

This book, *The Leaves of Life*, came into my possession (circa 1957) through Sam Hinckley, a great uncle on my mother's side. E. Haldeman-Julius It is a curious fact that Wayland's Appeal to Reason Press was located in Girard Kansas. There have been a business connection between E. Haldeman-Julius the publisher of Little Blue Books, perhaps the first paperback books. Little Blue Books were printed and published in Girard Kansas. Wayland's book comes towards the end of his career as a populist-socialist activist. This was around 1912. E. Haldeman-Julius began publishing out of Girard Kansas in 1919. In addition, there is some similarity in the type of font used in printing. - Steven R. Bayne (August 28, 2008).

same disease—it is universal and the collapse will be universal. The rulers feel the trembling and seek to insure their power by dividing their pilferings—by putting their eggs in several baskets. Thus rich Americans are buying estates and investing in other nations. Kings invest in other nations, so that if an upheaval unhorses them they can fly the realm and live in luxury still on the stolen sweets of Labor's sweat. A taste of bread won from another makes cannibals of men. It is like a man-eating lion—no other satisfies the damnable appetite. The whole mind and soul is poisoned by the taste of unrequited human labor. Look to the near future for the awful sequences.

THE LAND AND TAXATION.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

When the oil trust wants money it taxes the people for it. When the king wants money he has to ask the people for it. When the telegraph fellows want money they tax the people for it.

When the sugar trust wants money it raises the price of sugar and the people pay the tax.

When the biscuit trust wants money it taxes the people by a raise in the price of bread and crackers and candy.

When the coal combine wants money it raises the price and the people pay the tax.

When the meat barons want more money they cut the price of cattle and raise the price of meat and the people pay the tax.

When the lead, leather, cotton, wool, wheat, iron or other barons want more money they tax the people by raising prices or lowering wages.

And they do these things without the people having a voice in the matter, notwithstanding that the idea of taxation without representation was shot to death (so the people think) in the Revo-

lutionary War. These taxes are levied on the people for the benefit, in nearly every case, of British nobility who own large, if not controlling, interests in these modern schemes of taxation. How these fellows must chuckle at the squirming of the Great American as he bends his back to the load while his head is filled with bombast of how we licked the British! The British today draw a thousand times as much revenue out of the hides of the Americans as King George wanted them to pay. Taxation without representation, eh? Ye gods, but wouldn't the Americans lick all the kings on earth before they would submit to such tyranny? The public taxes the people pay, while enough to feed the entire nation, is a mere nothing to the private taxes levied on them by these modern barons and paid out of their hides without so much as asking their leave. And under this system of taxation men sink into the lowest depths of poverty and woe, and do not see the covered hand that strikes them down. No king would dare to exercise this power, for he would cause a revolution that would wipe him off his throne, but under the cover of the rights

of private property this thing is done openly and the people do not see the cheat. And thus will this nation perish.

Do you believe in taxing men or property? If you say men, then you favor each man paying the same tax, rich or poor—and you know you do not favor that. If property, then why not tax it? You do? Yes, for the state and county purposes, but not national, which is the greatest tax. Let me give you an illustration: The national tax is \$500,000,000 a year, or about \$40 for each family, which is paid by rich and poor in about the same ratio. If the government tax was raised as is county and state tax, from each according to his property, 31,000 families that hold three-fourths of all the property in the United States would have to pay three-fourths of this five hundred millions a year, or \$375,000,000. Do you not see why these families are anxious to have the amount raised by a tariff and internal revenue system? To do so would relieve the masses of that much of the burden, which would have the effect of raising wages. The rich are very anxious to help the poor! And the poor

are fighting each other to have more tariff to raise money for the rich contractors. What queer animals are men, anyway; they cannot see a cheat so plain.

BRIDGES were once private property, and toll collected to enrich the owner. The public got tired of that, provided a public fund and made them free—or tried to. But the man who had been collecting toll did not propose to give up his easy way of living without a struggle. So he persuaded the public to build more bridges and borrow his money and pay him interest. Today he sits around and draws his toll from the public treasury, which is cheaper and less troublesome than the old method of stopping every traveler and making him deliver. They found this much better—for themselves—and have applied it to churches, schoolhouses, county, state and municipal improvements. The toll taker is still here, gathering more and more each year—he has only changed his methods. He still lives in the same sumptuous style, surrounded by servants, and the people who keep him up are living in blissful ignorance of the

fact that his wealth and their toil and poverty have any relation. He and his friends are still persuading the people that this is the best system on earth and that those who think a better can be operated are dreamers and enemies of society. So long as the people believed they could not live without a king, they killed people who offended the king.

WHO PAYS THE TAXES.

Jones pays the freight—but who the deuce pays Jones? All taxes are paid, and only paid, by the men who produce useful articles. In fact, all expenses of whatever nature or character are paid by the usefully engaged working class, and whenever anything is used to administer to the needs or pleasures of any person not so engaged with mind and muscle that thing is robbed by some device or other from the working class. It does not in the least alter the case if the non-producers are working—even at the most slavish labor—unless the labor is in itself productive. A large per cent of the people of all nations who are working with brain and brawn are as much non-producers and leeches as if they were lolling in idle luxurious-

ness. All people in armies, in law, in personal service, as servants and lackeys, and in the making of useless ornaments, are non-producers—all are on the shoulders of and supported by unpaid useful labor.

Let us take two sets of men and put them apart—on two islands or in two counties. Put one set to useful labor and they will provide all food, clothing, shelter, instruction and entertainment they can use and have the enjoyment of them. The other set, producing nothing but law, armies, lackeys and useless ornamentation, will starve. Should we find these people enjoying in abundance the things raised by the useful laborers of the adjoining community, when they had produced nothing to exchange for them, we should know they were thieves. But when we mix these people up in the same community we find the useless enjoying in abundance all the useful things and all the useless things, while the useful citizens are allowed to enjoy neither, and look upon this anomaly as right and just! So we have been educated that we may not realize the robbery, like the Mohammedan children are educated to submit to the conditions

imposed on their credulity that the masters in church and state may fatten off their labor. When I paid more than a thousand a year in taxes it was first collected of the more or less useful laborers who used the property. They, not I, paid the tax. I was only the agent for its collection—putting most of it in my purse, because of the law which their ignorance sustained. When the tenants failed to pay, I could pay no tax, and if they never could pay no one would want to own any more property than he could use and care for. The man who employs labor non-productively to human needs commits the greatest of all crimes.

THE LAND AND TAXATION.

IF one man owned all the land, he could compel all the others to do as he pleased or get off the earth. It would not be to his interest to drive the people off, for then the earth would not bring him anything unless he would labor on it, and that is what he don't want. What is true of one owner is true of many. All who do not own must and do pay to those who do own the privilege of living on the earth. It does not impair the fact that one or a small minority could not enforce eviction off the earth—the majority can hedge them with rules that will prevent that, but in doing so they also deny the right to complete ownership and, so far as morals are concerned, might as well deny the right to own land at all. In fact, no one does own land and can draw no rent from it except the law ostensibly made by the majority permits it.

THE individual hoe-maker has disappeared.

THE individual wagon-maker has disappeared.

THE individual watch-maker has disappeared.

In fact, individualism in production has almost entirely disappeared, the workers being only parts of machines and having nothing to do with the products or their price when they have done their work. There is only one great field of production which has not yet been conquered by the capitalist with the power of capital and great machinery too expensive for the small fellows—that one thing is the farming of the nation. But capital and great machinery are going into the field of agriculture and will soon do up the small farmer just as the small producers in other fields have been done up and forced into wage slavery. Wheat is being raised by capitalistic methods at a cost of wages of $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents a bushel in the sack, corn at 10 cents and other farm products at like low cost. When enough capital is invested in such farming to produce the needed national supply the small farmer will follow his deceased fellow-worker in the small shops and will fall in with the lock-step of the slaves of the agricultural lords of creation who will sit in their fine offices and direct the working operation of the farms as they now do their factories. Men no longer need

to know a business to operate it successfully. J. Pierpont Morgan is not a railroad man, does not know anything about the technical terms and duties of the employes, but he owns tens of thousands of miles of railroad, to say nothing of the coal and iron mines and other industries. Capital can hire the slavish brains that will properly conduct any industry and make it millions. In ten years the farming of this country will be done by capitalists who do not know anything about farming, and they will knock the hay seeds off the fellow whom they now make fun of as being too green to burn. Note the picture of farmers that appear in the daily and illustrated press owned by the capitalists. Most of the men on the land today are tenants of small farmers or else hired hands. Tomorrow they will be the hirelings of the great farmer who owns and operates millions of acres of land. And where is your individuality then?

THERE are a great mass of people so thoughtless that they believe it is well for a community or nation when its real estate sells at a high figure. But just the reverse is true. The higher it is the

more your children will have to give of their labor for the privilege of having a spot to live on. Do you think the high price of New York dirt is good for those who have to pay proportionately high for the use of it? Every rise in real estate means that the many of the future will have to pay to the few owners of the future more and more of their labor for the privilege of living on the earth. The lower priced the land and the higher priced the labor the better for the masses of mankind.

● WHY don't they do it at once and settle the agony? Do what? Why, confiscate the man's property. Why drag him up to court house term after term, forcing him to neglect his work, worrying the life out of him and his family, paying all he can make to lawyer, sheriff and court officers and then finally taking all he has? Would it not be more humane to take it outright? Is it any less robbery because it takes it by degrees? So many cases like this I have known and the poor victims never once dream that the whole judicial system and the money, contract and land system is a cunningly devised plan for a few of the

most utterly worthless of men to eat the fruits of other men's labor. But you don't believe that? Of course you don't. I know well enough you don't, else the thing would not have so long flourished. But the fruits of the system is proof enough. Even when kings oppressed the people, took their property, took their sons and trained them for murder and their wives and daughters for the pleasure of titled rouses—I say, even to this day, a large majority of the human race believe the divine right of kings. My statement regarding the courts is true just the same whether you believe it or not. If justice reigned, arbitration would settle all disputes in an hour or two at no cost or delay. But what would the lawyers and such others do then?

It is more profitable to own the land and make people pay you to live on it than to own the people, body and soul. The land should belong—and does in equity—to all the people and the public should be the landlord, receiving all the rents for the use of it, and this money should be spent for the benefit of all those who pay it by erecting schools, libraries, public buildings and construct-

ing roads, pavements, parks, telegraphs, telephones and railroads. Then would the people begin to enjoy freedom that has been withheld from them ever since schemers induced them to believe that land should be private property. Private property in land is indefensible and has been condemned by all humanitarians and philosophers in all ages.

You cannot legislate wealth into existence but you can and do legislate who shall own it when it is brought into existence. And as a rule the title to the property produced by labor is handed over to those who in no wise aid in producing it. A law that allows a king to own certain lands or that gives him an income from certain districts as certainly robs the people who live on that land or in that district as anything can be. It matters not whether his kind buys the land or is given the land. It is of no value to him, produces no income, unless human labor and intelligence is applied to it. It is the law, or the power behind the law, that compels these people to deliver to him a part of what their labor applied to the earth has produced—rank robbery. And

it does not matter whether the man is a king or a private citizen, either. The robbery is just as flagrant in one case as the other. If the purchase of the land is recognized by law the robbery will follow just the same. It is a getting of something for nothing. Robbery of the workers will continue so long as any other title but use and occupancy is recognized.

SOCIALISM AND COMPETITION.

There are those who with words deny the law of co-operation is more beneficent than competition regarding wealth production, yet if they desire to do anything at once call in the help of their fellows. There is a field for competition but it is not in the field of property accumulation. It is in the mental field of desiring to do most to help the world to higher planes of living. Competition in good works—not in greed. I do not believe the theory of competition in the industrial field is good. If we will admit that any theory of single or double tax, and theory of hard or soft money, any theory of direct or indirect tax, will enable people to have a home, and an income, I shall then ask you what kind of

a home and how much of an income. This is the gist of the controversy. Under which theory will they derive the most and best food, clothing and shelter, instruction and entertainment? Experience and observation has demonstrated nothing clearer than that the greater number of people harmoniously associated the greater the product for a given day's toil. We have passed the stage of farming and manufacturing on a small scale as being wasteful and non-productive. Good homes cannot be created by small or individual effort. The small farmer, if you give him free land, untaxed, cannot make his labor as productive as if he had the aid of machinery and science, too expensive for isolated application. The same is true with factory and shop. No man can own all the implements necessary to production, and if he cannot he is to some extent at the mercy of those who control his tools. Even if he could, he could not gain that skill in their use that a minute subdivision of labor can achieve. The great factories and farms and stores are displacing the smaller ones under the inexorable operation of the law of economies. I would not deny to

people the right of isolated farming. That is their natural right. I would say to them: "By your isolated effort, lack of diversified knowledge, machinery and skill, you produce in a year only one-fourth as much as we who nationally co-operate. Come and be one of us and you can lay down your many burdens and receive four times as much for it. We have the combined capital of millions of people. Each of us has one line of work—no bother or trouble with others. Each of us doing our mite of work, production is completed, and each has all he wants of all the labor of all." Such an argument would have more power than a standing army of force. I would see all farmers so organized, living in the most beautiful towns of ten and twenty thousand that science and skill can build, where they may enjoy the benefits of the highest sanitary condition, heat, light, power, theatres, opera, library, museums, art galleries, parks, drives and all the elevating influences their highest ideals could demand. They could be transported to and from their field of labor on rapid transits at far less expense than the

maintenance of the very miserable roads they now wade through.

Factory operatives would also live as beautifully.

All this is more scientific, more practical and more desirable than the present anarchy or lack of head and heart.

Every mind that comprehends this picture longs for it. It will produce more happiness than any amount of individual wealth, with its cares and crosses under the present conditions.

You see my idea is not one of force, but one of love—voluntary co-operation in its final stages.

This is a higher ideal than any tax theory.

INCENTIVE.

UNDER a system in which all could have plenty they tell me there would be no incentive to work. A tenant who gets all the crop would have no incentive—he must give some rent—half he raises for an incentive! Or the man working for a dollar would have no incentive if he got \$10.50! People who live in shanties would have no incentive to live if they were furnished good houses with all the conveniences of science! There would be no incentive to board a railroad train at $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ -cent a mile instead of paying the railroad kings 3 cents more. It's too bad about the incentive business.

MAKE it possible for men to get wealth by doing wrong and you will gather a harvest of crime. When men can get wealth of others by adulterating food, or medicines, or clothing, they will do it. But please tell me in what manner could a man profit by dishonesty when he was a producer of wealth as are now the workmen, the title to all wealth being in all the people, and all workers being paid for their time and

no extra for adulterating or cheapening an article? The workers today get nothing more for producing shoddy, or dough coffee beans—it's the proprietors who profit. Now make the public the proprietor and it will have no interest in swindling its members. Then all will have plenty for all, the idle rich and idle poor will be given work and will produce the good things of life under a rational system. "If they will not work, neither shall they eat."

YOU say there would be no incentive to progress if every man had a good home, good clothing, good food and plenty of leisure? Is that why the incentive of the rich is crushed out? Well, if it does, let the people have a whack at the good things just once to see how it goes.

MAKE it unprofitable for a man to do wrong and he will not do wrong. Take away the profit to individuals in running railroads by having the nation own them and you will not have railroad corporations corrupting senators, congressmen, legislators, judges and other public functionaries. Public men today have a premium set upon wrong-

doing, and they reap great profits from their dishonesty and corruption; and they always will do wrong under this incentive so long as human nature is as it is. But this same human nature will not pay out its money if it cannot profit by it. The cause of incentive is private profit. Take away the incentive or cause by having the railroads operated only for the benefit of the people, as is the postal system, and you effectually remove the incentive to corruption and extortion from this source. That this is fair and logical I think none will deny. And it is just as applicable to the telegraph, the street cars, the gas, the water works, the telephone, the coal, the oil, the sugar trust and all other monopolies. If you do not like to be robbed, why do you not support measures that when enacted will make robbery, bribery and extortion unprofitable? If you are men endowed with reason why do you not use your reason? What is reason for, if not to be exercised? Don't blame the monopolists—they are only doing what your votes have made it profitable for them to do. The robbed are many. The robbers are few. When the many vote in a practicable system instead of the

present impracticable one the robbery will cease and the people will be prosperous and happy.

PEOPLE tell me, that is, some people do, that the substitution of public property where now is private property, in business, would destroy the incentive in men that pushes them on today. Granted. But it may prove, on investigation, that that is the very thing to be desired instead of deplored. It may prove to be another idol of ignorance and prejudice,—the people once thought they would relapse into barbarism if they had no king to guide and protect them.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS.

ARE YOU A CHRISTIAN?

It is all very nice to talk about solving the unrest and misery of today by leading "Christian lives," applying the "golden rule," etc., but how is a man to love his neighbor for the few crumbs from Dives' table or starve? If the Christian theory is to be a solvent one it must be applied as a whole, and that is what these people refuse to see. As well try to apply mathematics and ignore the existence and value of one of the digits as to try to live a Christian life and ignore the basis of that religion—a community of property. Without a community of property there can be no brotherhood. There could have existed no harmony among the disciples and the early Christians had the laws of competition been recognized. To become a Christian it was first necessary to turn over all property to the common fund or store. No nation has any moral right to claim it is Christian that by law recognizes the private ownership of property. Private wealth is anti-Christian. Men and women who hold to the

theory of private property are either ignorant of what Christianity is or else are hypocrites. Socialism goes very far toward the Christian ideal. It would not recognize by law any private title to land or machinery used in production for sale, but these should be operated co-operatively and governed democratically by the workers. By this method there is no competition—strife—between the members of society. The success of one does not mean the loss of others, but the success of each is beneficial to all. Under such a system the Christ principle could be developed; under the present system it can never be, though you put a church on each corner of every square in the land. Tropical fruits will not live in a frigid zone, nor can the golden rule be applied where people recognize the devil-contrived theory of private property and production for profit instead of use.

THE amount paid out for charity in this country every year would furnish the necessary land and machinery for all these recipients to create their own living ever after, while as now operated they have to be provided the next year

at the same expense. All this is pure waste and degrading on the recipients. But such is the wisdom that rules the world. That such a sensible system has not been adopted is not because it is not known, but to the fact that the product of such labor would come into competition with one or more branches of production now occupied by capitalists, and they would rather the people would rot than have their business interfered with. It is all right to use these poor people if it adds to capitalists' profit, but the people are not to be allowed to do anything and get all the results of their labor.

PLEASE BE CHRISTIAN.

There are thousands of people out of the churches, and who will have nothing to do with them, who would gladly support them if the ministers would preach the "doctrine and fellowship of the disciples," as laid down in Acts. They beg the preachers to preach Christ's doctrine. There is nothing in creeds and form that appeals to the people who are intelligent. They want something to make the world better to live in. Heaven is all right, but people who are not

willing to make such social arrangement here that men may be brothers are hardly the kind to improve Heaven by educating for that condition. Talk to any group of men and you will find that most of them are disgusted with the fawning of ministers to the pews that pay the largest dues, who can overlook the means by which money is gotten, if a criticism of the social arrangement would offend. What the world needs is teaching that will instruct the people how to arrange the affairs of THIS world so that men CAN be brothers. They cannot compete for wealth and feel brotherly. That is what Christ and the disciples taught, and the "common people heard them gladly," and they will heed the same doctrine as gladly today. It is not stated that the wealthy heard the doctrine gladly, nor will they today, but anyone professing to be a follower of the Christ should not ignore the doctrine for that reason. There are millions today who will support teachers who will talk about the affairs of this world, how the production and distribution of God's gifts shall be justly done, that all will have mutual brotherly interest. They are begging the ministers

to be Christian. A few ministers are being converted to the Christ doctrine, and they are having the greatest congregations—and of those who otherwise would not enter a church.

“THAT which is holy in Heaven is holy on earth.” Do the usurers and monopolists expect to find their occupations going in Heaven? Do they expect to be favored by conditions that will compel the great mass of angels to spend their eternity of time in a ceaseless round of drudgery that they may have more than the average amount of bliss in the New Jerusalem? If it be wrong to think of such things in Heaven, it is wrong to have them on earth. “On earth as it is in Heaven.”

WHY are you not as wise as Plato or Aristotle or some of the sages of two thousand years ago? The average man has doubtless read more than they did, but not the same kind of reading. If you would read a few books on the social problem you would soon discover why their names are immortal, and why yours is not. If what they teach were not against the interest of kings, monopolists and the like to have you know

certain things, these subjects would be taught in the schools. But because the ruling classes control the schools they are careful to have the books teach such things as they profit by the people believing. If men were wise, if they were not early prejudiced against certain books and sciences there would not be a ragged, hungry person in the land. Knowledge would make them free, but when a few only know and the many don't, the many by their votes uphold the system that produces all the ills of life. Jesus Christ was one of the wise. He was killed by the rulers to prevent His teaching the masses how to live on earth, for if the common people “who heard Him gladly” had been allowed to absorb His teaching they would soon have dethroned tyranny in all its forms and lived in a brotherhood—what reformers now term the co-operative commonwealth.

A NEW religion is being created and is permeating the whole of society. It is not announcing itself with the noise of loud exhortation, but is coming quietly in response to the longing in the human mind for a truer, nobler relation-

ship of man. It is the religion of the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God or unity of all nature. As has ever been the case, it is opposed by the established churches, who can never see any good in anything that does not pay tithing to them. For several years I have been watching the slowly crystalizing sentiment creating this new social force and while it builds no churches it is already a power in this and other lands. With the New Social Order of Love and Harmony will come the New Religion. Religions change, just as do civilizations.

MAN has never attained happiness nor ease. In his floundering about for it he has created conditions in which he cannot harmonize himself. He sometimes assumes that he has been made wrong and cannot achieve harmony or Heaven on earth. If he would reason that he cannot change his nature but can change his surroundings he would be getting near the truth. If harmony prevailed, man would be happy, for unhappiness is simply lack of harmony. Man has been trying to harmonize himself with private property and has never

yet succeeded in a single instance and never will, because it makes conditions antagonistic to his nature. Neither the rich nor the poor are happy or at ease. Ease with competition or strife is not possible, because they are opposite. Man is all right, but he has made environments for himself that make his life miserable. This can be remedied by replacing competition with co-operation.

ADDRESSING a Bible class in New York recently Andrew Carnegie said: "It will indeed be a sad day when poverty is no longer with us. Where will your inventor, your artist, your philanthropist, your reformer, in fact anybody of note, come from then? They all come from the ranks of the poor. It is bad policy to aid the submerged man." If there was no poverty there would be no oppression, no millionaires, no kings, no social leeches. The rich want poverty. They want people to be dependent that they may have such service as they desire without having to return like service to their fellow men. If poverty creates inventors, artists, philanthropists and reformers, then the accumulation of riches is a bad thing, because

these desirable elements of society are not generated in the families of the rich. That is Mr. Carnegie's argument. There is no question but that individual wealth is destructive to moral development and stifles genius, but intense poverty does the same thing. Neither great riches nor poverty is desirable, are not good for the human family, and a time is coming to men now living when these monstrosities in the social organism will be impossible. With the abolition of private property the opportunity for development will be equal to all and not to those skilled in the cunning of accumulation only. When the working people of the world realize the force of this statement that the rich people desire poverty, then the greatest work in abolishing poverty will have been accomplished. We want the nation wealthy, not the individual.

WOMEN in politics, yes, and the sooner the better. Represented by men, there is no sympathy in politics. It is cold, cruel, relentless scheming. Woman by nature is sympathetic and loving. If there is a case of destitution, not men but women minister to its needs. It is

they who nurse and care for the sick out of pure goodness of heart—not men. It is they who never tire of planning little pleasures for others. When they enter politics it will not take long for their intuition to locate the root of the social diseases. Their sympathies can be more readily appealed to than the men's. Men have never studied politics and today, with all their years of exercising suffrage, are as ignorant as the women on matters of state—yes, even more ignorant. The women are ready students. In their home life, even with all the cares of domestic duties, they are freer to read and think than the man who puts in ten or twelve hours' hard labor. And the wives and daughters of the well-to-do are not scheming all day in the store or counting house. I know they spend their time now on dress and balls and parties and weddings, and many will continue to fritter away their lives thus, but the many with the new mantle of political responsibility suddenly thrown on them will begin to investigate. They read books; men read papers. Philosophy is taught in books. There are thousands of women on the lecture platform and every one is advo-

cating something for the betterment of the race. This cannot be said of men. Disfranchised as they are, women have written some of the most powerful books in favor of political reform. Their ideas are higher and their ballots will not long support this system. They have not the same prejudice for it that men have—they will listen and consider. The men won't, especially if they have enough to eat and wear.

THE WISE MAN.

The wise men of the east—press and pulpit—are discussing whether the death penalty should be inflicted for arson, as it is becoming so common. Three hundred years ago the death penalty was inflicted in England for stealing—yet men stole just the same. The wise men of that time, on a notable occasion, consulted as to what should be done to prevent the alarming increase of larceny. They could think of no greater punishment than death and the churches' malediction of an eternity of death hereafter. Although hundreds of thieves' bodies were continually hanging from gibbets, men continued to steal. About that time the lord chancellor of

England in a work told these wise men that if they would let the people employ themselves on the land and not take from them so much rent and profits instead of turning them out and denying them work, that the men would not need to steal; that hunger drove them to it; that no man-made law would prevent men starving or doing other crime if that law violated nature's law. So with these increasing cases of arson. So long as men are compelled by law and custom to have money, and the rapid monopolization of capital is denying them money as a legitimate result of labor, men will kill, burn and rob. If they desire to have crime cease they must make crime unprofitable. If houses and stocks of goods were the whole people's and all lost and none could gain by its burning, where is the fool who thinks, anybody would burn houses? Or who would murder to become heir to property if they could not heir any? Or who would steal if they could make a living by honest and respectable work, which everyone could have? With no deeds, bonds, stocks, mortgages or current money, what could men steal that they could get away with? "Lead us not into tempta-

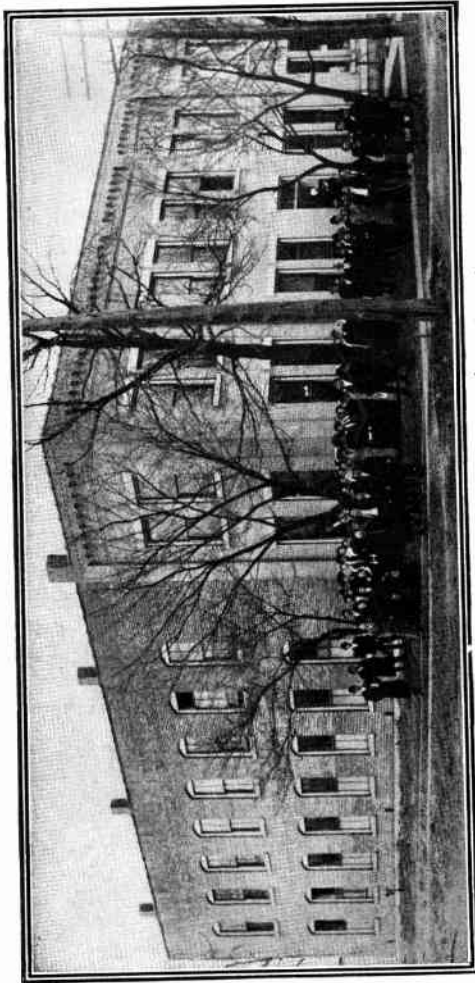
tion but deliver us from evil," is very old, but wise people have not yet learned its meaning. Our barbaric system denies men the right to labor, and places wealth before them if they will steal, burn, kill, embezzle or forge, and starvation or want if they remain honest, and then people wonder at the number of crimes! There would be mighty few fires if there were no tempting insurance policies. Still less if all the houses and unbought goods were the property of the nation as they should be.

CAUSE AND EFFECT.

While population has only doubled since 1860, the consumption of tobacco has increased five fold, and, while I have not the statistics at hand, suppose the consumption of liquors has increased as much. The presence of tobacco and liquors is not the cause of the increased use of them. The lack of healthful modes and recreation, the excitement of undue successes and the despair of failures are the prime causes of the use of stimulants. We are often told that we should not judge other people by our own half-bushel, but I know of no other measure but my own consciousness. I

well remember the days when I made (legally robbed from society) thousands of dollars. The effect on my nerves was intense and for the first time I felt a craving for liquor and called the boys up to take 25-cent drinks. In times of great depression I have felt the same desire. Great despair or success alike destroy the equilibrium of life and cause dissatisfaction in some way with most people. A state of society that would reward industry, however humble, with its rightful wealth and surround people with elevating pleasures, would not find any increased use of tobacco, liquors and drugs. The use of these things is only an effect of some deeper cause, and the increasing consumption of them shows that cause is working with increased power. That cause is inherent in the system of private property which affords the means of exploitation, giving to some unearned riches and denying to others the rightful results of toil. Nature's laws are inexorable and are not to be set aside by legislative enactment. It is in accordance with natural law that men grow more drunken, more debauched and more brutal under a system that gives the wealth they create to a

few cunning men and makes their honest efforts non-productive to themselves, such as the system we live under. If the people want a race of upright men and women, of physically and mentally developed human beings, they must environ them by a social contact entirely different from the present. The present system produces present conditions, and another system will produce other conditions. So long as men suffer excitement or despair so long will they demand stimulants and so long as men can make a profit off that demand men will cater to it, law or no law. Remove private property, thus doing away with speculation and profit, and after one or two generations there will be no artificial stimulants used. Do this not and the present conditions will intensify as wealth concentrates, and drunkenness, arson, murder, suicide, embezzlement, robbery, and all other crimes will go on increasing. No reform is worth the candle that does not change the whole social system.



Present Quarters and Working Force of the Appeal.

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS.

YOU say I am radical. Well, what of it? Are you afraid of a word? A radical may be right or wrong. Are you not as much a radical in your efforts to maintain the present millionaire-pauper system as I am to change it for better conditions? Never mind about radicalism. If the reformers are wrong, show herein. A man cannot be too radical in advocating the right. Then the question is, are we right or wrong? Would a system that abolishes poverty and crime be more desirable than the present? Would it be right? Would it not be right if every man or woman who desires to labor that they might create wealth equal to what they consume were given the opportunity and on whom no non-producers should lay tribute? And if so, to what extent? Where is the exact limit that divides right from wrong? If a man produces a bushel of potatoes, why is he not entitled to all the consumers pay for them, with the least expense that they can be delivered to the consumer under the most economic conditions? To assume that one set of men have a right to profit off of others is to

assume the right of a slave owner to profit off his slaves. When men are used by others for profit, whether under the name of rent, interest or what not, they are to the profit receiver just the same as the slaves were to the master. The masses have been taught these things are right, just as their forefathers were taught in the divine right of kings, but their believing it does not make it right. The masses have never studied these problems, and they do not know the wrongs injure them, and if they did they do not know that a system can be created that will bring about a remedy. Jesus taught the system and He lived that system—not in reference to a world to come, but in this material world. Pure souls cannot exist in wretched poverty-eaten bodies, and before purity can be enthroned and intelligence developed to receive the teachings of the Saviour, the conditions here must be changed so humanity will live pure. This can never be done under a system of competition—of rent, interest and profit.

MANY years ago, when our forefathers, down-trodden and oppressed by the

tyranny of kings, turned their backs upon the scenes of their childhood and their faces toward the new world of liberty in the west, it was with hearts filled with rosy hopes of peace and plenty. Nor were they disappointed. The hardships of pioneer life were more than compensated by receiving the full result of their labor, and happy homes sprung up as if by magic and each newcomer was gladly welcomed as a valuable addition to the social circle. But with the seed of liberty they brought the cockle of usury and usurpation. How different the scene today. The newcomer is spurned and if he succeeds in landing a disappointment awaits him. He finds a land of hunger and rags, men competing with each other for the sake of a bare living, great lords and syndicates usurping the rights and opportunities of the people and dictating with the prerogatives of kings who may and who may not make a living. They find the once glorious haven of the oppressed transformed into a condition of monarchy not unlike that of Europe. The giant of freedom has been shorn of his strength and manhood. The liberties handed down by the founders of our

country have been turned over to the banks, monopolists, trusts and combines and are lost to the people. America is no longer the home of the free.

A LEAD ARGUMENT.

I have a friend who once upon a time put in \$500 with a few other friends into a hole in the ground which they had reason to believe contained lead. As a result, he and his friends have been drawing \$500 a month each for some time, and with prospects of drawing it in the future. It is not drawn under the pretense of their digging lead, or in any wise assisting in its production, but simply because they put in the "capital." Labor takes the lead out of the ground and when the lead is sold part of it goes to the producers and the greater part of it to these people who bought the land. The price of lead is increased to the extent of what is paid the speculators. The public uses the lead, and the public has plenty of capital, as it has plenty of soldiers when it needs them. Do you not think the public, not one in a thousand of whom has any interest in lead mines, is very foolish to pay 100 per cent a month for a little money invested in

producing lead for them? Under socialism lead would be mined by the public for the public, and the price of lead would be the amount of wages paid real workers for mining and smelting it. But perhaps you prefer to pay four or five times as much?

Do you believe that the present system of doing business and holding property will endure forever? Do you really, sincerely think that in the long time to come that great corporations will own and control all the industries as they do today? If you do, you must be something of a pessimist yourself to look to such a gloomy future as that will make. But if you do not, what kind of a change do you think will come? Who will own the industries? How will they be operated? How will all the people be employed when machinery does not work? Are the masses to be servants of the rich as they were in feudal times? And what will become of such as the masters, for any reason, do not want? If private ownership of great industries is today crushing out the small factories and business men, what will it do when they are all crushed out? If these great

corporations raise prices today, thus indirectly forcing the people to serve them, will they not continue to do it? And to what extent? And what will become of the people in this raising process? But perhaps you are not interested in these obtuse questions, and had better not answer.

SUPPOSE a ship's crew were cast upon an inhabited land from which there was no leaving, would that fact justify their murder or enslavement by the residents?

Suppose there was an abundance of unused lands, forests and mines; would the inhabitants be justified in refusing it to the comers; would that not be murder? Or suppose that access was granted on condition that the comers work every other day for the residents, would that not be slavery?

Have or have not all men a right to live on the earth? If not, where should they live?

The greater portion of the children born have no recognized right to live on the earth, except as they buy the privilege from the few who have a recognized right. These children did not invite themselves here, nor have the

children of one part of the people a right to exact tribute from other children for the privilege of living or working on the earth. There is land enough for all. And some day, not long hence, there will be a just conception of right, and those who desire to use land may have it and those who will not use it shall not keep others from using and retaining the whole of what they produce.

SAID a gentleman who was commander in the Confederate army: During several days' hard fighting there were intervals of cessation when the troops on both sides were tired of killing each other. In one of these the opposing forces were Irish regiments, only a few yards apart, both intrenched. These soldiers were of the same nation, and of the same church largely, and here they were trying to kill each other, and in these moments of intermission were on the breastworks cursing each other for fighting for the Union or the other side. Neither of them had any knowledge of the causes that led up to the war, neither had but little interest in the results, and neither had any ex-

cuse for being there except they had followed the suggestions of ambitious or excited men. The gentleman said that at the time it struck him as rather ridiculous that the men under him should fight, as their interests, if any they had, were against human slavery, as they never had any slaves. So it has always been. The great common people have fought each other, at the command of self-appointed leaders, about things they never took time to learn anything about. They killed each other because kings quarreled. They voted against each other because scoundrels want the spoils of government. They never vote for themselves, don't know enough to, and those who profit by their ignorance prevent them from learning. And how wise do they think themselves!

Do you elect statesmen to make laws for you? Or do you elect men who have never studied the science of society? Do you elect men who want office for the salary, the honor, or the good they may do their fellows? Do you elect men who are mere machines, who follow out the lines and rules laid down by those who benefit by things as they are? Do

you know what changes, if made, would benefit the people and bring peace and plenty? If you do not, how do you know what kind of a man to vote for? Can you then judge a physician without having any knowledge of the science yourself? Can you then judge a law maker without knowing what ought to be? If you judge by results, and most of the patients of the physician die, would you call him a competent physician? Judging by results while most of the people are in poverty, hunger and dirt, would you call the law makers competent? If liberty is to be maintained in the United States it will be necessary that the voters study the great questions of government—finance, land and labor—or else they will be the victims of designing men who profit off their credulity. The ordinary politician does not read any works that promise any solution for existing difficulties. Suppose you read some of these works and see if you are not convinced that this is a fact.

ONE supreme judge changed his vote from a few weeks ago and the income tax is unconstitutional. Now if Judge

Shiras had voted as he did last month it would have been constitutional. Don't it look like one man changing his opinion changes the constitution? Isn't that actually what has happened? And yet the wording of the constitution has not been changed in a letter! Strange things do happen. Here we are tied by a few words on a piece of parchment, and unless forty or fifty million of people demand it by a tedious process, no change can be made. Yet one man changing his views changes that instrument! The court decided the income tax law, years ago, as constitutional, and now the court decides it is not constitutional! So far as the people are concerned, the constitution has been changed to mean just the reverse of what it meant years ago without their consent. It is a queer state of affairs when the vote of one man can reverse the meaning of a great fundamental law. I am not criticising the verdict nor its legality or sincerity, but am trying to show you the absoluteness and one-man power our judicial machinery is. The majority of people want a law, as expressed by their representatives, and enact that law. It lays in the power of

one man to decide they shall not have that law. And these people labor under the delusion they are self-governing people. They elect one set of men to make laws (the legislative), another set to enforce those laws (the executive), and another set to say what the law meant (the judicial). A crude, unwieldy, incomprehensible system.

UNDER direct legislation the people would vote on the laws, and those receiving a majority would be adopted as fundamental (or constitutional) laws. If a court were to decide the laws meant differently from what was intended, a new law correcting it or abolishing the court would at once be instituted by a demand, and submitted to the people. We live in a one-man or monarchy form of government.

EVERY instance of discontent proves the present system impractical.

Every quarrel among neighbors proves the present system impractical.

Every law suit proves the present system impractical.

Every crime proves the present system impractical.

Every court proves the present system impractical.

Every policeman or soldier proves the present system impractical.

Every prison is evidence that the present system is impractical.

Every debt is evidence that the present system is impractical.

None of these things would appear in the social contact if the environment were in harmony with human nature. But human nature revolts against its unnatural restrictions and the frictions quoted result as a natural consequence. Socialism alone will reproduce harmony and love among the members of society, because it is based on the nature of mankind.

It is un-American for you to permit a few well-fed do-nothings to dictate what you shall pay to ride on a railroad.

It is un-American for you to permit a few well-fed do-nothings to dictate what you shall pay to send a telegraph message.

It is un-American for you to permit a few well-fed do-nothings to dictate what you shall pay for coal.

It is un-American for you to permit

a few well-fed do-nothings to dictate what you shall pay for oil.

It is un-American for you to permit a few well-fed do-nothings to dictate what you shall pay for flour.

It is un-American for you to permit a few well-fed do-nothings to dictate what you shall pay for rent.

It is un-American for you to permit a few well-fed do-nothings to dictate what you shall pay for water.

It is un-American for you to permit a few well-fed do-nothings to dictate what you shall pay for gas.

It is un-American for you to permit a few well-fed do-nothings to dictate what you shall pay for electricity.

It is un-American for you to permit a few well-fed do-nothings to dictate what you shall pay for street car fare.

It is un-American for you to permit a few well-fed do-nothings to dictate what you shall pay for any other thing.

OUR forefathers rebelled — actually armed themselves and fought good King George III—because he wanted to tax them six cents a pound on tea without giving them representation. King George was a fool. He ought to have

given them a "representative" and then bribed him as is done today. It would have been cheaper and shown better kingcraft. The American people tingle all over with independence and defiance to tyranny and taxation without representation, they do. The Standard Oil Company don't tax them without representation! The railroads don't tax them without representation! The coal combines don't tax them without representation! The sugar trust don't tax them without representation! Four hundred and sixty other trusts don't tax them without representation!! Oh, no! Of course not. The Americans wouldn't begin to stand any such business.

It is amusing to read the proceedings and orations of the meeting of Irish-Americans in convention at Chicago about freeing Ireland from British rule and appealing to all Irishmen everywhere to arm. Just as though a successful rebellion of Ireland against Britain would make Irishmen free! Americans did that thing 120 years ago, but I am quite sure Americans have been oppressed as much or more since, than they were by King George III. It takes

something more than successful battles to make a truly free people. It takes ideas of a higher order than the masses of Ireland or America have. If Irishmen would send to parliament a solid delegation demanding free land, free money, free machinery, and ask the co-operation of Scotch and English working people who are just as badly oppressed, Ireland would soon be free. But to depose the English parliament and put up one of their own of the same kind, to depose English landlords and substitute Irish ones, to depose English monopoly of production and substitute Irish monopolists, will never give Ireland freedom. Until Irishmen, and Americans too, learn that not men but private property is the real source of oppression, both fair lands will be covered with poverty and ignorance—effects of oppression.

HAVE the people of the past been oppressed? Is the history of by-gone centuries that has come down to us but a pack of lies? Are all the bloody wars but myths? Are the stories of kings and nobles and untitled rich ruling in splendor over an impoverished working

people but fiction? If there are any truths in history, or such events, could we not learn a lesson of great value by comparing the conditions now and then and see if there is any danger of history repeating itself? Are the social relations today and then anything alike? The masses of people today are too ignorant to make the comparison, have not even read the history of the past; but you, reader, are not of that class, I hope. You certainly have read some of the histories of olden time. In every land, in every age, land has been held as private property, bought and sold, as it is today. The owners of land had others till the soil, giving them food, clothing and shelter, or pay to get these things for their labor. It is just so today. Goods were bought and sold at a profit just as they are today. Money was loaned at interest just as it is today. Monopolies were operated just as they are today, only more limited in character. The rich oppressed the people by charging them for the use of the earth, for the use of money, for the exchange of goods, just as today. The rulers were called by various names and titles, but they made the laws just as today, and

lived in splendor, raised armies and navies out of the taxes they laid upon the people, just as they do today. In command of the army, they either used it to kill and rob some weaker neighboring people, or to suppress any discontent in their own domain, just as is done today. In all these dark ages the working people were taught to be contented by men in the pay of the rulers just as they are today. They married, raised families, danced, picnicked, traded and schemed to cheat each other, just as they do today. They fawned before the rulers, hoping for favors above their fellows, just as the poor dupes fawn before the rich today. The poor then believed their condition was all they had a right to, that it was the only way things could be, that they could not possibly live except a king ruled over them, and that those who tried to show them a better way were enemies, just as the working people today believe they could not exist but for the rich to employ them and rule over them. The working people then would fight for the king against their own fellow workers, just as they do today at the command of a Pullman, Carnegie, Hill, Cleveland, or a

judge. It is the same old play of kings under a new cloak. No king that ever lived had a revenue that would compare with the revenues of this land, and Croesus was a mendicant in comparisor to the revenue taken from the working people today and here.

WHEN public work is let out by contract it revolves itself into this: The people collect from themselves a certain sum for a specified purpose and turn it over to some man or men to do the work, and place themselves at the mercy of this man or men, virtually saying to him: Pay us as little as you can get us to work for, and pocket the balance. They do not know enough to pay their own money to themselves for doing what they want done, and have no profit deducted to enrich some schemer.

ONE generation kills its reformers and the next makes heroes of them. Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison were anarchists and enemies of society forty years ago—today the apostles of liberty. Honest Old Abe was called a baboon thirty-five years ago. Today we know the greatness of his soul. Our Revolutionary fathers were rebels, trait-

ors and enemies of the people—today they are deified. We cranks today can abide the time when our ideas will be accepted by the great people, embodied into law filling every family with peace, plenty and pleasure, and then we will be understood. It matters not if those active today shall have passed beyond, the world will be filled with joy and gladness because we did our duty in the best light we had. It is only a matter of a few revolutions of the earth when we go anyway and our lives may just as well be spent for providing juster conditions as anything else. To circulating literature, Oh, reformers, instead of to your tents, Oh, Israel.

WHAT a tale of misery and woe the advertisements unfold! One business man advertises the "bankrupt" stock of another fellow in ghoulish glee! Rejoicing over another's failure or business death because he will profit by it! Claims are joyfully made that the advertiser has bought the stock of some wretched tradesman at 25 cents on the dollar! Took four dollars' worth of property to enable some usurer to get his pound of flesh that called for one

dollar! And if you say these statements are only to catch trade, then you have to admit the advertisers are liars, and if they are liars they are getting trade under false pretenses, and that means theft. Looked at in either way it is enough to make one heartsick. Oh, God! that people are so blind, so cruel, that they cannot see the horrors of a system prolific of so much misery and despair. Why, Oh, why will they vote to continue a system that makes life a burden, when one is offering at no cost that would make life a joy, a continually increasing pleasure?

IF a hundred men, more or less, were wrecked on an island and should proceed to build one a palace and furnish him the best of everything, with servants to attend his wants, while the balance lived in shanties and had the coarsest food and clothing, would you not rightly pronounce the many fools? And would they be any less fools if it were a continent instead of an island and they were millions instead of a hundred? Change the law, make the monopolies public property and the rich will have to work for a living or starve. They

will not get millions by bribing officers to give them franchises. So long as the law will recognize private property a few schemers and swindlers will have all the other people working like slaves for them.

A PASSING thought of what could be provided by public ownership of homes. Houses could be built cheaper, prettier and ten times more durable, with steel, glass and tiling, than they are at present. The cost of preparing for such work would be millions of dollars, but when once prepared, houses could be turned out like buttons, ready to be sewed on. Given the design, every piece of steel would come from the mill ready to be put in place—frame joists and rafters, cross-sections, etc. These could be made to receive glass panels of various designs and colors, the roof colored glass and the floors of tiling, and such a house would last for centuries, if the iron was protected from the weather. No dirt, no disease-breeding corners, no fire. The outside of the houses could be of panels of glass or marble or terra cotta. Such houses could be built, if enough were ordered,

for less than the average wooden affair that rots down in twenty years. By having the public own them they could be provided for all, and at a cost far less than the tax on the average house today, for a rental.

As a large contractor can build houses with less days' labor than a small contractor could, so the hours of labor could be steadily decreased, better houses could be provided and all people furnished employment. No private employment will or can do this.

