 47 in October and 45 in November. During the same four months 642 people were also seriously crippled. The capitalists scarcely need wars any more to reduce the surplus population.

The capitalist press is excited because organized labor demands that the standard of living must not be lowered by lowering wages. Capitalism wants its profits as well as its "wages of superintendence" in spite of the hard times it has brought by its mismanagement of industry.

Is Socialism a dream? No! It is the most practical and pressing political development of today. That is why it is worrying the old party politicians so much. They are at a loss to know how to answer its logic or stem the tide that rises higher every moment.

The University of California has sent one of its professors, Dr. Peter Graf, on a trip round the world to study Socialism. It gives you some idea of the formidableness of our movement when it requires a circling of the globe to take it all in!



MRS. ANNIE COBDEN-SANDERSON