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Appeal to Reason.

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The national excitement and mourning incident to the death of the peoples' chief executive are giving way to normal conditions, and the people are beginning to consider in a dispassionate manner the wonderful changes that have taken place in industrial affairs since the close of the *Sutton* trial and to ask themselves if these changes are not in some way responsible for the terrible crime that has plunged not only our own people, but the entire civilized world, in mourning. They know that nothing exists without a cause. They see that the rural districts and smaller towns are peopled with loyal, patriotic citizens—that it is only in the densely populated industrial centers that anarchist societies can thrive or even exist, and they are beginning to question if it be not true that some of the old world conditions that breed anarchy have not been allowed to creep into our industrial and social affairs. Anarchy is a fungoid growth. It cannot exist except where there is decay. People have also noticed with what unanimity the great metropolitan papers have editorially pointed out the fact that Socialism and anarchy are as opposite as the poles; and today no well informed person, unless he be a hypocrite and a knave, would be guilty of using the words as synonymous. True, there are benighted places like Sedalia, Mo., where they have refused to allow the Socialists to meet in state convention, that still look upon Socialism as something dangerous, (but this is true only of a few localities where the mass upon the epidermis of the citizen is sufficient to hide their nakedness.) But thanks to an enlightened press, they are few indeed. Honest, intelligent, patriotic citizens know there is something radically wrong in the industrial affairs of this country and of the world. They know that neither of the great parties have presented a remedy, and that it must be looked for elsewhere. They are ready to investigate and to listen to reason. Though the noisy, ignorant few may howl and gnash their teeth, they are not formidable; intelligent men and women are looking for light, and will accept the truth if rightly presented. It is the Socialist's opportunity, and every lover of liberty and justice who has dreamed of the brighter and better days that will be ushered in with the coming of the Co-operative Commonwealth, should remember that "the dreams that nations dream come true," and consecrating himself anew to the cause of humanity, should push the propaganda work with renewed vigor. This is no time for cowardice or shirking. The dream of a brighter day bids us arise and haste to the task before us. Let us do our duty, that justice may rule in the hearts and minds of men, that our children and future generation may bless us for sacrifices made, and that the stars and stripes may be in truth what the patriot fathers intended they should be—the emblem of liberty.

Some one has said that if you will show him a man looking for work he will show you a man willing and able to make something that somebody wants. He may not be able to direct his efforts to this end, and offer his service to any one who can, but he may be able to do so, and is prevented by those holding possession of the tools or the land he needs, and refusing him the privilege of applying himself. In any event, a society that is so lacking in organization that it cannot use the labor offered or the material everywhere in abundance, is not properly adjusted. What would you say of an employer who should say to his men that he had nothing for them to do, while there were orders for the products of his plant or plantation? Would you not know he was unfit for the place of employer? What would be true of such a man is true of any society that has members willing to work and in need of things, and yet has no plan to put them to work making what they need. It is the business of organized society to see that each member of it has a place to apply his energies, that there be no want and no crime. There are few families that are not in need of things, that want things they have not, who can produce these things or their equivalent if they were directed. We should direct them to their benefit as we direct school children for their benefit, and teach them how to better manage. But that is just what an unorganized society fails to do, because it does not recognize the benefit of having all well employed and well paid. In the struggle for self, individuals cannot afford to do this, but collectively, we can afford to do it, and profit by it by a better citizenship. We are our brother's keeper, deny it as we may.

The one principal reason for the commercial supremacy of the United States is the fact of its greater use of machinery, made possible by the great aggregations of capital, called trusts. Countries having less aggregated capital cannot compete. The larger the aggregation the cheaper the production. On this fact evidences the static that the whole nation as the capitalist, using the aggregated capital, power and organization of all the people, could still cheapen production and break the trusts of other countries unless they adopted the same methods. Thus the trusts of one nation compel the trusts of other nations, so that soon there will be no advantage. Just so that Socialism in any country will compel its adoption in other countries as a matter of self-preservation.

When the former chief of police of a great American city must flee the state to prevent being called before the grand jury to tell what he knows of corruption in high places, it is little wonder that young men are inspired with a disrespect for all law. Such is the case in Chicago. Former Chief of Police *331* left last week for parts unknown, to be absent during the session of the grand jury. The stories of criminal proceedings on the part of those in authority in that city are only equalled by the facts exposed in Philadelphia. These travesties on justice bear their fruit in some national calamity.

A. H. Rodgers, a New Bedford, Mass. shipping agent, was indicted, says a dispatch from Boston, on the charge of smuggling 110 Portuguese boys into this country in violation of the immigration laws. The deal, says the same dispatch, is said to have netted Rodgers and his partner nearly \$15,000. Mr. Rodgers is a republican, and is a type of the men who for mercenary motives violate the United States laws and introduce into this country that class of individuals who are charged by the republican press with disseminating ideas inimical to the United States. It occurs to one who cares to give the matter a passing thought, if this is true, that the proper place to commence to remedy this evil is to deport the immigration agents and thus stop the traffic.

Senator Depew in a recent interview, said: "Anarchy must and will be stamped out in this country. We must strike at the fountain head of the thing." This remark leads a Kansas City workman to write to the *Times* of that city and ask where and who is the fountain head? When Mr. Depew and others associated with him in great railway and mining enterprises send agents to European countries and import contract laborers to the United States in defiance of the United States laws—the question naturally arises, who are the anarchists—the men thus brought over, or the men behind the agents? The capitalists have created a condition—the results of which they are beginning to see, and they are anxious to shift the responsibility to other shoulders.

The Appeal has two rules from which it never deviates. One is: Keep something going on; the other: Always do what it starts out to do. It has been enabled to do these things because of its great army of workers. "Socialism is the only think WORTH working for," is the slogan of the Army. The Appeal pushes the button, the Army does the rest. They never fail. What about the automobile fund? Several comrades have asked that question of late. Come on, comrades, let's complete that fund. We need Brother Lockwood and that propaganda machine in the field right now. If each comrade will toss a dollar into the hat we can yet have this lecture van out and doing business before snow flies. Don't you think that's what we ought to do?

An investigator does not see how the public can conduct farming. Just as easy as capitalists can conduct it. Men do farming, whether they employ themselves on their own land, whether they are employed by a capitalist or whether they are employed by the government. A department of agriculture would acquire lands suitable for wheat raising, would lay it out, supply it with all the improved methods of production, employ citizens to take charge of the various departments and produce wheat, which would be worth as much as the wages of the men used in its production. On the average, there would be so much wheat for each day's labor performed. That would be the cost of wheat. The same principle would be applied to every production of the farm, ranch or plantation. If there was a failure or partial failure of any crop in any section the loss would be borne by all the people in all the departments of human industry, and not fall on a few in such section, who had done their best—on exactly the same principle that an insurance policy makes the loss fall on many and thus easier to bear. The great advantage of such a system would be that the best minds could and naturally would be selected to direct such great industry and thus the people with little capacity would have the benefit of being directed better than they could direct themselves, with the result that a great increase in the production would enrich the nation. The law of general averages prevails today in the estimating of all production, and it would apply in full force for the benefit of all under the nationalization of farming as in any other line of human activity. If any one felt they could make more for themselves by individual effort they would be free to do so, but they would soon discover that they could get more results by their averaged share in public industry than in individual effort. They would be only too glad to apply themselves where they would be free from the struggle which now follows every one, rich or poor, in the strife for wealth. Why cannot the public employ as capable men as the great farmers? Do people dislike working for Uncle Sam?

A Kansas farmer near McPherson has introduced a steam plow on his place which plows twenty-five acres per day of ten hours. This represents the work of twenty-four horses and eight men the old way.

ROOSEVELT AT MINNEAPOLIS

Associated Press Dispatch.

"We shall find it necessary in future to shackle cunning, as in the past we have shackled force. The vast individual and corporate fortunes, the vast combinations of capital, which have marked the development of our industrial system, create new conditions and necessitate a change from the old attitude of the state and nation toward property."

To which the *Kansas City Star* replies: "These are pointed and direct sentiments inspired by conditions to which no thoughtful and sober-minded man can be blind. They are not uttered in any spirit of intemperate agitation or any false alarm for political purposes. They come from an influential member of the party which capital in modern years has regarded as its chosen champion. They do not proceed from a person who has excited the suspicion of the conservative element by the radical character of his opinions."

The lack of organization in industries prevent a large amount of wealth from being created that otherwise would be. The trusts have made progress in the organization of industry, and with the same number of men have greatly increased the output. This increase, however, has gone largely to increase private fortunes instead of the public good. As the trusts with greater capital and organization produce better results than small capital, so the public with still greater capital could produce still greater results, and with public capital the results would accrue to the benefit and greatness of the nation, and thus benefit all instead of a few. If any nation were to establish and operate every detail of the steel industry, for instance, without any competitive expense, it could produce steel in every form at a lower price than any corporation of any other country, and still pay higher wages, and every other country would be forced to buy of it or adopt the same methods, just as every country will finally have to buy its steel of the American trust unless they amalgamate all their steel interests under one great system. I think no other logic can be applied to this matter. It has reached a stage when competition is out of the question. It does not seem reasonable that any association of men will duplicate the billion dollar capital of the steel trust, which is already equipped to produce all the products necessary for any demand. Such a competitor would surely enter into a struggle with the present trust and in the end they must either unite or one of them must fail. In either case they would have twice the necessary investments, and the public would be in the same relation to them it is now, except for the time it took to bankrupt one or unite them. Then let us consider further that the net earnings of the steel plants will amount to many millions annually. These millions will of necessity be invested in some form of productive property, and as the steel industry will not absorb it, it will go into other industries, and thus one after another the industries must come under the control of the same men who own the steel. What is applicable to steel is also applicable to every other trust, and the results are thus multiplied. As a rule the man with the greatest capital can crush the one with less. What then will be the status of the average business man when this law of accumulation shall have progressed for a few years? Is this a subject that does not interest you? Is it a subject that the people should not think about? Can this accumulation go on forever without affecting the interests of all the people? And how will it affect them—favorably or unfavorably?

The American Railway company is the title of a new concern which is expected to play an as important part in the railway world as the United States Steel corporation has in the industrial arena. The Vanderbilts and allied roads are back of the enterprise, and the financial writers for the metropolitan press knowingly announce that it will succeed in making of the "community of interest" arrangement a closer corporation than at present. The big groups into which the railroad interests are divided at present, though working in harmony along many lines, are playing for position and advantage. May the plan succeed in bringing under one head all the railroads of the United States is the sincere wish of every Socialist. It will save a lot of trouble for the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The Russian government has placed an additional ban on the writings of Count Tolstoy. But that will not stop the circulation or spread of the teachings of this man of peace and industrial harmony. Long after the czar and his autocratic government is forgotten, Tolstoy's memory will be revered and he will be remembered with gratitude by a nation of free men—free politically, free religiously and free industrially.

Dispatches from Rome, Italy, state that in the registration of electors every workman qualified as opposed to the monarchy—as belonging to a party in opposition! If this is generally the sentiment, it does not look bright for the nobility. All over Europe the same condition is appearing.

Since the first of the year ninety-nine negroes have been lynched by mobs in this country. Of the number, thirteen occurred in northern states and the balance in the south.

That community is most prosperous that has most people employed at the greatest wage rate. No number of people employed at ten cents a day with present prices of wealth, could be prosperous, but any number of people employed at \$10 a day would make a prosperous community. The greatest pay that workers receive is the total product of their labor. More than that cannot be paid. That then would make the most prosperous condition possible. Such a condition would be Socialism.

The interest of the master and slave is opposite; the interest of the employer and the employed is opposite. They will no more mix than oil and water. It is to the interest of every employer to get the most work for the least pay; and it is to the interest of the employed to get the most pay for the shortest hours. It presents an eternal conflict—fierce in proportion to the intelligence of the workers. Dull, stupid, helpless, workers make little or no protest, but intelligent workers see it and protest. Hence it is that the best paid workers are more ready to strike than the poorer paid.

Next week the Appeal will print in full the address delivered by Comrade Dewey at Quincy, Ill., on the occasion of the memorial services. Mr. Dewey's strong words at this time pointing out that the anarchist is not confined to the poor man in rags, but very frequently lives in a brown stone front, wears broadcloth and poses as a gentleman, should be carefully considered. This address was garbled by the daily press in the usual manner—hence the wide circulation of it will not only place Comrade Dewey properly before the public, but will give others a better view of the Socialist position—a position outlined by one who is well known as a public official.

The *Haverhill, Mass., Gazette*, (rep.) don't like it because the Appeal says that democratic and republican voters, who are boycotted and starved and blacklisted and forced to strike, deserve no better treatment than they are getting if they continue to vote as they have in the past. It is the truth of the statement that hurts. The *Gazette* knows they will be fools to continue to follow in the same old ruts, but it doesn't want them to know it, hence its apparent indignation about the Appeal telling them. If the *Gazette* were pleased with the position of the Appeal, I should be more surprised. The Appeal is not saying things that usually please the men of the Hill, Morgan, Rockefeller stamp.

While the nation was bowed in grief at the funeral of its murdered executive, the "Union Bible and Book House," 1759 Welton street, Denver, Colo., was having printed and circulated the following circular:

"Dear Friend: Our nation's SAD CALAMITY affords you a RARE OPPORTUNITY to make from \$10 to \$25 per day selling the "AUTHENTIC Life of President McKinley." Do you know when Garfield died nearly ONE MILLION copies of his life were sold in NINETY DAYS; and yet the circumstances attending Garfield's assassination do not BEGIN TO COMPARE WITH THE EXCITING CONDITIONS SURROUNDING THE SHOOTING OF PRESIDENT MCKINLEY."

The publishers hold out the hope that two million copies will be sold and the prospective agent is told that this is "A RARE OPPORTUNITY." Such an exhibition of cold-blooded commercialism it would be hard to find outside of a civilized country. This is certainly an example of commercialism gone mad.

It is announced "officially" that the presidents of the coal carrying roads of the eastern states have refused to consider any proposals for a joint conference with the officers of the coal miners' organization. Why should they? The operators own the coal mines, and as owners they have a "right" to fix the conditions under which men employed by them shall work. Of course, if the men do not like the conditions—why, they can go hence; there are others to take their places. The great coal operators have decreed the death of union labor as did the Steel Trust the death of the Amalgamated association. However, in doing this, the trust officials are cutting from under them the main support to their "right" to own the coal mines and the steel factories and the railroads. Having had demands which they consider just turned down—having been refused even a conference with their employers, what is more natural than that these men should look for some other method of getting a hearing? After a careful investigation of the ways and means, they will learn a lesson from the employer—that of controlling the law making and law enforcing bodies of the country. That a majority shall rule is a principle which we admit theoretically as right—the employees are largely in the majority—hence, when they learn—and they are being forced to learn—that they have the coveted power in their own hands to turn the machinery of government to their own advantage, they will do it. And in doing this, there will be no infringement of the rights of the minority—there will be no privilege or protection granted to one class of citizens which is denied to another—as is the case today.

EVOLUTION OF THE MILL.

The capital necessary to build fifty flouring mills, each capable of producing 100 barrels a day, is three times as much as will build one mill of 5,000 barrels a day. The building of fifty small mills is therefore a clear loss of two-thirds of the capital invested. And the one greater mill can produce the same products with one-third the labor. It is this law of economies that enables the greater industry to crush out the weaker ones. To condemn the owners of the greater industries would be in effect to condemn progress in production. Every effort is to find better methods of production. We are proud of the progress made by the race over the time our ancestors ground their grain between two stones. And as the better horse mill pushed out the hand mill, the water and steam mills pushed out the horse mill, so the greater mills will push out the present mills scattered over the country. This is no more to be deplored than the disappearance of the horse mills. In fact it is as much a matter for congratulation as the steam mill over the crude ones. The owners of the small mills scattered over the country see in great mill their doom, but progress will not stop for the present interests of a few. It will logically follow that the greater mills, when they have eliminated the smaller ones, will combine and stop the expense of shipping flour from one mill to another town where there is a mill employing salesmen, advertising, giving large commissions to push their flour, and many other lesser expenses, which aggregate millions in the whole country. The corporation that will own the coming system of great mills will have the country at its mercy in the matter of bread, and that it will use the power to extort, there is little doubt. But whose fault is it? Surely the corporation is not to be condemned for making all the money it can? You and I would go the same, wouldn't we? Then should we condemn others what we would do ourselves? The Socialists say the remedy is for the nation to own and operate the milling business, so that a part of the people, even you and I, cannot extort from the majority. If milling can be done cheaper, flour will be cheaper, or if profit is added it would go into the public treasury and thus belong to all the people instead of to a few of them. If you can figure out any other solution, one that will permit of progress and not put the many at the mercy of the few, I would like to hear of it. You cannot destroy the trusts without destroying progress. Only by millions invested can the great machines be used. To destroy trusts means to go back to the day of small shops—and that is absurd. If you have a better solution than the Socialists trot it out. We are willing to accept it.

"Will not speculation in office continue under Socialism?"—Thomas Carr. No. Under Socialism the men in office today would have no incentive to do wrong, and would make as good and efficient officers as those who are now Socialists. If you will conceive that every industry is public, that everything is done for the public by public employes that contracts are abolished, that every worker is as much an owner in the industry as the officers, just the same as partners in business, you will see the impossibility of speculation. For instance: The nation needs locomotive. It does not let a contract for to some one, but makes a requisition on the machinery construction department for that department builds it by the labor at command and hands it over to the other department. Where would be an opportunity for an officer to make anything out of it? Every man will get the credit for the time he has been employed on it, would accept no less and no one would get more time than the national hours of labor in a day, and therefore no one could get more than was coming to him. It is the condition that is thrown around men today that tempts them to wrong doing. Most men will not fall under temptation, but some will. None would fall if none were under temptation.

The banks of New York made a demand of Secretary Gage for money. He gave it to them out of the United States treasury—order that the money stringency might be relieved. Now comes a banker of New York—Forgan, of the First National—who says in the *Chicago News*: "At the same time, our deposits are keeping up in a highly satisfactory way. Country banks are not withdrawing their balances, and this is doubly gratifying when applied to the institutions in the northwest where, heretofore, the demand at this time of the year has necessitated a heavy diminution of the moneys deposited in the reserve centers." Under the circumstances, why do you suppose Mr. Gage was so ready to extend aid to the New York bankers?

A writer in the *Denver Daily News* in reviewing the case of a boy in that town who murdered a companion, says: "If we have juvenile criminals, it is because we have not done our duty; we are the ones who are to blame." Ignorance breeds crime, and when one contemplates the fact that in New York City 50,000 children are unable to attend school, and in Chicago half that number are in the same condition, is it any wonder that the daily newspapers are filled with crimes?

Spain is to have an iron trust modeled on the American plan. An evidence of progress.

There are plenty of scoundrels always ready to try to belittle reform movements or to bolster up existing iniquities in the name of Americanism.

The Boone county, Iowa, Socialists have placed a ticket in nomination.

The workmen of Kewanee, Ill., are preparing to start a co-operative store with a capital of \$25,000.

It is expected that the new trust in laundry machinery will hit most of us in the neck.

Brussels will put in a tram system at a cost of \$900,000.

The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and alter their constitutions of government.

A New Jersey man who stole a section of railroad bed has been held for court.

The rich have hitherto only counted their gain, but the day is coming when the poor will also count their loss.

A gold weighing machine in the Bank of England is so sensitive that an ordinary postage stamp, if dropped on the scale, will turn the index on the dial a distance of six inches.

Virginia is mistaken. Free speech is not a cause; it is an expression of the speaker's view of a condition.

The first number of "Here and Now," the new monthly published by the Rochester, N. Y., comrades, under the direction of William T. Brown, is received.

A compressed air dusting machine is a new invention which is being used in Philadelphia with much success.

The boys will be pleased to note that Comrade Morgan has recently purchased another large section of the earth's surface on Long Island.

The "Western Laborer," of Omaha, Neb., advertises itself as "devoted to the principle of equal rights."

A few weeks ago we had several thousand Wayland Monthly subscription blanks printed and sent out among the comrades.

The stoutest and truest Americans are the very men who have the least sympathy with the people who invoke the spirit of Americanism to aid what is vicious in our government.

Another advance in the price of hard coal is being announced, though there has not been the slightest change in the cost of production or transportation.

Old Shakespeare knew what he was about when he wrote: "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players."

According to L'Electricien the Mareconi company is now proposing to establish a wireless telegraph service between England and Australia.

The "Undercurrent" is a new Socialist paper which hails from Redlands, Cal.

In drawing a comparison between the war spirits of Christians and Buddhists in China, Japan and America, (September,) says: "The Christians have levied assessment for loss of life; the Buddhists have refused to demand payment for blood shed in anger and blind fury."

assessments. In one town the assessments for indemnity exacted, or sought to be exacted with the approval of the American commander, was \$17,500; in another, it was \$48; in a third it was \$157; and in a fourth it was as much as \$350.

At last authentic reports of the recent general council elections in the various departments of France are at hand.

The man who is content to let politics go from bad to worse, jesting at the corruption of politicians; the man who is content to see the maladministration of justice without an immediate and resolute effort to reform it, is shirking his duty.

The New Zealand government is already showing a fatherly interest in the Cook Islands, recently taken within the boundaries of the colony.

For 100 years or so our economic theory has been that of industrial government by the self-interest of the individual.

The Socialists maintain that the present system (in which land and capital are in the hands of individuals) leads to social and economic anarchy.

The Hon. Wayne McVeagh, ex-attorney general of the United States, in the current issue of the Arena, paints a vivid word picture of the conditions that exist under this age of commercialism.

Says a cablegram from Berlin: "Five of the leading financial editors of as many Dresden dailies have been summarily dismissed because they accepted bribes from the directors and officials of the Dresdener Kreditanstalt, the institution which made such a failure that the whole commercial world of Saxony is stirred up."

Hard, brutal indifference to the right, and an equally brutal short-sightedness as to the inevitable results of corruption and injustice, are baleful beyond measure; yet they are characteristic of a great many Americans who think themselves perfectly respectable.

Commenting on the dearth of capable young men in the theological seminaries, the Rev. Thomas B. Gregory, of Chicago, says: "The churches to get back to the matter with which we started—are out of sympathy with the spirit of the age."

Max Brodkey, one of the Sioux City hustlers, said the other day, in urging others to take the course of lessons, after reviewing the first three lessons: "These lessons grow stronger and clearer as they advance."

there will be no longer a dearth of able young men ready and anxious to proclaim their gospel from the pulpit.

The I. L. P. News, of London, in speaking of the growth of Socialism in England, says: "The growth of the I. L. P. movement, and the almost universal admission that in some fashion and in some period of time Socialism will be attained, have altered the attitude of the world to Keir Hardie."

"But," said the skeptical one, "if a fellow is smart enough to make a million, how are you going to keep him from doing it when we have Socialism? I tell you, that if you divided all the wealth in the country evenly among the people—"

There seems to be some confusion on the question as to whether Roosevelt is the twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth president.

The man who debauches our public life, whether by misapplication of funds in office, or by the actual bribery of legislators or by the corrupt use of the offices as spoils whereof to reward the unworthy or vicious for their noxious and interested activity in the baser walks of political life—this man is a greater foe to our well-being as a nation than is even the defaulting cashier of a bank or the betrayer of a private trust.

A hundred odd years ago our great and good friend King George levied a war against this country that he might subdue the colonists and levy upon them a tax for his own benefit and that of his court.

Nicholas II, Czar of Russia, \$6,000,000
King Edward VII of England, 5,000,000
William II, Emperor of Germany, 3,000,000
Queen Regent of Spain, 2,000,000
Isabella of Spain, 1,500,000
King Leopold of Belgium, 3,500,000

The Duke of York, King of Italy, King of Denmark, Sultan of Turkey and Shah of Persia together have \$8,000,000 invested in the United States.

School notes. The first class will be a strong one. Backus is in Girard. His trip from Chicago was a great success.

Comrade Sindelar is making things hum in his neighborhood in Chicago. Eleven new members in his class in a week, and more to follow.

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Carroll D. Wright in a recent magazine article states that since 1860 wages of workmen have increased 63%, while the prices for which the worker must pay for his products have decreased some 17%.

Now what do we find by analyzing these figures? At first glance, as Mr. Wright would have us believe, the laborer is better off by just twice the product he received for his labor in 1860.

In 1860—assuming he received the entire product of his labor—he had 100 pairs of shoes to his credit, while in 1899 he received 200 pairs of shoes for producing 1,000 pairs of shoes.

Labor is divided into two classes—one productive, the other unproductive. Productive labor adds the real value to the article produced—unproductive labor adds to the cost of the article without adding anything of value to it.

The trusts are endeavoring to do away with unproductive labor, and in a great many instances are doing so in a degree little dreamed of by the average man.

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ing the coal into gas and conducting it to houses, or conducting it by means of hot water or hot air, at a less expense than the present method of burning coal, with all its inconvenience and dirt.

BOOKS TO READ.

Trusts in Government.....J. A. Weyland
A Study in Government.....H. E. Allen
Christ, Property and Man.....Rev. Bruce
Socialist Cartoons and Comments.....Warren
Bad Boy, Illustrated.....L. A. Stockwell

Man's Underlying Machine.....Simons
Socialism, and Farm.....Simons
Property.....Pyburn
Utopia.....Thomas Moore
Ten Men of Money Island.....Debs
Liberty.....Debs
Prison Dicks and Quack Remedies.....Debs

Government Ownership of Railroads.....Gordon
The Evolution of the Class Struggle.....Blatchford
Impudent Marriages.....Blatchford
Packtown.....A. M. Simons
Wage Machinery and Labor.....Pyburn
Poems for the People.....Pyburn
The Mission of the Working Class.....Vail

Socialist Songs, adapted to familiar tunes.....
How I Acquired My Millions.....Simons
The Social Commerce Machine.....Simons
A Little Capitalism, What.....Simons
Woman and the Social Problem.....Gordon
The Axe at the Root.....William Thurston Brown
Plutocracy of Nationalism, Which?.....Bellamy
The Real Religion of Today.....Rev. W. T. Brown
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The Power of Wealth

It is some compensation for great evils that they enforce great losses.—Boece.

The prophets and poets of all nations and all ages have had much to say of the evils which befall a people when the wealth of a nation becomes concentrated in the hands of a few. Wealth represents power. Accumulated wealth is accumulated power. The greater the amount of wealth possessed by a man, the greater the amount of power he controls. At \$10 a day, working 300 days in the year, it would take 333 1-3 years to earn a million dollars.

Julius Caesar's debts were the scandal of Rome. He owed about a million dollars. His friend, Crassus, was one of the richest men in Rome, and was worth about seven and one-half millions. There were no men in the world then with annual incomes of thirty million dollars. When Alexander the Great conquered Persia, he captured the Persian treasury, the richest of all Asia, for Persia then controlled a large part of the Asiatic continent. He seized the "treasure of the Great King," which is said to have amounted to about \$7,000,000 in gold and silver, captured at Susa. At Persepolis he secured \$13,000,000. The treasury of one of the richest nations of the ancient world, representing the spoils of war obtained from the conquest of many countries, would not yield enough money to buy out some of our rich men.

Alexander the Great took Persia's accumulated wealth and used it to go on conquering other nations which had not yet fallen under his domain. He was not content until the world should be helpless and in bonds at his feet. Our modern financiers are exhibiting the same desires and ambitions. The new billion dollar steel trust is but the beginning of the end—and what that end is to be the people of the United States must soon decide. Shall it be industrial freedom, or a more complete industrial slavery? The question for present consideration becomes a plain one. Is it for the best interests of humanity and the progress of the race that the trusts shall own and control the people? Or would it promote a higher form of civilization if the people should own and operate the trusts in their own behalf?

Centuries ago the question before the nation was: "Shall Alexander conquer the world, or shall the world conquer Alexander?" In those days there was so much ignorance, discord, prejudice and hatred among the different countries, that no basis of union was possible. The nations were too jealous to unite and bid defiance to a common foe. Therefore Alexander was fast conquering the whole world, and it would soon have been at his feet had not death conquered him—at 32! Is it possible that there is so much ignorance and prejudice still in the world that the people find themselves unable to unite and decide upon measures which will enable them to retain control of their own industry and prevent the making of money kings to rule over them?

The multi-millionaire of today has more power than many a crowned king of ancient times. He could pay the salary of several kings and queens and presidents of our day and hardly miss it. Our country places the rate of the nation, in peace and war, very largely in the hands of its president, and pays him a salary of \$50,000 a year. The man whose income is but a million a year could hire twenty presidents. Our thirty-million-a-year man could hire 600 and pay them as large a salary as the United States pays! Is there any danger to the interests of the people connected with this fact? It is time to think of these things.

The world which Alexander conquered was not a reading world. Only the aristocracy was educated. It was a world of soldiers, who had been taught for generations, yes, for centuries, that the highest duty men could perform for their country was to kill off other men, whose lands their leaders desired to obtain. The printing press and modern inventions have made a certain amount of civilization possible for all, and men are beginning to learn that instead of being enemies, they are brothers. They will soon object to killing each other to satisfy the ambition of their leaders. Alexander conquered the world through his ability to govern and direct by force. Modern financiers conquer the world through their ability to control its wealth. Wealth is the modern equivalent for brute force. A dependent people soon becomes an enslaved people. Any nation has entered the highway which leads to destruction when large numbers of its citizens are suffering for lack of the necessities of life and other citizens are wealthy enough to pay the salary which an honest people finds sufficient income for its highest and most honored official—600 times.

Queen Victoria received about three million yearly; King Edward probably receives the same. Our wealthy citizens could pay ten sovereigns of England. The whole civil list of Great Britain is less than two million a year. Our rich man could pay the running expenses of that government about fifteen times, and of Germany nearly twenty times. If he were engaging presidents of the South American republics, at the rate paid in Argentina and Chili, he could hire 1,500 of them.

But it is unnecessary to multiply examples. Each of our richest men could—with his income—pay the ruling sovereigns and the running expenses of several of the European or Asiatic countries, even including the larger and more important ones like Germany and France.

The fate of many an empire has been decided by a smaller number of soldiers than our rich men could hire should they choose to so expend their incomes. Alexander fought the most of his battles and conquered the greater part of the world with armies numbering from forty to sixty thousand. His opponents occasionally had several times as many men. Paying \$25 a month, or \$300 a year, our wealthy man, with his income of \$30,000,000, could hire an army numbering 100,000. The income of two or three of our rich men would be sufficient to keep such an army in the field year after year. What would it not be possible for ten or twenty of our richest men to do? Is there danger in all this, or, are our financiers, our modern kings of wealth, great enough to desire to confer benefits upon the world of industry they have conquered? Do they aim to provide for the workers, the men who battle with the elements and undergo hardships on sea and land and in the bowels of the earth, as Alexander tried to provide for the men who fought his battles? Alexander was found where the danger was greatest, in the front of the battle, risking his life more daringly than his men. Because he shared their hardships, and asked them to take no risks which he was not willing to take himself, they loved him, he was a true leader. How is it with our modern "kings of industry?"

HARRIET E. SCUTT

New York Times.

Socialism and organized labor do not breed anarchists any more than thistles yield figs. The unlikeliness forbids that any relation should subsist.

The Literary Digest, N. Y., Sept. 21.

In the popular mind, Socialism is often confounded with anarchism, and these principles are held to be closely related. But, as a writer in the Brooklyn Eagle points out, the doctrines of Socialism and anarchism are diametrically opposed, and warfare has existed between the Socialists and anarchists for thirty years. The struggle may be said to have begun, the writer continues, in the contest for supremacy between Marx and Bakunin, and it culminated in the action of the London Socialist congress of 1896, which summarily ejected the anarchists and decreed that they could have no representation in future conventions.

St. Paul Dispatch, (rep.) Sept. 10.

No two words used as names for political beliefs express ideas so diametrically opposite as do anarchism and Socialism. They stand for the opposite poles of government. The one is positive, the other negative. The Socialist is an intense collectivist; the anarchist is as intense an individualist. The one would magnify, the other minimize government. The one would have government assume the direction and control of all industrial activity; the other would obliterate all government. The one bases its faith, in fact if not admittedly, on the incapacity of men to care for themselves and the need of a paternal government to watch over them; the other asserts openly the ability of men to take care of themselves, and that government is a burdensome, oppressive superfluity.

George Fred Williams, Boston.

The believers in Socialism now form a great party in many countries of the world, and in our own country tens and hundreds of thousands of men espouse this social and economic faith. They are order-loving men who are as far removed from murderous intent as any political party in the world. They are commanding the attention of some of the best thinkers and patriots of the land. So far from having a desperate purpose, their fundamental idea is that of brotherhood, of mercy and charity. A leading branch of their organization is based upon the faith that only by an absolute return to the tender and merciful doctrines of Jesus can the economic, political and social world find redemption.

Rev. Dr. Washburn.

The Rev. Dr. Washburn conducted the memorial services at Oyster Bay, N. Y. In the congregation was Mrs. Roosevelt and children. Among other things the pastor said: A free press has nothing in common with anarchy nor is anarchy in any way led by it. Anarchy is the outgrowth of poverty and ignorance. Education is the remedy. It is sad to contemplate 50,000 children in New York unable to attend school. It is wrong to class the workingmen with anarchists. They are far apart. There is as much difference between Socialism and anarchy as there is between good and bad. Socialism is the theme of the poet and the philosopher. There should be more justice in our legislatures, for there are many unjust laws.

Rev. Thos. Chalmers, Manchester, N. H.

Let us be intelligently informed, in the first place, of the distinction between the anarchist and the Socialist. A great many people speak of the two in the same breath, and class both among the destroyers of law and government. But the Socialist and the anarchist occupy the two poles of the Socialist sphere. The Socialist believes in law and would put everything in the hands of law. He would extend the duties and responsibilities of government. He would have the government not only run the postal system, but the railroads, as is done in Germany, and the street car systems, as is done in the great cities of Britain, and would turn law in the direction of ultimate common ownership of property. The Socialist is optimistic, the anarchist is pessimistic.

St. Louis Daily Star, (rep.) Sept. 23.

In the face of the murder of President McKinley by a cold-blooded assassin, the people generally of the country are prone to confound Socialism with anarchy.

Never a greater mistake was made, and every newspaper in the land should make haste to disabuse the minds of the people on this score.

The creed of the anarchist is opposition to all law; that of the Socialist, equality under the law—not that one individual shall be robbed of his property for division among the many, but that law shall not discriminate in favor of the few as against the many, in their efforts to honestly acquire a competency.

The anarchist is taught that hate of the prosperous is a cardinal principle, and that murder is justifiable to accomplish an end.

The Socialist believes in the brotherhood of man, and his creed is the elevation of humanity through love of each other.

The anarchist is against all government—all restraint. He simply mistakes license for liberty, and would murder the latter that the former might run riot.

The creed of the Socialist is based upon government, and, if true to his principles, he never raises his hand in violence against that under which he lives. If it is bad, he does what he can to better it; if good, it is his pleasure to use his best efforts to still further improve it—the ballot, wherever he has the privilege of using it, being the medium through which he works.

Socialism at present is a theory. It may never become a condition for the very simple reason that humanity itself is inherently selfish, and the strong are prone to take advantage of the weak.

In this connection it is eminently proper to say that there are quite a number of men posing as social leaders in this country who do not comprehend the primary principle of Socialism, and it is these men who have cast a shadow upon true Socialism.

While the Star believes that Socialism is impractical, as applied to the government of a nation, it yet knows of nothing in its principles that would render it objectionable, especially to the government of this republic.

The Squelching of Competition.

It is estimated that within the past year fully 50,000 miles of railway in the United States have been absorbed by consolidation with other lines.

The object has been to squelch legitimate competition and the consequent reduction of rates to shippers and traders.

In order to maintain rates many of the railroads, between 1870 and 1880, had contracted among themselves for the distribution of

traffic for which there was strong competition.

Legitimate competition was squelched.

When the interstate law of 1887 declared such pooling illegal, the great freight associations were formed, such as the Joint Traffic Association and the Trans-Missouri Freight Association.

Legitimate competition was squelched again. In 1897 the United States supreme court de-

Salt Lake City Daily Herald.

Notwithstanding the increasing discussion of Socialistic theories and theories in the press and elsewhere, many people still harbor the delusion that Socialism and anarchy are synonymous terms and, when some act of violence is committed, attribute it without hesitation to the growth of anarchy and Socialism. Others, a little better informed but vastly mistaken, believe that anarchism is a step beyond Socialism, but in the same direction.

What is the difference? The difference is so great that there is hardly a point of resemblance. A brief outline of the two cuts is all that is necessary to show that anarchism and Socialism represent the opposite extremes of economic thought. In fact, the whole breadth of the republican, democratic and populist parties lies between the Socialist and anarchist. There is far more in common between the republican (in the partisan sense) and the anarchist than between the latter and the Socialist.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ANARCHISM.

The consistent anarchist does not believe in a political party. In his opinion all laws and authority are an invasion of the full liberty to which every man is naturally entitled. Political authority is the cause of all, or nearly all, social evils in that it restricts the complete development of the individual. Hence, to vote for any one for an office is to take part in establishing authority—plainly a violation of the fundamental principles of anarchism.

Neither is anarchism an economic system. It designs to include all economic systems and does not champion any one in particular. Once remove the bugbear of constituted authority, says the anarchist, and every man may live as best suits him. If he is a republican, democrat, single tax, prohibitionist or Socialist he can affiliate with those who believe as he does and put his theories into practice without hindrance so long as he does not attempt to force his system on anybody who is unwilling to accept it.

There is no organization among the anarchists, for organizations have officers and officers have authority. Every anarchist is the equal of every other anarchist. The only tie that binds them together is their common hatred of authority. They can lay down no course of action, for that would hinder each man from developing his own particular ideas. Thus they do not advocate violence. If the individual anarchist believes in violence, well and good. He has as much right to believe in and practice it as his brother has to believe in moral suasion or the nebular hypothesis. Furthermore, no anarchist is responsible for the beliefs or practices of any other anarchist. Every man is a law unto himself. The only manner in which anarchism can be held accountable for assassination of rulers is that its denunciation of all authority may sometimes be such crimes.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM.

The Socialist believes first of all in political action, organization and responsible authority. His principal objection to the existing industrial system is that it is "anarchistic," meaning that the real power is wielded, not by the authority of the people, but by irresponsible capitalists. Another anarchistic symptom is the wasteful and chaotic method of production and distribution. He would remedy all this by enlarging the functions of the government and by substituting responsible government agents for the irresponsible capitalist and his equally irresponsible agents. He would make all the industrial authorities from foremen to superintendents elective public officers chosen because of their skill and ability. From the Socialist point the great capitalist is the result of "anarchical" conditions because he is permitted to develop his "individuality" to the detriment of society.

Socialism is primarily an economic system based on the theory that what is used collectively should be owned collectively. It contemplates only such changes in the form of government as may from time to time become necessary through the changing of industrial conditions. It leaves no room for any other economic system. It comprehends the enactment and enforcement of all moral laws.

Socialists believe thoroughly in organization. Through organization and the ballot they hope to gain political control, and through political control they seek to realize their system. No party keeps a tighter hand over its members and exacts a more binding profession of faith than Socialism.

Socialists have no quarrel with the government as it now exists. They hold that it is merely an echo of the real capitalistic rulers. Nor do they have a grudge against the capitalist. In their opinion the worker, and not the capitalist, is the real obstacle in the path of Socialism. The worker is responsible for both the capitalist and the pauper, because he declines to use his political power for himself. All the rich men in the world could not establish Socialism until the producers become intelligent enough to establish it for themselves, and when that time comes there will be so few rich and so many producers that there will be no room for an argument. Just at present the Socialists regard the capitalists as their most effective allies in educating the people, and even in the end they do not seek to deprive them of their cash, clothing or any other personal property. They will simply declare the private ownership of the socially-used means of production contrary to public policy; the government will step in and administer all industrial enterprises and sell to everybody at the actual cost of production. At first, there would be inequalities in pay, but when men find that all their wants can be easily supplied and that great wealth cannot be invested in any "paying" business and does not convey any power over other men, they will cease to care for it.

Briefly given, the principal points of difference between anarchism and Socialism are as follows:

The anarchist holds the will of the individual to be paramount to the welfare of society; the Socialist believes the necessities of society should be paramount to the will of the individual.

The anarchist is opposed to all authority, laws and government; the Socialists believe in all three and in expanding their functions.

The anarchist does not countenance organization, as generally understood; organization is the soul of Socialism.

The anarchist believes in developing "individuality" even to the point of murder; the Socialist would use every possible means to restrain the harmful manifestations of "individuality."

The anarchist does not vote nor countenance political action, nor has he a settled program; Socialism depends solely on political action by means of the ballot, and has a very elaborate program.

Anarchy stands at the extreme of individuality, Socialism at the opposite extreme—co-operation so far as it is economically beneficial.

clared all such associations for the maintenance of rates to be illegal under the Sherman anti-trust law, as being "in restraint of trade."

The railroad kings then conceived the expedient of buying for their own roads considerable blocks of shares in their competitors, thus inaugurating what they call a "community of interests."

Legitimate competition is thus squelched again, and, so far as any legal protection is

The Evolution of the Slave

"In the beginning," private, or individual ownership, was an unknown quantity. Land, with all its inherent wealth, was as the boundless ocean, and one who presumed to place corner stones and blaze boundary trees, would have been regarded with wonder and a significant tapping of the forehead, and his boundaries disregarded.

Man's inherent aversion to work, his desire to get something for nothing, was the cause of the institution of slavery and the opening page in the book of "Property."

It was not from any right to his services that the slave was held, but solely by the right of the strong to coerce the weak, and by force to compel his services. In order to enjoy the benefits of such a service, strength and force must be exercised in two directions. First, against the slave, to force him into serfdom and compel his labor, and, second, against his own friends and companions, to compel the respect of his individual ownership.

As, in the course of time, and as a result of the continual wars of early days, slavery became more widespread, the owner's came to respect each other's claims to their captives; partly to prevent strife among themselves, but, mainly, that by so doing their own claims would be likewise respected.

Now, since it is firmly fixed by a natural law, that the product of labor belongs to whoever furnished the labor, the owners of a slave became possessed of whatever the slave produced; just as today the driver of horses collects and retains the pay for the work they perform. This was the beginning of individual ownership, and here began the necessity for ownership or reservation of lands.

Owning slaves, it became absolutely necessary to have a place where they could be confined and still be able to labor in order that their owners might have a return.

So parcels of land were appropriated, sometimes by force, again by mutual consent of slave-holders, and on these tracts of land the slaves were put to work. Here their offspring were born and reared to a life of toil, inherited from the parents, while the children of their masters, by like inheritance, were reared to lives of indolence and luxury, made possible by the product of the former's toil.

It was in this way that property, and the right in property, originated and it is by modifications of this system that it has been perpetuated.

No land-owner on earth can trace back his title and find that it originated in any other "right" than that of might. The right of the strong against the weak.

While slavery, as such, has been abolished by all civilized nations, it yet exists under the name of "wage-system," with all of slavery's miseries and none of its advantages. The old had the advantage to the slave or worker, in that he was cared for in sickness and maintained in old age; when not working he was fed the same as when at work, for the owner had an interest in his well-being and was directly caring for his own interest in caring for his slave.

What master takes any thought for his laborers under the present regime? Today, the worker, instead of having the fruits of his labor, as all right-thinking men accord him, sells it for a small part of the product or fruit. Instead of receiving the entire result of his work for his reward, as he should and could do, he is content to accept but a fractional part of such result and send the balance to some one who gives him nothing in exchange. To create by his toil a class who revile him, and who luxuriate in the fruit of his muscle and brain, and put in their pockets the means of hiring courts and armies, deputy sheriffs and flogging guns, (politely called law and order) that they may force him to continue in the same old treadmill. O Lord, how long?

The moneyed classes of the world constitute but a small fractional percentage of its people, and the same kind of right that gave them their possessions would wrest them from them in the twinkling of an eye and they, in justice, have no cause of complaint.

But I do not advocate this means of restitution while we have a better and easier way; i. e., the ballot box, and the establishing of a community of interests. Let them keep their gold; of what value will it be in a commonwealth where credits for labor done will be the only purchasing power?

So "all despondendum," there is a new order of things coming as sure as that God reigns, and the best part of it is that our plutocrats, by their inordinate greed, are bringing it about faster than any other means could do. Trusts and monopolies are but the necessary step to public ownership and the Co-operative Commonwealth of Socialism.

"Behind the squaw's light bark canoe, the steamer rocks and raves; And city lots are staked for sale—above old Indian graves; I hear the tread of pioneers of nations yet to be,

The first low wash of waves, where soon shall roll a human sea."

ARTHUR FOSTER, M. D.

New Castle, Pa.

Civilized people will be shocked at the advice of an English physician to a wealthy patient to live like a savage to be cured. Savages, it may be recalled, do not belong to clubs, have no stock exchanges, know nothing of trust and trade combinations, run no political campaigns, and so reserve some vitality and nerve force for purely living purposes.—Baltimore American.

concerned, the public is as bare to the attacks of railroad combines as it was before enactment of the interstate commerce law of 1887, or the Sherman law of 1890.

The Vanderbilts are again in position to repeat that remark about the public. Indeed, they can with safety add a few adjectives to polish it off and better impress the people with their helplessness.

It is not always best to give up a good thing simply because the lawyers have failed to make laws that will hold water, or offer any protection to that good thing. The cure that the interstate commerce commission and John Sherman failed to effect may be effected by other medicine than laws which say "Thou shalt not."

The radical remedy, in this case of the railroads, is government ownership, but some relief may be found in the competition of the electric lines, which are bound to spread like a fine hair net over the more populous portions of the country. Of course, electric competition became serious, a Vanderbilt or a Moran might buy up controlling interests in the electric roads, so that towns, in granting rights to streetcar companies, would do well to place such "absorption" and to be as vigilant as possible in the matter of paramount freight.—Cleveland Press.

