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OWNERSHIP of the EARTH

By ALL the People, and Not by Part of the People.

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Appeal to Reason.

Girard, Kansas, U. S. A., July 5, 1902.

Government is doing much for the trusts. What is it doing for you?

Organized labor in the state of New York are voting on the proposition to follow the example of the Western Labor Union and go into politics. There will be great political surprises this fall.

"A one cent letter rate, three cent tele- phones, and ten cent telegrams are all near possibilities under an enlightened and compact postal system."—Hon. John Wanamaker, ex-Postmaster General of the United States.

Did you ever hear of laws being declared unconstitutional because workmen objected to their provisions? You have heard of them being kicked out of court because the rich did not like them, haven't you? Funny how the machine works, isn't it?

When you see a man lolling listlessly, his mind in a receptive condition, you should always have some thought provoker with you to hand to him. No matter if he is a stranger, you should do this. In such moments one will take on impressions readily, and all Socialists should be ready to get people to UNDERSTAND what they want.

The Rhode Island street car men struck to force the companies to obey the state law for ten hours work. The city and state officials used all the police, militia and every other weapon to support the street car company to break the law and down the workers. Who are anarchists? Who defies the law? The corporations and their hirelings in office.

There is no question about the state officials of Kansas being law-abiding citizens. They are sworn to uphold the state constitution which says liquors shall not be made or sold in the state—and they not only know that saloons run open almost everywhere, but they patronize them. On a recent junketing tour in a special car they had a fine saloon fitted up and—well they are not perjurers or anarchists—just law-abiding, patriotic citizens whose loyalty cannot be questioned!

Isn't it queer that when workmen strike they are "anarchists and criminals," but when they submit like whipped dogs to the conditions of the masters they are "loyal, patriotic Americans?" Another thing that seems strange—that in places where nothing but democrat and republican votes have ever been cast—the men who cast them are "lawless and anarchists" when they strike. Why don't the old parties teach their voters not to be anarchists?

There should be but ONE UNION LABEL in the nation. It should cover all organized labor. When labor anywhere were attacked it would be an attack on labor everywhere. Such a union would be invincible. It could compel recognition of its members in the most remote localities. It would teach labor the lesson of government, that it will be qualified to conduct the industries of the nation when labor shall longer refuse to support a drone.

The merchants of Chicago have organized an association to suppress the demands of the laboring people for increases in wages. The slave owners of the south organized to prevent any agitation for the liberation of their slaves. The monarchs of Europe are a unit against the people getting from under their control. This action of the merchants should show the working people that as a class they should unite to overthrow the classes, and they can do this only by recognizing the class struggle. If anything should teach the working people that they are looked upon, treated and held down as so many slaves for the profit of the masters, this action of the Chicago merchants should force the lesson on them. They should unite against the exploiters. And they will.

There were millions behind the Panama canal scheme. There was nothing behind the Nicaragua plan. The Panama route, on which the French had spent untold millions, obtained from the working girls and laborers of France by false pretenses and perjury, would be gone if the United States took up the Nicaragua route. The Frenchmen knew their subjects. They sent men here to "induce" congress to buy their worthless property. The first thing to do was to get congress to select that route, which has been done. Just how much Panama stock was placed "where it would do the most good" is not a public item, but the investigation of the millions of Pacific railroad stocks that were found in possession of congressmen and senators during the investigation of that colossal steal is some index to what might be found today if the thieves were not in control. Legislation is sold to the highest bidder in Washington. Great country.

The St. Louis World says that "a poor man has no show in politics for any office higher than a dog-pelter, no matter what his qualifications, no matter if he be the most competent, no matter if he be an authority in his line; no matter if he knows political economy from preface to appendix; no matter if he be upright, honest, square, moral and respected. If he hasn't got the spandrels he gets no benefit accruing from office—all he has to do is to stand up, be counted and vote!" Then the poor think they are the biggest toads in the puddle; they are strictly in it when they are given a torch to carry for the other fellows; they will get out and whoop it up for the masters candidates when they haven't a decent suit of clothes to their backs; when they haven't had a decent meal for a month; when they haven't been able to pay the rent or taxes on the shack they call their home. The poor man, may he learn more wisdom, is the worst I can wish him.

United States Consul Boyle at Liverpool, England, tells the Chicago News of the horrible treatment accorded to men on American cattle ships. The meat trust ships cattle to Europe in slow going vessels; the law requires a certain number of attendants on these cattle; the meat trust "Contracts" out this care; the contractors get around the law by hiring ignorant, drunken fellows from the city slums, who know nothing of the duties; they are starved and beaten on the trip; the contractors swindle the men out of their wages by getting them drunk on board and have them sign rights for return passage and they are stranded in England without a penny or a place to sleep. The owners of the meat trust when interviewed by the News denied all knowledge of the matter and denied that such things existed. But Consul Boyle says it has been going on for years and has become a crying shame. Who is Consul Boyle or the Millionaire Meat Bandits? And what is to be done about it?

PROHIBITION IN KANSAS.

This is how prohibition works in most places in Kansas. These saloons are worse than licensed or open ones, as they depend wholly on an understanding with the officers, who violate their oaths to permit the traffic, consequently they pay no attention to minors drinking. Men go into the traffic because there is a PROFIT in it. Take away the profit and they will not go into the business. Public ownership, with local option, is a more sensible plan. Then the seller would be on a salary from the public and would not be interested in the sales. The public is in the deal now, and it might as well take the whole responsibility in such a way as to control the matter without the conflict of private interests.

Salina, Kan., June 18.—(Special.) The Salina city council has passed an ordinance increasing the fines of jointists from \$50 to \$100, instead of from \$5 to \$50. Salina has twelve joints, which turn into the city treasury about \$600 a month.

Kindly answer the following: Suppose a tract of land, paying a large sum therefor, improves it at much expense—under government ownership of land how will he be able to change his location should he so wish, as he may now do, without great pecuniary loss?—T. H. Cassett.

Under Socialism men would not buy and improve land. The public would improve all the land and the people would employ themselves on it as public employees. If one wanted to change location, they would be transferred from one section to another without any loss or annoyance, such as they now suffer. No one would have to save anything to enable him to have a piece of land to work on. There is plenty of land and the people would work it. Nor would there be any saving for getting machinery or other accessories. They would be provided by the whole people for the equal use and benefit of all. No one would want a large tract of land—or any private ownership, for that matter, for he could not hire any fellow to work it for him. The other fellow would work for the public, receive the full products of his labor, and would work for no other citizen for less—and what benefit would it be for one citizen to hire another if he made no profit off him? Land would cease to have a selling value. Mer would not have it as a gift. Every citizen would receive many times as much results by employing himself in the public service, supplied with all the capital and facilities, as he would if he employed himself on a personally owned farm. The incentive of receiving the greatest possible results for the least labor would make each select the public employ- ment rather than private employment. Another advantage, if there were a failure of crop for reason of drought or flood, under private ownership the farmer would be loser. Under public conduct of business he would receive the same results for his labor as those in sections that were more favored, as his time spent in the public service would buy just as much as the time spent in public service in the more favored fields. Under Socialism, with the present development of machinery, EACH worker would receive results that would require an income of more than \$2,500 a year today to get. How many real farmers, those who farm with their own hands, receive so much? And if the wife worked she would receive just as much more. There would be no pecuniary loss to any under Socialism—there would be nothing but benefits.

I wish you would explain why Socialists advocate repudiation of the national debt. I am in favor of it myself for I know it is a steel but I want to be thoroughly posted on the subject if possible.—Chas. Milway, Grand Rapids, Minn.

I do not know that Socialists advocate the repudiation of the national debt. Some Socialists may, just as they may advocate prohibition, but no statement of that character is in any of their platforms or demands. It would be nothing new to advocate repudiation, as the republican party repudiated the ownership of slaves and refused to recognize the debts made by the southerners in defense of them. Our forefathers repudiated the ownership of this country by King George, though he was legally possessed of the same. All who study it know that the national debt has been fastened on the people by fraud and crime, but its settlement will have to wait until the books are balanced on the day of reckoning. The American people can be trusted to do the right thing when they take the matter up for solution.

The class struggle is emphasized by the action of the rulers in the Patterson silk strike. The militia was called out and told to use bullets. Great stress was laid on the fact that the militia is composed of the sons of rich men who will do their duty in killing the men, women and children who are demanding enough wages to live on. These sons have been educated, clothed, fed and cared for out of money wrung from the labor of the very workers that they are so anxious to shoot to show their bravery! How quick the rulers are to unite against their slaves if the latter show any disposition to revolt. That the working people will continue to vote for the men and parties who are so ready to send the troops against them if they complain of their lot of drudgery, is the saddest part of it all. The employers are always counted right and the workers always counted wrong in every dispute. There is no law that takes into consideration that the employers should be made to pay decent wages—and officers would enforce the law if there were such. Working-men of America, why will you be so stupid as to use your votes to support your masters? Elect your own class to every office and operate the government for your own benefit. You have the numbers—the power—and can use it whenever you wish. The principle of this government is majority rule. Why give your votes to men who shoot you?

The government has brought suit against the firm of Stubbs & Jakway in Colorado for \$630,000 because the firm has been taking possession and mining coal belonging to the public; also another suit against the same firm for taking from public lands enough telephone poles to erect a line from Silverton to Durango. These honest business men! I will wager that every member of the firm is a hater of Socialism. Such men always are. They prefer to steal public property. You see the whole crime came about because of the private ownership of the telephone system and the coal business. Private property is at the bottom of every crime.

"We have the worst postal service of any civilized country in the world. There are improvements adopted in England, France, Germany, and Italy, twenty and thirty years ago, which we have not yet adopted at all or only partially or imperfectly."—R. H. Dana, "The Appointment and Tenure of Postmasters."

MAMMOTH TRANSPORTATION TRUST TO CONTROL BOTH LAND AND SEA.

Geo. J. Gould, W. K. Vanderbilt, J. Pierpont Morgan, A. J. Cassett, J. J. Hill.

Handful of American Millionaires controlling 109,464 miles of railroads and 1,200,000 tons of shipping, reaching out for absolute supremacy of the World's Commerce. They can rule or ruin any business man in the nation or that does business on the seas. No king ever had the power they wield.

Should we legalize their rule and acts and try and LOOK happy, or Shall we declare them to be public enemies and try to BE happy? The people must decide.

CONFESSED TYRANTS.

(Special to the Post.) Fort de France, May 31.—(Special.) A bitter political strife raged in Martinique before the disaster. There was a distinct cleavage between whites, mulattoes and blacks. Social solidarity was wanting. The colony was in a degraded condition and political agitators spent large sums of public money. The white population was gradually leaving the island and the public revenues was spent in salaries and public works were neglected.

Socialism was largely to blame for many of the evils in the island. It stirred up discontent among the blacks to gain their votes. It was aggressive, destructive and dangerous. It attacked and endeavored to ruin the sugar industry. The colony under these circumstances was going to the bad. The white population was gradually leaving the island and there was every prospect of bloody racial encounters at about the time the eruption of Mount Pelée took place.

I desire to call your attention to the evidence in the above that the writer of it and others who hold the same views, are self-confessed criminals. While trying to prejudice the public against Socialism they furnish the proof of their own debased character. Now, the island was under the rule of France, its officials who were stealing the public money and reducing the people "to a degraded condition", were supporters of the present system AND NOT SOCIALISTS. The Socialists were not in control and could not therefore have been in any wise responsible for the condition that made the people discontented. The other fellows were in control, and DID produce those conditions and were therefore responsible for all the evils that flowed from them, directly and indirectly. It further appears that the thieves and robbers, who were opposed to the Socialist agitators, and were doing all this robbery, did not want the people to be discontented. The Socialists did want the people to be discontented with a "degraded condition", and they were right. All people should be discontented to have robbers rule over them, as that class here confess they were. So that this, instead of being evidence against the Socialist, rightly understood, is the best testimony to their uprightness and their defense of the weak against the robber class of politicians who ruled the island. Think of blaming Socialists for the conditions made by the robbery of those who condemn Socialism! But such is the logic that is used, And the thoughtless take their conclusions therefrom.

In what way will Socialism benefit the women?—J. T. Binechill, St. Louis, Mo.

By taking away all the economic burdens of life; by removing want or fear of want; by making them independent; by abolishing the classes that produce the vanity, the rivalry and the slavery to fad, fashion and folly. Under Socialism the women will receive the same compensation as men for any labor suited to their sex. In the domestic circle, the greater part of the burden will be lifted from them and put on machines and appliances that will do most of the cooking, the washing, the house work; that will give them kindergartens for their little ones that will entertain and instruct better than they can do at home during the hours of the day; that will provide instruction in every essential knowledge for the older ones, preparing them for their place in the national industries, to become honored and useful citizens; that will give them entertainment and time to enjoy them, instead of making domestic slaves of themselves as at present; it will do for women as much or more than for men. So far, the inventive genius of man has done little to relieve the labor of women—most of the improvement has been in men's work. But when women shall be considered something a little better than slave labor, when the mad rush for a bare living is done away with, men will have time to think of and produce things that will make a great change in the life of the women. Bellamy in his "Equality" has given a hint at the wonderful improvements that the future has in store for the angel side of mankind.

Under Socialism what would be the incentive for any inventor to work harder than other men in order to get ahead? And what are you going to do with the fine fisher and freeder?—B. N.

Why should an inventor have to work harder than other men to get all the good things of life? Why would he want to get ahead (financially) of other men when it would add no possible pleasure or development to life? Under Socialism all men can have all the good things of life and not make life a continual struggle, either. The idea that the accumulation of riches is the object of life or that it develops any of the virtues of nature, is absurd.

The fine workmen, artist, sculptor will follow his vocation, because he prefers that to doing the coarse work of life. Others who cannot do such fine work will have to do some other useful work, the best they can, that the fine workman can do his. All will enjoy the labor of all. Skill will receive all the pleasures of life—today it does not. But it can do this and not deny to other workers the full enjoyment of what they also desire. Under private ownership this cannot be. Under Socialism it will be.

AWFUL SOCIALISTS.

The republican machine in St. Louis has robbed the city of several millions and some of the thieves are in prison and some in exile; the republican officials of Denver have robbed the city of hundreds of thousands in false vouchers and the city is all excited; the republican machines of Minneapolis, Minn., have stolen hundreds of thousands from the city by forgery and are being exposed; the looting of the city of Chicago by the democratic officials in connection with franchises and false vouchers reach hundreds of thousands of dollars in a few months; from almost every city in the land the daily press reports the stealing of public money by republican and democratic officials, all of which officials are denouncers of Socialism with its "policy of confiscation." What an awful set Socialists must be, because republican and democratic steal.

What is Socialism?

By Isador Ludoiff, the Author of "The Passing of Capitalism" for the Appeal to Reason.

IS Socialism an idle fancy of noble dreams? Is it a science founded on the impregnable rock of economic materialism? Is it a panacea for all the great evils of human society? Is it a constructive art? Is it a philosophy of life, a future stage of culture and civilization, a class struggle? Why are there no two authorities agreeing on the definition of the term Socialism. Why is the Socialistic movement all over the world split up in so many parties, factions and sects bitterly antagonizing each other? These and similar questions involuntarily suggest themselves to the thoughtful readers of any Socialistic publication. The key to the solution of the weighty problems involved in the indicated questions consists in the immense complexity and many-sidedness of Socialism.

The natural and acquired limitations of the average human mind and temperament are the causes of the fact, that Socialism reveals to different people its different aspects. These aspects are partial truths. In order to understand Socialism in all its entirety it is however necessary to consider it from as many points of view as possible. Once we arrived at that conclusion all the various conceptions of Socialism appear to us as component parts of the whole. Truth cannot be monopolized and no school of Socialism has any claim to infallibility. Every honestly maintained opinion, any sincere conviction has to be met in the spirit of broad tolerance and tested in the light of Reason and Knowledge.

In this spirit the writer of these lines presents to the kind readers a brief summary of his views on some aspects of Socialism and its mission.

AS A PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE Socialism is the modern expression of the principle of RACE-CONSCIOUSNESS (as opposed to Anarchism), based on the conviction that the interests of each man, woman and child are best served by subjection to the common interests of all mankind. This plain principle is the true foundation of International Socialism. SOCIALISM in the broadest sense of the term, IS THE RECOGNITION OF THE PERFECT SOLIDARITY OF THE INTEREST OF ALL MANKIND. THE interests of the proletariat and the entire human race are identical. THE CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS of the toilers, rightly understood, is nothing else but THE MODERN EXPRESSION OF RACE-CONSCIOUSNESS, THE HIGHEST IDEAL OF HUMANITY. Its aim consists in the emancipation of mankind from the despotic sway of economic power of one class over the other. The classical call of the communist manifesto; "Proletarians of all countries unite!" is the call for the consolidation of the overwhelming majority of the human race against a ridiculously small minority of exploiters.

AS A CONSTRUCTIVE ART, Socialism is the application of all the results of scientific investigation, of the pure results of human reason and noblest feelings to the problems of social economic life. In the past and in our days the evolution of human society was and is simply organic and unconscious. Constructive Socialism WILL introduce conscious endeavor into social development with the purpose to ORGANIZE HUMAN HAPPINESS ON EARTH. Constructive Socialism will emancipate mankind from subservience to its own creation—material wealth.

AS A STAGE OF CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION Socialism is bound to be superior to any previous stage. The mode of appropriation will be in harmony with the mode of production. Social appropriation will go hand in hand with social production. Only from that moment will men make their own history with full consciousness. Says A. EBERHART: "Only from that moment will the social forest set into motion by them produce the results desired by them in a larger and larger measure." IT IS THE LEAP OF HUMANITY FROM THE DOMAIN OF NECESSITY INTO THE REALM OF FREEDOM.

THERE IS NO SUCH A THING AS SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM OR UTOPIAN SOCIALISM. The modern phase of Socialism expounded by Rodbertus, Marx, Engels and Lassalle may be most correctly designated by the term CRITICAL as opposed to the preceding stage of EMOTIONAL Socialism. SOCIALISM IS NOT A SCIENCE just as capitalism is no

OUR BUSY WEEK.

The One Boss is cleaning up the new quarters, the bulldog returned from an encounter with the butcher's cat and ate up half the editorial matter, the red-headed office girl is mad because she can't find her gum, the Fiji is roaring because there is too much to do, the linotype men are yelling "copy," the devil has gone to the ball game, the business manager is so stuck up with postage stamps he won't talk and the whole plant is in an uproar, just because we are moving—but then you know how it is.

The Appeal is trying to interest the people in the subject of Socialism. It is leaving no stone unturned to do it. It uses every means to catch their attention and make a suggestion that will arouse their thought. In other words it is an advertisement for the cause. Once interested most people will be willing to investigate when the first comrade comes along and asks for a subscription to some Socialist magazine, paper or book. The Appeal has no other mission, and if it fills this one it will have done a work of incalculable benefit to the cause of Human Liberty.

Who will set the price on cotton and corn, and who will receive it and check the same under Socialism.—T. H. Sanders, Buel, Texas.

I have explained that the price of articles will be regulated by the time consumed in their production. Given the number of days employed in the department of any industry, and any school boy can tell how much each bushel or pound will cost. The public will own all the storage places, and the clerks in charge will receive the grain or other article, and it will be held there until ordered to place of manufacturer or consumption, as the case may be. This is simple, while the present system is so complex that the people in it and working it get skinned often, while they are planning to skin others. Socialism will simplify every transaction. The more complicated today the better for those who can give their entire attention to it, as but few can do that and the few have the advantage of the many. Social

science. Marx and his collaborators were men of science. But the so-called classical school of vulgar economists consisted likewise of scientists. Not as a scientist, but as a great critic of the economic school of the middle class and the industrial system it represented. Marx put the corner stone to the magnificent building of International Socialism. Not his knowledge, but his eminently critical and analytical turn of mind formed the foundation of modern Socialism. A Socialist may be a scientist or an ignoramus and his knowledge or ignorance cannot fail to affect favorably or unfavorably his clearness of vision on the subject of Socialism. But the Socialism of the scientist will not be more scientific than that of the ignoramus. As a rule, however, the more ignorant a Socialist is the more he is inclined to insist that his notions are the only scientific ones. The term Utopian applied to Socialism is a very unhappy one and is practically meaningless. That critical Socialism should follow after emotional Socialism is only natural, as critical reasonings follows after emotional development. Historical Emotional Socialism is the product of the development of race-consciousness and Critical Socialism inevitably leads to Constructive Socialism, which will be instrumental in building up a new stage of culture and civilization. THE PROVERBIAL DISSENSIONS AMONG different SOCIALISTS are to a great extent due to a Babylonian confusion of tongues caused by careless terminology.

Such a careless term is for instance REVOLUTIONARY as defining Socialism. Critical Socialism must necessarily look upon social economic cataclysms, as the great French Revolution, not as upon causes of changes of forms of social-economic life, but rather as their inevitable consequences. A political revolution is only a passing incident in the endless chain of social evolution. In view of this fact it is humiliating to hear and see Socialism identified with obsolete Jacobine aspirations, as it is frequently the case in our time of general confusion of thought. Socialistic or rather pseudo-Socialistic jingoism and revolutionary cant is just as contemptible as any other irrational misuse of language.

Socialism is primarily an educational movement. Its task consists in teaching people to conform their philosophy of life, their social ideals and moral principles to the modern economic forms of life. Socialism demands economic democracy, economic freedom, economic equality, as the only kind of democracy, freedom and equality worth striving for and trains the proletariat in order to lead it against the hosts of exploitation. Modern Socialism is not tied up by any special scheme of state organization. The final goal of Socialism is the greatest possible welfare of all. All the rest in our program has to be considered as to this final goal even the Socialistic principles. The recognition that these principles are the best means to attain the final goal makes us Socialists. Socialism like Sabbath is for men, not men for Socialism. Society is of higher importance to us than any of its forms, say Dr. David of Mainz BUILDING OF THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

Advanced thinkers do not expect any sudden transformation of the present capitalist state of society into a co-operative commonwealth by the means of a popular revolt or in consequence of a sudden general collapse of capitalism under the weight of its own incongruities. The transformation of the capitalist state into a Socialistic one can be brought about more or less gradually. Socialism must grow into our present society and permeate its entire system until it absorbs and transforms it into the new order. Neither complacent dreams about a future millennium, nor empty phrasology can be of avail to the advanced Socialists, conscious of the magnitude and scope of the gigantic task before him and of the grave responsibilities connected with it. We have to start the realization of our ideals as far as our power reach, in our own time, in our own social environment. If we do not succeed to accomplish much, we will at least lay the foundation on which future generations will build the magnificent structure of Socialistic culture and civilization.



He is one of the millions that work in factories, in mines and all over this country. Wherever youth is changed into dollars and human life coined into great fortunes this poor child is the victim. He knows nothing of the outdoor life that makes existence worthwhile. He knows nothing of nature, no chance in life is his. And those who turn his life and blood and hope into money use him for low wages to hurt grown men.—New York Journal.

INDEPENDENCE DAY CLUBS.

Don't forget the INDEPENDENCE DAY CLUBS to be gathered July Fourth. We hope to hear from every reader of the Appeal with at least one new reader captured on that date. Thousands of Socialists in the years to come will remember July 4, 1902, as the date of their association from error and superstition.

Unexpected Adversaries to Labor.

By Hall Caine in Wilshire's Magazine.



W E cannot but recognize the clear fact that, whatever the success of the Labor movement in this country, it is not succeeding here as it succeeds abroad. Why is this so? The question is a difficult one. I offer the explanation that the Labor movement in Great Britain is contending against two unexpected adversaries—the Press and the Churches. Strange and pitiful anomaly that the press of a country, which is the voice of the people, which is the parliament of the people, is often the first to oppose the people, and all but the last to join them! Stranger still, and yet more pitiful, that the pulpit, which is the tribunal of the Church, and ought to be therefore the sounding-board of the teachings of Christ, is too often the enemy of the people who come into collision with the powers He came to destroy! Yet so it is, and though, as a journalist who thinks the debt of the public to the press is deep and lasting, and as a believer who things religious faith essential to the welfare of humanity, I should be sorry to do anything to reduce the authority of the press or of the churches, I cannot but say that both have been impediments to the movement in which the people are struggling for their rights.

I am sorry to say it, but I say it with all emphasis, that the churches, speaking of them as a whole, and allowing for notable exceptions, have always been opposed to efforts put forward in the political interests of the people. If it could be shown, as I think it could, that the newspaper press has never yet initiated any great movement for the good of the people, what social reforms have the churches initiated? What did the churches do for the enlargement of representative government? What did they do (the claims of some of them notwithstanding) for the emancipation of the slave? What are the churches doing at this moment to promulgate in the midst of the war the doctrine of peace? Have any of these things ever been done by the churches, taking them altogether, and all the ages through? Isn't it a fact in the history of humanity that whatever has been done for the political progress of the people has been done by the people themselves, outside the tutelage of the churches? Show me a single victory for humanity that has not been won by the people for the people, and often in the face of the churches. I know of none.

This is a serious indictment, but I believe it is a true one, and if the facts are as I say, the reason is not far to seek. Two great forces are always at work to keep the churches back while the people are pressing forward. One of these is a low and partly unworthy force, the other is a high and mistaken one. The unworthy force is the material interests of the churches and of their clergy. Few churches are so spiritual that they have their body to think of as well as their soul. The body of the churches in the material sense, is always at war with the soul of the churches. It is always on the side of the existing order, of the government and authority which prevails at the given moment, and consequently it is always against the social state. Like the pagans, the churches have their material interests with the rich and powerful, and on the side of the thrones and princes.

That is one reason, the lower reason, why the churches have never been pioneers in the social and economic progress of humanity. The higher reason is the sincere conviction which the churches, as a whole, seem to have taken since the early Christian ages—that the existing order of society is divinely ordained, and that any attempt to alter it is a wicked effort to disturb the scheme of the Creator. Conscious of the misery of the world, of the shocking inequalities of wealth and poverty, of fearful want and frightful luxury existing side by side, the churches appear to have despaired of altering anything to any purpose. At a loss to reconcile Christianity to life as it actually is, they have found relief in the idea that the teaching of the Gospel is a purely religious message which has nothing to do with economic questions or the condition of man in this world.

They have quoted a number of texts, "The poor ye have always with you," "My Kingdom is not of this world," and "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's," in order to show that the mission of Jesus was in no way directed to the improvement of the material position of the people, and that with the social and economic condition of His own or any other time Christ had nothing whatever to do. When the poor have groaned under their hard lot, the churches have told them to look up from the miseries of this world to the joys of the world to come. In times of peace the churches have taught the people to pray that the servant may be obedient to his master, and the subject may submit to his ruler, whoever the master or the ruler at the given moment may be. And when, in times of revolution the people have broken down the inequalities and the injustices, the tyrannies and the slaveries of the existing order, the churches have generally protested that Jesus was a great conservative, and that He always showed profound respect for law and order.

There is a reason, peculiar to our own time, why the churches have never yet been with the people in the struggle for their social and economic rights. The labor movement labors under the stigma of being an irreligious movement. Its leaders are thought to be irreligious men, and its claims are believed to be against the teachings of religion. It is the old cry over again, the same that has been raised against every reform carried out in the name of humanity since the days of Christ Himself. But if the aims of the people were not according to religion and if their leaders are godless men, it is the duty of the churches to come in and save them from both evils. It is the fault of the churches themselves, if it can be said that they are only obsolete aspects in the development of humanity which hinders progress, that of all the agencies towards reform, the churches are the last to move, and that, because the churches will not go on with the people, the people are compelled to go on without the churches. Let the economic and social redemption of the people come through the churches, and the irreligious and godless, if there are such among the people, will disappear.

But it is the fact that the labor movement, either in England or anywhere else, is an irreligious movement? I say it is not an irreligious movement, and never has been so. I say that the movement of the people for their rights, by whatever name it may be called, is the most truly religious social movement the world has ever known. What is the religious principle of the Gospel, so far as it concerns the life of man in this world? Is it not a procla-

mation of the solidarity and brotherliness of the whole human family? And what is the principle of the labor movement but that and that only? It is quite true that Christ did not formulate a social or political program. If He had done so He would not be Christ to us today, but merely an Eastern reformer nineteen hundred years in His grave. His program might have suited Palestine at the beginning of the Christian era, but it would have been of no use to Englishmen in the twentieth century. It is the unique distinction of Christ's message on the social question that it deals only with the universal. Its universality covers the needs of the poor and oppressed in our day just as it covered the needs of the poor and oppressed in the days when the Jews were under the heel of the Romans, and when the hypocritical Pharisees devoted themselves to the cult of righteousness, and showed no sympathy with the poor. It would be wrong to say of Christ's message that it was chiefly intended to bring about an economic reform either in His own day or in ours, but it certainly included as a part of its scheme the relief of poverty and distress and the deliverance of the poor from misery and oppression.

How can we doubt that, with its other and higher aim, the Gospel is a great social message? Look at the plain facts. The first of them is that nineteen hundred years ago a man of the name of Jesus Christ, whom all Christians worship as God, was born poor and humble, when he might have been born rich and powerful. His poverty was so great that on one occasion He said, almost with bitterness, "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head." He was a working man, and His friends were workmen, and He walked with the poor, and remained with them until the day of His death.

The next fact is that the opinions of Christ were the opinions natural to workmen, who saw the strength that poverty gives and the burden which wealth imposes. Need I recall the parable of Lazarus to show you that in Christ's view the possession of riches was a great danger to the human soul? Need I remind you that He said it was easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven, to prove that He had a poor man's opinions about rich men, and that it seems that as if He could hardly be just to them?

The final fact is that the prayer which we call the Lord's Prayer, the only prayer which Christ taught His people, the prayer into which, presumably, He gathered up (from whatever sources) the whole sum of His teaching, all His parables and sermons, is a social message of overwhelming force. Look at it clause by clause. It begins with the words "Our Father." Could anything more plainly indicate the equality of all men? If God is our Father, all men are our brothers, and the laws which give higher power and authority to one man than to another, which allow one man to govern for no better reason than that he was born the eldest son, and condemn another to serve because he was born the second son, are manifestly contrary to Christ's first principle of the relation of man to man, and man to God. The Lord's Prayer says, "Give us this day our daily bread." Could anything indicate more clearly the desire for relief from economic distress, or the demand for absolute condemnation of the laws of land and capital which permit one man to live in boundless luxury while they require another to linger in the misery of want? The Lord's Prayer says, "Forgive us our trespasses; as we forgive them that trespass against us." Could anything speak plainer on the true relation of man to organized society, and the duty of nation to nation or condemn more absolutely the barbarous methods of settling international disputes by recourse to arms? Above all, the Lord's Prayer says, "Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is done in Heaven," and surely nothing could more completely discountenance the conduct of the churches, which, recognizing in all ages the frightful injustices of the existing order, have counseled resignation on the ground that the worst evils of the world, the crying inequalities of the classes, the awful extravagances of the rich, and the fearful privations of the poor, are a part of the divine ordinance, and therefore—paradoxically enough—evils only to be remedied in another and better existence.

Can there be a more direct message to the living world than this message of the Gospel? You may call it impractical and Utopian and out of harmony with the progress of civilization, and that Christianity is a useless dream, but you cannot say that the Gospel is not profoundly concerned with the social and economic problems of the world in which we live.

Perhaps there is truth in the statement, so frequently made by the churches that the leaders of the labor movement are, for the most part, on the side of unbelief. But it is the fault of the churches themselves, and not of the Gospel, if that is so. The churches have so persistently resisted the progress of freedom, so frequently told us that the Gospel has nothing whatever to do with the condition of man in this world, so deliberately tried to draw the people off from the struggle for their just rights, so strenuously exhorted them to patience and submission against intolerable wrongs, so persistently taught that the Kingdom of Heaven is to be looked for within and not without, that it is little wonder if many men who feel acutely the sufferings of the world, have come to think that Christianity, with its useless lesson of fatal resignation, leaves humanity in the lurch. Can we be surprised that such is one of the accusations against Christianity when the churches are content to talk about the Gospel as if it had nothing to do with the world, as if it were only intended to govern mankind on Sunday, when we put on our Sunday clothes, and our shops are closed and our safes are locked? Can we wonder that when the churches are so much occupied in the sublime office of teaching people how to die, some hot-blooded but honest souls should tell them that it is infinitely more necessary to know how to live?

But the solid body of the Labor party are not to be found among the unbelievers. The vast multitude of them, though they may be outside the churches, are holding onto the fundamental things of the Christian religion, and they are not to be driven out of them by any menaces or any misinterpretation of the Gospel lesson in relation to the life of the world. We don't say that the Gospel is nothing more than a social message, but we do say that its social message is an essential part of its message of Eternal Life. We don't say that Christ was merely a great social reformer, but we do say that without being a social reformer He could not have been Christ. We don't say that the churches should devote themselves exclusively to social and economic conditions, but we do say that if they ignore

these questions, they set aside one of the most solemn and urgent parts of the Gospel teaching. We don't say that the Kingdom of Heaven is not within, but we do say that it cannot be within, and not sooner or later be without. We don't say that there is nothing in the labor program, either here or elsewhere which is not in the Gospel, but we do say that there is nothing in the social teachings of Christ which is not in the spirit of the movement by which the largest class of men in every civilized country in the world are now crying out for their rights.

The labor program is a profoundly religious and Christian propaganda, whoever and whatever its leaders may be, and the powers that are against it are profoundly irreligious and pagan, whoever and whatsoever their advocates are. What is the pagan concept of government, and what is the Christian concept of government? The pagan concept of government is Authority, and that alone justifies the unconstituted rights, the inequalities, the barbarities, and the miseries that civilization has for two thousand years been striving to break down. The Christian concept of government is Right, and that asserts the value of the individual soul, the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of men, and all that these imply in uniting mankind into one family. Is there anything in the spirit of the program of the Labor party which is contrary to this Christian concept of government? Nothing whatever. The labor program is a religious propaganda, and above all, a Christian propaganda. The Labor party may feel sure that they are holding up the Christian banner, and are waging, whatever the world or even the churches may say, a religious, not an irreligious war. Let the churches call it Socialism if they like; it is Christianity as well.

Let us adhere to this claim, no matter what opposition we meet with. Whatever they call us—Democrats, Socialists, even Anarchists, if they please—let us continue to claim the Gospel for our charter and the teaching of Christ as the basis of our social message. With this message, as it expresses itself from time to time in the problems we are called on to consider, let us meet all our difficulties, knowing that our appeal is to the conscience of man, that the conscience of man is the true expression of the divine, and that sooner or later, in God's good time, the divine must prevail.

A Word Picture by Tolstoy.

A boy is born in the country. Laboring always with his father, grandfather, his mother, he sees each year the finest crops from the fields he and his father have ploughed, harrowed and sowed—the fields that his mother and sister have mowed and reaped, binding the corn into the sheaves which he himself has helped to stack—he sees always that his father carries the best of these crops, not to his own house, but to the squire's barn beyond the manor gardens.

As they pass the manor house with the creaking cart he and his father have piled up the boy sees on the veranda a richly dressed lady seated at a table spread with a silver kettle, fine china, cakes and sweets; on the other side of the carriage drive he sees the squire's two sons in shining shoes and embroidered shirts playing ball on the smooth lawn.

The ball is knocked over the cart. "Pick it up, boy," cries one of the young gentlemen.

"Pick it up, Johnny!" shouts the father to his son, taking off his cap and walking by the side of the cart holding the reins.

"What does it mean?" thinks the boy. "I am tired with work while they are playing; yet I must fetch the ball for them!"

But he reaches the ball and the gentleman takes it from the cart, sun-burnt peasant boy's hand with fine white fingers and returns to the game without noticing him.

The boy's father has gone on with the cart. The boy runs along the road to catch them up, kicking up the dust with his clumsy, worn-out boots, and together they reach the barn, which is crowded with carts and sheaves. The bustling overseer, his canvas jacket wet with sweat at the back, and a stick in his hand, greets the boy's father with an oath for driving up the wrong place. The father apologizes, turns back wearily, lugging at the reins of the exhausted horse, and stops at the further side.

The boy approaches his father and asks: "Father, why do we bring our corn to him? Haven't we grown it?"

"Because the land is theirs," answers his father, angrily.

"Who gave the land, then?"

"Go and ask the overseer there. He'll explain it to you. Do you see his stick?"

"But what will they do with this corn?"

"Thresh it and grind, it and then sell it."

"And what will they do with the money?"

"They will buy those cakes with it that you saw on the table when we passed."

The boy becomes quiet and thoughtful. But he has little time for thought. The men shout to his father to bring his cart nearer. He pulls the horse up to the stacks, climbs to the top of his load, unties the rope and wearily hands the sheaves up one by one, straining his hernia with each effort, while the boy holds the old mare, whom he has driven for the last two years, brushing away the flies as his father tells him, and wondering, for he cannot understand, why the land does not belong to those who work it, but to those young gentlemen who play about in fancy shirts and drink tea and eat cakes.

The boy thinks about this continually; when waking, when going to sleep, when attending the horses, but finds no answer. Every one says it is as it should be—and lives accordingly.

This is the way it is done in Russia. The sale of the products enables the idlers to get the services of the city and factory workers, exchanges the labor of the renters of the land for the skill of the shop and office. The renters in the United States are in just the same relation as the renters in Russia. But here the robbery is greater, for the rich and powerful have so organized every industry that the working people cannot eat, drink or look at anything unless they pay the tribute which greed has placed in the price in the shape of extortionate profits. Let us not waste our sympathy on the poor Russian; better that we look about us and understand that we too are sufferers from the same system, differing only in the form of application. We have the Russian industrial conditions here—the supporting of the idle by the workers. Even the farmers who own their land have to divide with the owners of trusts, because the latter takes the better part of their crops by the price they put on the twine, the wire, the implements, the groceries, the lumber, the clothing and other things the farmers buy. This part of the robbery has not been so well organized in Russia as it is in America. With the advent of the great farm, with scientific management, Tolstoy's picture of Russian farm life will be reproduced here—on a more intense scale. Will this fall on deaf ears as you read it?

"THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISM" is what every human being should know, and John Collins' book, costing only 25 cents postpaid, tells the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Free Text Books in Schools.

Of the free text book proposition it may be said not to be a new one. It has been on trial for years and has surpassed the most sanguine expectations of its most earnest advocates. From Minnesota where the law was passed in 1893 the state superintendent of public instruction reported in 1897 that 1,458 common districts had adopted free text books at a cost of 42 cents per pupil; 93 independent and special districts at a cost of 55 cents; and 153 graded schools at a cost of 75 cents. The report shows that more than half of the districts were using free text books and at a cost decreasing from 54 cents, 75 cents and 90 cents in 1885 to 42 cents, 55 cents and 75 cents in 1897.

He also says that notwithstanding the rapid increase in school population, the average annual cost per pupil has decreased beyond expectation. He also condenses the argument in favor of free text books as follows:

- 1. It is the duty of the government to educate its future citizens so that they may be intelligent defenders of its rights and liberties. The state should see that all its school children are properly equipped for this work.
2. It makes the schools free in fact as well as in name and removes a barrier which now prevents many poor children from attendance.
3. It secures uniformity of books in the district and much cheaper for the community, because the books are bought at the lowest wholesale prices and are used by more than one pupil.
4. It saves time at the beginning of each term of school because the pupils are supplied with books immediately and can go to work without the usual and sometimes annoying delay.
5. It secures better classification especially in rural schools and in all districts where there is a large floating population.
6. It develops and cultivates a careful use of public property on the part of the pupils, because they are held responsible for any unnecessary wear or damage of the books in their possession.
7. It gives opportunity to secure fresh and modern books, and prolongs the school life of many pupils who could not afford the expense for books in the higher grades.
8. It banishes unpleasant distinctions between those who can and those who cannot afford to buy their own books, such as often arises under a law providing free text books for indigent children alone.

From Iowa, where the law will be put in practical operation July 1902, the state superintendent's report is full of interest to the public as well as to school teachers and officers. The main interest centers in the problem of centralization of township schools and the public transportation of pupils. This is discussed in the most practical way by the superintendent and his conclusions and recommendations will be accepted by many boards shortly.

Free text books have been adopted in fifty-eight districts in thirty-one different counties. Among the cities having adopted the system are Spencer, Clinton, Missouri Valley, Marshalltown, Glenwood, Clarinda, West Des Moines, East Des Moines, Council Bluffs, Nevada, Bloomfield, Toledo, Grinnell and Mount Ayr.

Mr. Louis C. Kurts of West Des Moines in speaking of the use of free text books says: "I believe that this has materially increased the attendance and improved the quality of the work done."

Superintendent Sheakley of the same district says: "The furnishing of text books and supplies by the board has consequently been a great saving to the people, besides increasing the attendance and enabling better work to be done."

Superintendent Bostwick of Clinton writes: "It will be a great advantage in my judgment if every district in the state would adopt the free text book system."

From the above experience we are enabled to arrive at the conclusion that the expense of free text books is much less than that of individual ownership. There is clearly a gain of 25 to 40% in the cost and 30 to 40% in the length of time the books can be used, making a total saving of fully 50% to every pupil.

P. P. AYER.

Backward or Forward, Which?

There was a time when kings "farmed out" the work of organizing, drilling and subsisting their armies. Later, the nation did this work in their collective capacity; and the work was better and more cheaply done.

There was a time when mail was carried and post offices were kept by private individuals and by companies. Now all civilized people do this work through post office departments; and the effect of the change has been to enormously increase and better and cheapen the service.

There was a time when all schools were private enterprises. Now the public schools are the child of the government; and education from being the exception has become the rule; from being grotesque has become, or is becoming, symmetrical.

Who would like to change our modern way of doing these things for the methods in use a century—or two, or five centuries ago?

Do you know what people said and thought of these changes at the time of their making? They raised the cry "Paternalism." They claimed that the government was assuming the work, rights and privileges of the people; that the sole power of government lay in its police—or should; that its sole business was to keep the peace, protect property, and punish criminals. It must do nothing to make its citizens happy, wise and prosperous; but must keep off the invaders, hang the criminals and let every other man alone to work out his own happiness, comfort and prosperity as he best could.

When nations assumed control of the post office business it undoubtedly threw a great many people out of employment. Was it right for the government to do so? When the schools first came under public control, thousands of "back-numbered" teachers were stranded. Were the governments wrong?

No. Before the change, the whole people were suffering—we better than they, know how much. By its high tariff, the private postal service was a bar to, rather than a medium of communication. By the stupidity and cruelty of the old time dominies, the love of learning was frosted—not fostered.

These changes and others are milestones on the march of humanity that has brought us from slavery, through feudalism and serfdom, to political democracy.

What next? Are there other changes in store for us? Is it wise or modest to believe that in today's conditions we see the ne plus ultra? That position lands us in the ranks of the persecutors of Galileo, and the partisans of the slave trade. Is society as now constituted a safe place for a Christian to live? If Christ should come today would our balance of trade be right?

You are strong of body—in robust health. Would you not blush to overpower a weaker man and take from him his earnings and savings? Wouldn't you? You are strong in intelligence, learning. Should you not blush to over-intelligence, out-wit, out-cunning a simple man and cozen him out of his goods—goods that cost him his weakness more than they would cost you your strength? Do you? You are blessed

Is it kind, is it moral, is it Christian for you to seek to verify the passage, "To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away that which he hath," and ignore that sublimest of all sayings, "Whatsoever ye would that others should do to you, do ye even the same to them?" Is it? How much more virtuous is it to take by strength of mind or length of purse than by strength of muscle? Why is it that physical might no longer makes right, but intellectual might or pecuniary might does? Did Christ draw the line?

Was the Golden Rule given for the weak, the simple and the poor only? Or was that sublimate truth for all—for the poor and the rich—the simple and the wise—the weak and the strong—the foodpad and the railroad president, the ranchman and the sugar trust. How was it? How is it?

C. F. WILLCUTT.

The Morganization of the World.

Napoleon's plot to secure control of all Europe—Russia's plot to control the whole eastern coast of Asia—the plotting of all the diplomatists of the world, fade into the pale colors of a departing rainbow compared to the plot of three American financiers to control the money of the world.

The plot, in its magnificent sequence, spreading over all the lands and seas of the Western hemisphere, is exposed. H. Gaylord Wilshire, editor of Wilshire's Magazine and candidate for parliament from West Elgin, Canada, gives the astounding details in the June number of Wilshire's Magazine. Advance sheets of the ultra sensational article, fresh from the press, have just reached the newspaper offices.

"Give me a lever long enough and a place to stand on and I can move the earth," has always been regarded as an idealistic claim of a fanciful philosopher.

J. Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller and James J. Hill are three financiers who have found a place to stand on, and the place is New York. They have a lever long enough—the Northern Securities Company decision by the United States supreme court—and Mr. Wilshire shows how they can move the earth.

With \$100,000,000, these three men can absolutely control \$600,000,000 of stocks, being the whole issue of the Burlington, the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern Railways. They have actually invested \$200,000,000 to control the Northern Securities Company. But by organizing the First Morganization Company, as Mr. Wilshire calls it, to control the Northern Securities Company, they can secure the whole capitalization of the latter company with their \$200,000,000 of stock in the Northern Securities Company, and then sell half of the First Morganization Company's stock to the public—or 49% of it—and get \$100,000,000 of their capital back.

In the revelation published by Mr. Wilshire, Morgan further proposes to his two confederates to later float the Second and third and even the Fourth Morganization Companies, securing additional roads with each reorganization until eventually the great systems such as the New York Central, Pennsylvania, Union Pacific, Santa Fe, and in fact all the roads in the country, will be controlled by these three magnates, while the amount invested by them will be nothing.

To what lengths the continued division of stock issues into majority and minority holdings can be carried has never before been pointed out. The natural consummation of the Northern Securities decision has never before been realized and the Morganization of the industries of the world, along this line, is made not only clear, but very, very near, in this wonderful exposition of the great financial plot that hangs low over the heads of the public.

Women Section Hands.

The American working class is approaching the condition of the European peasant at such a rapid rate that it takes the breath and occasionally gives our national vanity a severe jolt.

The following clippings show what we can expect for our children and mothers if the present rule of greed is to continue:

Macon, Mo., June 23.—"We have three women laborers on the Pawpaw division of the St. Louis, Memphis & Southeastern," said James P. Worthington, resident engineer, who is here this week on a brief furlough. "It staggered me a bit when I first observed them, but when I saw the relentless energy with which they hiked overloaded wheelbarrows up the dump, my pity went out to the barrows. Instead of being objects of sympathy, one is rather inclined to envy their vigorous health and strength.—K. C. World.

Think of it!—168,624 children under the age of sixteen are employed in the mills and factories of this country. In many instances these children are little better than slaves. They are underpaid, overworked, and deprived of the necessities of life, God's pure sunshine, and the joys which should attend their age. In slavery days the little pickaninies were allowed to run about the plantation, and were properly housed and fed, and given every opportunity to grow into strong men and women. A change has come over the nation. The want of food forces the little ones into the factory and workshop as soon as they are able to stand. Amid the noise of the mill they spend their childhood hours, reach maturity, and pass into the great beyond without having experienced real happiness and forever followed by the fear of hunger and want. Is this not a condition of which the nation can be proud? How grand our civilization; but, oh! the cost of it.—Typographical Journal.

An Overdose of Incentive.

The objection to Socialism most frequently encountered is the idea that socialized industry would remove the incentive to effort. Incentive is regarded as the indispensable article that moves the universe and the human family. Probably it does, but recent developments indicate that like many other things that are good when used in moderation, incentive like fire or fire-water may consume its possessor.

For some time it has been reported that Mr. Rockefeller has been unable to eat a square meal and that he is in more or less of a broken down condition. Now comes the report that J. Pierpont Morgan has taken an overdose of the incentive-knock-out-drops and is going to Europe to recover.

The Knoxville, Tenn., News of June 19, winds up an editorial thusly: "But undoubtedly the rapid tendency is to Socialism, an unconscious but nevertheless sure but never retrograding tendency. And many of us are really Socialists who verily abhor the name."

The "Twelve Hundred" Combination. 50 copies, Why Working men should be Socialists. 25 " Title Deeds to Land. 25 " Wanted, A New Conscience. 25 " The Social Conscience. 25 " Definition of Socialism. Cards. 25 " Drop cards, Ten kinds, 50 of a kind. 50 " Stickers, 4 kinds, 100 of a kind. Good for many and not bad for any. Order the "Twelve Hundred" Combination. Postage prepaid, \$1.00.

More about American Beauty Roses.

The American Beauty Rose can be produced in the splendor and fragrance which bring cheer to its holder only by sacrificing the early buds which grow up around it.

THE conditions which prevail in the heart of the glass district of New Jersey can only find a parallel in the days before the Civil War.

Both laws are openly violated in the glass districts under peculiarly revolting conditions. Boys of nine, ten and eleven years, hardly able to crawl by reason of their bodily weakness are made to work ten and often fourteen hours a day at labor from which a strong man might well recoil.

Think of a boy of nine, weak, puny, stunted, lying amid surroundings not the most favorable dragged from his bed at 6 o'clock in the morning and an hour later given a seat within two feet of a glass furnace, the heat of which is so great that no thermometer is made that will record the temperature, and then compelled to sit for five weary hours bending his body backward and forward every fifteen seconds as he closes the moulds for blowers who work just above him.

Midway between 7 and 12 o'clock through the tender consideration of the factory owner, he is allowed to have a recess of fifteen minutes, and this he spends, not resting, as one might suppose, but carrying in four or five pails of water, averaging in weight ten pounds each, for the use of the blowers when the recess is over.

Then the lad returns to work again. He is allowed an hour for his dinner, when he once more begins the steady grind, being released finally at 5 o'clock for the day.

During the dinner hour he carries water and he must also have a fresh supply on hand when the work day begins at 7 a. m., which means that he must be at the factory at 6:30 every morning.

Most of these boys live in the country, eight and ten miles from the factory. The strike which has been running against the More Jones factories in Bridgeton and at Minotola has temporarily released all of the available boys in the towns, and the factory owners have been compelled to go out into the farming districts to secure their prey.

The result is a constantly growing generation of lads who are stunted in size, in appearance, stoop shouldered, veritable gnomes in appearance, and worse than all taken practically from their mother's breasts and put to work, they are deprived absolutely of all educational advantages and are growing up in dire ignorance.

The three out of five of them do not know their own names when they see them in print. Mrs. Lamphere, a woman who has devoted most of her time to ameliorating the conditions, is authority for the statement that MANY OF THE CHILDREN ARE ABSOLUTELY IGNORANT OF WHAT THEIR NAMES ARE AND WILL REFER YOU TO THEIR PARENTS AND BOSSES WHEN ASKED WHAT THEIR NAMES ARE.

This, then, is the situation in a seemingly prosperous section of one of the oldest and most enlightened states in the Union.

The clearest explanation of the many by which the glass factory owners seek to excuse

the use of child labor is perhaps that of George S. Bacon, general manager of the Whitehall Taitum Mills at Millville, N. J., where some effort is made to live up to the requirements of the law.

Mr. Bacon made no effort to conceal the fact that the use of child labor was simply and solely because it was cheaper, and yet Mr. Bacon was very emphatic in declaring that he would not want any sons of his, even at the age of twelve, to enter the glass factories.

When asked what would be done if the minimum age at which children could be employed was raised to sixteen years, he said: "I suppose we would try to reach the condition, but to raise the age would make it more costly to make glass. The older the boys the bigger the wages we would have to pay them, and this is the situation in a sentence."

The proprietors of the glass factories say that they must have boys to do the work because men can't do it, because men are too tall to do the constant bending made necessary and because the boys are more active and agile.

But in other states where glass is largely made, in Indiana and in New York, where the age limit is higher than in New Jersey, grown boys and full grown men do the work and do it as acceptably.

The whole position is simply that the boys can be secured for from 57 to 62 cents per day, while men would have to be paid from \$1 to \$1.50. Therefore boys are preferred, and as a result not only are more infants tied down to a slavery that is destroying them mentally, morally and physically, but labor as well as being degraded and reduced to a low level.

For the factory proprietor grades all his salaries proportionately to those paid the boy, and in consequence adult labor averages from \$1 to \$1.50 per day lower than that of almost every other state.

It has this depressing effect upon adult labor that the employment of children has that caused the glass blowers' union to make a determined stand against the evil, that it goes without saying that the labor leaders are as alive to the inhumanity of the situation as anyone. And it must be understood that it is not only in the non-union shops, but in those where the union is recognized as well, that the evil of child labor prevails and general low wages prevail, although a more consistent effort is made by the union shops to enforce the law than elsewhere.

Not all of the children have been deprived of educational advantages either, though most of them have.

The offending factory owners will point to the night schools which have been opened for the boys if you attack them upon that ground. But when a ten, an eleven or a twelve year old boy has been on his feet from 5:30 or 6 a. m., until 6:30 or 7 p. m., he is in no condition to attend night school.

Moreover, these boys alternate on night and day work one week. A boy works all day, the next he works all night, so that it is impossible for him to secure consecutive weeks of schooling.

Generally the lad is so completely tired out when his day's work is done that he falls exhausted in the most available spot and sleeps like an animal until morning.

There is a case on record of an Italian lad who lived out after a day's work, fell exhausted on the railroad tracks at Minotola, where he slept until a train turned his sleep into death. This little fellow was only ten years old, and he had been working with the blast furnace for more than two years.

Though Italians are slowly creeping into the glass business, most of the lads who are held in this bondage are Americans of an average age of eleven years and a weight of from forty-five to fifty-five pounds. One of the surprising features of the case is the indifference of public opinion to the plight of the children.

—New York Journal.

New Zealand.

From a letter written by Archie H. Green from Wellington, New Zealand, to the San Diego Sun, published in San Diego, Cal., we clip the following relative to conditions in New Zealand.

"New Zealand is said to be the most prosperous country in the world. There are no beggars to be seen on the streets, and a New Zealander is unacquainted with the 'hobo'.

There are no unemployed, and the wages are very good. The cost of living is a trifle more than it is in the United States—but work is generally more easily obtained. The labor class here are in power and the labor laws are very stringent. No employer is allowed to work his men over eight hours a day, and he is obliged to give him a half holiday every week, besides Sunday.

Every place of business and factory has to be closed on a legal holiday, which occurs very often in this country. New Zealand is called the "laboratory for political experiments", and many things have been tried here for the first time. This government would if possible just suit the Socialist party of our country.

The government owns the railroads, the telegraph systems, telephone system, all the street cars, all the water systems, lighting systems, and there is a government insurance company which is run by the government, backed up by the government funds, and officers appointed by the ministry.

Some of the representatives in parliament were proposing that the government should open and run a large silver mine in the south island, but the more conservative members overruled it.

The government holds a remote claim on almost all the land of the colony, as it is only let out on a 999-year lease. If a man does not use his land to its best advantage, but allows it to decline, the government pays him for what it is worth and sells it off to other parties. Like France, this is a country of small farms.

The New Chinese Law.

Samuel Gompers says in the American Federationist concerning the new Chinese exclusion law:

"The entire measure is as defective, deceptive and inefficient to accomplish the desired purpose as such a piece of patchwork, of which the law is composed, well can be. It presents one of the most conspicuous pieces of bungling or vicious legislation, or both, ever enacted by congress. It is a menace not only to the workers of the United States, but to our republic and to our civilization."

In view of this one fact, to say nothing about many others of the same character, how can Mr. Gompers consistently be opposed to the American Federation of Labor declaring for Socialism? If the old political methods fail to bring about the results desired, why not try something new?

Workmen of America, vote together for candidates of your own class. If you will not do this, prepare for Chinese conditions. Do as you please, but don't for one minute believe that public sentiment will take the screws of oppression from your backs if you continue to vote as you have voted, and don't complain if you have to work sixteen hours a day for fifty cents. Be either free and independent citizens, or suffer in silence for the privilege of serving your masters.—Worker's Gazette.

Waking the Giant.

At the electrical convention held at San Francisco recently, the president who is president of an electrical company, seeing the trend of public opinion, spoke the following warning to his brother exploiters:

"The risk from labor troubles is not the least of the factors in our equation. Linemen and station keepers have us at their mercy even more so than motormen and conductors have a city railroad. Already the linemen have struck for the eight hour day and three dollar wage. Success may breed and encourage larger demands. Allied to the growing menace of organized labor is the seething of the communistic tendencies of the times. Foremost among the schemes urged is that of municipal ownership of public utilities. This we need not fear, since municipalities need our cheap power.

FOR US A FAR MORE DANGEROUS AGITATION IS THAT WHICH NOW PROPOSES STATE APPROPRIATION OF ALL WATER RIGHTS. The scheme advocated makes the appropriation little less than sheer confiscation. Indeed the movement is simply an organization for public robbery on a large scale. This agitation is being vigorously pushed in the name of progress, and the masses are easily blinded as to their duties toward vested rights and are often misled into extravagances."

Hanna's Rathbone of Contention.

The Cuban act of amnesty by which all Americans imprisoned in that island prior to the inauguration of the Palma government are to be released, bears the finger prints of Marcus A. Hanna's fine hand.

Estes G. Rathbone, formerly of Cleveland, was appointed director of the posts in Cuba. As such he was entrusted with stamps to the value of \$180,000 with instruction to exchange for those before in use and destroy the old ones.

With the same eye for business that has made his friend Hanna notorious, Rathbone sold the old stamps and proceeded to have a good time with the proceeds. But a public office was not regarded altogether as a private snap, so Mr. Rathbone together with his lieutenant, C. F. W. Neely, of Muncie, Ind., brought up behind the bars.

Since their imprisonment, Mr. Hanna has been trying to get them out and the pardon of all Americans will do what Hanna wants.

Consternation in Colorado.

The announcement of Debs' removal to Colorado has thrown the editor of the Pueblo Chieftain into such trepidation that in nearly a column of nervous shrieks he warns the good people of the Centennial state against "reckless" remorseless vivisection" and other blood-curdling things which he would have his readers believe to be part of the Socialist program.

Like the little bug that lives under the big rock and fears nothing so much as the light, the illuminating presence of Mr. Debs moves the editor of the Chieftain to laughable antics.

That the sleepy defenders of dying superstition should be slightly stirred is no more than would be expected after the recent Denver convention, but his fear of the seduction of the unwarmed men in Colorado and the total disruption of society should not be taken too seriously but rather be regarded as the peevish prattling of a second-time child who don't want the Socialist boys to play in his yard.

Educational.

"Congress should bestir itself. There are 300,000 children in the Indian Territory who are growing up without the advantages of public schools. This will never do in a country which boasts of what it is doing in the way of educating its children.—Albany Evening Journal.

The available funds have probably been exhausted in the benevolent illumination of the Filipinos.

Prosperity Paragraphs.

Western Union employees are re-organizing; their union was broken up in 1883.

The sixth week of the anthracite coal strike was completed June 21st, when it was estimated that the losses up to that time aggregated \$35,385,000.

Because boys shouted "scab" at a company thug at Mahanoy City, Pa., the guard chased them, firing into the crowd and wounding John McCann, a seventeen year old boy.

The large body of Hungarians imported by Jewett & Brooks to work in their coal mines at Bigelow, W. Va., joined the miners' union in a body, and not a man of them would go to work.

Fifteen thousand Pullman conductors have signed a petition asking for an increase of wages and uniforms after a year's service. They will strike unless the demands are granted.

The Ninth Pennsylvania regiment is going to pieces. The members feared they would be called out during the miners' strike, and were not willing to be used in the interest of the operators.

Five hundred drivers and handlers employed by the coal dealers of Albany, N. Y., went out on a strike recently, demanding a uniform rate of \$2 a day; the rate heretofore has been \$10 a week.

Seventy telephone girls at Des Moines, Ia., struck on the 21st, for \$30 per month and a nine-hour day. The girls have organized a union, affiliating with the American Federation of Labor and the strike may spread over the state.

Three hundred men employed as Pullman car cleaners have gone on strike at Chicago for better wages and pay for overtime. The men have organized the United Order of Car Cleaners' Union No. 1 and application has been made to the American Federation of Labor for a charter.

Easton, Pa., June 21.—The coal strike has had a serious effect upon the iron industry in the Lehigh valley. Every iron dealer is quoted as saying there is not a pound of pig iron on the market in the valley. The scarcity of pig iron will be the cause of shutting down many of other industries using that product, unless the miners go to work in a very short time.

Watch It Grow.

Senator Gorman says there is a "marked inclination among the masses to break away from old party lines, in order to punish people responsible for present conditions."

A writer in the Missouri World from St. Clair county, in sending in a little club to that paper, says (and it is printed in the paper): "It is hard to get any one to take a reform paper any more in this section, all seem to be stuck on Socialism." Growin', is it?

Senator Hanna is all worked up over the enormous growth of Socialism. His fear is that he will not be able to control the politics of this country when the people awake to their constitutional power; and of course he is using all his energies to prevent the people from knowing what they have the power to do.

S. P. Gustin writes his local paper from Nebo, Mo., to have the democratic committee send speakers there "to expose the fallacies of Socialism, a creed that seems to be gaining some foothold in that community." The local paper says they have no speakers now, but later on (when some candidates have been put up) some may be sent! Say, won't that be nuts for the Socialists? Growing, is it? Well, just watch it grow and the more it is discussed the more it will grow.

Optimism.

The Socialist is the only hand on the job who can afford to wear a smile. While the hangers-on to capitalism are trying to be brave and whistling to keep up courage, the fellow who knows capitalism is doomed goes way up front, stands on his tip-toes, and laughs at the dismay of those who "view with alarm the aggressions of concentrated wealth."

Pompous manufacturers, who would never give up their shops to the state, are handing them over readily to the trusts. Gentlemen of consequence who insist upon running their own business their own way, are easily persuaded by a combination to get in line with the new order of things.

Capitalism, crazed with its practical success, is preparing the soil for national co-operation and at the same time digging his own grave. That is why the Socialist, disgusted as he is with present conditions, can look hopefully to the future and not suffer a nervous collapse every time a new trust shows its teeth.

It seems to be a fundamental principle of gambling to play for all there is in sight, so that the trust only follows the same lines of the retail crap shooter when it goes after millions. Both games are sure to end, however, when the loser runs out of funds, and at that critical period the people will take a hand.

The Spirit of '76.

We cannot afford to tolerate any longer in the republic a state of things which makes it treason where our flag flies, to talk of Concord and of Bunker Hill, to read the speeches of Patrick Henry and James Otis or to circulate the Declaration of Independence. We cannot afford to put the story of the revolution under lock and key, nor suppress the glorious truths of our great charter of liberty. Wherever the flag flies it must open all the pages of our history, let consequences be what they may. This republic cannot afford to expunge the noblest chapters of its life story to accommodate any transient policy, any passing fashion of statesmanship.—Rev. John Coleman Adams in St. Louis Post Dispatch.

"Kerosene Cure" Now.

San Francisco, June 24.—Returned soldiers of the Sixth infantry, among them Sergeants Mott and Knox and Corporal Carlton, company M, state that the "kerosene cure" is more effective than the "water cure" and has supplanted the latter to a great extent in the Philippines. It is applied in the same manner as water. They state that the native priests were among those tortured". Wonder if Rockefeller has a contract to furnish the kerosene?

What Comrade Woodby Says.

Comrade G. W. Woodby of Omaha, is a colored brother who has made a success as a lecturer on Socialism. In a recent letter to the Appeal, Comrade Woodby says: "I have made something like 100 speeches, and I find that the Appeal to Reason has done more to make Socialists than all other agencies put together."

How Could He Earn It?

M. Camille Flammarion, the well-known French writer on astronomy, mentioned at the last meeting of the French Astronomical Society that the Christian era has just completed its first milliard of minutes. Between January 1 of the year 1, and April 18 of the year 1902, at 6:10 p. m., he says, just one thousand million minutes have passed.

The statement suggests a realization of the meaning of a thousand million in the abstract, and still more of a thousand million in the concrete form of money. Mr. John D. Rockefeller's fortune, for instance, is generally estimated at about two hundred million dollars, or, say, a thousand million francs. We all recognize that this is an enormous quantity, but the trouble with most of us is that a single million seems almost as remote from our possibilities as a thousand million, so that the greater sum does not differentiate itself sufficiently, from the smaller.

Let us see, then, what Mr. Rockefeller's fortune of a thousand million francs means. It means that if a man had been working steadily day and night from the birth of Christ to the present time at the compensation of a franc a minute his total earnings would just now have reached the amount of Mr. Rockefeller's pile. A franc a minute is very handsome pay. It is \$12 an hour, or \$300 a day. A man getting \$300 every day, from the beginning of the year 1 to the present time, and consuming none of his earnings, would only just now have as much as Mr. Rockefeller has. Or, putting it in another way, imagine a town containing 300 working people, each earning \$7 a week. The total wages earned by the people of this town, in successive generations all the way from the time of Christ to the present day, would not exceed the amount which one man has managed to put by in the course of a single lifetime. Truly a thousand million is a great sum.—Baltimore News.

Election Echoes.

Reports of the Socialist vote in Oregon have been difficult to obtain as the daily papers have been very careful to suppress that part of the news. The following is the vote for state officers: R. R. Ryan, Governor, 3,532; C. W. Barzee, Secretary of State, 5,576; W. W. Myers, Treasurer, 5,465; J. E. Hosmer, Printer, 5,269; B. F. Ramp, Congressman First district, 5,253; T. D. Gerdes, Congressman Second district, 2,724. The total vote for Debs in 1900 was 1,466. Watch it grow.

The Socialists elected an alderman at Linton, Ind. Two members of the school board at Rigby, Idaho, were elected by the Socialists.

The Socialists elected their school director at Davenport, Iowa, by a clear majority over all candidates.

Anthracite Propaganda Fund.

Previously acknowledged \$62.70
A subscriber, Shelbyville, Tenn. 2.50
Comrade Rivers, Rochester, N. Y. 2.00
Comrade Swenson, Dixon, Cal. .07
Comrade Taylor, Lafontaine, Kan. 2.00
Comrade Zander, Two Rivers, Wis. .75
Comrade Hickman, Neb. 2.50
Comrade, Chicago, Ills. 2.50
A Friend, Jackson, Miss. 1.00
Comrade Franches, Newcomb, Tenn. 50
Comrade Hart, Roseburg, Ore. 50
Comrade Becker, North Hillsdale, N. Y. 2.50
Comrade Carleton, Livingston, Mont. 2.25

Total \$81.77
Money and postal subscription cards will be received for this fund and the literature forwarded to our workers in the anthracite coal mining district.

Volunteers for the distribution of this literature in the strike district are wanted.

"Competition is war"—Myron Reed.
"War is hell"—Gen. W. T. Sherman.
Socialism is the way out.—The People.

Clubbing Rates.

"The Appeal" and "The Socialist" \$1.00
"The International Review" and "The Appeal" 1.50
"The Socialist" and "The Appeal" 1.00
ADVERTISEMENTS accepted under this head at the per centage listed each insertion, and one dollar for the first insertion, and 50 cents for each subsequent insertion. No discount for time or space. Only one column will be paid.

LIQUOR AND DRUG HABITS cured, \$25 and \$50. No pain or treatment. Dr. J. D. Carpenter, 315-317
SOCIALIST PARTY BUTTONS Se. postpaid. Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas
IF YOU WANT TO EARN A HOME Address, Colorado Co. Northern County, Oklahoma.—H. H. Operative Co., Flinton, Okla.

WE PAY \$22 A WEEK Introduce Poultry Compound, International Mfg. Co., Parsons, Kan., 341-41
THE APPEAL PRINTS—books, pamphlets, folders and cards to please the most exacting. Let us figure on your work whether the job is large or small.

SOCIALIST ORATOR ready to expose capitalism. If you want to speak at a meeting, address me at 316 West 2nd St., Sioux City, Iowa. J. W. Bennett.
3000 GIRLS AND MEN over 14 years given \$200 worth work to do in colony; work jobs for each, each \$200 plus, etc. Write S. P. Gibson, Star, Nebraska.

500 to 1000 acres of land, splendid and fertile, with modern buildings, well equipped with all the necessities of life, including shade fruit woods, cheap streams to \$20000. Box 136, Hartman, Tenn.
DROP CARDS cost only 20c per 100 and they have a mysterious power. Send for a sample and you will see. Write to Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS.—By John Davis. This excellent work will be ready to mail June 9th. Contains 100 pages devoted many years to the study of the railroad question and this in plain language, containing the concentrated results of his work. Simple and strong, plain and practical. Postpaid 10c, 2 for 20c, 12 for \$1.

NEARLY EVERY DAY you will hear someone give the inaccurate and untrue definition of Socialism. It is your duty to put him right. Always carry with you, and use, the definition cards and you will secure the thinker of our antagonists for the work of the day. Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.
Robert Winchford, author of the MERRIE ENGLAND same popular and interesting style but with greater clearness and strength. BRITAIN FOR THE BRITISH (Americans). We publish the authorized American edition, with an appendix by A. M. Simons. Cloth bound, 25c. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Publishers, 36 Fifth Ave., Chicago, Illinois. 245-25.

LETTERHEADS, ENVELOPES, and all commercial printing in one of the kinds of our Reason office. Have the prices very low and express charges are prepaid. Ask us for samples and prices and we will convince you that it will be well to let us do your printing.

The Socialist Party. Agitation plants the seed of Socialism, education cultivates its growth and organization gathers the harvest. The harvest time has arrived. Now is the hour to organize the Socialist Party, and institute a government of the workers, by the workers and for the workers. For information upon how to organize, a local branch of the Socialist Party address Leon Greenbaum, National Secretary, Room 427 Knitling Building, St. Louis, Mo.

JOHN COLLINS wrote a good book, "The Truth About Socialism" and it should be read by everybody. You can get five for one dollar, and five of them in your country will help the movement greatly. Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas.

15c "Looking Backward" (UNABRIDGED) Costs 50c in U. S. A.—Can be had by mail from HENRY B. ASPLUND, 566 Dundas St., London, Canada.

15c Single, 25c two copies. \$1.25 doz., 50 copies \$5.

\$12 TO \$18 A WEEK PAID IN ADVANCE for sending us addresses of magazine readers. Permanent employment. Men or women can devote part of whole of time to the work. A wonderful opportunity. Write quickly before someone else secures the position in your locality. Send references as we send payment in advance.

U. S. Publication Co., Dept. J, 128 E. 23d St., New York.—

Italy's King Buys America's Coal Lands.

We Americans are a great people. We would not pay tribute to a foreign potentate—not on your life. "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute," yet the King of Italy is to levy tribute on the American coal fields and upon the under-paid miners that dig the black diamonds for him.

Victor Emmanuel is said to have paid \$8,000,000 for a tract in the Pocahontas region of West Virginia. The payment was made from the private purse of that ruler and is no doubt an investment of money wrung from the working people of Italy with purpose to exploit the workers of America.

No doubt his royalty sees an Italian republic in the not distant future and would make sure of an income from us easy Yankees after his Italian subjects have refused to support such an incubus.

Fools Don't Strike.

Fools do not strike; it is only men who have enough intelligence to recognize their condition that makes use of this last resort. With increased intelligence they will look back upon the strike period as one of development; and when they shall have accommodated themselves to the new conditions, and when employers shall have recognized the intelligence of their employees, these matters will be handled in such a way as to prevent in the future a repetition of incidents like those which are chronicled in the statistical history of the strikes of the last twenty years.—Cincinnati Times Star.

Good enough; and when the American workingman has intelligently given the subject the thought its importance demands, he will do his striking at the ballot-box where it is effective.

The Ship of State.

I have been reading certain fulsome articles in the Saturday Evening Post upon those Captains of Industry who ate "mit der prinz" in New York. It calls to mind Mr. W. V. Moody's "Gloster Moors". Mr. Moody compares the Earth to a ship, and then: "God, dear God! Does she know her port, Though she goes so far about? Or blind astray, does she make her sport To brazen and to chance it out? I watched when her captain passed; She were better captain-less.

Men in the cabin, before the mast, But some were reckless and some afraid; And some sat gorged at mess". Did Mr. Moody have a prophetic vision of the Belshazzar feast of these "Captains of Industry"?—Comrade Moore, Chicago.

Teach the Teacher.

There is no doubt that we Americans get our education after we leave school. The school drills in arithmetic, reading and writing, only prepare us for the next step wherein the teaching comes from the pulpit and the newspaper.

Newspapers and churches wield an influence too great to be measured and for that reason editors and preachers should be in possession of the true thought.

I bring this to the attention of the Appeal that these people may be looked after. See to it that your local preachers and newspaper men take the Appeal. Don't pay for the paper for them, but cause them to pay for it themselves. They may be difficult to reach, but the prize is worth the effort.

New Zealand as an Eden.

London, June 17.—At the annual New Zealand banquet, which was held in London tonight, R. J. Sedden, Prime Minister of New Zealand, who is one of the most interesting personalities among the Colonial Premiers, gave a glowing description of the conditions in the colony.

He said it had pushed social reform to the verge of what many outsiders considered radical Socialism. Time had demonstrated the soundness of this economic experiment, continued the Premier, with the result that now New Zealand has little crime, no poverty, everybody has employment, and the New Zealanders are a happy, free and enlightened people.—Baltimore Sun.

Owners are Rulers.

All who have read John Collins' book, "THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISM" were no doubt impressed with the statement, "Whoever owns the wealth of a nation will control the government and politics of that nation."

How easy that fact is to prove. In every neighborhood, the people of property are the "influential" or ruling class, and the principle applies to cities, states and nations.

When all the people own all the property and not until then will all the people have an equal voice in government.

Books Received.

A Prairie Patriot, A Book for young men by one of them. 286 pages, paper; by H. A. Rodde, Forestburg, S. D. 25 cents.
Last Days of Ruskin Colony, by Isaac Broome; 180 pages, cloth, 50 cents; Kerr & Co., Chicago.
Britania For the British, by Author of "Merrie England"; 175 pages, cloth; 50 cents; Kerr & Co., Chicago.

Abraham Lincoln on Slavery and Good Government.

Extracts from the words of "Honest Abe" that apply to the present situation.

The fight must go on. The cause of civil liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one or even one hundred defeats.

It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing bread from the sweat of other men's faces.

The workingmen are the basis of all governments, for the plain reason that they are the more numerous.

I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel.

As labor is the common burden of our race, so the effort of some to shift their share of the burden onto the shoulders of others is the great durable curse of the race.

The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both congresses and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution.

A free people in times of peace and quiet—when pressed by no common danger—naturally divide into parties. At such times the man who is of neither party is lost, cannot be of any consequence.

The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they have need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot do so well for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities.

The property basis will have its weight. The love of property and a consciousness of right and wrong have conflicting places in our organization, which often makes man's course seem crooked, his conduct a riddle.

I do not mean to say that this general government is charged with the duty of redressing or preventing all the wrongs in the world; but I do think that it is charged with preventing and redressing all wrongs which are wrongs to itself.

This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember and overthrow it.

I have always thought that all men should be free, but if any should be slaves, it should be first those who desire it for themselves, and secondly those who desire it for others.

To give the victory to the right, no bloody bullets but peaceful ballots, only, are necessary. Thanks to our good old Constitution and organization under it, these alone are necessary. It only needs that every right thinking man shall go to the polls, and without fear or prejudice, vote as he thinks.

The resources, advantages and powers of the American people are very great, and they have consequently succeeded to equally great responsibilities. It seems to have devolved upon them to test whether a government established on the principles of human freedom can be maintained against an effort to build one upon an exclusive foundation of human bondage.

Most governments have been based, practically, on the denial of the equal rights of men. Ours began by affirming those rights. They said, "some men are too ignorant and vicious to share in government."

When we were the political slaves of king George, and wanted to be free, we called the maxim that "all men are created equal" a self-evident truth; but now when we have grown far and have lost all dread of being slaves ourselves, we have become so greedy to be masters that we call the same maxim "a self-evident lie."

Any people, anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world.

No man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent. When the white man governs himself that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man—then that is more than self-government—that is despotism.

There are two principles that have stood face to face since the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity and the other the

vine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, "You work and toil and earn bread and I'll eat it."

Many free countries have lost their liberties, and ours may lose hers; but if she shall, may it be my proudest plume, not that I was the last to desert her, but that I never deserted her!

In the early days of our race the Almighty said to the first of our race, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," and since then, if we except the light and air of heaven, no good thing has been or can be enjoyed by us without first having cost labor.

If A can prove, however, conclusively, that he may of right enslave B, why may not B snatch the same argument and prove equally that he may enslave A? You say A is white and B is black. It is color, then—the lighter having the right to enslave the darker?

Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

The old general rule was that educated people did not perform manual labor. They managed to eat their bread, leaving the toil of producing it to the uneducated.

By the "mud-sill" theory it is assumed that labor and education are incompatible, and any practical combination of them impossible. According to that theory a blind horse upon a treadmill is a perfect illustration of what a laborer should be—all the better for being blind; that he could not kick understandingly.

In fact, it is, in some sort, deemed a misfortune that laborers should have heads at all. Those same heads are regarded as explosive materials, only to be safely kept in damp places as far as possible from that peculiar sort of fire which ignites them.

But free labor says, "No." Free labor argues that as the Author of man makes every individual with one head and one pair of hands, it was probably intended that heads and hands should co-operate as friends, and that that particular head should direct and control that pair of hands.

DICK TURPIN'S DISCIPLES

"Who was Dick Turpin, pa?" "Why, don't you know who he was?" "No, who was he?"

"Why he was the celebrated highwayman of England."

"What did he do?" "Why he held up stage coaches and robbed people."

"He had help, didn't he, pa?" "No, my son, he did it alone."

"How?" "Why, at the point of a pistol, to be sure. He stopped the coach and made them stand and deliver."

"That was awful, wasn't it, pa?" "Yes, he deserved a dozen deaths."

"Did robbing people make him celebrated?" "Why, yes, that and the fact that he robbed no one but the rich, and then gave part of what he got from the rich to the poor."

"Did he give much to the poor people?" "Yes, he was very generous and a poor person in distress was always relieved if possible."

"What became of him?" "Heavy rewards were offered for him and I think he was captured and executed."

"Why, what a pity! He was a good fellow wasn't he?" "Oh, no! It would never do in the world to encourage any such a thing as highway robbery."

"What is robbery as you understand it?" "Why, it is taking what does not belong to you, or in other words taking something without rendering an equivalent."

"Those are big words, pa, what do you mean by rendering an equivalent?" "Why it means that you cannot honestly get something for nothing. That was what they objected to in Turpin's methods. He took people's money or property without giving anything in return."

"But he was generous to the poor, you said." "Yes, but that did not atone for his methods of robbery."

"His methods! Are there any other methods of robbery, pa?" "Oh, yes, lots of them."

"What are they?" "Oh, there are various ways, cheating, swindling and obtaining money under false pretenses are some of them."

"What do you mean by false pretenses?" "Oh, there are many ways of doing that, one that I happen to think of is smuggling."

"What is smuggling?" "It is bringing dutiable goods into the United States without paying the duty or tax required by the government."

"Why does the government require a duty to be paid?" "Because it has to have money to pay its expenses and that is its principal way to raise it."

"What does it do with smugglers?" "It confiscates their goods."

"Why, that's awful, isn't it, pa?" "No, it serves them right."

"Does everybody else think as you do about smuggling?" "Yes they do."

"Why do they?" "Because it is wrong."

"And is getting money under false pretenses, too?" "Yes, my son, that is right."

"Do you think that the property of everybody that gets money under false pretenses ought to be confiscated?" "Yes I do."

"Then why don't the government confiscate the railroads? Only the other day I heard you say that they watered their stock to more than double its value in order to make the people pay bigger dividends. Why do they water it? Can't they make the rates such as to make them pay bigger dividends anyway?"

"Oh, you don't understand. The railroads are 'quasi' public property and there is a law in some states that after they earn a certain per cent on their investment, then a part of the surplus is to go to the state, and it is an unwritten law in all the states that a corporation should not be allowed to make exorbitant profits off the people."

"Then if they do that it is obtaining money under false pretenses and their property should be confiscated, just as the smuggler's is."

"Oh, that cannot be done."

"Why not, pa?" "Oh—! ah—! because—say you bring the cows! It's getting late."

"But I'd like to know why obtaining money under false pretenses is a crime in one case and not in another. Only the other day I read where a man gave away \$10,000,000, and another one gave a big lot over a million to the Chicago university."

"Yes, that is all right and the people rise up and call them blessed."



Comrade Girat of Detroit, Mich., earned a button last week.

Comrade Weber of Joplin, gives the Monthly a good send off in that city.

Comrade Ralls of Bellevue, Idaho, holds five victims up to the Appeal buzz-saw.

Comrade Fuller of Springfield, Mass., is filing that city fuller of Appeals than ever.

Comrade Kinnan of Whiting, Kans., sets the Monthly forward with a good subscription list.

The report from Denver, Colo., is that the cause is simply gaining by "leaps and bounds."

Comrade McDonald of Lombard, Mont., has started the Appeal to six Lombards for a year.

Comrade Cross of Douglass City, Alaska, fires in a club of five from that far northern region.

Comrade Kline of St. Charles, Mo., sends us a fine list of his townsmen who want to be shown.

Comrade Seaman of Norden, Neb., rolls the chariot along by means of a good club for the Monthly.

Comrade Hull of Great Falls, Mont., is working for a great fall of capitalism, and is doing good work too.

Comrade Townsend of Smithville, Ont., is scattering the Appeal among the husbandmen in that locality.

Comrade McClung of Indianola, Neb., rallies to the support of the young Monthly and sends in a club of ten.

Comrade Groff of Kansas City, Mo., among other good things he has been doing, sends in a good list for the Monthly.

Comrade Smith of Omaha, Neb., does the great Smith family credit by his splendid order for assorted literature.

Comrade Hileman of Jonesboro, Ills., is a noble woman who joins the Appeal Army and sends in her first club of five.

Comrade Strausser of North English, Iowa, sends in his first club of four and says, "The Appeal is all right; can't be beat."

Comrade Brandon of Clyde, Kansas, made the office canine happy last week with the present of a long string of yearlies.

Comrade Johnson of Omaha, Neb., fires in an assorted order from that city that will count in the work for the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Comrade Boaz of Vancouver, B. C., sends in a splendid club for the Appeal and is doing excellent work among the British Columbians.

Comrade Jabez Sidaway of Stafford Springs, Conn., aged 76, passed into the beyond June 18th. He was one of the most earnest of the Appeal Army.

Comrade Fischer of Dubuque, Iowa, fires in a club of six and being too full of enthusiasm to express it in words just writes the order with red ink.

Comrade Turner of Cedarvale, Calif., is eighty-six years of age, but is young enough to get around and stir up a good batch of subscribers for the Appeal.

A railroad boy from Michigan writes: "I have labored for a year for my first subscriber and got him at last." Here is a lesson in patience and persistence.

Comrade Lewis of Elma, Wash., is one of the Appeal soldiers that keeps hammering away. This is the work that will bring great results in the near future.

Comrade Kemp of Portland, Oregon, orders a supply of literature and writes a splendid letter of encouragement. The Comrades in Oregon are doing great work.

Comrade Krueger found a subscription blank in a letter we sent to him, so he rustled out among his Milwaukee neighbors and sent in a list of thirteen for the Monthly.

"Enclosed find money order for subscriptions to the Appeal for one year with the privilege of continuation until civilization takes the place of savagery."—An Illinois Hustler.

"Enclosed find list of twenty-five names and 50 cents to pay for ammunition. Fire four shells at each and I will go around and bury the dead."—Comrade Cooper, Springdale, Ark.

The Comrades are putting the Monthly right on its feet. Comrade Robinson of Toronto, Ont., sends us down a nice club from Canada. The Monthly is now out and all can get a sample.

traffic at that end and keep the wires warm as she has an unlimited supply of rolling stock and equipment.

If the Appeal falls short of the mark this week we beg the Comrades to be charitable for you have all gone through the ordeal of moving and know how strenuous is the job of moving the Appeal plant for only the distance of a block. The red-headed girl and the canine are in charge this week, so if the paper goes wrong just charge it up to them.

"A Gentleman" Deplores Criticism of the Judiciary.

It is incumbent upon every enlightened and conservative citizen to protest against the attacks upon the judiciary. And permit me to say that a more gross, indeed anarchistic assault than that which you make upon Justice Simeon E. Baldwin of the supreme Court of Connecticut has seldom shocked whatever is best in the community.

And why do you insult a wise and honored jurist? Simply because Judge Baldwin, whom I personally know to be revered by the wealth and culture of his state, has said that "there are too many lace curtains in the working-men's homes," and that they "eat too much meat," twice as much as "the European workman."

These statements are undeniably true; yet you cry out against Judge Baldwin and do your demagogical best to incite the animosity of the wasteful, extravagant, overfed and pampered working classes against him. You encourage them to combine and exert from capital wages that shall enable them not merely to gorge themselves on meat, but to add "pianos and pictures" to the lace curtains with which they bedeck their thriftless homes.

Sir, you are a breeder of discontent, a fomenter of class hatred, and as such are an enemy of social peace a promoter of lawlessness and disorder.

For nothing can be more pernicious than to excite in the humble classes a desire for luxury and ambitions which render them dissatisfied with the condition in life in which it has pleased Providence to place them.

The result of such counsel as yours must inevitably be to cause workmen to give thought to improving their homes, clothing themselves, their wives and their children beyond their class, and in general to absorb their minds in selfish schemes.

Thought is energy. Energy, like time, is money. The workman, therefore, who expends time and energy in self-seeking plans—including your preposterous "piano and pictures"—has just that much less thought and energy to give to his work, and thus his employer is robbed.

There may easily be too much comfort in the workman's home. It is not well, for the hardy toiler who does the world's work for us to become softened and effeminate through luxury. Besides, when he is paid too well and accumulates money in the savings banks he is prone to become insolent toward his betters. This is a fruitful source of those disturbing conflicts between labor and capital which every conservative citizen deplors.

The lace curtains, pianos and pictures which you urge the workman to strive for cannot but have the most unfeeling, the most baleful, social consequences.

The greater the contrast between the homes of the educated and refined and those of the ignorant multitude the greater is the salutary respect in which the poor hold the rich. Give the worker lace curtains, pictures and a piano and it follows as night the day that he will lose that humility which befits him.

At the bottom of your crafty and unparadonable appeal to class envy, class hatred—the most odious and repulsive of all mob passions—is the democratic illusion, to the perpetuation and spread of which your paper devotes itself with such sinister persistence.

You say that my honored friend Judge Baldwin would "debase the worker from man's estate to the status of a beast of burden."

That is an extreme statement, of course; yet what, after all, is the worker but a beast of burden? Is it not a fact that he relieves the rest of us from labor exactly as his four-footed counterpart relieves us of the necessity of carrying loads?

And a most useful and honorable function, too, in both cases. No one can exceed myself in respect for the worker; yet, as a man of thought, experience and property, I know the necessity of keeping him in his place.

And his place is not a home with lace curtains, pictures and a piano. Give him the necessities of life, keep him in good health, without which he cannot labor, and treat him with all kindness while he merits it; but let us have no inflammatory haranguing about household luxury, gentleman's raiment, an extensive menu and other features of civilization properly appertaining alone to the leisure class. That way lie discontent, political agitation and social change; in short, anarchy.

Do not deceive yourself into thinking that Connecticut's foremost jurist, my able friend Judge Baldwin, stands alone in deprecating the overfeeding of the working class and their wicked waste of money in ostentation, as exemplified by lace curtains.

Sir, Judge Baldwin, like myself, differs from the majority of serious minded men of the higher orders only in the courage with which he speaks. He gives voice to a feeling of alarm which, did you move in good society, you would not need to be told, is both deep and widespread.

In the name of social order, for our common country's sake, I urge you to cease implanting the seeds of class hatred by truckling to the workman's lust for luxury.

You are sowing the wind. Beware the whirlwind! A GENTLEMAN.

Abroad. Toronto, Canada, has been the scene of several riots incident to the street-car strike. The police were unable to handle the strikers and the militia has been ordered out.

Since the telegraph system of Great Britain has been nationalized wages of telegraphers have increased 75% and the rates to the public have been reduced one-half.

Advices from San Juan, Porto Rico, state that the Socialists and trade unions are being bitterly persecuted by the authorities, and mobs instigated by them. The treasurer of the Socialist party was attacked and brutally beaten on the public streets, and many other party members have been thrown into jail and unmercifully beaten.

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