Within the last ten years we have suddenly awakened to the fact that the most vital and all important problem confronting the world today is the problem of the social evil, the prostitution of womanhood, the debasement of manhood and the poisoning of the very source of life.

In the United States there are according to the best obtainable statistics, three hundred thousand public prostitutes, and many more women who are employed in some industry or profession who eke out their insufficient wages by the sale of their bodies. Each of these women are prostitutes because for their labor power they can not secure enough to maintain themselves, and there are always men willing to pay the price of their womanhood.

The pious have prayed, the law-makers legislated, the courts punished and the reformers worked against the social evil, but still it continues to grow and expand, and will continue to do so as long as our unjust social system condemns hundreds of thousands of women to poverty.

I have given much study to this subject, have sought the fallen woman and faithfully tried to find the reason for her fall, and I believe that I am only in accord with all sociologists and reformers in my conclusion that the prostitute is simply a by-product of any social system in which women are economically dependent.

The fallen women of our time come from two sources— the women who are forced to work to maintain themselves and the women who never do any work—the daughters of bitter underpaid toil and of vicious luxury.

When poverty forces the girl out of the home to struggle for her livelihood she finds the law of business competition is to fix wages at the bare cost of existence, and since women have the sale of their bodies to fall back
upon their wages have been placed below the cost of exist-
ence and necessity compels that many thousands of them
sell their virtue for the bread their wages will not supply.

Ninety-nine per cent of all the fallen women are
women who have honestly toiled in the endeavor to sus-
tain life by labor and in the end have been forced to
submit their sex as well as their labor to the men who
control the machinery of production.

The one per cent are the abnormal children of vicious
luxury, the children born into the world abnormally sexed
because of the luxurious, idle, over-nourished, pleasure-
seeking lives the parents lead. The child born of wine,
stimulating food and revelry, abandoned to the care of
ignorant servants and thrown into the vortex of fashion-
able life, will soon have drained the cup of pleasure to
the bitter dregs, and, not knowing the joy of congenial
labor, will fall into wilder and still wilder revels until at
last it sinks into the underworld with its toil-cursed
sisters.

Not that alone, but the life of a prostitute is so terri-
ble, so unnatural, that they only live five years, and every
year out from the brothels and dives of the nation is car-
rried thousands of women to fill unknown graves in the
potter's field. Untold thousands of young girls (girls
of the working class), must walk that slippery, rock-
strewn, blood-stained path that leads to the brothel.
Walk always forward down the path of destruction,
pushed onward by the hand of poverty and want, dragged
down by the hand of shame or snared in the net of the
"white slaver."

The supporter of the fallen woman and the cause of
her existence is, first, the capitalist class, the men who
live upon the fruits of her labor and who, because they
control the means of life, can place her wages so low that
she must submit to be the gratifier of their passions as well
as the producer of their wealth; second, the men in the
professional and wage-working class who are able to se-
cure so small a share of the wealth they produce as to be
unable to properly support a wife.

After the first flush of youth and beauty has been
sacrificed upon the altar of greed and sensuality the rich
despoiler of womanhood passes his victim down to the
young workingman whose wages are too meager to allow
him to marry but who follows the example of his employer and gratifies his animal passions by buying the body of the woman who is forced to sell. Once the descent is started the pace becomes faster and faster, the degradation deeper and the career of one single fallen woman means the contamination of hundreds of human beings.

When a woman has fallen too deep in the mire to attract men she preys upon the ignorant boys whose mothers were too modest to teach them the impossibility of transgressing the law of sex without paying a bitter penalty.

The most pitiful, most revolting and soul-sickening feature of the debasement of womanhood by capitalism is never discussed, not understood and always kept in the background. The pulpit, press, platform and popular magazines have for the last year been full of "the fallen woman." We have canted and shed crocodile tears of maudlin sympathy, but we have entirely overlooked one fact. If there are hundreds of thousands of prostitutes in our nation, they are prostitutes simply because they have been forced to work at wages that would not support them and either they must sell their bodies or starve. Adding insult to the injury of our hypocritical attitude we have entirely overlooked the most striking fact of all. No matter how many fallen women there are, it takes twenty men to support one fallen woman, and there are just twenty times as many fallen men as women.

Who are the twenty times hundreds of thousands of fallen men? Your sons, your nephews, your neighbors' sons for the most part. Our ignorant sons through whose veins youth's blood flows warm and pulsing, who harken to the age-long call of race preservation, but whose eyes are blinded to the dangers of the loathsome black plague of the brothel.

Our sons go down to the brothel and there in their warm, fresh youth are contaminated with the germs of the vilest disease known to medical science, the one incurable disease. Medical science can laugh at consumption, knows no fear of leprosy, has conquered smallpox and routed cholera, but stands helpless and aghast at the disease of the brothel. The disease that not only strikes down its own generation, but lies in wait for generations yet unborn; that loathsome, nameless horror that
has killed more men than war, ruined more women's lives, cursed more babies than any other disease on earth. Back to the palace, the cottage and the hovel comes this nameless horror, the fruit of prostitution, back to our innocent daughters through our ignorant sons, back to our unborn children, back to curse and maim and slay, and we women it is who suffer most.

As a result of these things medical statistics tell us that one child out of every twenty is born cursed before it ever sees the light of life. One pure virtuous wife out of fifteen goes on to the surgeon's table or under the doctor's care because of the transgressions of her husband, and thousands of childless homes are empty and drear because the very source of life is poisoned and contaminated.

If I could have one wish fulfilled it would be that all mankind might have one pair of eyes and one pair of ears and then I could force it to go with me as I have gone to the places where the effect of our system is most apparent. To the blind asylum where blind eyes will never see and hands will grope in everlasting darkness, to the deaf and dumb institute where deaf ears will never hear or dumb tongues speak, to imbecile refuges where the idiot and the imbecile mutter and mumble in their degradation, to the insane ward where the insane shriek and beat the bars of their padded cells or gaze out into a vacant world through vacant eyes. To the free hospital and the clinic, to the slum and gutter, to the home and the graveside, yes and to the fashionable watering places and hot springs where gold can gild but can not hide bent, distorted bodies of loathsome eating ulcers.

If I could only make mankind see as I must see every day, the frightful price we pay for our support of capitalism, I know the battle for a better system would be won.

Priest and politician, editor and statesman have told women that these things were not of our concern, we must keep ourselves pure and ignorant and trust to the chivalry of man to protect us and our own. "No concern of ours?" No, possibly not if we are dolls stuffed with sawdust, satisfied with fine phrases, content with false chivalry, willing to be fed on flattery, we women who have been so fortunate as to annex a biped without
feathers, who can pay our board bill and supply the requisite amount of jute puffs and hobble skirts, we "have no concern." But suppose we happen to be women with brains and hearts and souls, women who developed backbone enough not to be compelled to do the "clinging vine" act, women who are womanly enough to feel for all the race, motherly enough to mother all childhood, then have we not the right to protest against the abhorrent demands of capitalism?

Not to protest alone, but to use all the brains with which we have been endowed, all the power of our womanhood and the all-compelling force of our motherhood to relegate capitalism and all its horrors to the dim limbo of the past, to make sure and safe the birth of a new social order.
Within the last few years a new terror is slowly creeping into the hearts of the mothers of the race. A black shadow we can not define, a nameless, shapeless something before which we cower as our prehistoric mothers cowered before the nameless natural forces they could not understand.

About ten years ago I was connected with the Crittenden Mission and some times we mission workers going about among the fallen women heard veiled whispers, a word slipping from the lips unconsciously, then a frightened look that told of things too frightful for even a hardened mission worker to hear.

Sometimes a frightened mother or fear-distracted father came to us for help to find a missing girl who had left her village or farm home to seek employment.

Letters would be handed us from foreign countries telling of the fresh-cheeked Irish lassie, German maiden, Italian maid or French mademoiselle who had left her native home to make a fortune for herself in the "land of the free and the home of the brave," and had been lost to her own.

Sometimes we would be able to wrest from the vampire clutches of a brothel mistress a poor wreck of a girl and in the delirium of her drug and drink-erazed brain, she would babble of her captor, tell of the "doped" glass of wine or ice-cream soda, of dark oblivion and cower and shriek and shudder of the "breaking in" or of the time when Madame Lovejoy or Molly Mantell bought her.

That in a law-abiding town like Kansas City in the beginning of the Twentieth Century a girl could be drugged into insensibility, forcibly violated, compelled to live a life of shame against her will and sold from one owner to another, seemed a thing too incredible to believe.
Did we not have a Christian mayor, an honorable chief of police, on every beat were there not patrolmen, sworn to protect the life, the property and the happiness of our people? So even we mission workers, who know something of the underworld, dismissed these things as the ravings of a disordered mind, the fantastic dreams of a brain disturbed by drugs and drink.

As the months rolled into years the number of fathers and mothers seeking lost daughters grew greater and greater, the pile of letters from foreign lands was high, and to each we were compelled to give the same answer, "we can not find your girl."

Gradually the once whispered words were louder spoken, the hints became undeniable facts, the world found itself facing a new problem and a new word was coined "white slave." The ghost would not down, first one, then another case would be noted in the newspaper, the sordid story of police courts would creep out. Finally the report of the Home Commission appointed by President Roosevelt and the Ella Gingles case in Chicago were made public almost at the same time, then the world suddenly awakened to the fact that a frightful state of affairs existed. Smug and self-satisfied, we were compelled to know that there is a white slave traffic, a systematized, organized, trade in young girls for the brothels, as there is a traffic in cattle and sheep for the shambles. A business with organization, traveling salesmen and procurers, a business owning slave dens, where girls were kept and "broken in" and trained for the vice market, just as there are stockyards where cattle are kept and fattened for the slaughter-house.

The most appalling, disgusting fact we are compelled to realize is that the white slave traffic and traffickers are protected not alone by the police departments of our cities, but by all executive departments of government. In every case where white slavers were captured and brought into court the officials did not use their power to convict the white slaver, but his victim.

Proof of this is the fact that when the Commission appointed by President Roosevelt, to investigate the white slave traffic, reported back to Congress, Roosevelt did not attempt to deny the truth of the report, but declared it too vile to be put into print and recommended in a mes-
sage to Congress that it be stricken from the records of the nation.

A modified report, shorn of the most loathsome features, was finally issued under the caption of Senate Document 196. Even this was so revolting that the whole nation was aroused, and in order to protect the men in high places, who were responsible for the unprintable facts and use the power vested in them by the voters of the nation to foster and profit by the untellable conditions, this document too was suppressed. Too late, however, to stem the tide, the world is flooded with a stream of knowledge concerning the white slave traffic.

We know now that there is a white slave traffic, we know that the girls of our country, the fairest, the purest and the fittest are bought and sold like lambs in the market and slaughtered not alone in body, but in soul, not like lambs to feed us, but to pander to the bestial passions of mankind. To fill pockets with profits and enable politicians to pay political debts, by protecting the traffickers.

We know now that the stars and stripes are no protection for our girls, that under the starry folds are slave pens a thousand times more hellish than the slave markets of Constantinople. We know that two blocks from the White House are white slaves who would consider a harem in Turkey a haven of rest and security.

We know that blue uniforms and brass buttons do not mean protection for our daughters, but protection for the white slaver who would sell her into slavery a thousand times worse than the black slavery before the Civil War.

The white master of the South bought black women for their labor power; the master today buys the white slave for her sex function. Labor of even the most toilsome kind is sweet as the fields of Paradise in comparison to enforced sex relation. A woman will work her fingers to the quick, labor when each step is stained with blood, and do it happily, if her soul, her body and her love may be her own, and she may give it where she will, but she will fight to the last atom of her strength the luxury and ease that must be paid for with her womanhood.

The prehistoric mother cowered in her cave and shud-
dered at the flash of lightning and the crash of thunder. How could she know it was a mighty natural force which her children would one day master and make it free mankind from fear as well as toil?

How can the great mass of mothers today know that the lurid flames of the brothel and the consuming power of bestial passion are natural forces, and out of them will come the final emancipation of the race from sex slavery?

What is white slavery and why does it come creeping up from the underworld to make our sleep hideous with nightmare and our waking filled with dread? It is the thwarted cry of Nature, the stinging, burning, grinding pain that must awaken mankind to a realization of transgressed laws.

White slavery is an effect of an economic cause, has its basis in the same soil in which black slavery flourished two hundred years ago, must be wiped out, possibly in the roar of battle and the flow of blood as black slavery was forty years ago.

Black slavery was instituted because there was a demand and a profit in filling the needs. The Crown of England had given great grants of land to certain favorites in the new world, but land is not profitable without labor, it is useless without human hands to till. Here in the Southland of America was fertile soil, here the rain fell and the sun shone, but soil and rain and sun will not produce wealth—only human hands can do that. The land owners of the South could not and would not till their own soil; they could not hire wage-labor, for no man will work for another when he may be self-employed; no tenant would till their land, for no man will till another's soil when he may own land of his own.

Labor was necessary and our Yankee ingenuity found a way to supply the need and turn a nimble penny. Over in Africa was a black race, a semi-savage race with strong backs and sinewy arms but little brains, hence ideal slaves. They were a defenseless race and easy prey, so the good Pilgrim Fathers fitted out slave ships and went over to Africa, captured the defenseless blacks with little brain and lots of muscle and sold them to the white planters of the South, to till their idle soil.

Slaving was a profitable business, profitable for the
master, for it provided workers for his idle soil, and profitable for the slavers because the expense was slight and the price high. Being profitable this business became both moral and godly, and in the North the minister regularly prayed each Sunday morning for "our ships at sea." Down in the South the minister asked God's blessing on the Divine institution of slavery. The foundation of the fortunes and the aristocracy of the South was laid in slave labor and the blue blood and wealth of the 'best' families of New England comes straight down from some godly Pilgrim father who served God piously and traded in slaves shrewdly.

The foundation of the white slave traffic is laid in the same fact of demand, and profit in meeting the demand. I have spoken of the girls pushed down into the underworld by poverty, but all-compelling as the power of poverty is, many of the girls are forced out to meet the conditions of wage-labor, this is not sufficient to meet the demands of the brothel.

You ask "why this abnormal demand for prostitutes?" "Are men becoming more vicious and depraved?" Not at all, men are just what they have been, no worse, possibly a little better? Nature is just what she has always been and demands her natural expression as ever. It is only that our unjust and abnormal system thwarts Nature and we are paying the bitter penalty of transgressed laws.

By the private ownership of the machine, not only are the wages of women but of men fixed by the private owners, and naturally fixed as low as men can be compelled to labor. Carroll D. Wright in the Fourteenth Annual Labor Report places the average wage of the workingmen of the United States at $437 per year. If the average is $437 per year we know that the older men who have been in the trades longer get more than this, the younger men newer in trades get less. But are the young men whose average wage is less than $437 a year of marriageable age? It must be a self-evident fact that no matter how willing and anxious young men might be to marry, if they get a wage of less than $437 a year, marriage is absolutely impossible, because he can not support a wife on his wages. No young man can possibly marry and maintain a family on the current wages of the
mass of young men today, consequently that always means one thing, not a theory but a fact. We may rant and cant, preach and pray from now until doomsday, but facts are facts just the same. Though we may shut our eyes they are there still. Sex desire and companionship is just as natural, just as necessary as food and drink, and if young men are denied the opportunity for sex companionship in home and marriage they will seek it in the brothel, all the preaching and moralizing we may do to the contrary. It is from these millions of young men and boys, these human beings denied by economic conditions the opportunity to live natural lives, comes the overwhelming demand for girls for the brothel.

Just as the black slaver two hundred years ago fitted his slave ship and sailed away across the ocean to Africa for his black slaves, so the white slaver today goes out into the villages and the country districts or down to the moving picture shows, the department store door or the cheap boarding house, there to capture by guile, enticement or force the pure, sweet young girls to be sold into the brothel.

The white slaver assumes whatever guise is the most useful at the time and place. In the farming communities he may be a cotton, cattle, horse or hay buyer; in the city he may be an employment agent, theatrical agent or man about town. The procurer displays his business card, transacts tentative business with the men in his line and gives every indication of being a legitimate business man. The procurer for the white slave pens is as carefully trained for his vocation as the traveling salesman for a business house. He must be prepossessing in appearance, well educated, talk fluently and be able to discuss the business he assumes intelligently. The procurer usually goes to a village or small town, stops at the best hotel, discusses business and proceeds to gain the confidence of the people, both men and women. He will carefully attend the most prominent church, frequent the moving picture shows, skating rink or other social gathering places, and with good clothes, affable manners and evident knowledge of the world rapidly gain a foothold in the good graces of the community.

If there is but one girl to be captured the procurer falls violently in love, pays ardent court. He easily car-
ries the poor victim before the force and eloquence of his
wooing and appealing to the romantic, so much a part of
a young girl's life, an elopement is planned and swiftly
carried out. Possibly a mock marriage before a minister
or justice of the peace known to the girl allays any sus-
picion she may have, and gladly and happily she places
her life in the keeping of the vile vampire. Once in the
city she goes without question to the place her new hus-
band suggests, eats whatever he provides, drinks what-
ever he orders, then sleeps to awaken and find herself a
prisoner in the slave pen.

If more than one victim may be secured the white
slaver does not pay court, but becomes a philanthropist.
He sympathizes with the narrow, constricted life of the
farm and village, talks of the wider life, the golden op-
opportunities, the good wages that wait such brilliant,
promising young ladies down in the city, and offers his
services to help the girls to better their condition. Even
parents are trapped by this ruse and often give their girls
over to the white slaver.

These are only a few of the many ways in which
these demons in human form ply their hellish trade.
They are shrewd, crafty and adaptable, and whatever
serves best is the method used, but whatever the means
of capture, the experience of the victim is the same.

Once in the clutches of these human jackals the girls
are penned in the slave pens, shut into a room from
which escape is impossible, where their cries can reach no
human ear that might give help. Then comes the fright-
ful experience of "breaking in," an experience so hor-
rible that language can not express one thousandth part
of its horror, a frightful thing that is untellable and un-
printable. A day and night of horror that breaks for-
ever the body, soul and will of the poor victim. A
Gahenna which only those who have lived can even faintly
portray, and by the horror of it all their lips are forever
sealed. No matter how low in the scale of life a woman
may fall, how hardened and calloused and dead to shame;
the only answer you can ever get from the question what
does "breaking in mean?" is a shudder and a curse.

Once the "breaking in" is accomplished the girl
broken in body, mind and spirit becomes a docile slave
that can be sold at enormous profit to the keeper of the
brothel. Then begins a period of about five years of the most brutal, debasing, debauching slavery that the world has ever known. The prostitution of the girl's body, the murder of her soul, the coining of her life into profits for human vampires, then wrecked, ruined and murdered, a grave in the potter's field.

A little glimpse of what the first year of life for a white slave must be is given in Senate Document 196, Page 22. "A young girl when first entering the life is very likely to become pregnant, frequently, usually perhaps, abortion is performed. Otherwise she is compelled to continue her work as long as possible, then after discharge from a hospital, to give her child to a foundling asylum. If she tries to leave her man and get legitimate work he threatens her by saying he will tell her employer what her life has been. Sometimes he beats her, if she betrays him, sometimes he kills her. This is the story scores of girls interviewed by the commission agents in courts, penal institutions and maternity hospitals."

When the white master bought a black woman fifty years ago he could look forward to thirty or forty years of usefulness from his slave, and though he paid a large price for her, he need not drive her to labor inhumanely, for there were years in which to reimburse himself for his outlay.

The price of a white girl is considerably less than that of a black. From old newspapers and bills of sale on file in the Public Library in St. Louis I found that the price of black girls ranged from two hundred and fifty dollars to as high as fifteen hundred for a particularly attractive specimen. Senate Document 196 says that the price of white girls range from fifteen to five hundred dollars. Since the life of a white slave is only five years and only three of them really profitable to the owner the white master must make larger profits from his property than the owner of the black.

From page 224 Homes Commission Report I take the following:

"Prostitution in Chicago."
Number of prostitutes, 10,000.
Gross revenue from prostitution, $20,000,000.
Average earning for each woman, $2,000.
Senate Document 196, page 16: "Innocent young
girls will last longer and are therefore more profitable.’’

Page 21: “The motive dominating the procurer and pimp is that of commercial profits, the first thing to be done when a woman is procured is to place her where she can make money for him quickly and plentifully.’’

Page 28: “The rules governing the profits of prostitution of women are those governing in any business in that—A woman is worth to her procurer the price for which he sells her less the cost of procuring? A woman is worth to a procurer or disorderly housekeeper, the amount of her earnings less the cost of recruiting, or purchase price, the cost of supporting her and the costs of the business.’’

In the crash of battle and the roar of war we wiped out the stain of black slavery in human blood, but today we are enduring a white slavery, worse in every feature a thousand times than the slavery of the blacks.

It is our own flesh and blood, our own daughters who are victims now, the children for whose very existence we are responsible. The black slave had no voice in government, no part in making laws, and if he saw his girl sold upon the auction block he was powerless. The fathers of the white slaves have a part in government, a voice in choosing law-makers and executives and they march to the ballot box and cast their vote and use their voice to elect to office the men who make possible the white slave traffic, who foster, protect and share in its profits.

The black slave was owned for her labor power and the mere exploitation of labor power is as heaven to hell compared to the exploitation of sex function.

You say that ‘the black slave was violated too.’’ Yes, that is true, the large number of cream-colored progeny of the aristocracy of the South proves that but it was only by her white master, by one man. The black slave was not forced to submit herself to whoever might come and make commodity of her sex for the profit of her owner. No owner of black flesh ever fell so low, if we may credit history and the words of those who lived during the slave period, as to sell the sex of his slaves. Even Harriet Beecher Stowe never accused Simon Legree of this crime.

The black slave’s life was so much more natural than
that of the white slave that they lived to a ripe old age, reproduced their kind and possibly enjoyed life as much as any working class ever did. It was not necessary or customary for the master to exploit them so mercilessly in order to make a profit on his investment.

The white slave's life is so unnatural, so perverted, that it does not cover over five years and the exploitation must be forced to the last degree to make a profit for the owner. The price of a black slave was higher than that of a white slave, and since the master made his profit from her labor power she was better cared for, better fed and received medical attention when ill. A white slave is used to the limit, forced to serve sick or well, exploited to the last atom of her profitableness, then cast out on the street to die.

Fifty years of Christian civilization has placed the daughters of the nation, the girlhood of the race, the future mothers of our country on a lower plane than that of Cassie on the plantation of Simon Legree, the blackest picture ever painted in American literature of that day.
THE SCARLET THREAD

Through every foot of cordage from wrapping twine to great cables used by the English government in army or navy runs a scarlet thread, stamping it for all time as being the creation and the property of the nation. So through all the various forms of prostitution and white slavery runs the scarlet thread of political control, stamping the vice of social evil as the creation and property of existing forms of government.

Follow the scarlet thread from the streetwalker lurking in the shadow of the alley, from the white slave in the house of ill-fame, from the poor wretch in the municipally-controlled “crib,” follow it up and up through the various political ramifications and eventually it will lead straight up Pennsylvania avenue to the White House and be found securely tethered to the presidential chair.

The very foundation of prostitution always has been and ever must be laid in man’s mastery of woman’s bread, and throughout all the ages that men have controlled the means of life woman has been subject to his will, subservient to his wish and panderer to his passions. Since all existing forms of government are the bulwarks of mastery and privilege, it is but natural that they should be used to strengthen man’s mastery and woman’s servitude.

We stand appalled at the frightful conditions and results of prostitution and white slavery, we call upon our legislative, executive and judicial forces of government for relief. They weep a few tears of sentiment, sigh sadly over conditions, then piously raising their eyes to heaven say, “God knows what the girls are to do, it is sad, it is deplorable, but we are powerless, take it to the Lord in prayer.”

Can’t do anything, are powerless? Indeed! Then is our whole scheme of government such a farce, such a disgraceful and disgusting failure?
A few years ago counterfeiters flourished in this country, skilled men made molds and plates that turned out very nice money indeed, money that was just as pretty to look at and pleasant to the touch as the money made by the government and blessed and made holy by the bankers. Money that took no life, robbed no human being of health or happiness, that enslaved no girls, prostituted no body for gain.

What happened?

A great government put every force of government in action. Secret Service Corps were organized, shrewd detectives were employed and a far-reaching man hunt was instituted. In a few years counterfeiting was entirely done away with. The forces of government got into action, quick action too, and the nefarious crime of making unholy money was ruthlessly stamped out.

Did counterfeiters spill human blood?
No.
Murder human souls?
No.
Make slaves of helpless girls and sell their virtue for profit?
No.

The counterfeiters simply infringed on the divine right of a government controlled by bankers to make and have the bankers bless all money. They only threatened to rob the bankers of their inalienable right to live pious, godly lives on the profits made in money changing. For this heinous crime, this threatened invasion of our established institutions, all the forces of government were turned to trailing criminals and bringing them to summary justice.

Did the government fail?
Not at all.

No weakness here, no inefficiency, no legal technicalities, no insurmountable difficulties. Like a well-oiled machine every branch of government worked in perfect harmony and the results were all that good bankers and law-abiding citizens who make money within the pale of the law, and not without, could ask.

To prove that our government is not the poor mollycoddle weakling we have been told, I will cite other evidence. Down in some of the southern states men make
whiskey, "moonshine" whiskey it is called, not because it is weak as moonshine, but because it is made at night, in secret places and out-of-the-way corners and outside the pale of the law.

Again the Secret Service men were called, manhunts were carried on with force and vigor, with an iron hand, illicit distilling was crushed out and men and women's lives, homes and human happiness with it.

Why, because whiskey is bad?

Dear me! Whiskey is not bad, it's good. Our Christian government says so, stamps it with revenue stamps and approval, grants license for men to sell it, even in prohibition states, and appoints the makers and sellers to all sorts of high and lucrative positions in government.

But is "moonshine" whiskey bad?

To be sure! Bad in many ways, bad because it can be made and sold cheaply, and that is bad for the distillers, who are a part of our governmental machine. It is bad because it is sold without revenue stamps, and that is heinous, for it robs those ornamental gentlemen who administer our government of the wherewithal to pay their salaries. Naturally, "moonshine" distilling was stamped out with an iron heel, no failure of government here.

Do I uphold counterfeiters and "moonshiners?"

Not at all, but I do say that the worst moonshiner and the most disreputable counterfeiter who ever lived is an angel of mercy and a shining light of morality in comparison with a white slaver or a corrupt politician who holds his office by grace of the vice element.

I merely cite these incidents to prove that our government towers a mighty citadel, rules with an iron hand, strikes with a mailed fist when the sacred right to profits is invaded, but is a cowering imbecile weakling when human right to life, liberty and the ownership of bodies and souls is being trampled into the mire under the feet of oppression.

White slavery could be stamped out in a single year did the powers of government so desire. It exists not in defiance to law and government, but by permission and co-partnership.

The foundation stone of political supremacy is the
wardheeler. He controls the vicious vote, the vote absolutely necessary to political supremacy. Sex gratification being the most powerful lure for mankind, is made use of by the wardheeler. He sees to it that there are plenty of prostitutes with which his vicious vote may consort. By this power he controls his men. On the other hand the prostitutes, who are the bait, also furnish the money on which political campaigns are largely financed.

Let us see if we can follow the scarlet thread? The ward heeler controls the vicious vote and delivers it to the political boss of the city. The boss, because he delivers the vote, shapes the policies, makes up the tickets and prepares the political bait which all “good” voters ignorantly gulp down. It is a disgusting and deplorable fact, but a fact just the same that “good” voters are ignorant voters and the “bad” ones are also the wise ones. The political boss being able to deliver both the “good” and the “bad” vote controls the men elected to office from alderman to president.

First the prostitute, then the ward heeler, then the city boss, state boss, state legislatures, national boss, national legislatures, then the highest official, so the scarlet thread runs.

Now follow it back.

The president and governors have the appointive power and naturally appoint as the bosses dictate, first the judiciary, and they must be the tool willing to serve the boss, then the police powers, and they too must be willing to serve as the boss dictates, and since the prostitute and the wardheeler controls the boss, back again comes the scarlet thread down to the starting place.

Because the boss controls the police and the police enforce or allow to be broken the law and laws are made for women to obey or buy freedom, the poor prostitute must be the lure to control the vicious vote, then for protection or freedom from interference by the law she must pay the price for which she sells her virtue. Out of the lifeblood of the fallen women of this nation is wrung annually untold millions. In the city of Chicago the Homes Commission found that the fallen women earned for their masters $20,000,000 in a year. Of this the girls who sell their souls receive only food, shelter and gaudy clothing, and all the balance is woven into that scarlet thread.
The procurer or Madame "splits" with the policeman, he with the chief, the chief with the wardheeler, the wardheeler with the boss, and the boss with those higher up. The fallen woman must not only be the angleworm upon the hook, but pay for the barb upon which she is impaled, must be the bait and pay the price.

So general are these facts of police and political control of prostitution known that no one questions the truth of the statement.

The magazine Vigilance, of July, 1910, has the following quotation from Mr. James Bronson Reynolds, assistant state attorney for the State of New York. He said: "Laws in America are made to please one-half the people and not enforced to please the other half."

Senate Document 214, part 2, 61st Congress, second session, page 6, says: "The great extent of this evil, which is in various localities strongly entrenched behind local political and corrupt police control, convinced the Bureau that resources at its command were inadequate to cope with the situation."

Page 8: "Unfortunately before this campaign was well under way the Supreme Court of the United States in the now celebrated case of Keller v. United States and Ullman v. United States handed down a decision that a portion of section 3 of the act of Feb. 20, 1907, which relates to the harboring and maintaining of women in houses of ill-fame is unconstitutional."

"This was a severe handicap and almost nullified the endeavor to prosecute those engaged in the nefarious traffic.

"In connection with the attempt to prosecute, the bureau has been considerably harassed by the undue leniency of certain courts in imposing sentence, one court in particular customarily inflicting a sentence of less than thirty days' imprisonment and a $5.00 to $10.00 fine, when the maximum imposed by law is five years imprisonment and a $5,000 fine.

Page 12: "Pimps and procurers have been found banded together in different localities for political purposes and, perhaps, self-protection."

Page 13: "The callous indifference, which permits our largest cities and the country at large to be infected with lewd women and degenerate parasite pimps, may
perhaps be considered a matter which should be left to
the moral sense of each community and each state, but in
so far as the Federal Government is concerned it should
be possible to prevent the traffic from being aggravated
by the migration hither and thither of large numbers of
alien prostitutes and procurers."

Senate Document 196, Page 21: "According to the
best evidence obtainable, according to the stories of the
women themselves and the keepers of the houses, nearly
all women now engaged in this business in our large cities
are subject to pimps to whom they give their earnings, or
else they are under the domination of the keeper of the
houses, a condition practically the same."

Page 21: "It is the business of the men who control
women to provide police protection."

Page 27: "Most of the girls questioned by the Com-
mission's agents on this point said that payments were
made to the police to insure their protection from too
frequent arrest."

Page 31: "During the month of October, 1908, over
$5,000 was paid into the police fund in Seattle, Washing-
ton, as fines by prostitute women each woman being
fined $10.00 a month. The same custom abounds in many
cities. Will the profits make the taxpayers less eager to
enforce the law?"

And remember! this was only paid in fines, accounted
for on the books of the police department to salve the
conscience of the taxpayers, and is not the "split" ex-
acted for the share of police and politician.

Bellingham, Wash., said to be the clearing house for
the white slave trade of the western coast, maintains a
municipal "crib" house, where miserable cells are rented
to the unfortunate victims for an excessive sum. Each
girl paying a certain sum for the use of a "crib" and
license to ply her trade each day or night. Waco, Texas,
grants a night's license to a prostitute for $2.50, or at
least did do so, and I have no reason to think the plan
has been changed.

"Bath House" John, of Chicago, ruler of the under-
world, is the one political factor to whom all must bow
in the "Windy City," while Lorimer, vice magnate of
the State of Illinois, occupies the position of Senator and
looks to it that no laws are made detrimental to vice interests.

The story of Tammany Hall in New York is too well known to need repeating, and in every city, large and small vice rules and virtue peacefully slumbers on, while debauchery of womanhood, the debasement of government and the wreck of lives and democratic institutions go merrily forward.

So completely has the business of vice been organized and protected by police and government that an independent prostitute, like an independent business man, is practically a thing of the past. Ten years ago, when I worked in the Rescue Mission work, a woman could ply her trade unmolested as long as she "split" regularly with the patrolman on the beat, but now vice, like business, is organized, trustified and the "independent" is a menace to the "regular" and must be brought into line.

Why should women be allowed to sell her body and soul, and keep the proceeds herself, when there are vice kings who can do it so much better and spend the money where it will oil the most wheels and do the most good in sustaining our glorious system of political action? No reason at all, so the independent is hunted about, browbeaten, clubbed and jailed until they fall in line and acquire a master connected with the "machine." Even the Madame, who in years gone by was a queen of vice, has been dethroned and become only slave driver, under a master herself.

The following editorial of the Rocky Mountain News of April 3, 1908, gives a picture of conditions in Denver, and they are worse in St. Louis, Kansas City, Chicago or New York:

"Billy Wheeler, described by himself as a retired gentleman of leisure, and by the district attorney as a well-known macquereau, was sentenced for vagrancy in the county court the other day. Unlike most of his ilk, when once caught in the toils, Wheeler elected to go on the stand in his own behalf. His testimony makes interesting reading for the decent citizens of Denver. For he told on the stand that he has $9,000 in one bank on deposit, that he has valuable property in Canada and has money out at interest. AND HE WAS FORCED TO ADMIT THAT EVERY DOLLAR OF HIS WEALTH
was made by marketing the bodies of the wretched white slaves in the market street cribs; those cribs which Mayor Speer has been 'regulating' these many years.

"It is doubtful if the average citizen comprehends the full meaning of the conditions revealed in Billy Wheeler's testimony. The average man, or even a man whose morals are considerably below the average, must make a distinct effort to sense the infamy of the calling of the macquereau. Here are a group of men who are nothing less than slave holders. THESE SLAVES ARE NOT BLACK, BUT WHITE; NOT MEN, BUT WOMEN. Many of them have been literally kidnapped into slavery. All of them are compelled by their masters, the macquereaux, to hold their bodies at the disposal of all comers, who will pay, not the woman's, but the man's price. Jack Maynard, one of these reptiles, has a cash register in his place, and collects the fees from his customers as they come in. The women get nothing but their keep. They are compelled to lead a life not only unspeakably degrading, but so deadly to health that few endure it five years.

"It is the business of the macquereau to hold these women in slavery. The News submits that no language can exaggerate the degradation of such a calling. Compared to this, ordinary prostitution is decent, and burglary a respectable and aristocratic profession. The offense of the macquereau is so foul that the law never thought to provide a penalty for it; and vagrancy is the worst charge that can commonly be maintained against these scoundrels. And yet THEY HAVE BEEN PLYING THEIR TRADE IN DENVER UNDER POLICE PROTECTION FOR YEARS, and today nearly 300 macquereaux are listed and registered at police headquarters. * * * Why do not these white slaves rebel? Why do they not appeal to the law of the land? For many reasons. In the first place, very few of them have any knowledge of either the laws or the language of the land; and the account of these laws which they get from their masters is not calculated to encourage an appeal. In the second place, suppose a woman in one of those cribs decides to strike for freedom, to whom would she appeal? To the
officer on the beat, of course. AND HE WOULD TURN HER OVER TO HER MASTER, THE MAC—WHO WOULD PROMPTLY PROCEED TO BEAT HER HALF TO DEATH. Why not? He is killing her by inches anyway; why should he shrink from hastening the process? He does not hesitate, his slaves know that he will not hesitate; and so—THEY ENDURE. What else is left them to do?'

You may think that I am too harsh when I say the scarlet thread runs all the way up to the White House, but here is a demonstration:

Taft Aids "White Slaver."

Executive Cuts Year from Sentence of Convicted New Yorker.

Washington, Dec. 24.—President Taft commuted the sentence today of a New York "white slaver" by cutting off one year from a three-year sentence.

The case was that of Auguste Rousset, a Frenchman, convicted in New York of "importing women for the purpose of prostitution and of harboring an alien woman for immoral purposes."

The law making the harboring of an alien woman for immoral purposes a crime has since been declared unconstitutional.—Portland, Ore., Oregonian, December 25, 1909.

We boast of our civilization, our Christian government, we send missionaries to Darkest Africa and seek to convert the Chinese with these conditions right here at home and the white slaver and the brothel reaching out their talons for our own.
I sat in the police court of an Indian Territory city one morning and watched the stream of wretched, degraded, miserable humanity file before the judge to answer for all manner of petty crimes. Among the offenders were two women, one a young white girl, poorly dressed, hollow-eyed, slovenly in manner, sometimes sullen and defiant and again giggling in embarrassment, and in answer to the judge’s questions pleaded guilty of prostitution. The other was an Indian woman, young, too, dark, fierce-eyed and sullen, and she answered never a word to the judge’s queries or the complaints of the witness who told how she had stolen ears of corn and potatoes from his field.

To one who reads between the lines in these two women’s lives there is written the whole history of womankind. The savage would steal to appease her hunger and the civilized woman would sell her virtue for the same purpose.

One of the facts that puzzled the white men who settled in this country was that they could not force the Indian women to submit to them their bodies. They would die without a murmur, but nothing could force them to become prostitutes. The white man accordingly took the dusky maiden to wife. We whites have murdered and slain, almost annihilated the Indian, tried to tin-plate him with our civilization, inoculate him with our religion and kill him off with our bad whiskey, but we have never been able to make a slave of him, wage or otherwise, or a prostitute of his sister. Possibly because the Indian belongs to that savage fraternal tribe period in which our ancestors lived before the establishment of the slave economy. In that savage fraternal culture there was no such thing as private property, nothing bought and sold, not even to women’s bodies. When the ownership of
slaves planted in the human heart the passion for the ownership of property, women, being the most prized of man’s possessions, became the first thing to be owned. Just as soon as women became property they began to be bought and sold as other property, first as slaves, then as serfs, now as wage-slaves.

Since that far-off time when man first conceived the idea of the private ownership of a woman’s body, down to this day of the private ownership of the things necessary to sustain life in that body, prostitution has been a part of our civilization and will remain a part until we establish the common ownership of the means of life.

Philosophers have philosophized, priest and preacher canted and the pious prayed over the problem of the social evil and it is still a problem growing more acute each year. All manner of restrictive and corrective measures have been tried from the day when Jesus of Nazareth said “let he who is without sin cast the first stone” down to the suppression of the Homes Commission Report and every effort so far made has only aggravated the condition.

Rescue Missions do not rescue or abate one particle the wrongs of prostitution, they simply keep alive a few months longer the poor victim, who is so diseased as to be no longer profitable to the brothel mistress or procurer. Charles N. Crittenden (one of the noblest men I have ever known) spent a million dollars of his own money and possibly twice as much of others and died knowing that the social evil had doubled in his time.

Vice crusades like that waged by Doctor Parkhurst have only one result, by harrassing and persecuting the poor victims of prostitution life is made doubly hard for them and vice instead of being centered in one district is scattered all over the city to corrupt and contaminate like a vile plague wherever it finds refuge. And it will find a refuge as long as men are forced to buy companionship and women must sell.

All laws that have been enacted have been not for the protection of the prostitute, who is the victim of society, but for the protection of the men who use the prostitute. Registration, medical inspection and all measures of control have simply tried to make safe the frequenters of the brothel and never have any laws been made or
even considered to make safe the womanhood of the
country against the powers that make for prostitution.

The religious have tried to deal with the social evil
as if it were a moral question and master it by prayers,
sermons and moral suasion. They have failed absolutely
and completely.

Lawmakers have dealt with it as if it were a legis-
lative problem and all that was necessary was to pass
laws saying "thou shalt not," but when hell, fire and
brimstone fails to frighten mankind into observing that
command, man-made laws are worse than useless.

The medical fraternity has tried to deal with the
question by registering and medically examining every
prostitute, so her patrons might not contract disease.
This has been worse than a failure, it is useless and an
insult added to our injury to womankind.

We have tried religion and it has failed completely
to solve, this the master problem of our time. We have
tried politics and its failure is more disgusting and abso-
lute than that of religion. There is but one more vital
force in life—economics—and it must be in economics we
find a solution for the problem.

Within the last fifty years a mighty force has come
into being, a great political, moral and economic move-
ment. In its ranks are clergy, lawyers, doctors, philoso-
phers, scientists and the intelligent part of the working
class of the whole world. Because they seek to solve the
social problems of the world we call them Socialists.

The Socialist knows that the great cornerstone on
which all life rests is economic, the power to have access
to the things necessary to life. Socialists know that the
great creative force of life, call it God or Nature or Evo-
lution or what you will, has provided for mankind every
raw material out of which we may create the food, shelter
and clothing of the race. We know that the same crea-
tive force has endowed man with brains and muscles and
skill and that from brains and muscle and skill we have
created a wonderful machinery of production. Machinery
to take the raw products of Nature and convert them
with the help of the labor of our hands into everything
we need for body, mind or soul.

Socialists know also that our natural resources and
our machinery of production have slipped away from
the ownership of the great mass of mankind. A small class own the means of life, the great mass are dependent upon them for the means of life and out of this condition has grown not only prostitution, but all the other wrongs, abuses and damnable features of our state of society. The Socialist knows that just as long as the means of life are privately owned by a small class the oppression and degradation of the masses must continue and grow more unbearable.

We are facing facts today and not theories and the facts are these: A small group of organized owners (which for want of a better name we call trusts) are in complete ownership and control of the industries, markets, professions, politics and religion of the whole world. And by this ownership they control food, shelter, clothing, education, enlightenment, body, mind and soul of individual and nation. Either the nation must take over the ownership of these great organized machines of production and distribution, or the trusts will continue to enforce its ownership of nation and individual.

The first great principal of Socialism is the public ownership of the trusts. But it is not enough for the nation to own the trusts unless the people can own the nation. We have found to our sorrow that our present political machinery will not permit this. Representative government without the power to force our representatives to serve us has proven a delusion and a snare. Socialists see the necessity for certain necessary changes in our fundamental form of government. First the initiative, the right and power of the people to initiate any measures they deem necessary for public welfare; second, the referendum or the right and power of the people to have a deciding voice in legislation and the power to veto harmful measures; third, the right of recall or the power to recall at will the public servant, who after election proves either unsuited to the position, incapable of properly performing his functions or susceptible to corrupting influences; fourth, the right of suffrage for all citizens regardless of sex.

Socialism may be summed up in these simple propositions:

The public ownership of the trusts and public utilities.
The Initiative.  
The Referendum.  
The Right of Recall.  
Universal Suffrage.  

The natural result of which would be the free and unhampered access to the means of life by the people, the workers alone sharing in the wealth created, the disappearance of the owning class as such, the conversion of its now useless and idle members into useful workers and emancipation of the workers from the slavery of the present system. Industrial slavery to the owners of the machine, political slavery to a worn-out and corrupt form of government and sex slavery in every form.

This is Socialism, and through it alone can the problem of the social evil ever be solved.

For years the moral have hid their faces, the pious shuddered and the church trembled every time they heard the word Socialism because they feared that Socialism would bring about an era of "Free Love."

Now, of course, these good people know just about as much about love and freedom as an owl knows of an anthem. They can comprehend neither, but what they think it means is promiscuity and license. Bishop McGuire, of the Catholic Church, has answered this misunderstood idea and I will quote his words:

Socialism and "Free Love."

"Socialists would establish 'Free Love.' Our opponents seem to forget that a Socialist state like any other would be but the outward expression of the people who composed it. We would have only that which the people wished. The only meaning to be taken from the assertion of our opponents is that if we had not landlords and capitalists to rob us, we would kick our wives to death, cast our children out of the windows and roam the country like savage beasts, leaving the product of our vice to the state to support. Such are the reasons put forward in favor of retention of landlordism and capitalism. If Socialists wished a state of society in which 'free love' or free lust flourished as the Devil would have it, they would support the present. Ascertained the number of prostitutes known to the police in any city, think of the number of immoral men who maintain such an army, total these and deduct the sum from the adult
population. The remainder is that section of the community not known to the police as vicious persons. In the course of a discussion which took place last year at a Catholic conference, Father Hughes, of Liverpool, told of a girl in that city who was engaged in the drapery trade at 31d or 62 cents a week. She drifted into a life of vice, and when Father Hughes met her she had spent two years of this. He induced her to return to the path of virtue and she then informed him that she had £10,000 worth of jewelry received in presents from her 'admirers' during these two years. The reverend gentleman argued that while girls were offered £15.12 ($65) for two years honest, virtuous service and £10,000 ($50,000) for the same time spent in a vicious career, we would have this shocking state of society. He might have added that the jewelry was not presented by the working men of Liverpool. The class which deprives the girl of her earnings also robs her of her virtue. Under Socialism the rewards would be reversed and so would the results.

Private Virtue Not Enough.

"Christianity is sufficient to solve the social problem." If that were so we would find least poverty where we found most real Christianity. Ireland should be the happiest country in the world because there are millions of people who believe without doubting, amongst whom the breath of agnosticism has scarcely entered. It is the very poorest country. Why? Because in a community living under the competitive system, one dishonest, unscrupulous man will overcome ninety-nine who conduct their business in the spirit of Christ. The non-Christians will make slaves of the Christians, just as the armed highwayman will subdue a peaceable citizen protected only by a prayer-book. The highwayman is the fitter person according to the conditions, so is the non-Christian. It is the conditions which are bad and for public safety we must change these. Socialism would make robbery of all kinds impossible. When Christianity advises us to be honest, Socialism would compel us to be."

Socialism will give back to women all the freedom and security of the savage fraternal culture and add to it all the advantages of our more civilized life; will make her an equal owner and give her an equal voice in the management of all wealth, that supplied by Nature as
well as produced by men's hands. She will have an equal opportunity to have access to the means of life, receive equal returns for her labor and will thus be enabled to lift herself above the necessity of selling her virtue for bread.

That any woman lives the life of a prostitute because she enjoys it no one with common sense believes. The life is too horrible to contemplate. The sex nature is the most delicate function of life, the most easily disturbed, causes the most intense suffering if abused, and no woman can think (if she thinks at all) that any other woman enjoys receiving the attentions of all comers, at all hours of the day and night, under all conditions and all manner of men, diseased or whole, drunk or sober.

We women know that deep down under the veneer of submission ages of subjection have endowed us with, there is that old savage revolt at forced sex relation. We know that all the primeval savage, all of the wild that is hidden somewhere within us is aroused at the slightest show of force in matters pertaining to sex, and can you imagine force less hateful because it is economic force, the force of cold and hunger instead of brute force?

Socialism will shear man of his economic power to force women to submit either in marriage or prostitution to his sensual desires, and a few generations of free women will produce a race free from sensuality and that old falsehood of the male's greater need of sexual expression and its natural result, a double standard of morals.