







THE
DESTRUCTION
OF
POVERTY.

BY
✓
CHARLES H. ROBINSON.

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—
“*Rich men sin, and I eat root.*”

—TIMON OF ATHENS.
—

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PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

James G. Blaine repeatedly declared in public speeches, particularly during his Presidential campaign, that: "This country will support many more millions than it at present contains," and "It is conceded that this country produces more than any other."

A citizen who was not carried away by the glittering generalities of campaign speeches propounded Mr. Blaine, in a private letter, the following queries:

"First.—If it be true that this country will support many more millions than it now contains, why does it not support the people it already contains?"

"Second.—If this country produces more than any other, why should we fear competition?"

The questions were ignored, and they never have been answered by any candidate for a high or low political office. To every American citizen able to penetrate the selfish motives and personal schemes behind the catch-vote delusions of party platforms, these questions merit a full answer, and they are answered in this book.

There is no reason why poverty should exist in the United States, for the causes which create and perpetuate it in other countries do not obtain here, indeed it is not an element in our American civilization, because our system of government tends to prevent it. But poverty does exist here, the same as under a personal form of government, and the cry of the rich growing richer, and the poor, poorer, will not down. It is a fact, and the question is, why is it a patent fact?

Why is it that a few people get all the money and the great majority none at all, or at most, just enough to enable them to exist?

Why should an American citizen see no hope in the future for himself or for his children—no betterment?

Why are capital and labor arrayed against each other in such a country as this, where their interests are joint and their union would give every one enough and to spare?

Why is it that in a country whose waste products equal four pounds of bread and meat per capita of its population, a multitude clamor for bread and an army is fed by the hand of charity?

Is it true that if the money were taken away from those who own or control it all and given to those who starve for the want of it, it would all drift back again and conditions remain the same? If so there is something wrong in the manipulation of it, for the poor are neither fools nor spendthrifts. Perhaps there is robbery.

There are more causes which lead to poverty besides lack of money than most people imagine; causes, which if properly understood, could be removed. It was a wise man who said: "A man is not poor because he has no money, but because he has no work;" an absolute truth at the present time. It is customary, however, to regard money as the panacea for the miseries of poverty, and in the pursuit of it alone, as the great preventive, other insidious causes work quietly in the direction of its perpetuation. There are gathered in this book other causes which foster poverty and fasten a multitude down in its slough of misery, and it is hoped that the knowledge of them will bring about a desire to effect a radical change that must be productive of good.

There is no relief to be expected from politics per se, and the proof of that lies in the fact that they never have done anything for the welfare of the people. The

rights of individuals are sacrificed and dominated by the claims of partisanship and the public good and the welfare of the people are limited to the officeholder and his backers. True, we have a great and glorious country, replete with stately monuments, magnificent palaces, gorgeous temples, costly schoolhouses and manufactories galore; yet people starve, labor is unemployed, or at the mercy of capital in the matter of wages. Rome, Athens, Egypt, had all these things long before us, and, hovering over our majestic institutions, we can see the shadows of want, penury, poverty, starvation and the oppression of labor, the same as those which still haunt the ruins of the magnificence of great but dead nations. It is painful to record the sufferings of a people under a system such as ours, elastic enough to prevent the money power from assuming and repeating the functions of the Pharaohs, the Caesars, whose mere will was law, and when we say that it is time for a new Declaration of Independence it is not meant that it should be directed against our system of government, but against the system of politics that manages its affairs for the benefit of the money power exclusively.

At every election political parties with a flourish of trumpets announce various general principles that do not strike at the root of the evils to which the people are subjected, but those evils are buried under expressions of sympathy for the downtrodden of every other nation but our own, or are directed against some great public steal by the party in power, and do not attempt to cure anything.

The men who are armed with the ballot are kings if they only could be persuaded of it, and not slaves to be whipped into the traces of any caucus, ring, gang or party. Yet, how does it happen that the creatures of the ballot have become its masters? Our remedy is under our own system of government and not in ideas emanating from foreign sources. The balance of

power is small and the opportunities for holding it magnificently great. Shall the people hold that balance of power, or shall the selfish politicians and the money power retain it? If the former, then the troubles which afflict us will quickly disappear; if the latter we shall progress still further and deeper into abject slavery, a slavery that refuses to even feed its slaves.

Let no man with an "ism" or an untried experiment evolved from some foreign source be the guide, but let the foot of public welfare and of individual rights be pressed down hard upon the necks of the false prophets who cry: "Lo, here is Christ! Lo, there is Christ!" when he is nowhere. Their dogma is: "Servants, obey your masters," and they constitute themselves your masters, and out of their own whims, fancies and bigotry, evolve rules which you must follow or suffer the pains and penalties inflicted by a municipal Inquisition, over which they preside.

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THE DESTRUCTION OF POVERTY.

CHAPTER I.

A PERIOD OF UNREST.

There is something radically wrong with mankind.
Hunger, Dyspepsia, Conscience, and perhaps
Remorse, give us Insomnia.

“And the kings of the earth and the great men, and the rich men, and the great captains, and the mighty men, and every bond man, and every free man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains;

“And said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne and from the wrath of the Lamb.”

—Revelation vi., 15-16.

That a condition of unrest exists in the whole world is attested by statesmen, politicians, clergymen and editors. The man who reads as he runs, wonders at it, but the man who stops to think, deems it less a matter of surprise that the world should be in a condition of restless fermentation than that the reason of it

should be left to conjecture. It is a disease brought on by known causes which could not be quarantined against, aggravated by the application of too many remedies in the hands of too many contrary schools of political, spiritual and intellectual physicians, most of them quacks.

Had the present condition of things existed when men were supposed to be wallowing in the slough of debased ignorance and semi-civilization, the earth would have been upheaved by revolutions to reform that unpleasant condition, and either death or a cure sought by every remedy possible to mankind. As it is at present, the very unrest of the world is intensified by the confessed inability of man to relieve it.

Men are taught that they have certain inalienable rights which they are privileged to enjoy unmolested by others, and certain individuals are periodically selected to see that those rights are respected. But the protection afforded proves to be no protection, for the reason that those who make it their business on earth to perpetually invade the rights and privileges of others, are so numerous and powerful, as well as persuasive, that the persons selected to protect, have themselves fallen into the clutches of the wrongdoers, obeying their behests, because they know very well that by sturdily standing up for the rights of those whom they are bound to protect, they would lose their positions and means of livelihood.

So it is that mankind are pulling in contrary directions, and there are as many contrary directions as there are nations, guilds, cliques, cabals, corporations, officials, trusts, contractors, political parties and candidates for public jobs. The sum and substance of it all is, the government and the governed are not in accord.

It must not be understood that the government, or rather the governing class—for government of itself is an irresponsible myth—is dissatisfied, or is suffering

from the epidemic of unrest; on the contrary, it is the "governed" that exhibit all the virulence of dissatisfaction. All this comes from the fact, which is gradually dawning upon their minds, that they are not "governed," but "plucked" for the benefit of the others. This revelation produces a restless feeling, all the more distressing when it is considered that there is no remedy.

If there be a remedy to relieve this confessed condition of unrest, where is it, what is it?

We have a multitude of quacks, charlatans, mountebanks, theologians, politicians, statesmen, cranks, short-haired women and long-haired men, newspaper editors, and all manner of bunco steerers, constantly applying remedies ad nauseam—that is, they make one sick—but the more they dabble with humanity, the worse it becomes, and the wonder is, not that men are restless, but that mankind are not moribund, as they are penniless through liberal payments for the medicaments furnished to kill instead of cure.

It is a glorious and wonderful sight, this pyrotechnic bombardment of the earth with the blessings of civilization and doses of "higher life!" The fond expectations of the advocates of the mysterious higher life are being fully realized, and men are becoming so saturated with its beatitudes that they submit to every exaction without a murmur.

The slave was contented once upon a time, but grew restless and his chains fretted his limbs when he learned that his condition was one of misery and that freedom was his God-given prerogative and inalienable right. Now, the slavery of freedom has become apparent through the very education forced upon him to assert that freedom, and having reached the end, the limit of human ingenuity in destroying human bien être there is nothing for it, but to either lead him up to the pious sweetness of bearing his yoke with patience, or, in default of persuading him to accept it

on the score of patriotism, to use force to crush him down again into his ancient wallow and keep him there, a condition all the more agonizing, as he has been educated to understand his helplessness.

So goes the world from one extreme to another. Back and forth swings the pendulum of humanity, from barbarism to civilization and a so-called higher life, then back again to barbarism.

Men are not accustomed to inflict pain upon themselves voluntarily, nor revel in that which is unpleasant, and they do not wallow in the gutter of unrest of their own volition. It is not limited to the poor, to those who lie down at night and wonder whether the birds will bring them needed food on the morrow, for those whose needs and wants are supplied without stint and unlimited are afflicted with the prevalent universal dissatisfaction. A dread of the future hangs over all, a shadowy something appalls us, and we turn into every by-path of life to find relief, but do not find it. Later on men will call upon the mountains and rocks to fall upon them and hide them. Is the vision of John in Revelation becoming a reality?

There never was a time when the poor were not anxious, but now those who are not poor feel a morbid sensation in their bosoms, a feeling that all is not right, that there is something wrong. Most truly there is, and as the world moves on the something which is wrong will increase in magnitude until it will overwhelm all of us.

Conscience is working in the hearts of men, and they do not recognize it. We know what our next door neighbor is doing; we know what he lacks and we know also that we can supply what he lacks without endangering our own comfort, but we hesitate to interfere, and finally decline altogether to aid him. The rankling thought, however, remains, we feel that we have erred, sinned, or at least we comprehend within ourselves that we have done wrong, and we do other

wrong acts to smother the first one. In spite of the social maxim: "Every one for himself and the Devil take the hindmost," our soul tells us that we have misconstrued our duty. But we go on in the same way, ever wishing but never doing. We weep, but amusement dries our tears. Opportunities come and go, and our conscience continues to gnaw in our breasts and we feel restless. Go sell all thou hast and give to the poor. A harsh command, and we think to find comfort in the fact that the poor we have always with us, forgetting that their very poverty is our own doing.

There are other and outside influences at work to destroy our peace of mind, and bring insomnia to our pillows. The dread of the future is injected into our veins, and causes a fever of horrid anticipation. We might be cured, but, alas! the multiplicity of remedies in the hands of quacks and charlatans. It is: "Here, Lord, there Lord," and he is nowhere.

We cannot find the truth. Men tell us what truth is, and when we accept it, others tell us that it is untruth, so our minds wander aimlessly, and like drowning men we catch at opinion's straws, but continue to drown.

The rain falls upon the just and upon the unjust; churches, synagogues, religious assemblies, and the innocent are struck by lightning and swept away by storms, while the man of dreadful oaths enacts the role of Ajax with impunity. When the Lord's work does not agree with ours, it becomes the Devil's work. Children war with each other but unite to defraud their parents; parents scoff at and mock those they brought into the world; husbands and wives jangle, and fret at the holy bonds which they once accepted with pleasure, and, unable to bear any more of each other, break loose in an explosion of scandal; our courts of justice teem with cases of wholesale and retail robberies, extortions and wrongs, perpetrated and

permitted under the rule of preponderance of evidence. Millions devoted to charity are withheld from the victim with pressing needs, until she swallows poison and hurries before the face of God to accuse the Pharisees that sent her there. The enforced statutory amalgamation of men and women, with its mountain of bitter fruits, seductions, debaucheries, infanticides and suicides, has turned into a river of sewage that is overflowing its banks. The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, the business of the world controlled by syndicates, the compression of money into a value beyond the reach of the impoverished, the centralization of power, authority, government, and the apotheosis of the perpetual officeholder give rise to anxious thoughts.

All these things and their outgrowths have brought upon the world a sensation of anxiety, of unrest. The man with a small wage chafes at his chain of bondage because he sees nothing beyond, neither for himself nor for his children; and in the souls and consciences of those who brought about this condition, there is a feeling that to attain it the damnation of the people was too high a price, it is beginning to react upon them, and so they are restless.

We have put our hands to the plow and cannot look back, and whether for evil or good, for wrong or right, we travel the furrow helpless, not even a general election can help us. It is undertaking too large a contract to strike for the rights of all mankind, when the rights of American citizens ought to be the sole objects of our solicitude. By wandering away into other fields while our own are lying fallow, we are adding so much unnecessary weight to our burdens that the strain of supporting it begins to chafe.

It is evident that the kings of the earth are trembling on their thrones, and that their heads lie uneasy beneath their crowns, but we do not read that their subjects are uneasy or trembling on that account.

They are apathetic, indifferent, for their status is fixed, the divine right hangs over them like a pall, and it is of no consequence whether one or another king rules over them, they are helpless and beyond the means of redressing their wrongs. They are beginning to realize that the pomp of royalty is maintained by the blood of the people, pressed out of them as is wine from the grapes in a wine press. Occasionally their blood ferments like the other expressed juice, and the fermentation produces anarchy. So the kings tremble, but they continue to press out the life blood of their subjects, and with it keep their royal robes up to the proper standard of color. The dagger of an assassin reaches the heart of a noble-hearted queen, who is made the victim of the wrongs inflicted by others. "The assassin originates in the filth of the gutters, is of a slimy, degraded parentage." Well, who dug those gutters and filled them with filth? Who maintains the disgraceful parentage that produces vile assassins? Is not the life of a vagrant as valuable to him as that of a king? Is not the life of the poor crushed out to maintain kings in splendor? Wherefore, then, should not the lives of kings be sacrificed to give the poor bread? We pity and regret, but why should we sympathize? We have naught in common with effete systems, and if they would avoid trembling, let them consider the people as something more than victims fit only for oppression.

What are the thoughts of the starving subjects of a royal despot, when they read that the venerable Pontiff of Rome has been able to accumulate during his short pontificate a private fortune of twenty millions of dollars? Do they rejoice at his good fortune, or do they grind their teeth in impotent rage at their own miseries? It is not envy nor is it jealousy that makes them rebel, it is want. If, therefore, the man of God lays up to himself treasures of earth, what do not do those who know no God but their own vanity?

Anarchy, in the United States, is not even surmisable. We are all anarchists, for we pull down and build up to our heart's content. We make the laws and change them as we will. Every election is an upheaval, a revolution, oftentimes a bloody riot. We change, reform, alter, subvert, remodel the government according to our fancies. We never get it just right, so we keep on eternally taking it apart, patching and repairing it. We abuse, villify, calumniate, destroy our rulers with impunity, for we put them over us and we can pull them down again if dissatisfied with them. They toady to us, tickle our vanity, pander to our wishes, buy us with beer and promises, all to continue in the job of ruling us. What more can anarchy do or have? We need no daggers or bombs, the ballot is our weapon, hence, we smile at the red flag and wonder why the kings tremble when it waves in the breeze. Our unrest is not on account of our system, for we are the people. Our fear is the other way—we are afraid of the kings and we do the trembling, lest they destroy our system and our privileges. With us it is the king who is an anarchist, for he is subverting our system and forging upon our limbs the chains of financial slavery. Our kings are known by their bank accounts, and not by their pomp, fuss and feathers. Their throne is incorporated according to law, and we cannot pull it down; if we did, it would fall upon and crush us also. We need our kings and they need us, and when that truth is brought clearly to our understanding there will be no unrest here.

CHAPTER II.

AN ERA OF CONFIDENCE.

This is the other side of the question, but on close examination it does not come up to the expectations. Confidence is not yet sufficient security for a loan of money.

“Daughter, be of good comfort, thy faith hath made thee whole.”

—St. Matthew ix., 22.

It matters not who makes the statement, nor when or where it is made, it is a fact that: The era of confidence has not yet arrived. Indeed it is so far off that it has become part of the mythical millennium. But confidence is a good shibboleth, and serves to fill many a coffer that would be empty if the word were taken at its true meaning. The fact is, those who make the greatest outcry about confidence are the ones who prevent its return.

Suppose confidence should actually exist? Then the world would be honest, for, when all is said, the question of confidence is one of honesty or dishonesty, whether that confidence relate to religion, law, politics or finance. There never was a period in the history of the earth when all men were honest; there was always more or less roguery, cheating, deception, double dealing and the like. In those not-quite-so-bad-as-our days, it may be said that there were some dishonest men; now we are proud to say: “There are

some honest men." Mark the shade of difference. The situation resembles a chemical substitution, or metalepsis. Here is the formula:

Honesty	Dishonesty.
Dishonesty	Honesty.

The radical "honesty" of the first term follows its affinity "honesty" in the second place of the second term, which is the condition of the formula in these fin-de-siecle days, which leaves "dishonesty" as the radical. Thus, when acetate of lead and sulphate of zinc are compounded, the mixture becomes acetate of zinc by metalepsis, the sulphur and lead falling to the bottom of the jar in an insoluble compound, useless for any practical purpose. Thus it is that dishonesty has drawn to itself all the other assimilable elements, and becomes the dominant radical, whereas honesty is the useless powder at the bottom.

Let us see whether or not this is true:

There was certainly a time when the line between honesty and dishonesty was sharply defined, and an easily recognized barrier up to which men could march boldly and make mouths at the other side without danger of falling over. But, to-day, not only the line, but its location is lost and there is no modern surveyor who can re-locate it even if he were permitted to do so. True, attempts are made, but the road traveled is extremely zigzag, and, owing to a diversity of opinions, it is impossible to lay a straight line. There are so many questions of personal interest involved, such a variety of unpleasant results liable to ensue, that men have become indisposed to accept them when adverse to their interests.

One test, however, which seems to be accepted by common consent is in the adjudication of a court, or the verdict of a jury; yet, even then, those *fori* are rejected as untrustworthy, when grave questions are

involved, and arbitration resorted to in the place thereof. Wherefore, if a man be acquitted by the verdict of a jury, the decision of a court, or that of arbitrators, he is honest, but if otherwise, he is manifestly dishonest. So great, however, is the general lack of confidence that it requires the ultimate finding of a court of last resort to determine a man's moral condition. We are doing everything by law, and the forum conscientiae is abolished, even in courts of equity which are bound down by the rigid rules of law. This is the condition we have been brought to, a condition in which moral doctrine weighs not a feather in our affairs, but the operation of human law is made the sole test. We have rendered to Caesar, but we have forgotten God. We are not dishonest, because a court, jury or board of arbitrators so determine, but in case of a new trial or reversal on appeal the honest man again becomes dishonest and vice versa. All of which is pure *metalepsis*.

This is no laughing matter, on the contrary it is of grave importance to ascertain the cause of the present universal lack of confidence. With the cause hidden, there can be no remedy applied, no blister put upon it to restore it to its normal condition. All are fishing for it, so let us follow suit and drop our lines in the same puddle, perhaps we can hook our fish by bobbing for it, or at least "snag" it.

It requires more than the acquisition of wealth by a few citizens to establish an era of confidence and belief in prosperity. The man who has not acquired anything possesses a different opinion about the matter, and the man who loses becomes a confirmed pessimist and a calamity howler. That the balance of trade with Europe is two or three hundred millions of dollars in our favor, or that our wheat crop is the most enormous the country ever saw, is not the standard that justifies the man out of work in throwing up his hat and hurrahing for prosperity, as some of our finan-

cial wiseacres expect him to do, there is not and cannot be any general welfare where there is private destitution. To be fair, it should be said that the dissatisfaction of a few citizens and their inability to make both ends meet, or their failure to borrow money to tide them over in some scheme, does not indicate a lack of confidence, any more than the success of a few individuals creates confidence. A few failures do not indicate universal ruin, nor does one swallow make a summer.

The banks are overflowing with gold. Well, what is that to me? I am out of work and cannot therefore get any gold. So far as I am concerned, it may as well not be there. If there were very little money in the banks I should feel more encouraged, for my common sense would tell me that it is in circulation, invested, and that I stand a chance of earning some.

It is often heralded in the newspapers: "Millions of coin coming here to pay for our enormous wheat crop. Farmers are rejoicing." Shortly afterwards the same papers shout: "Banks overflowing with money." Where does the farmers' jubilation come in? What connection is there between him and the millions and the overflowing banks? He can get the money out just like anyone else, if he has any there, but he has not. Farmers sell their wheat for cash, they do not and can not wait for any returns from Europe, any more than labor waits for its wages until the employer has sold the product of his labor, or a baker waits for his money for bread until it has benefited the consumer. All of this money belongs to the speculators. It does not add a baubee's worth to prosperity, nor relieve the farmer from next interest day or next year's taxes. He does not get ahead any more than does the laborer. If this money were his, as newspaper editors imagine, he would be ahead, but the facts are that he is always behind. A stranger, unaccustomed to our absurd fabrications, would imagine

from the hulabaloo over these periodical showers of gold, that our laborers and farmers are receiving princely incomes, whereas in truth and in fact they are all living from hand to mouth.

All this hubbub about confidence and prosperity is a dream, a mere fancy, a fabrication manufactured out of whole cloth, like the fictitious rating of a merchant anxious to obtain a loan by false pretenses. When labor is regarded as money, and when we read that every man able to work can find work and is working at living wages, then will be the time to hurrah for prosperity. The writer, in several successive years, has stood in the midst of six hundred miles of cornfields that were left standing as not worth the gathering. This, too, when corn was high on the Atlantic seaboard and in Europe, and when the newspapers were shouting "prosperity, lucky farmers," and other bald-erdash. The farmers could not get enough for their corn to pay for the plucking, so it went to waste. Again, he has seen thousands upon thousands of acres of good wheat, under like circumstances, cut for hay, enabling the lucky farmer to get back the price of the seed out of a crop he could not have sold for that, although the whole world was howling "prosperity," and "millions of money" were coming over, and the banks were stuffed full of it. Prosperity and confidence cannot be manufactured out of wind, and there is too much poverty, too much starvation, to create confidence in newspaper or political prosperity. The mere possession of money is not prosperity, nor does it create it; a miser is not prosperous, but a laborer who has work and no money may be both prosperous and have confidence, for he knows that pay day will come. The beauty of virtue makes it lovable for its own sake, and it may be said that confidence begets confidence, but it does not produce work or wages, nor furnish bread and meat. Like all other beautiful sentiments in poetry, it is impractical. It is giving a man a

prayer-book instead of a loaf of bread, a tract instead of a bowl of soup.

The fact is, we are doing everything we can to destroy confidence. The man whose word is as good as his bond still lives, but his bond is required instead of his word. The men who have so little confidence in themselves that they are afraid they will steal if they have an opportunity, think the same of everybody else, hence they exact a bond and reject the word. The sentiment of honesty as an element in our social relations has disappeared and men are not selected because of their honesty, but by the size of their bond. So it happens that honesty has ceased to be a moral virtue and is governed like all commercial transactions, it is a matter of business. An honest man must give a bond, but he soon learns that neither his honesty nor integrity are involved, and he loses his fine sense of honor, his honesty becomes blunted. His honor, like the virtue of women, is put upon a commercial basis, and he sells it without the slightest compunctions of conscience. He knows that the law will punish him if he is detected, but the moral idea is lost. The conditions are not conducive to the slightest amount of confidence. Men become wealthy in various shady ways and are looked up to with the greatest respect. The moral robbers of mankind are as numerous as the honest men, and it has come to be a maxim: "A man is honest because he has no chance to steal." Every man is compelled to live under a cloud all his life, and the confidence withheld from him he withholds from others. The workers in the field of morality have made us immoral.

CHAPTER III.

“WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?”

The chances are that if we do not begin doing something very soon we shall not have an opportunity to do anything.

In the course of a lecture delivered from a New York rostrum not long ago, the speaker, a clergyman, declared that it was well worth a million of dollars to save a human soul. Whether the reverend gentleman was correct in his calculation, or a few hundred thousand dollars beyond the exact truth, is immaterial, the fact remaining that the financial problem was submitted as an issue in the various spiritual schemes broached for the laudable purpose of salvation. Neither is it essential to inquire whether the expenditure of any given sum of money can ever carry the conviction of absolute certainty to any man that the soul of a fellow man is surely beyond the apprehension of damnation, for, according to the philosophy of religion, salvation is free, and reliance is placed upon the justice and mercy of God, that a certain soul has reached, or will reach, that blessed condition. That reliance is a justifiable hope, based upon certain favorable circumstances, and is not derived from the financial view of the relative cost of a certain quantity of redemption.

The suggestion of a connecting link between finance and man's spiritual requirements, calls for deeper reflection than will appear justifiable to the casual reader, who absorbs unguarded and undigested statements as

he would the aphorisms of the ancients; that is, he does not carry them out to their logical conclusion, and soon forgets them until they are most forcibly recalled to his attention, by an attempt to enforce them in pursuance of some subtle plan looking to purely financial results.

There never was a period in the history of the United States when so many grave and serious questions have been presented for solution as during the past few years, and never has there been so little success in solving any of them. The minds of men do not seem able to grasp any reality or unite upon any point of agreement, and the practicability of every suggestion advanced by a crowd of thinkers, is speedily destroyed in the futile experiments made to maintain it. In the respective domains of government, politics and law, even in those of art, science, drama and literature, opinions are as wide, variant and diverse as is the number of persons enunciating those opinions. There is no cohesion to the segregated, antagonistic atoms of ideas and there does not appear to be any element or superior power that can establish a common foundation upon which all, or even a majority of men may base their random thoughts, which, without a fixed, certain standard or criterion on which to measure them, are as ephemeral as the ocean mists, as shifting as the sands upon the seashore, idle, useless vapor.

Time was, when religion was the cement that bound men together in one common design and interest, but to charge religion now with impotency to solidify human thought, and plant it upon a solid foundation, is to incur the charge of atheism. It may be that social and business relations lead some men to enunciate extreme radical ideas, and even attempt to pluck the Eternal from His Throne, because of many human irregularities committed under the mantle of bigotry and Phariseism, yet the relations between religion and humanity are all the more important to be calmly and prop-

erly discussed with a view of obtaining a correct understanding of them, as the welfare of the human soul is of more importance than the temporal requirements of the body. The one is but a few strokes upon the clock of time, the other means eternity.

When our forefathers eliminated the Church from the State, it never occurred to them—we have their writings to that effect—that religion, as an intimate essential element in the existence of the citizen, could be in any manner enfeebled and its effects antagonized or deteriorated. Their profound acquaintance with the history of mankind led them to set their faces sternly against a combination of theocracy with civil democracy and, in their wisdom, foreseeing the evil consequences of such a union, they left the conscience of the man amenable to his Creator for acts committed against His Majesty, and provided that the State alone should regulate the conduct of men towards each other as citizens. The very foundation, the essence of our form of government, is in contract relations and regulations looking to the life, liberty, peace, happiness, comfort, welfare, etc., of the citizens among themselves, without interference with their responsibility to God for offences against Him, and without permitting the idea of that responsibility to interfere with the contract rights of any of them as citizens. "Sic utere tuo ut alienum non laedas," was the maxim under which this country flourished, and became a nation to which flocked the downtrodden and oppressed of other nations, even those whom theocracy threatened to crush, and they were protected. The civil law became supreme for governmental purposes, and theological dogmas were rigidly limited to the individual conscience. The State, as such, was neither the exponent nor factor of either morals or virtue; it protected, as it was intended solely to protect, individual citizens in the practice of morality and in the exercise of virtue under the free, fostering care of

religion as taught by the churches. There was not, and there could not be, any intermixture or clashing of the two powers, because they were kept separate and distinct. It was presumed, moreover, that religion possessed sufficient strength and virtue of its own to stand in aid of the State and stand beside the State for the purpose of administering to the spiritual wants of man, while the State extended over him the aegis of the civil law as one of its citizens. Here was a cohesion of the segregated individuals in one common mass acting in harmony with the State.

It seems, however, at this late day, and when we have become confused with a mass of opinions and criticisms, formed by those who have become saturated with the principles of governments foreign to and destructive of our own, that the wisdom of our forefathers was at fault, for we are confronted with the same grave questions they met and solved, which we have been drawn away from by the glamour of foreign ideas and which history has often repeated. The cold facts are in evidence that systems of religion have failed to perform their share of the duties devolving upon them, and that religion in the hands of the sects is forced to call upon the State to enforce its various theological dogmas.

In the Pagan system, virtue and morality were under the special fostering care of the State, which appropriated, as an adjunct necessary to its existence, whatever religion could be extracted from the worship of the gods. Sins, as understood in the Christian dispensation, did not exist, but all violations of the established rules of virtue and good morals were violations of the municipal law, and therefore dangerous to the government; hence the suppression of such offences as are termed *mala prohibita*. The whole Pagan system was the absorption of religious and civil government each by the other, and an offence against either was a violation of municipal law. The enforced

worship of the gods was merely a means to an end, and a preventive policy on the part of the civil power, to which became attached the name “religion,” to distinguish the supernatural from the material, and by the suggestion of supernatural punishments the religious idea assumed the aspect of a deterrent.

It was Christ who first drew the strong line of demarcation between violations of the municipal law, and sins committed against the majesty of God, and to every outbreak against the dominion of the Supreme Being was attached a special punishment, independent of, and wholly unconnected with the penalties inflicted for violations of the civil law. To this new category were added the purely intellectual, spiritual sins, which were always beyond the reach of the laws of man.

The inculcation of this Christian philosophy, standing as it did upon the principle of accountability to God alone, for acts committed against His dominion, deluged the earth with the blood of the martyrs, who received their crowns as a compensatory reward for refusing to participate in the sacrifices offered to the gods of Paganism, notwithstanding that Paganism demanded such acts of worship as merely emblematic of municipal law, and a recognition of the sovereignty of the State. With the extermination of all rivalry between Paganism and Christian worship, the latter, by virtue of its contended superiority as a divine factor, asserted its supremacy over municipal laws and regulations, and obliterated the line of distinction marked out by Christ. Hence it came to pass that the blood of the former martyrs was vainly poured out and their sacrifices, if not rendered entirely useless, were at least considered as martyrdom for a mere idea, by the subordination of the municipal to the theological regulation and its absolute absorption, so that he who was formerly considered a traitor to the Pagan State for refusing to obey its mandates to offer incense to the

gods, became a traitor to the Christian State and put to death for a parallel reason. Moreover, as under Pagan Rome, the earth was sodden with the blood of Christians persecuted for religion's sake, so under the new amalgamation the earth became again crimsoned with the life fluid of disobedient humanity, termed "heretics," however, instead of martyrs.

At last humanity rebelled and there arose those who insisted upon a return to the philosophy of Christ, that violations of the municipal law and sins against God were not interconvertible acts, but followed separate and distinct lines, the one purely civil for the good of the State—a tangible, material prison, the other purely spiritual—a supernatural hell. As it was once before, when those upspringing from the seed of the martyrs, in their pride of success, returned to the Pagan system of a union of Church and State, so the heretics, when they attained success, abandoned their Christian philosophy and reverted to Paganism until to-day we are the witnesses of a culmination of all of the blighting influences of Paganised Christianity, with the municipal law and supernaturalism welded together in an indistinguishable mass.

What else is it than Paganism? With the mere *mala prohibita* of regulation, intended always for the benefit of the citizens in their close personal, contract relations, magnified into crimes of as great magnitude and moment as the *mala in se* of the law of God, recognized and incorporated in the municipal law, and our statute books, in consequence, incumbered with prohibitions, restrictions, interferences and sumptuary laws, utter strangers to the idea of civil government, and more absurd and useless in the modern Caesar than would be the trivial rules and regulations laid down for the children of Israel still struggling in the Wilderness; the personal rights of citizens are fast disappearing and in place of a contract government we are oppressed by an arbitrary system based upon

church regulations. The Church has again appeared as a usurper on the domain of Caesar, and in the face of innumerable disasters to the human race; in despite of the sufferings and miseries entailed upon men by similar encroachments, the sects have united upon the only point their theological differences will permit them to unite, and boldly dropping the mask, stand forth under the shallow pretence of reform, and purpose making the State the passive agent of the Church in the punishment of theological offences, as well as demanding the incorporation of theological dogmas into the laws of the land.

What has been the result of such a system in the third largest city of the world and the professed equal of any in refinement and enlightenment? What has man accomplished as the self-appointed agent of the Almighty in the execution of His vengeance upon individuals for the commission of sins against His commandments? Has any good purpose beneficial to the citizen been accomplished by the whims of the bitter partisans of one hundred and fifty different sects, who cannot agree upon any definite plan of salvation, and who are now beginning to reject the authenticity of the Bible, the groundwork of whatever religious faith they possess, and upon which they alone have the right to claim any existence or morality whatever?

Utterly ignoring the sound principles lying at the foundation of a civil government, as perfect as any ever created, the conscience of the citizen is no longer unmolested; his personal, private sins, which theology seems impotent to eradicate, are dragged into the body of the municipal law, and, vengeance wrested from the hands of the Creator, they are exposed to the light of day in our civil fori, to the incalculable damage, through consequent scandals, to the correct morals of the people. We have heard it in ringing words from the pulpits that we are sunk as deep in corruption as were Sodom and Gomorrah, and that our

morals are of the same disreputable character as those manifested by ancient Babylon. A strong arraignment, indeed, of the combination of civil government and theology, of the practical union of Church and State, and the strongest possible evidence of its modern as well as ancient failure, and the positive injury it has inflicted not only to morals, but to material prosperity. Why destroy us materially if we are made worse spiritually?

What will be the outcome of a continuation of this experiment? When Paganism had spent its force, and fallen so low that even the slaves lost their respect for it, theocracy came to the rescue, but itself, in the course of time, became as oppressive a despot through the unyielding nature of theological dogmas, and was overturned by some other form of government, which in its turn required reformation, and so on alternately down to the present time, when a cycle of change in human affairs is evidently approaching, if we may judge from the history of the past. In the light of the fact that the very root and essence of our system of government is in the strong soil of contractual relations, and that upon the corner-stone of our national structure is written in ineffaceable characters, "So use thine own as not to injure thy neighbor," will it again be necessary for theocracy to step into the arena as the savior of the civil power? Must the Church be again united to the State, and if so, which of the sects shall be selected to make the connection?

When that time shall have come the old, threadbare, pious sentiment, "Servants, obey your masters," will drip from unctuous lips. Then will the poor fawn upon the well-fed guardians of the nation's welfare and the public good, and receive for their sole consolation and stimulant the assurance of a future paradise as the reward for their patient sufferings and cheerful endurance of their miseries. To rebel will be heresy, to even groan a diminution of sanctifying

grace. "Poor souls, I pity you from my heart," will say the sleek holder of the keys to the granary. "There will be a praise service this day week at which soup will be served to the deserving poor. In the meantime, here is a penny to sustain you."

CHAPTER IV.

THE COMING CAESAR.

We are drifting in the direction of a curious condition of things, and the more we struggle to avoid it, the nearer we approach it.

What will be the government of the coming Caesar? Will it be a personal government, or one based upon a conventional system?

The trend of modern thought is away from personal absolutism, and towards a unification, upon a common moral basis, of all of the governments of the earth in what may be termed a "universal system."

International treaties, conventions and courtesies, which have become incorporated, or codified into a quasi international law, have prepared the way for the idea of a new, systematic, international government, by an abnegation of numerous national rights, and there is no reason to doubt that in the near future there will be other steps taken along the same line, until it shall become necessary to assemble a convention of the nations of the earth, or select a tribunal, or board of arbitration, to discuss the grave question of the limit of international comity and the preservation of national autonomy.

The rights of nations, inter se, in modern times, have gradually approximated the rights of the individuals, or citizens of any single nation in their relations with one another, and the time is fast approaching when the maxim, "*Sic utere tuo, ut alienum non laedas,*" must be applied to nations in its widest appli-

cation, as it is now by our courts in determining controversies between individuals.

It is true that this equitable principle has been more or less observed in questions arising under that indefinite code known as "international law," but there has always been behind it the element of superior power to enforce it—a power maintained by armies and navies and not by moral precept, and, therefore, one-sided in its application for the purposes of commercial or territorial advantages. The weaker is compelled to succumb to the superior strength, and the voice of protest against usurpations meets with no response.

By treaty concessions the citizen or subject of every treaty nation, wherever he may be, is theoretically entitled to the same privileges he enjoys in his own native land, and every interference with those privileges is a violation of treaty rights, and if personal damage ensue, a money compensation is awarded him through diplomatic management.

It is by virtue of these same mutual treaties that the religious missionaries of the various treaty nations are accorded protection, and hence we find that while our missionaries are carrying the gospel of Christianity to the heathen nations, the missionaries from heathen lands are at liberty to erect temples to the worship of heathen deities in our midst, and may, unmolested, carry on a propaganda of proselytism if they so desire. In other words, we are witnesses of the curious spectacle, at this end of the century, of Christianity being carried to heathenism, and heathenism being brought to Christian nations.

This culmination of apostolicism has been reached through the elimination of the Church from the State in nearly every government of the earth, except Great Britain and Russia, in which nations, however, the Queen and the Czar are mere metaphorical heads of the respective established churches, and are temporal,

not spiritual, sovereigns—the reverse of the Pope of Rome, who is a spiritual sovereign divested of his temporal power.

This separation of Church and State has brought about a singular transformation in what have heretofore been regarded as essential theological dogmas, and although the congress of religions at the Columbian Exposition resulted in no definite agreement, yet enough was unfolded to disclose a universal desire to unify the religions of the world in one common, universal religion, rejecting or rather modifying harsh doctrinal points and smoothing sharp theological corners and angles until some feasible, acceptable foundation can be reached upon which to erect the new structure.

Out of this idea of a grand religious unification, which is progressing *pari passu* with the international unification already alluded to, has arisen the purpose of selecting those ethical precepts of all religions, which are substantially the same, and codifying them into a single theological system which shall be free from supernaturalism, and rest upon the same principle of justice and equity involved in the application of the legal maxim already cited.

It is here that the religious idea enters upon the domain of the coming Caesar and joins hands with him in the inculcation of the great doctrine of "brotherhood of man," so carefully fostered and so strenuously pressed upon the attention of the world by our most learned and upright ethical religious philosophers.

The experience of centuries amply demonstrates that sectarianism precludes international autonomy; indeed, it is historical that nations have been disrupted and disintegrated by its too rigid observance, but by the adoption of a common ethical religion as the matrix, all the nations of the earth could be moulded

into a homogeneous union, devoted to strictly governmental purposes and mutual protection.

Upon the statute books of all of the civilized nations of the earth already appear the precepts of morality, recognized and ratified by their adoption into the municipal code, and even nations not wholly barbarous regard the same precepts as substantially a part of their unwritten laws. Even a casual survey of this subject will satisfy the most captious, that it will not require a long step to reach a universal acceptance of a conventional code that shall be regarded with equal favor in darkest Africa, as in the light of American and European civilization. The nations of the earth cannot forever stand facing each other with their armies and navies waiting to fly at each other, and the time must come when all this vast and expensive array of brute force will disappear beneath the touch of a common interest based upon a universal, common, moral code. When that time comes Caesar will occupy a peculiar position, and become the index of a system such as has been long hoped for by humanitarians and divines.

The future Caesar will not be disturbed by the storms engendered by religious differences, nor will his system of government be based upon a combination of Church and State, for that would be unnecessary and useless, inasmuch as all of the moral code will be merged in the civil law and become matter of municipal regulation. Religion, as we now consider and define sectarianism, will disappear, not only designedly, but *ex necessitate*, and the reason for its disappearance is clear.

There are essential principles in religion so radically different from the government and laws of Caesar, that they are impossible of amalgamation or fusion. Religion is and must be dominant in the spiritual, supernatural world, as Caesar is and must be dominant in the material world. Christ knew it and commanded

their separation, and the wisest of the Pagan philosophers predicted the downfall of Pagandom by reason of the enforced mixture of the unseen with the visible, the combination of the supernatural with the natural. In recent modern times we have been witnesses of the failure of the attempts to incorporate in the civil law the laws of God, and the disturbances that have been created, and the injustices that have been committed by vain attempts to enforce their observance, until now, it is as clear as noonday that men do not obey the law because it is the moral law, but because it is the law of Caesar, and they refuse to obey the moral law, *eo nomine*, when incorporated in the law of Caesar. The governed have a keener perception of their rights, and of the proper sphere of government than the governing class, because the latter are always actuated by interest and assume that interest to be the best policy, whereas the latter demand protection in their aggregated and segregated capacity. *Hoi polloi* recognize in religion a principle of saving faith which does not exist in municipal regulations, and they know instinctively, even without the mythical liberty of conscience guaranteed them in our organic law, that their ultimate salvation does not depend upon Caesar, and the manner of it cannot be enforced by Caesar without his own destruction and their own. They also know better than philosophers and theologians that all government is based upon contract relations, and they concede that no man can be immoral without trenching upon the contract rights of another. This comprehension of government, entertained by all men from the beginning of the ages, has gradually dawned upon the minds of the governing class, and has made it possible to advance with great strides towards a universal moral law not connected with supernaturalism, but absolutely severed from it. It is becoming more and more difficult to urge theological dogma upon unwilling minds through the medium of the civil law, but the super-

natural part of religion will forever attract its votaries, and when all of its morality shall have been incorporated in the laws of Caesar and enforced by reason of its justice and equity, there will remain to religion its powerful spiritual attraction which will bring men to God through its own mysterious influence, whereas now it is incumbered and hampered as well as obscured, by the vain attempt to enforce its operation through the power of Caesar's arm.

The syncretic tendency of the world is undoubtedly towards Christianity as a religion, and as the only one, correctly speaking, all of the others being mere schools of philosophy with a tincture of mysticism absorbed from Christianity, often combined with charlatantry. Buddhism, perhaps, is the only one of the great Oriental systems that contains the true religious idea, most of the ethics of which, however, except metempsychosis, that relic of Paganism, are found to perfection in the Christian system. In this view of the matter, nothing would result from a unification or combination of the various moral systems of the world, but an eclecticism that could never be dignified with the name of religion. The application of the name to whatever may benefit mankind in the matter of morals is misleading, for there is but one religion with a saving faith, to wit, Christianity, all the others, as has been said, being mere schools of philosophy.

In the contemplated manufacture of a new "religion" out of the worthier elements of those now existing, the first question presented for solution would be an impasse to the erection of any supernatural structure, for while the Christian is willing to admit the existence of a moral code in other systems, he would never yield his faith in Christianity as a saving faith, to Buddhism or Confucianism. He is well aware that although these two great Oriental systems contain certain moral principles that lie at the root of Christianity there is lacking that one great supernatural

badge of Christianity alone, the Redemption. Without the surrender of all that elevates Christianity into a system of religion—the Unity and Trinity of God and the Incarnation, Death and Resurrection of the Saviour—there cannot be a syncretical religion, whereas through retaining it, as the matter and the essence of the Christian faith, there may be a moral eclecticism, and that is all there will ever be in any unification of either religious or moral ideas, but that would be Caesar and not religion.

The idea of syncretism was broached for the first time in the seventeenth century, and met with strenuous opposition, for the reason here suggested. The very idea of finding the truth by a combination of beliefs was a confession of error in the elements that were expected to syncretize, and therefore, it was argued, a collection or union of errors would still be error. The result of the movement, however, was a relaxing of the rigid rules of orthodoxy.

It is possible and probable that the present well developed and concerted movement towards unification of the religions of the world, may terminate in more modified views regarding the supernatural in religion and in the methods of acquiring saving grace. The door of salvation may be opened wider and the aspiring sinner may find less obstacles thrown in his way. It may also result in an advanced moral eclecticism or a more perfect adaptation of the ethics of true philosophy which will make men's minds more pliable to the truth; turn them into a more plastic clay for the spiritual potter, inasmuch as they will be tempered by the habit of voluntary observance of the moral law promulgated by Caesar.

The question of morals is an essential requirement of religion, its basic dogma, its vital force. Without it there can be no religion, but it may exist independent of religion. Indeed there have been men of the most rigid morality, even when gauged by the Chris-

tian moral idea, but who did not possess the slightest glimmer of supernatural faith. What became of them or what their status is in the other life is a question to be determined by the supernatural part of religion. Humanly speaking, they were good citizens and careful observers of the civil law, and that is as far as Caesar may go. The illustration serves to embellish the idea that when morals, which is the vitality of the supernatural element of religion, are carried into the municipal law as a matter of regulation merely and not as a matter of religion, it is permitting Caesar to exercise a prerogative which religion has heretofore claimed as its own exclusive province.

Out of the mistaken idea that religion should dominate the State in the matter of morals, have arisen the most bitter contests, that have neither benefited religion nor the State, but have increased infidelity and indifference to supernatural dogmas and lessened the dignity of Caesar. The sin against the Creator is beyond the power and province of the civil law to regulate, and the violation of the civil law is equally beyond the province and power of the supernatural part of religion, and when this difference between these independent powers is more appreciated and understood, Caesar will have less difficulty in governing his subjects, and religion less to complain of in the way of infidelity and indifference to its dogmas. One will be the handmaid of the other and both engaged in a common object, the welfare of the governed and their ultimate salvation. And with an international code of morals severed from supernaturalism, it is not impossible that Christianity, with its illimitable capacity for absorption, its great truths and its adaptation to all of the spiritual wants of man, will soon dominate and enlighten the world.

The fate of the various diverse sects in the event of a universal unification presents a simple problem not difficult of solution; they will merely disappear, or

rather, become merged into various schools of philosophy or societies for social purposes. There will not be any place for them as separate and distinct religious systems or bodies, for the very object of their existence as independent bodies will have ceased to exist.

Moreover, when the State shall have absorbed whatever of morality and moral law they now seek to thrust upon it, there will be nothing left for them to operate upon. Their occupation will be gone. It may be they will find scope for their departed usefulness as methods of religion in societies organized for political reform or good government. The signs of the times are that the majority of them are already forestalling such an event.

The universal tendency is towards a codification of the moral law into the municipal code, and when that has been accomplished and put into practice, the further continuation of church organizations to inculcate that which the arm of Caesar has been selected not only to inculcate, but to enforce, would be a mere form, a ceremony based upon the municipal law as its liturgy. More or less of an unmeaning and empty husk, inasmuch as the proper enforcement of the moral law will fall within the purview of political selection.

It is not assumed that there would be any the less necessity for the worship of God, and the maintenance of some kind of system which would preserve the relations between man and his Maker, and provide for the distribution of grace to resist temptation and avoid those sins of the heart which can never be reached by any system of human legislation however perfect, but, so far as sectarianism is concerned, that would be a mere system of ethics and any particular form of religious worship useless and unmeaning, the majority of the sects being wholly dependent upon the outward observance of the laws of morality for their existence.

There can be no other outcome for the attempt to

extend the authority of Caesar over human acts not essentially based upon the contractual relations existing between citizens. It is out of the question to argue that the Church, or any church, *eo nomine*, can be united to the State, for that can never happen unless a definite answer can be given to the question: "Which church shall be the State Church?" Unlimited variety being strong enough to prevent any particular church from mounting the throne with Caesar.

From all these ideas may be extracted one which presents itself prominently to the mind and reasoning faculties, and that is: If the efforts of the syncretists and their attempt to co-operate with the State result in success, the outcome will be a Pagan Caesar.

CHAPTER V.

THE SOCIAL CRIME.

If society takes charge of human affairs, it must pay the price. Its management up to the present time has not proved a magnificent success.

“Chris Merry, who murdered his wife, will set up the defence of degeneracy. An attempt will be made to prove that society is to blame for the crime. Talesmen were asked if they understood the words ‘heredity’ and ‘environment’ as applied to crime. The inference drawn is that Merry’s attorneys will admit the prisoner’s guilt, but seek from the study of his past life and the environment in which he grew up to throw the blame for his crime upon society.”

—Daily newspaper.

It required a long time for emotional insanity to take its place as a legitimate defence to an indictment for murder. It dragged in with it a host of other defences which have become established as precedents, and are usually successful if the expert testimony for, outweighs that against, by even a scintilla. The advent of these defences injected into the body of criminal practice a new chapter in the text books on evidence, and, so far as heinous crimes are concerned, the guilt or innocence of the accused now depends upon the views of experts upon the criminal’s mental or physi-

cal condition, which may be either metaphysical, as emotional insanity, pschic epilepsy, paranoia, hypnotism and religion, or physical, as eroticism, dipsomania, dyspepsia, opium, cocaine, etc., which are the results of certain habits affecting the mental balance unfavorably. The catalogue is quite extensive, but most of them are mere subdivisions of the former exclusive defence of emotional insanity, and are the dominant defences in murder cases.

While these criminal defences have become quite common and successful in homicide cases, reaching even into the lesser crimes, as appears in the defence of kleptomania as an excuse for larceny, and hypnotism in robbery, and rape cases, there has always been a strong desire to discover a universal defence to cover all grades of crime not covered by those defences already utilized. This is quite in keeping with the well known maxim: It is better that ninety-nine guilty men should escape than that one innocent man should be convicted. The one innocent man, it will be seen, is well provided for, but the other ninety-nine are more or less exposed to conviction. However, a safe means has been discovered which will place the acquittal of every innocent man beyond a peradventure, and give the ninety-nine guilty ones the full benefit of every presumption.

In the defence shadowed by the text taken from the columns of a daily newspaper, there will be found the root of all the other defences, and the basis of all crimes not committed in the heat of passion or self-induced mental disturbances. It will justify the cold, mathematical, premeditated homicide, committed with all that gusto and hearty free will common to those who have a grievance which our sadly deficient and badly constructed laws cannot remedy.

In "environment" we are able to perceive the approaching cataclysm, or revolution, which is to restore human rights to the pedestal from which they have

been ruthlessly torn, or rather shaken like ripe persimmons into the lap of rigid forms of law, red tape methods, blind justice and the all-powerful and absorbing trusts and combinations of capital. That the storm is coming is evident by the advance puffs of wind. And why not, indeed?

Ravachol, the French anarchist and multi-murderer, guillotined for his numerous murders, declared at his trial that his homicides "were committed for the good of society." "The social system," said he, "is so badly organized that it is necessary for the producers, who have no share in the profits of their own labors, to kill in order to live." This statement is said to have created a sensation in court and throughout the civilized world, but it did not and it has not yet added anything to the wage of labor.

If the social system were perfect, or even making any satisfactory strides towards perfection, such an arraignment, from such a source, would have fallen coldly upon the ears of his judges, and the world at large would not have noticed it with a shudder.

It is certainly true that our whole social fabric is based upon a false, delusive and oppressive foundation. It needed not the words of an infamous assassin to demonstrate that. There is not a single department in our whole system of laws and government, as interpreted by our judicial officers, that is not decayed and wholly ineffectual to accomplish the objects contemplated in its creation.

This is not a baseless assertion, for it is founded upon the attacks made upon our social system by a host of reform associations and theologians, to whom it would be unjust to attribute personal or ambitious motives, and improper to denounce as Pharisees, hypocrites and liars. There is an army of active and earnest workers in the cause of humanity who are putting forth the most gigantic efforts to bring about absolutely needed changes. And we must assume that

our vast aggregations of reformers, agitators, theologians and protective societies are exact in their repeated charges that our whole social fabric is rotten.

Ravachol and the reformers, etc., are therefore in accord, differing only in their method of relief. The former advocates murder as the appropriate remedy, the latter, paternalism, confiscation, the destruction of personal liberty and disregard for personal, constitutional, or family rights. Instead of a knife being put in the hands of our youth of the schools with which to run amuck among mankind, as Ravachol taught, they are inoculated with pessimistic ideas, and their minds are filled with forebodings of dire disaster.

From the pulpit, the press, the lawyer, statesman, educator, and from the rostrum of all sorts of advocates of reform, charity, benevolence, higher life, theosophy and even over the graves of the dead, are scattered the words which a prominent American statesman, lawyer and educator uttered before the pupils of a great State university, not long ago:

“I dislike above all things to assume the attitude of an alarmist or to indulge in the dyspeptic forebodings of a pessimist, but I cannot be oblivious to the fact that there are gathering clouds whose breaking may be of the utmost consequence to our institutions. The large and constantly increasing number of wealthy men in the older settled sections of the country cannot justly be accounted for on the sole ground of great natural resources and freedom of action. To my mind it is impossible for any single generation to obtain fairly and without encroachment upon the body of the people the enormous fortunes, the figures of which we are utterly unable to comprehend. I see with sorrow an abject deference to wealth which foreshadows the drawing of those lines which separate the few from the many. This is a dangerous sign.”

This is Ravachol, this is Mr. Merry, the distinguished wife murderer, whose name appears in the

text to this chapter. But it is also the heart cry of a politician, an office seeker, and a man whose arms have been in the public treasury up to the elbows for a generation. He is the ideal American stump-speaker obtaining votes from a deluded constituency, hoodwinking the people, fooling them all the time in spite of Abraham Lincoln's maxim to the contrary.

But there is grave reason for such language, and in any other country, and under any other form of government, the clouds would break, a revolution would take place. We have a crowd of meddling busybodies, who assume to themselves all of the purity and goodness of mankind; people who meddle with law, government, individual liberty, create doubts and stir up the consciences of their victims on religious and moral propositions which they do not understand; people who live in Duluth and worry over the condition of the citizens of New Orleans; clergymen who leave their sheep to go about among the wolves; diseased minds who teach the inmates of our prisons that they are victims of bad treatment and martyrs to official cruelties; wealthy organized charities which spend three dollars in salaries for every single dollar devoted to charity; bigots who hold a bowl of soup in one hand and a tract in the other and refuse one without the other; cranks who weep over the skin of a dog or horse and carry pocketbooks of human leather; lawless creations that deprive mothers of their children and separate husbands and wives, and last, but not least, the sentimental aspirants of refinement and the higher life. A simple country lass, with rosy cheeks of health, and eyes beaming innocence, comes to the city with her fellows. Lowly in education and wants, ignorant of the ways of the world, as well as unprepared and unfitted for any station above the one she has always occupied; herself and her companions satisfied with their lot, and honest and unambitious; along comes an intermeddling serpent who pities their

ignorant, simple, lowly lives; takes them by the hand, and amid music, paintings and statuary, raises them up to the higher aspirations of culture and refinement. "Ye shall be as gods." The leaven of discontent works and ruin follows, or else an advertisement after the following fashion:

"A refined young lady without a home, and destitute of the necessaries of life, is compelled to beg help from her former friends.

"Address Mary E., Gimcrack office."

The former friends do not hear Mary's cry, they are the intermeddlers who do not help, they create the beggary of education and refinement.

Environment will soon become a valid defence to fraud, deceit, robbery and more heinous crimes, and the way is created and left open for their commission.

And why not? Is not the force of example, the imitative instinct, the most powerful incentive in our social relations? The strength is not given to every one to say: "Vade retro, Sathanas"—Get thee behind me, Satan—and hence it is, that in accordance with the doctrine of responsibility, even as accepted by the most liberal-minded theologian, the victim will escape with a lighter punishment than the tempter. "The Tempter or the Tempted, who sins most?" queries the Immortal Bard, and who shall answer the query by relieving the tempter from responsibility?

Common observation tells us that there is not a single precept, command or advisory inhibition in either the Law or Gospel that is not being constantly violated, repudiated or construed into naught. The most seductive means of avoiding them are strewn along the pathway of man, even by the most rabid guardians of the moral law. When the ordinary snares and pitfalls, spread before the feet of mankind, are not sufficient to entrap him, others in infinite variety are

set and dug, so that man is constantly treading upon the edge of some pit, or always just ready to thrust himself into a snare. There are even those who venture within the danger line to ascertain whether they have strength and virtue enough at their command to resist falling in, and they openly boast of their prowess. But alas! the test of resistance ends in discomfiture.

The Saviour and his disciples lived not in palaces, nor were they clad in fine raiment. Their table did not groan beneath the weight of the choice and dainty things of earth, nor were their ears tickled with a concord of sweet sounds, nor their eyes drunken with the exquisite shapes of fairy dancers. No stately temples, glittering with jewels, the ransom of the poor, and vieing with each other in style, architecture, art and ceremony, witnessed the elevation of their hearts to God. They were wanderers in the fields, the highways and byways, and the prisons knew them well. Their mortal remains were not exposed to multitudes of sorrow scavengers, surrounded by gorgeous draperies, extravagant ceremonials, smoking incense; no relatives or friends, or even well-wishers, published their simulacra and glowing obituaries in the harlot breeding newspapers, and squabbled over their relict wealth, yet they feared temptation, and their constant prayer was: "Lead us not into temptation."

If they shuddered at this bugbear of temptation, with the living Saviour in their very midst, whence can come our strength and heroism to resist when He is only a memory? We have grown bolder than they, and our boldness and presumption is as great as their humility was infinite. We have donned a farcical armor of righteousness, and create imaginary foes with which we battle, expecting to receive a badge of heroism.

The solitary serpent of the original Garden has been multiplied into a myriad; the one original temptation has been subdivided into as many new ones as there

are new serpents to whisper them into man's ears, and when man falls as easily as did his first and original progenitors, think you he will be punished as they, by exclusion from Paradise? Nay, that Fall has already been punished; the punishment of the modern Temptations and Falls will be visited upon the authors of our social crimes.

CHAPTER VI.

E PLURIBUS UNUM.

We may be able to find something to comfort us behind this escutcheon.

“One of many.” Such is the motto upon the escutcheon of the United States of America.

It is not given to all men to comprehend the full significance of this badge of the Federal Union, a general government inclosing a combination of special, independent State governments—a wheel within a wheel, yet never interfering, when the principles upon which those governments are based are properly regarded. This is elementary knowledge, but it is necessary to reiterate it here and establish it as the basis of a proposition from which the deductions in the following chapters may be drawn.

The material, personal welfare of an individual depends not only upon the form of government under which he is a citizen or a subject, but also upon the manner of administering the affairs of that government, history demonstrating that a good form of government may be unwisely administered and a bad form of government wisely administered. In the former case the governed derive no benefit from a good system, whereas in the latter case the governed are benefited by a bad one.

There is nothing mysterious in the term “government,” it being a mere aggregation of certain individuals who assume the control of the destinies of segregated individuals called citizens or subjects, and the

shaping of those destinies, whether for the benefit of the governed or in the interests of the governing class, is what determines the question of good or bad administration.

It is historical that the great body of the people of every nation, that is, the majority, have been used as props to maintain some fancied superior right of the minority to dominate and assume the charge of the destinies of such nation, and that the greater the accord between the majority and the minority governing class, the more powerful and more enduring the nation, whereas, on the contrary, where discord existed, the nation became subject to continual changes through internal revolutions or outside interference.

The fact is, there never existed a nation which did not oppress its citizens or subjects at some period of its history, and even when an oppressed people have succeeded in throwing off the shackles of slavery, their leaders always fell into the same oppressive system as their predecessors. So the world has gone on since its beginning, and so it is to-day without change. It always has been and is now the people who are down-trodden, oppressed and deluded. Their chains are being continually broken and replaced upon their limbs.

This apparently never ending condition of humanity, the constant elevation of the people of every country from the degradation of slavery and misery of oppression, to the light of freedom, and their subsequent replunging into the slough, has furnished many brilliant minds with the argument that what has been and is will always be. Hence anarchy, nihilism, communism, socialism and other experimental methods of relieving mankind from their shackles.

If the human mind could conceive free men as being offered their choice of slavery or freedom, and voluntarily as well as cheerfully selecting the condition of slaves, there would be little hope of ever redeeming

man from degradation; indeed, it would be a work of supererogation to attempt it. But it happens that no link in the chain which shackles the limbs and intelligence of man has ever been forged by his own free will, but always by the power or persuasion of those constituting the minority above referred to.

In the United States there is no occasion for or utility in anarchy, nihilism, socialism, communism or other remedies deemed appropriate in other nations for the assertion and preservation of human rights, because all of these remedies are included in the basic principles of our form or system of government and they may be utilized to their fullest extent, limited only by that universal principle behind all of our constitutions and laws, to wit, "*Sic utere tuo ut alienum non laedas*," which is to say: So use thine own as not to injure another. It is the doctrine of equal rights in every sense. A man may do whatever he chooses, remembering only that every other man possesses the same right. Where there is any clashing or interference there is an invasion of the rights of others and the act becomes a wrong. And this invasion of the rights of another does not cease to be a wrong when committed by a large number, the rights of the individual being paramount and superior to the wrongs inflicted upon him by a body of aggregated citizens. Where he has no remedy the law still regards it as a wrong under the name of "*damnum absque injuria*," a wrong without a remedy, but still a wrong.

The United States is a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," which definition has passed into a truism that has no exceptions. But to avoid the perils of mobocracy and provide a system of government, the people, in whom reside all civil power, have surrendered certain of their rights in written instruments termed "constitutions," which are the cement that binds together the subdivisions of the various independent sovereignties called "States," which

go to make up the whole Union. But wisdom teaches that contiguous independent sovereignties are continually engaged in conflicts with one another, and therefore they have yielded up certain of their rights in a written instrument known as the "Constitution of the United States, "under which the Federal government operates for the mutual benefit of the sovereign States and to preserve the peace between them, as also to preserve and maintain the form and system of government adopted by the people. It holds them in the firm grasp of an indissoluble government, an indissoluble Union which no power can abrogate or dissolve because it is a contract. The same principle of contract relations exists in the various State constitutions, for which reason our whole form of government, whether Federal or State, county, township or municipal, is one of contract between the people themselves. The Federal government cannot interfere with the State governments, nor can the latter interfere with the Federal government nor with one another. Every one of them being supreme and independent within the sphere of its own constitutional limitations, with a reserve power, not parted with, still remaining in the body of the people.

Upon this basis of non-interference the country has always moved smoothly, with an occasional clash, it is true, as its history demonstrates, but not serious enough to cause a permanent divergence from the basic principles or to cause even a flutter of fear that there could ever be sufficient centralization in any of the mutual parts of our whole system to indicate the approach of imperialism.

Deeper than the conflicts alluded to in the pages of this country's history, are signs of the times that indicate a possible and probable future change. These changes are radical and subversive, but are not sufficiently considered, being brushed aside as impossible of fulfilment, or else those who are interested in bring-

ing about those changes are so bitterly virulent in their denunciations of any one who even attempts to guard against them, that the rank and file are afraid to interpose an obstacle to their success.

The question is: Who shall administer the affairs of the government?

Until quite recently the fact that all classes of the people were entitled to share in the administration of their own affairs was undisputed. It was always conceded that when men stood upon equal political rights there was no exception to the right to hold office, the sole question being the proper and equitable execution of the laws in accordance with their intent and spirit as the laws of a people's government, and not according to the rules of construction observed in foreign nations, and their enforcement and observance equally and in all directions.

But a radical change of ideas in this respect began to make its appearance openly about the year 1896, when it became manifest from the constant reiteration of it, that a mere difference of opinion as to the proper policy to be pursued in administering the affairs of the nation, was sufficient to preclude all but the dominant party from sharing in the administration of affairs. This was based upon the patriotic ground that the dominant party alone was right in its policy, was alone the patriotic party, and exclusively entitled to the loaves and fishes of office. It, and it alone, was the sole judge of what was good for the country and for its people. It was a species of political dogmatism and civic infallibility, which, strangely enough, would create a revolution even in Germany, where the "divine right" is certainly rampant.

This superiority of right was also based upon the fear that a certain class of our citizens, if permitted to aid in the administration of affairs, would infringe upon some fancied inalienable rights of the others, and that a reign of injustice and anarchy would ensue.

One can almost fancy an application of the fable of the wolf and the lamb. Not only was this bugbear of anarchy found in an opposite political party, but it was extended to the individuals of that party, and further found in every other individual not a worshiper at the same shrine of opinion as the dominant but timorous party.

A notable illustration of this tendency and fear of interference appears in the Westchester county, New York, case, alluded to under the chapter entitled "Money." The assessor at Mount Pleasant is a mechanic and, therefore, under "Old Peter's" rule should have stuck to his bench and not presumed to engage in politics or hold office. This assessor was declared to have assessed the property of a wealthy resident on an exorbitant and malicious valuation. The Court says in its decision: "The assessor is proven to have asked for votes in his favor because he, if elected, would put the taxes on the relator (the wealthy man) and relieve the poor." This was regarded in the nature of a bribe to the voters, although it elected him, and a promise of theft, or "robbery of the rich." A prominent metropolitan newspaper, in the ring referred to, alludes to it as "A full-blown exemplar of the piratical populistic policy of robbing the rich, known as Bryanism," Mr. Bryan, being the gentleman who has been condemned for his audacity in daring to be a candidate for the Presidency in a people's government, although fully one-half of the entire nation approved of him.

It does not seem to have entered into the minds of these patriotic friends of humanity, the leaders of whom are perpetually consigning the great body of the people to perdition, as obstacles in the way of their schemes, that when a candidate offers to reduce taxation and relieve the moneyed man, it is not only bribery, nor robbery of the poor, but a wise, moral, and patriotic policy. We have, elsewhere, alluded to the

curious fact that substantially all of our recent legislation and administration of the laws has been in the direction of relieving the oppressed rich man, and grinding the faces of the poor, who are considered anarchists if they complain.

That there has arisen in our midst, growing out of numerous measures, including the civil service reform, an aristocracy of officials, out of which is growing the elimination of the laborer, agriculturist and business man from public affairs, is too plain to be gainsaid. Whether it will be permitted to gather strength until it not only dominates, but completely absorbs public affairs, is a matter which concerns the great body of the people, who have it in their power to either nip it in the bud or supinely submit to it. In the latter case the master and servant idea of the nations of Europe will prevail, and the only true American citizen will be the man who holds office, or who has an influence with the official element. The others will be the hewers of wood and drawers of water, the draft horses who toil and sweat to earn taxes for the benefit of their masters, the milch cows to be regularly milked.

It may happen, then, that men will grind their teeth in impotent rage and look back and sigh for the time when they, too, were free American citizens, and when there was hope in the future for them and their children.

CHAPTER VII.

E PLURIBUS UNUM.

(Continued.)

We are on the right, but, to be sure, let us look further into it.

The nature of the mutual contract between the people of the United States is clearly set forth in the preamble to the Constitution:

“We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.”

Not so very long ago a foreign labor agitator, landing in this country for the first time, saw people actually working—they were longshoremen. Commiserating their downtrodden condition, he mounted a barrel and began a harangue with the intent to incite a “strike,” and tie up the fleets of commerce because the longshoremen of England were downtrodden. He had just landed, had traveled first class, wore good clothes and received a comfortable salary for attending to the business of agitator. Moreover, he was nice and fat. Compared with him, the grimy, sweating longshoremen were indeed a sorry lot, badly in need of “boiled” shirts, patent leathers, a big gold watch chain and a diamond ring, all of which this friend of the downtrodden sported.

As is customary in an American city of the first class, in case of a dog fight or circus of any kind, a crowd gathered to enjoy the proceedings. But a minion of the law in the shape of a policeman quickly put a stop to the effort to relieve the oppressed, pulled the foreign gentleman down from his barrel and prepared to "run him in" for obstructing the street. The fellow expostulated and demanded the privilege of free speech, which he said was guaranteed him by the Constitution of the United States, a copy of which he drew from his pocket. The upshot of it was that both the agitator and the Constitution were deposited in jail, an act of tyranny over which a certain class of newspapers raved for several days thereafter.

Again, a workingman in greasy overalls once obtruded himself among the cleanly dressed people and clean surroundings of the Art Museum in New York Central Park. He was quietly requested to remove himself and his incongruous smudge from purer surroundings, and upon his insisting upon his rights as an American citizen, he was thrown out. A perfect deluge of venom was spewed upon the rich by the class of newspapers above referred to, and the removal of the dastards who dared infringe the constitutional right of an American citizen was demanded, and certain labor unions passed resolutions of denunciation. But the Art Museum went right on with its business.

It is related in Chapter VIII. of the Acts of the Apostles that a eunuch of great authority under Queen Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, was one day sitting in his chariot reading Esaias, the prophet, when along came Philip, who heard him read. To him Philip said: "Understandest thou what thou readest?" And the eunuch replied: "How can I except some man shall guide me?"

The account goes on to say that Philip explained the prophet to him, until, filled with the humility of understanding, the eunuch confessed his belief, begged

for baptism, after which he went on his way rejoicing.

This illustration is not given to draw a comparison between the English agitator and the eunuch, because that would be an insult to the memory of the eunuch, but to illustrate the idea that the pride of ignorance leads to jail, whereas understanding leads to rejoicing. It is the understanding of the objects expressed in the Great Contract between the people that makes the American citizen; its wilful misinterpretation or misunderstanding makes the alien or traitor.

There is a multitude among us whose citizenship is merely a domiciliary accommodation, or one of personal interest and gain. Their citizenship is a dead one, killed by the letter instead of being quickened by the spirit, or, as is the case with the Scriptures, its meaning is wrested from its true intent and purpose. It is not necessary to suffer martyrdom to become a genuine American citizen; indeed, there is no individual on earth who would fight Caesar and a whole den of lions quicker than an American citizen if his rights were being interfered with, or even if he only thought so. There is no spirit of martyrdom in him, he is the incarnation of political liberty; the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness pervades his whole being, and where that spirit does not exist or is weak and temporizing, the individual is either a slave or is willing to become one, or, like the eunuch, he does not understand. But who shall make him understand? Who shall be the Philip to guide him on his way rejoicing, the policeman to lock him up in jail if he will not understand?

There is nothing to be explained, no mysterious prophetic language to be construed. A single individual on a solitary island, a shipwrecked mariner, for instance, is "absolute monarch" of all he surveys, but another mariner shipwrecked on the same island reduces that absolute sovereignty to an equal sov-

ereignty. That is all the mystery there is in American citizenship—equal rights—no intrusion by any one, not even by the government, because that government is by the people themselves and is organized to protect them in their rights and not dominate them.●

There never was a government with a system so elastic as that indicated by the objects expressed in the above preamble to the Constitution. It extends over and includes every idea and point connected with human rights and their protection without interference. The "good of the State," the "good of the people," has often been the flimsy veil behind which politicians and political parties sought to screen a contemplated invasion of the rights of the people, but when exposed to the scrutiny of the courts or of a watchful people, they have been invariably detected and their authors and abettors condemned to political oblivion. It is the opinion of the people, public opinion, that in most cases determines and explains the meaning of those rights, but public opinion must not be based upon imaginary rights outside the letter and spirit of our agreed rights. People are quick to comprehend when their rights and privileges are threatened. They are the policeman who consign to jail the foreign agitator, the Art Museum employee who throws out the dirty overall man, the Philip who sends the eunuch on his way rejoicing. They have been and will often be again misled by the schemes of politicians, nay, their dearest wishes have been and will often be again refused them, but they come back again and again until their desires are gratified. As Mr. Lincoln said: "You can fool all of the people some of the time and some of the people all of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time."

It is a source of deep regret, even to say it, that the "some of the people" who "are fooled all the time" are generally those whose rights are all the more precious to them, as they have very little else. Life to them is

on a narrow margin, and is too short to wait until all the people move in what is denominated a "land slide" to get rid of obnoxious agents or change some pernicious financial policy.

The details of administering the affairs of government are not complicated under our system, and they may be easily regulated and controlled. The fact that they are made complicated and difficult by red tape, forms, ceremonies, toadyism and various other incidentals and non-essentials, is evidence of mere innovations tending to reduce our government to the same plane as that occupied by other nations. When a man is "in a hole" he tries to persuade everybody else to get in with him, and he often succeeds in doing it to a greater or less extent. It is the same with certain persons who select certain standards suitable to their own ideas of morals, religion, government and social or business matters, and then endeavor to compel others to follow the same standards. These eccentricities, however, are not part of our system, they are mere indications of personal or official vanity, a vanity that would wear stars and garters if it could; which may be so intensely English as to turn up the bottoms of its pantaloons on a dry day in New York because it is raining in "Lunnon;" so French that it cultivates a goatee and a fierce mustache and dines on frog legs; so German as to ape the swash buckler and walk over common trash; so Russian as to go unwashed and with frowzy hair and beard; in fine, so Chinese and Japanese as to wear pajamas and pigtails publicly. All such personal idiosyncracies are not national, they merely excite amusement or affect one to tears at the idiocy of mankind.

The American citizen is superior to all this vanity and toadyism, for he is armed with the ballot as with a sword, and whether he wears a dress suit or overalls he may strike for his rights and hew off the barnacles

and parasites hanging to the ship of state and regarding its progress.

In the chapter entitled "The Crimes of Intermeddlers" other and more serious dangers are adverted to and explained, the object of this chapter being to show that every American citizen is his own Philip, his own guide, his Americanism, like nerves, telling him of the approach of danger. He needs no foreign parasite to interpret his rights for him, all such he collars, as did the policeman, and "runs him in."

CHAPTER VIII.

COORDINATE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT.

How "E Pluribus Unum" should operate and how it does not.

The Legislative, Executive and Judicial branches or departments. These independent, coordinate branches constitute our government.

The idea was given to the world ages ago by the sage Aristotle, but it was not until the early decades of the 18th century that it became a fixed principle deemed necessary to secure and maintain human rights. It was Montesquieu who forced it upon an enthralled world, and out of the seed planted by Aristotle and the plant nourished by Montesquieu grew the vigorous tree of American liberty.

"There can be no liberty," says Montesquieu, "if the judicial power be not separated from that of the legislative and executive. If it be part of the legislative authority, its power over the life and liberty of citizens would be arbitrary. If added to the executive function, the judge would become an oppressor."

This was the stain upon the English system, which was modeled upon that of Germany. As said one of the greatest of American statesmen of recent years, alluding to our modern judicial system intruding upon the other coordinate branches: "It was a judicial tribunal in England, surrounded by all the forms of law, which sanctioned every despotic caprice of Henry VIII., from the unjust divorce of his queen to

the beheading of Sir Thomas More; which lighted the fires of persecution that glowed at Oxford and Smithfield over the cinders of Latimer, Ridley and John Rodgers; which, after elaborate argument, upheld the fatal tyranny of ship money against the patriotic resistance of Hampden; which, in defiance of justice and humanity, sent Sydney and Russell to the block; which persistently enforced the laws of conformity that our Puritan fathers persistently refused to obey, and which afterwards, with Jeffries on the bench, crimsoned the pages of English history with massacre and murder, even with the blood of innocent women."

Their separation was a badge of freedom, which our forefathers, endowed with the wisdom of the past and filled with prophetic visions of the future, fixed upon as the corner-stone of the people's government established by them.

But this is elementary history, and within the knowledge of every American citizen, though it is sometimes forgotten.

There can be no intrusion by the Executive. Andrew Johnson attempted it, but the spectre of impeachment, although harmless, compelled him to retrace his steps.

If there ever was a time in the history of this country when the Executive might have become a usurper it was at the close of the War of the Rebellion, when victorious troops and trained generals could have been induced to obey the orders of their President and Commander-in-Chief. But the thought never occurred to him or them. That would have been revolution, and revolution is not an American remedy. It was tried once but failed, although it cost a million lives and billions of treasure. It is well that this country is not a military country or pervaded with the spirit of militarism. Soldiers obey orders against their own in like manner as against the enemy. They are not citizens, they are machines.

Was it the memory of that great unsuccessful revolution that moved Samuel J. Tilden to silence when he was defrauded out of the Presidency by Rutherford B. Hayes? He had more than half the nation at his back had he been pleased to strike for his rights, if he had any, and for the rights of the majority of the people, if they had any. He was a civilian and not a soldier, therefore it was not cowardice if open resistance to alleged fraud and injustice never occurred to him or to his followers; they were Americans.

No, it is not in the Executive that there is anything to fear. He is only one man, a mere figurehead like the royal personage at the head of the English system. Indeed, his power is not so great as it was prior to Andrew Johnson's time; the un-American fancies and whims of that Great Disreputable manifesting possible future disorders, the President's power and influence were curtailed to obviate them.

The danger of clashing is nearer home to the people, so close to them, in fact, that they have become accustomed to its presence and do not fear it. It is in the courts, those falsely named "people's fori," whose province it is to construe and pass upon the constitutionality of all laws whenever the questions are brought before them, and it has become so common, even in petty cases, to raise questions of constitutional and statutory construction, that our law reports teem with what is known as "judge-made law," that are made precedents to destroy the legislative intent and usurp the functions of the law-making branch of the government.

Charles Sumner, the great American statesman, whose words have already been quoted, and whom no one may accuse of anarchy, has this to say further upon this question:

"I hold judges in much respect; but I am too familiar with the history of judicial proceedings to regard them with any superstitious reverence. Judges are but

men, and in all ages have shown a full share of frailty.

“Alas! alas! the worst crimes of history have been committed under their sanction. The blood of martyrs and patriots, crying from the ground, summons them to judgment.

“It was a judicial tribunal which pushed the Saviour barefoot over the pavements of Jerusalem bending beneath his cross; it was a judicial tribunal which arrested the teachings of the great apostle to the Gentiles and sent him in chains from Jerusalem to Rome; it was a judicial tribunal which, in the name of the old religion, adjudged the saints and fathers of the Christian church to death in all its most dreadful forms; and which afterward, in the name of the new religion, enforced the tortures of the Inquisition amid the shrieks and agonies of its victims.

“It was a judicial tribunal which in France, during the reign of her monarchs, lent itself to be the instrument of every tyranny, as during the brief reign of terror it did not hesitate to stand forth the un pitying accessory of the unfitting guillotine.

“It was a judicial tribunal in our own country, surrounded by all the forms of law, which hung witches at Salem; which affirmed the constitutionality of the Stamp Act, and which now, in our day, has lent its sanction to the unutterable atrocity of the fugitive slave law.”

Charles Sumner lived to see the day when the usurpations of the judiciary and its disregard of human rights cost the nation a million lives and tons of treasure. What would he now say at the sight of judicial tribunals trampling the poor under their feet by repealing the income tax law; relieving the rich from the payment of taxes; crushing out the life blood of the nation by upholding the tyranny of corporations, trusts and syndicates; depriving accused persons of the benefit of bail; imprisoning without benefit or bail or be-

cause their poverty precludes them bail, the innocent witnesses of some petty crime; maintaining the arbitrary power of peace officers to arrest without warrant and on mere suspicion; inflicting cruel and unusual punishment upon forlorn and friendless women whom society has driven to the sale of their bodies for bread; imprisoning for non-payment of taxes where payment is impossible; sending to jail a poor man unable to support his family; confiscating hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of property for a mere technical violation of a revenue law; inflicting a sentence of three thousand years in a penitentiary for selling beer on Sunday; imposing a fine and imprisonment until paid, for selling peanuts and ice cream on the same day; depriving widows and orphans of their rights through a misplaced punctuation point in a will, or through a misconstrued sentence; winking at the open manufacture of criminals and the commission of crimes to enable religious fanatics to reform sinners?

Under the influence of popular clamor, moved by private pique or from motives of revenge upon some political opponent, judges do not hesitate to distort the meaning of laws and destroy their purpose and intent.

The elementary principles lying at the root of all of our American laws are few and easily understood, and the rights of the individual as an individual and as a citizen are clearly defined. Indeed, a single volume once contained them, and every one knew and understood them. But now there is no more simplicity or clearness, and the expansion of elementary principles of law requires carload lots of volumes. There are conflicts of decisions not only in the courts of the different States, but in the courts of the same State, even in the decisions of the judges of the same court. Statutory and constitutional questions have become so numerous that it is impossible to follow the conflicts of opinions concerning them. In all of the various but

well defined transactions between men, so vast and innumerable a variety of precedents and conflicting precedents have been established, that it is as impossible for the human mind to follow or comprehend them as it is the sixty-four thousand articles of faith attached to the Buddhist religion. To-day a suddenly discovered precedent will give the plaintiff a judgment, while to-morrow, upon the same state of facts and upon the same evidence, in the same court, the defendant will prevail through the discovery of a conflicting precedent. It is no longer law but precedents that govern our courts, and the precedents are created by the courts themselves.

Though the presumption is in favor of innocence, an accused person is held to be guilty and compelled to establish his innocence. Protected in his shield of innocence and not required to convict himself, nevertheless, he is placed in some "police sweat box" and, after the manner of the Spanish Inquisition, racked until he accuses himself or some innocent person.

Legislatures vie with the courts in muddling the rights of individuals and of citizens, and what with unconstitutional laws, judge-made laws, precedents and misapplications of the simplest elements of justice and right, the harmony between the legislative and judicial branches of the government is fast being obliterated and law has become a game of chance, a matter dependent upon the whims of a dyspeptic judge, or a case of bargain and sale either in cash or influence. The lawyer who now cites law instead of precedents is regarded as too antiquated to be employed, and if he cannot find a precedent he is expected to manufacture one which will be acceptable and flattering to the Court and justify oppression.

What is the cause of all this jumble and confusion of justice and equity? Why cannot the rights of the individual and citizen be determined by the simple ap-

plication of equally simple principles as in former times? Some say that modern occupations have become so multitudinous and the relations between men so various that there cannot be an application of simple principles, and that there must be a precedent in every case. There is certainly a precedent in every case and sometimes several, but that is judge-made law and a judge-made government. It is not the fault of an increase in varieties of business relations, it is the attempt of the legislatures and courts to get away from the immutable principles of justice and equity, and provide a covering or disguise for their jobs, contracts and iniquitous selfish ends. Every known device and scheme is resorted to for the purpose of screening their usurpations and to justify the destruction of political and individual rights. Truth and right are simple, falsehood and wrong multifarious.

CHAPTER IX.

INDEPENDENCE.

There are some things not within reach of Independence, but there are also some things that cannot be taken away from it.

This much sought after mortal condition is satisfying when enjoyed by a man of independent means; otherwise it is a quality partaking of the disposition of the mule, a boorishness, demanding certain exclusive prerogatives to the detriment of others.

Whoso would maintain his independence should be compelled to enjoy it apart from the rest of humanity, because every manifestation of independent action is an infringement upon the equal rights of others. Hence the independent man is a nuisance to be abated.

A man carrying a pot of paint through a crowded thoroughfare, another transporting a long ladder on his shoulder under like circumstances, a filthy, unwashed chump rubbing against decently dressed and clean citizens, a woman wheeling a baby carriage, the man with a zigzag walk, a blind man feeling his way with a long pole, a licensed vendor of traps and calamities, and the like, are examples of independence, but exhibit so much of the don't-give-a-cent-for-the-rights-of-others spirit that they may all be declared nuisances.

"Why should I not do this, that, or the other thing?" Of course you may, friend. There is nothing to prevent you. This is a free country, where one man is supposed to be as good as another, and where every-

body is at liberty to make an ass of himself if he choose, but another fellow is at liberty to put a bit and bridle on you if you do. Please remember that.

If all the cases of alleged interference with the so-called "rights" of others were closely investigated, ninety per centum of them would be found to be merely an interference with hoggishness. Why must I do what another insists upon my doing? Why should he not do as I wish? The rule of Christian charity and forbearance has no application because it is a rule that works both ways, and the other fellow is bound by it as well as myself. A boor jostles me on the street, I jostle him back again. He looks at me fiercely indignant; says I am no gentleman. Very good; but that is a non sequitur; I am entitled to a place on the sidewalk.

The fact is, the one who has nothing to lose is the most independent being on earth, but give him a job, and he touches his hat and cringes. He knows very well that if he keeps on treading on my corns he will lose his situation. So it goes in every condition of life, except with pawnbrokers. The man who offers you a gold brick does not fling it at your head, he is excessively smooth and oily, and he shows you so much courtesy and deference that you actually feel flattered at being skinned by such an agreeable gentleman. It is the same feeling that induces a man to yield up his seat in a crowded street car to a suffering woman; she appeals to him in her look, whereas at the slightest display of independence, he retains his seat and does not feel mean about it either.

It should be understood that there is no reference here to political independence, an independence which consists principally in exercising the right of suffrage in behalf of the wrong candidates, and never being able to select an administration satisfactory to the country at large, but to that personal sense of superiority some people possess, which goads them into holding up

their chins and throwing out their breasts so far that they are unable to notice other people on earth. A turkey gobbler does that, but we all know that a turkey gobbler is more appreciated after death than when alive. We can all see what we aim to see to better advantage by not obstructing the view of others, for, to recur to the turkey gobbler simile, we may have to mourn the loss of our tail feathers.

Seriously speaking, however, there is a very indistinct line of demarcation between personal, natural rights and political rights. The expression "Equal rights," that so glibly rolls from the tongues of male and female stump speakers during political campaigns, is very much exaggerated and misconstrued. We have "popular rights, State rights," women's rights, labor rights, religious rights, moral rights, and all sorts and kinds of "rights," including the rights of horses, dogs, cats and even fish bait, all jumbled up together in the same pot, stirred up and poured out as legal rights. Every one is apparently claiming under the nomenclature of "rights" whatever he or she deems desirable to have done and do it unmolested by every one else. Added to this should be the great desire of people to do as they think advisable and compel everybody else to submit or send them to jail if they rebel.

To judge from the deafening clamor and the mortal struggles to obtain some new kind of a right and enforce it against others, it would appear to a stranger that no person in this country has any rights at all, and that we are not permitted the right to live and breathe unless the privilege is fought for or made a plank in some political platform. But a person to the manner born and acquainted with the peculiarities of the American people does not understand that all this hullabaloo about rights means that the citizen is greatly suffering from loss of his personal rights, but is fighting to preserve his political rights.

Indeed, there is something sought to be covered by all this clamor for rights which will operate to protect everything from earthworms up. There is too much smoke for so little fire; we are using deodorizers instead of disinfectants. When a man begins to preach about his honesty and his virtue, he is preparing the way for overreaching his neighbor in a commercial transaction or betray a woman. If the student of human nature has not yet learned this simple peculiarity of human nature he is still in the elements of his education.

In theory, one man is as good as another, practically it is not true. The man who obeys the law is a better man than he who violates it. Our most insane moralists concede this much, for they are always preaching it. "Obey the law," they roar in everybody's ears, in and out of season, and they form all kinds of societies to take the enforcement of the law out of the hands of the officials selected for that purpose, and enforce it themselves—not with any very great success it must be confessed—but they do as much meddling as they can. Very well, then, but how is it when one's personal and political rights are violated, hampered and restricted? Are you not in that case a violator of the law, and although a moralist, a worse man than I, who insist upon the maintenance of those rights as a matter of principle, affecting as it does others besides myself? You preach "obedience to the law," and when you imagine everybody does not see through your little scheme, you procure the passage of laws which take away my rights. Your law is no law at all, and therefore I have the right to resist it, all the greater right to resist and violate it, than your right to procure its passage. I am a peaceable, law-abiding citizen, while you are a disturber of the peace. It is my right, and I am at liberty to suppress you and your pretended law, because you violate the organic law. Your moral ructions are mere subterfuges to cover the

desire excessive piety and fanaticism have always possessed to interfere with and destroy human rights. You are resisted not because he who does so is an enemy of God, as you are conceited enough to imagine, but because he knows that if you are allowed to deprive him of one right you will keep on until he has no rights left except what you choose to permit him to exercise, one of which would be the right to go to church, and another the right to swallow his spit.

Here is the gist of independence, liberty and equal rights: Every citizen has an equal right to do as he thinks proper to protect his life, exercise his liberty of action and pursue happiness, provided that in exercising those rights he does not clash with the free action of every other citizen. He is at liberty to assert and maintain his rights against whomsoever may seek to take them away from him. A man may protect his property against a thief, or he is at liberty to commit homicide in the defence of his own life, or in protecting the lives of those dependent upon him; he may even do so to save a stranger to him. "Stand aside, my friend," you may say, "you are obscuring the sun; you interfere with my breathing; you are preventing me from earning a livelihood; I wish to vote the other ticket; I wish to drink beer on Sunday," and so on. All these are liberties, equal rights, and in the exercise of them the citizen is independent, that is, he may or may not exercise them. To compel him to choose is to destroy his liberty, to punish him for choosing is a crime.

CHAPTER X.

THE CRIMES OF INTERMEDDLERS.

There are too many busybodies interfering with our affairs. It is possible to get rid of them if we set about it in earnest.

One of the causes which destroyed the Bastille, and removed the head of a French king, was the excessive use of arbitrary power, derived from what is known as the "Police Power," and manifested in "lettres de cachet," insolence of the nobles, the subjection of the people to the whims of officialdom, and the oppression of the people assumedly for their benefit. The rights of the people were all merged in the rights of the officials, and it was the latter who determined the quality of privileges and the quantity of individual rights that should be permitted then. The people were the bond slaves, forced to follow in the train of Caesar, and add éclat to his triumphal procession.

In spite of the lessons drawn from the events of history, there are those in this country who hanker after the fleshpots of Egypt, and presume to take upon themselves the regulation of the affairs of the people, overflowing into the same condition of things that brought about the stabbing of Caesar, *finis Poloniae*, William Tell, the Fall of the Bastille, and our own War of Independence.

The "divine right" and the "Police Power" are so closely connected and so easily run together that it behooves American citizens to be upon their guard against it. It is the power seized upon by the various

intermeddlers with our affairs, whether foreign or domestic, to the undoing of the inherent and inalienable rights of citizens. It is not being exercised all at once, by the way, but step by step, as will be made clear hereinafter.

Blackstone, the father of English law, defines it to be: "The due regulation and domestic order of the kingdom." "Le roy le veut," and that is the end of it, whether the people will it or not. Its meaning has been extended in the United States until, instead of one king, we have a thousand and more kings, including party "bosses," policemen, constables, foreign agitators, clergymen, female emancipators, and numerous others—"legion" is their name—all striving to mold the body politic in their own groove, all quarrelling with each other, and all striving to prevent the loaves and fishes from reaching the multitude. The body politic has been fretted with so many kinds of different remedies, administered by so many different kinds of quacks, that it has become syphilitic, and covered with raw and bleeding sores.

The courts in this country, following upon the monarchical idea, have defined this Police Power as: "The power of the State, through all its agencies, both general and local, to preserve order, regulate intercourse between citizens and insure to each the lawful enjoyment of his rights. It embraces in its most comprehensive sense the whole system of internal regulation, and extends to the protection of the lives, limbs, health, comfort and quiet of all persons, and the protection of all property within the State." To this has been added "morality," in deference to the theological branch of intermeddlers.

It will be observed that the definition is quite satisfactory, and there would not be the slightest complaint, were it not for the misinterpretation and misapplication of the doctrine expressed in the definition. The power, defined, must necessarily be subject and

subordinate to the rights expressed in the organic law, and to those reserved by the people. Any arbitrary exercise of it is as much of an illegality as the violation of any positive law, and is all the more criminal, as it is the undermining of the foundation of our entire system. An open attempt to interfere with our system was defeated by force and arms, and oceans of blood are spilled to maintain it. Whence it is that the enemies of a free people, and the diminutive kings among us depend upon bamboozle for success. Let us specify.

Our police, instead of being peace officers, have degenerated into spies to detect crime after it has been committed. The detection of crime is proper enough, since crime should not go unpunished. But that is not the sole business of the police; they are peace officers, and it is as much their duty to prevent crime as it is to ferret it out after it has been committed. What becomes of our theory of government under a management that practically manufactures crime in order that there may be arrests and imprisonment? No despot ever did this. He manufactured offences, but he did not tempt their commission. The tempter is the accessory and his crime should be punished with more severity than that of the tempted. The crime of Satan was more devilish than that of Eve. What the people are entitled to is protection; punishment is not protection, that is nothing but a species of revenge for tampering with the majesty of the law, and in these latter days it is assuming the most cruel forms.

In the license features of our laws, a man is licensed to do a legitimate business which at certain periods during the life of the license becomes an illegitimate, unlawful business. That is to say, under our police system a thing is made both right and wrong, which is going further than theology. Of course, it is not denied that a man should not do certain things at one time which he is at liberty to do at another. For in-

stance, practising on a cornet may be allowable at certain times and not at other times. Such things are rights which do not need licensing, regulation being sufficient. They are mere conveniences that may become inconveniences under certain circumstances, and the law prohibits them when inconveniences. But it is in the licensing of trade and occupations that the baneful effects of an arbitrary use of the Police Power is apparent. It is not denied that regulation is more or less necessary in human transactions, but it is an exaggerated exercise of the power to regulate, by casting a man into jail and depriving him of the benefit of counsel, fracturing his skull if he dare insist upon his rights, and submitting him to the most unparalleled exactions, damages, detriment and ruin of his business. This is not regulation, it is oppression, confiscation, whether committed by a small magistrate on the charge of a small policeman who was the tempter in the transaction, or by Mr. Justice Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court, ratifying the confiscation of a million dollars' worth of property because of some trifling violation of the letter of an internal revenue law, as was done in Kansas; or Mr. Chief Justice Fuller, of the same high American court, approving a sentence amounting to three thousand years in the penitentiary of Vermont, imposed upon a citizen for selling beer on Sunday, a mere municipal regulation and not a *malum in se*, or the equivalent of a murder. The law is not so sacredly majestic in this country as in Russia, Turkey or China, where even a cat may look at a king, and an American citizen is not obliged to take off his shoes in any throne room and knock his forehead on the floor three times to express his admission of and his submission to its sacredness. The question is, who is injured? If no one but the advocates of the law or the sentimental idiosyncrasies of fanatics, then the punishment transcends the limit of American punishment. "Excessive fines shall not be

imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted." That is the American letter of the law and its spirit. Such demonstrations of arbitrary power possess no value as warnings or preventives, for the American spirit is so constituted that it will not submit to any lash. We do not have to cut off heads here to frighten others, if we did it is highly probable that the executioners would not go very far nor fare very well.

Whatever may be the requirements of regulations attached to licenses to do business of any kind, and licenses are not granted for an unlawful business, there should not be attached to their non-observance the quality of punishment attached to crimes known as "mala in se," and nowhere on earth, particularly in a country based upon the freedom of its people, are violations of mere municipal regulations visited with martyrdom and confiscation except in the United States.

Who is to blame for this condition of things? At whose instance and suggestion and through whose influence are these constant violations of the letter and spirit of our organic law committed? They are due to the efforts of certain agitators, ill-advised persons, who are so enamored of their own perfections that they have elevated them into standards for all to follow under penalty of damnation or the public jail. They are worse than the untutored Indian, for they see not God in clouds nor do they hear Him in the wind. They see devils in the smallest cloud and hear Satanic voices whispering to them from the wind. It is the self-sufficiency and stupidity of the sects that through some fancied "divine right" drag ruin and political death in their train. Assuming to fight the spirits of darkness, they find Satan in the liberties of American citizens and seek to destroy him by destroying them. If the rights of American citizens are iniquitous or sinful, if this government is Belial and his followers, there is no objection to their praying and tearing their

own hair—nay, they are at liberty to become martyrs in their cause, but there is neither sense nor reason in martyring others upon their altars.

These people are intermeddling with things that do not concern them, because others have rights which they should be compelled to respect. They are bringing about a condition of things that will some day react upon all that is good in the world, and destroy the good they so ill-advisedly seek to accomplish. The chapter on "The Coming Caesar" indicates what the end will be.

But worse than they—for fanaticism, being a species of idiocy or lunacy, is excusable to a certain extent—are the perfectly sane politicians and those who follow their train for official or business advantage. The memory of Judas is not regarded with very much enthusiasm in this country, and Benedict Arnold has no friend to lay a wreath upon his grave, yet we daily hobnob with "prominent" and "distinguished" persons, so they are termed by the interviewers, who do not scruple to enact the combined roles of Judas and Benedict in their political acts. It is not regarded as a very serious thing—a mere pleasantry—when some insignificant right is restricted or destroyed under the specious plea of exercising the Police Power for the protection of the morals of the people. When a large contract or a valuable franchise is "held up" it is not on "moral" grounds, nor the protective instinct and spirit; nor when any legislation connected with money is on the tapis it is not opposed for fear the dear people will be injured in their property, it is that superior policy which prompts the politician to find out "how much there is in it," which moves him to opposition until he is "fixed." But on the contrary, when there is no money in it and the matter is one of pure right and freedom and the people are liable to derive some benefit by being permitted to exercise their rights, they are interfered with on high moral grounds; they are not

to be trusted with the enjoyment of their privileges except in the manner laid down for them by the intermeddlers.

Intimately connected with these godly and godless intermeddlers is another class of people who itch to meddle with our system of government and the management of our affairs. There are numerous specimens of American citizens educated in foreign schools, or who have imbibed the notions of foreign writers and so-called scientists, who know as little about managing the affairs of their own countries as they do about ours.

A short time ago (August 18, 1898), a prominent and distinguished apostle and friend of labor declared from a public platform: "With the stronger bond which is now being woven between England and America we are sure to receive some of the good points from English politics."

His hearers sat as mute as did the distinguished representatives of the American newspapers when the Vice Roy of China, Li Hung Chang, assembled them all together and asked them what objection they had to the Chinese becoming American citizens. And when he went on and told them of the "good points" from Chinese politics that would be brought here, they were as dumb as clams. It never occurred to them that non-assimilation destroyed these "good points." The fact is we have already got so many good points from the politics of every nation on earth that our own good points are buried. It is time to resurrect them.

The people who come to our shores find so many points adopted from the political system of foreign nations sticking to us like barnacles that they do not perceive that we have any of our own at all, they only see that by following those good points we are getting worse and they good-naturedly add to the general confusion by giving us some more. We permit them to manage the affairs of our country according to their

own fashions and according to their own traditions, and not according to our own.

It is due to the growing sentiment that our laws, manners and customs are not as good as those of other countries, that social and political revolutions are constantly going on. We are always in a state of social and political anarchy. Our oil and the water of the feudal system will not mix. We have become so accustomed to have foreigners and foreign ideas interfere in the management of our affairs that we have come to look upon it as the proper thing for them to do. We labor to adapt our social system to the vagaries of Ibsen and Tolstoi; accept the putridities of Zola and d'Annunzio as images of our own moral condition; we crowd out everything distinctively American and take to our arms the brilliant, bejeweled and dazzling robes of foreign systems without a thought of the filthy, unwashed condition of their undergarments. The raffish of Europe, Asia and Africa dictate to us the manner of enjoying our rights; we give them the right of suffrage, drop our h's and try to become accustomed to their style of cookery. We elevate to important offices a class of men who would be unhappy in heaven unless they were engaged in the task of remodeling its form of government.

We are not so great a nation that we cannot have a downfall, and though we may laugh and snap our fingers at the idea of such a calamity, it must be allowed, judging from the light of history and according to reason and common sense, that a nation which permits outsiders to manage its affairs and dictate its policy will change, imperceptibly, it is true, but the time will come in a future generation when there will not be anything of consequence left to change. What will our children's children have to say then?

CHAPTER XI.

THE RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE.

The indications are that the right of suffrage will eventually be limited to a select few and the public thereby relieved of its burden.

The right of free speech and the right of the people to assemble and petition for a redress of their wrongs, or, as the Constitution of the United States expresses it: "The right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government" for a redress of grievances under our imperial system of municipal government and its moral law regulations is destroyed by the police, in conformity with the ordinances prohibiting public assemblies, which are permitted when in accord with the powers that be, if not they are construed as "disorderly" meetings and suppressed.

Were it not for the "press," that clarion of freedom, in spite of the manifest corruption of many of its members, the people could not be upon their guard against the stealthy inroads constantly being made in their liberties by scheming politicians. The right of suffrage is held up like Moses' serpent that all may look upon it, exercise it and live.

What is this right of suffrage which many of our courts say is not a natural right and therefore may be restricted and even taken away altogether? In the present condition of things, if a man is registered it is the inestimable privilege of voting for a string of candidates selected for him by somebody else, men he does not know, never saw and has only read about in

the newspapers that praised them at so much per line of praise, or in the expectation of getting a printing contract, and whose platform is a tissue of guff and molasses thrown together for the purpose of catching votes, prepared in the same manner as a fisherman prepares a tempting bait on his hook to catch gudgeons and suckers. It is of no value to the owner, being like a promissory note that is protected at maturity for non-payment, but it is of great value to the candidates and his party if they get enough of them to make even a majority of one or a plurality.

It is said that a poor man's vote will offset that of a rich man. It is not true, and our political history and the knowledge of every man who has ever had anything to do with the inside of politics in this country will tell him that it is not true. If the poor man were patriotic and the rich man honest, then the proposition would be correct. The rich man's vote is greater than that of the poor man, because his dollars represent the number of votes wealth is able to purchase, which, of late years, has been enough to constitute the majority. When dollars do not directly buy votes, the expectation of getting them and threats of loss of means of earning them accomplishes the same purpose.

Whether is worse, the rich man who buys votes directly or indirectly, or the poor man who accepts the purchase price? The poor man is certainly the more despicable, for it is through him that his fellows are maintained in poverty. It is no crime for a starving man to take bread not his own, but he must not take the bread away from a fellow starveling. With the rich man it is business or, perhaps, the salvation of the country by retaining the loaves and fishes of office.

Whatever there is valuable in the exercise of the right of suffrage, that is, the quantity necessary to control, is in the hands of political organizations, the most powerful the world ever knew, known and desig-

nated by the name of "machines," and when the people cast their ballots for any candidate, or series of candidates, whether for a high or low office, they are not exercising their own free will in the matter, but are expressing the will of the machines. Occasionally some really independent party is formed out of the "dissatisfied" who "split" their party, and the new party elects a few candidates for minor offices, or they are allowed to, and in the pride of what they call "success" they set up a great hurrah. But they soon disappear and are known no more, for they have no organization, are not machines, and for all the good they ever accomplished they are mere blisters on a wooden leg.

The machine in politics has assumed huge, overshadowing proportions, even controlling the management of the affairs of the government, and it has the power to make or break any man in the country. When the will of the people is found to be so strong in favor of some particular man not of the machine selection, the machine bows to the will of the "dear people," nominates the people's candidate, and then secretly "knifes" him at the polls. This is the reason why some very good and able men, whom the people desired to elect, have been defeated.

At the head of the machine is a supreme National Committee, at whose headquarters is recorded the exact political condition of the entire country. Not an acre of ground that contains a voter or a probable voter is omitted, and its record of births, deaths and marriages is a model for Boards of Health. It is like a huge map for war purposes, and on it are indicated the location and political complexion, as well as the leaning of every voter in the country. Every change of residence, every defection from the ranks by any voter is noted, and he is followed up and kept track of until he dies, and even then his name is kept on the lists and his name voted by somebody else. The pub-

lic utterances of every individual are carefully preserved in indexed scrap books and form his complete political history, to be used for or against him. Not a single voter is allowed to escape, all of the minutest details concerning him and his surroundings being carefully preserved.

All these details are furnished by subordinate committees of the respective parties, to wit: State, County, City, Town, Ward, Precinct, down to the corner grocery and the saloon, where the pothouse politician and the ward striker are the ground root of politics and the stokers for the machine. Sometimes, to give it a moral aspect, a church is dragged in to its aid, and clergymen hired to do its bidding.

The Surveyor General of the United States has not a more complete set of maps than this National Committee, nor has the superintendent of the United States census, or of the State School census, as many and as perfect details concerning the population as it has. The various machines perform all the manoeuvres of two great armies ostensibly at perpetual war with each other, but secretly at peace upon the question of loot. They send out couriers, scouts and spies; they skirmish, besiege, parley, employ flags of truce, declare an armistice, capitulate on the most favorable terms; parole, and metaphorically shoot for desertion and for sleeping at the post of duty. Their sentries have their regular rounds everywhere, and all of the signs and portents are watched and carefully weighed. They send reinforcements, colonize, transport supplies and ammunition, and distribute all the sinews of war, and there is not a hamlet, crossroads or mining camp that is left unprovided with missionaries and proselytizers, as well as purchasing agents. They levy taxes for revenue, and impose an income tax on salaries and wages, and, strange to say, they do not seem to care whether it is honest or dishonest money, provided it is money. The fact is that the

things the machines do not do and the information they do not possess would not irritate the most sensitive eye.

But it is in the manufacture of public opinion that the machine shines with a splendor that shames the noonday sun. The administration desires to pursue a policy insisted upon by the wire pullers, but so shaky that it dares not originate it. So, to a thousand newspapers the machine sends its dictum to advocate a certain policy, and behold the press of the country teems with "suggestions;" it writes letters to itself apparently from distinguished people advocating the suggestions; columns of "fake" interviews are published, and the whole country is aroused to the necessity of the adoption by the government of a certain policy, financial or otherwise. People read all these things and say nothing, because they are not allowed to say anything. But the administration bows before the will of the "dear people" and the policy is accepted as King Richard accepted the crown and turns out the same way he did, so far as any benefit to other than a few is concerned. If the "policy" is too bad to be swallowed, the administration is goaded into foreign complications by the same process, and even a bloody war is inaugurated, in the expectation that patriotism will conceal the cloven foot and enable the same administration to get into office for another term.

This is a mere outline of the political machine which determines who shall manage the affairs of the Nation, States, Counties, Cities, Towns, Wards and Precincts, and who shall have the public contracts, furnish coal for the navy, receive high prices for old ships, for provisions that never reach the starving soldier in the trenches, even down to dictating who shall shovel dirt on the streets. It knows to a certainty how an election of importance will be determined. It knew that the Election Commission would decide against Samuel J. Tilden in 1876, for the pur-

chase of a few doubtful precincts in Florida, Louisiana and Oregon had already been negotiated. It determined that Grover Cleveland should be elected President in 1884, and that James G. Blaine should not, because Mr. Blaine was too strong to be controlled by the machine, and it filled the columns of the machine press with attacks upon his honesty, his morals and his religion, to induce the feeble-minded voters to knife him. When Grover Cleveland got too big for the machine he was retired and the weak Harrison substituted in 1888. But Harrison proving worse, and more obstinate than Cleveland, he was thrown overboard and Cleveland given a new trial. It knew that Bryan would be defeated, for it was so settled and arranged. It knew the power and use of money, and Bryan had none, nor had he a machine behind him. He would have been a dead loss to the machine. All that the dear people have to do with any election is to run after the machine and hurrah.

Drawing the lines still closer, the machine has secured control of even the primary elections, and the conventions of the people are no longer free, and the petitioning for a redress of grievances has become a dead letter. The machine selects the delegates, the delegates nominate the machine "slate," and the machine elected officials, from the President down to the Town Marshal, do the bidding of the machine that elected them, and thus one hand is made to wash the other. It is a wonderfully perfect piece of machinery, this political machine. Bonaparte had a machine nearly similar, but it was not so effective, for he had not imagined our modern style of "knifing." Had our political machine been at his back he could have become the emperor of the whole earth.

It is through wise concessions made by the machine to those whom it fears may swing public opinion against it, or in whose good graces it is policy to keep to preserve its odor of sanctity, that originate our va-

rious sumptuary laws, and absurd restrictive and prohibitive regulations, that neither regulate nor prohibit. Sunday laws, liquor laws, charities, legislative prayers, etc., are all sops to the bigoted Cerberus of the sects, and are cast for the purpose of securing the influence and favor of the very pious and overly moral people, who are so easily led through the debauchery of zeal that they strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. Nothing is overlooked, and when the machine can neither wheedle nor seduce, it buys.

Such is the substance of our political system; such the value of the exercise of the right of suffrage. What do you think of it, reader?

CHAPTER XII.

POLITICS.

Some of our singular ways of utilizing the right of suffrage.

This government of the people, by the people and for the people, is, in its essence, the direct opposite of a personal form of government, and has nothing in common with what is known as "the divine right," being purely political, with every citizen a politician. The citizen possesses an interest in the administration of affairs and he uses whatever influence he may have in the direction of fostering the system, benefiting his fellow-citizens or himself personally, as the case may be, and is an atom which goes to make up what is called the "will of the people" in opposing or favoring a certain policy. He does all this through "politics." Theoretically his title of citizen opens the way for him to the Presidency or the Town Marshalship.

Under a monarchical or other form of government the people are not permitted to have any voice in determining who shall or shall not administer the affairs of the government, that being exclusively in the hands of those who claim it through the "divine right" or of those who have been powerful enough to seize upon and hold possession by force and arms. In such cases the relations between the prince and subject is that of "master and servant," in many cases "master and slave," a condition not possible under the American system, for the reason that every citizen is an heir to the throne, or he may aspire to any office he desires,

his right to the office being dependent upon his ability to enlist a majority of his fellow-citizens in his cause and bring them over to his way of thinking.

The theory of it is simple enough, and in the early days of the nation it was quite practicable; but with an enormous increase of a heterogeneous population the number of aspirants have largely exceeded the offices to be filled, and hence various schemes, many of them fraudulent, were devised and are now in full operation to secure and retain office in despite of the will of the people. The "good of the people" is not now so much a matter of consequence as the fact of holding office for the emoluments to be gained therefrom. The "fellow-citizens" idea is but "guff" from the pothouse and a Pharisaical whine from the back room of some political cabal, preparing the way to defeat the will of the people and foist upon them dummy candidates who have no other will than that of the gang which elects them.

The strain upon the business of the country from constantly recurring elections of some kind—there being no uniformity as to time—began to deprive the business man and wage earner of valuable time, time too valuable, so it was said, to be wasted in politics. It never occurred to any of these disgruntled citizens that they had any political duties to perform, if not in aiding to secure a proper administration of affairs, at least in protecting and preserving their individual rights, so, to save a little time and perhaps a few paltry dollars, the business man and wage-earner abandoned the field of politics, surrendered their birth-right as citizens bound to see to it that their rights as well as the rights of others were not tampered with, and relegated those duties and rights to others.

Out of this supine citizenship arose the professional politician, who with his fellows constitute a class *sui generis*, unknown in any other country in the world. It is he who assumes the rights and duties cast aside

by the average citizen and appropriates all of the benefits to himself. He is the attorney, in fact, for the rank and file of perfunctory voters, and his power of attorney is fast becoming irrevocable. The fact is already most apparent that the politicians have reached the conclusion that they are the people and the rulers of the destinies of the nation, a conclusion they have been led to accept by being permitted to assume the whole burden of politics and reap all of the benefits. The vast body of the people are nothing but component parts of a great machine and they vote the way the machine points, and having done so over and over again, they are expected to do so always. In this the people strongly resemble a big man henpecked by a weak, small woman. He submits for the sake of peace, until she actually becomes stronger than he by virtue of her influence over him, and his unvarying habit of obedience to her whims. Some day he finds he has no will of his own left and then he takes to drink or runs away instead of putting his thumb gently upon the small woman. She will yield at once, her power being mere bluff.

Political parties have been growing more and more dogmatic, until, at the present day, they are not far removed from infallibility. Their own lines are drawn closer and closer together and further and further away from each other and from the people. They accuse one another of fraud and unpatriotic motives, and every one claims to be the only pure and unadulterated party, able to undo the wrongs of every other party and restore the people to their rights. The rights of the dear people are made the shibboleth in every political platform, but as successive parties go in and out of office, it is easy to see that there is no patriotism in any of them and that the sole attraction is the loaves and fishes of office, which are unscripturally divided among the disciples and the multitude left supperless.

“To the victors belong the spoils” is the doctrine.

and all of our legislation is based upon the perpetuation in office of certain perpetual office seekers and a general grab going on all the time. To-day, politics stands as the embodiment of greed, fraud, knavery, corruption and robbery of the masses, and that strictly according to law, for when knaves make laws they make them so as to protect their own necks from the halter.

This is about the condition of our politics, and the wonder is that it could possibly have fallen into such a state when it was and is so easy to prevent and cure it. But the slave is the author of his own slavery and the poor man the creator of his own poverty. The degradation of subordinating the administration of our affairs to the selfish schemes of those behind whom are heelers, ward strikers and pothouse politicians is purely voluntary, and the only remedy is in the hands of the people if they choose to apply it, to wit, the ballot, but they are afraid to rely upon it; they cast their ballots in fear and trembling lest they offend the crowd of political slinks watching them by voting the wrong way and thus losing their means of livelihood; their American manhood is gone, they have ceased to be Americans.

It requires more stamina and manhood, indeed, to be an American citizen than to be a servant or slave in any other country. An American citizen stands upon his own mettle, he is free and independent, and knowing them, may enforce his rights. Those who have been dominated by the master and servant system and come to our shores to be relieved of it, still tremble with fear at its shadow, and though they do not find it here unless they seek it, they have never been able to entirely overcome the nervous dread that the lash will come down upon their backs unexpectedly. So the political lash brings to their minds the recollections of the old lash from which they fled, but

if they only knew it they could brush it away as easily as drive a fly away from the molasses pot.

The passion for office has become a remorseless craving, a disease that knows no cure except its own continuance. "Few die and none resign," the wise man puts it, and it has become a truism of universal acceptance. The youth still in his swaddling clothes, the maiden in her teens, the fruitful matron and the impotent spinster, likewise the gray-beard, tottering on the verge of the grave, are all frenzied with its fever and refuse all remedies for its cure. We have asylums for the mentally afflicted of all ages and of both sexes, but for the insanity of office there is no place of refuge but in the office itself. As in that school of medicine known as "homeopathy," and in the disease modern science has tagged with the label "dipsomania," so in the officeholding mania, it is "similia similibus curantur;" that is, one has a fever, so a pill or a powder to produce another but dominating fever is administered; the afflicted dipsomaniac is soaked in his favorite beverage and the officeholder given more office. A change of administration formerly averted fatal consequences, so also has embezzlement or other heinous crime, but civil service reform has made the disease chronic.

There are those who possess the most powerful influence and whose word is law in the councils of politicians. Before them officials high and low bow with reverence and obey every behest, but they never hold office. They are the "dii ex machina," the middle men between the officials and the tiers état, or the people. They are like the lilies of the field, for they toil not neither do they spin, yet Solomon in all his glory, concubines and wives included, was not a shadow to their substance. They have a finger in every contract, in every public building, every franchise and in the wages of every laborer. They foster labor to their utmost, to the extent even of a multitude

of dummies on their payrolls. There is not a man of war, a horse, a uniform, a gun, a pound of powder, or a piece of meat visible to the naked eye that they are not connected with directly or indirectly. The only thing they do not at present control is the atmosphere, which the government and the people are permitted to utilize in their own manner without extra charge. They dictate the policy of the administration to suit their own purposes, and call upon the people to bow down and worship it. At the slightest sign of rebellion against their domination out comes the lash, which whistles and sings a merry tune as it whacks the backs of the recalcitrants until they are glad to kiss it and rebel no more.

Who are these men who are neither kings nor people, yet who rule both? What is the name of this anomaly in a people's government? They are "wire-pullers" and their name is Legion. They are the Lords in Waiting, the Keepers of the Purse, the Custodians of the Great Seal. They are the early birds that get the worm. When the President of this Republic puts his signature to his mandates, a court enunciates an opinion, the police "pull" a house, a petty magistrate sends an unfortunate woman to jail for thirty days and lets go free the scoundrel who drove her to that life, it is the wire-puller who stands by with his lash and sees that everything is done as he desires. Who else is it? You do not suppose, reader, that your wishes are consulted in the matter? When the quintessence of wire-pullers, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, says: "Thumbs up" or "Thumbs down," the whole pretended will of the people in Congress assembled show thumbs up or thumbs down as directed. It is the same in every State Legislature and in every City Council and Board of Aldermen of every city in the country where there is a dollar to be made. Banks are wire-pullers as are also Corporations, Trusts and Syndicates; they have to be

to preserve their right to all of the "honest" money in the country.

The Labor Unions and the body of the people generally have no wire-pullers; they think they have, but the men they select for that business take money from both sides and do nothing for it. There is nothing immoral in politics, for even clergymen adopt it in their profession. It is the perfection of that well-known rule of arithmetic called "Division." What a grand combination it would be if the people who can, but will not hold the balance of power in politics, would become their own wire-pullers! The man competent to fill a public office would not then be compelled to drive a garbage cart, and many of our chronic officeholders would be compelled to drive garbage carts if, after a civil service examination, they were found competent for even that.

CHAPTER XIII.

MONEY.

The "root of all evil" appears to be a necessity. That being the case, we ought to know something about it. We may read something of it in this chapter, but there is much food for thought concerning it also.

It has become impossible for man to live in the present age without money. True, a pauper cared for by the public may exist without the personal expenditure of it, but inasmuch as his care and keep come out of the public funds, the distinction does not reach the dignity of an exception.

Money has become so essential and its uses so numerous that there is no longer such a branch of political economy as "barter," or the exchange of one commodity for another, whatever is convertible into immediate money being considered as money. If there are any exceptions to this rule, they are mere equivalents to the trading of jack-knives by school boys, and not worth considering.

If the learned thinkers of past ages and of a past generation, who devoted their lives to the study of political economy, that science which comes the closest to the welfare and happiness of any people, could visit the United States, they would find that their learned treatises are chimeras, and that the differences between wealth, riches and money have entirely lost their significance and application and that, under our present

system, growing out of practical intercourse with one another, money has become wealth and riches, and that whenever the terms "wealth" or "riches" are used, the idea in the human mind is money, not lands, houses, flocks, crops, or jewels. Even the question of value is one of money. It may therefore be said that he who possesses money possesses all other things.

It is idle to attempt to separate a man's ideas of wealth and riches from money, for we have made money the essential, the *sine qua non* of existence. It is quite true that a man without money, but the possessor of a flock of sheep, for instance, may eat his sheep and live, despite the fact that he has no money. So also, to preserve the equilibrium of the idea, it may be said that a man with a bag of money and no sheep would starve in a desert. Neither one case nor the other proves anything, any more than does the fact that a man may draw his breath without money, or enjoy the fragrance of flowers. All these matters relate to personal, domestic economy, which is different from political economy, the former relating to personal wants, the latter to the wants, needs and demands of society, of a people, a nation. It is because we fail to draw the line between domestic and political economy that we find ourselves in the breakers of financial depression, general bankruptcy and the miserable ups and downs of poverty. Their intermingling is the common fault of most of our statesmen, particularly those freshly incubated from the chrysalis of machine politics. Their ideas are memorized thoughts drawn from the pages of crude antiquity, or from the systems adapted to nations enjoying the blessing or curse, as the case may be, of sumptuary laws and paternalism. These crudities are injected into speeches, periodicals and newspapers, in disjointed paragraphs, which seldom rise to the merit of maxims.

It must be borne in mind in considering any question of political economy, except in the matter of

merely gratifying the taste for ancient history, that the social conditions in the United States are not only entirely different from those in any other country now existing, or that ever existed, but are in entire antagonism therewith. Hence, it happens that in attempting to measure our system upon the rules that prevail in any other country, we are simply creating confusion and making wretched work of our own needs and demands. This is a rock upon which our so-called American economists split. They attempt to appropriate principles suitable and proper for a foreign nation possessing a radically different system of government, and in which all of the conditions are diverse, and adapt them to our own system. But the attempt is as much of a failure as would be the adaptation of the "divine right" of kings to our political system. A poor, shrunken garment cannot be made to fit a hale and hearty giant.

Whatever produces anything produces money. This is true of land, labor and manufactures. Land and manufactures are neither wealth nor riches if unproductive, as it is easy to learn by attempting to mortgage them. If one man possesses a thousand acres of idle land and another one an idle manufactory filled with machinery, even, neither of them can be considered wealth nor riches, until they begin to produce. There is no intrinsic value to either of them until money has been put into them and also taken out in productions, and, even in that case, the value of either of them depends wholly upon the amount of money realized from the productions or the amount of money capable of being immediately realized.

The case of labor presents a different phase, in that it possesses an intrinsic value, whether at rest or producing, in that it always requires and demands money and likewise produces it. It is in the immediate possibility of producing money, whence it derives its difference from land or manufactures. To ascertain the in-

trinsic value of labor, we merely add the amount of wages to the profits realized from the product of it. This subject is explained more at large in the chapter on "Labor."

An illustration of the fact that land and improvements, under our system, do not constitute wealth or riches, is found in the Westchester county, New York, case. A wealthy citizen invested two and one-half millions of dollars in land and improvements. The assessor, laboring under the effete system of political economy, taxed it on that valuation, but the Court, recognizing the principle sought to be made clear here, compelled him to reduce the assessed value from two and one-half millions of dollars to \$343,745.28. There was, it is believed, half a cent more, but the Court gave the millionaire the benefit of it in conformity with the legal maxim, "*De minimis non curat lex*," that is: The law does not care for trifles. This case represents the most amazing shrinkage in the purchasing power of honest money that has ever been recorded, and it is to be hoped, that, in order to save the question of political economy involved, it will be discovered that the party in question was hypnotized into paying too much for the property.

It is not intended to include sentiment in this chapter, for there is no branch of political economy that will admit of it and, therefore, beautiful landscapes, flowery meads, family pictures, a veteran horse, nose-gays, or even diamonds and jewelry—for these two latter are entirely governed by a money value fixed by pawnbrokers—will be disregarded. There is all the more reason for omitting them because they belong to domestic economy and are not serviceable or utilizable under our system. With money they can be purchased, and they have no other significance than that attached to a case of fine wine or a bottle of perfumery.

It is with money, therefore, that we have to do, and in it begins and ends our whole system of political

economy. All the other things are the ornamental frills, and in many cases "impedimenta," as in the case of mortgaged property. It is the necessities of our American system of civilization that has brought us to this point. Having reached it, the natural inquiry is: What is this all-powerful money?

The answer is simplicity itself. It is that medium which is immediately convertible into productions.

A man satisfies his wants and gratifies his eccentricities with money. If he has no money, and is unable to procure it, his wants pass unsatisfied, his eccentricities ungratified, and he becomes a pauper. The same thing happens to him when he is "land poor," as the saying is, that is, he has unproductive land for which there is no market, or upon which, mayhap, there is a mortgage. Like the other, he is a pauper and must starve unless prevented by his charitable neighbors.

Whether money be gold, silver, nickel, copper, lead, tin, leather, or sea shells, the government fixes its purchasing value. It possesses no intrinsic value of itself, indeed the gold and silver coins of the country are not worth their face value in the market, and they are constantly diminishing in value, by attrition in the pockets and bags of their fortunate possessors. A curious illustration of this occurs in the case of "sweating" gold coins, by shaking them up in chamois skin bags or other proper receptacles. By this process as high as ten to fifteen per centum of the gold is extracted as profit, without diminishing their "passing" qualities, except to the government which charges the face value of its coins, but when they are returned, it pays by actual weight, in which case it will be perceived that the "sweater" and the government make quite a handsome profit out of the circulating medium at the expense of the people.

Another illustration of the lack of intrinsic value occurs in silver coins, an American silver dollar, ac-

According to the market, being worth only from 45 to 55 cents, such dollar containing only about 270 grains of pure or "fine" silver. In the Republic of Mexico the silver dollar contains 320 grains of "fine" silver, yet its exchangeable value with American silver dollars is 2 to 1, that is one American dollar will buy two Mexican dollars. But the Mexican dollar will purchase as much in Mexico as the American dollar will in the United States. So that a man in Mexico with a Mexican dollar is as well off as a man in the United States with a United States dollar. There is not the slightest difference in that respect, and it is only when some speculator wishes to make money out of money that he makes the exchange.

Paper money is credit money, but still money just as much as gold and silver. There being no intrinsic value to money, it matters little whether we have paper or gold and silver, it being immaterial, in the absence of intrinsic value, whether the gold or silver dollar be worth a dollar or ten cents, or the paper money fifty cents per ream. It is the government which places the purchasable value upon the money. It is a fallacy to place an intrinsic value upon one coin or piece of money and not upon another. To do so gives that coin a speculative value, just the same as when speculators exchange American silver dollars two for one against Mexican silver dollars. To the poor man and the laborer it means less bread and meat, to the country at large it restricts the currency below the needs and demands of business. Of course paper money is a mere certificate of indebtedness, a promise to pay, identical with the promissory note of any individual. In the case of the government promise to pay there can never arise the question of insolvency or failure to redeem; in the former case the individual may fail to pay and then an action is commenced against him, his property attached or levied upon and sold under execution, the proceeds going to pay the

note. If he has no property then the holder of the note loses his money, charges it up to profit and loss or marks up his goods to get it back out of the general public. This can never happen in the case of the government, for its debts are paid out of taxes collected for the purpose; in reality it is the whole body of the people paying back to each other the money they have borrowed through the medium of their agent, the government. This view of the matter is not acceptable to many, who choose to regard the government in the light of a private bank to be governed according to the same rules.

It is within the power of the government to create money for the wants and demands of the people, and when it takes the position of a private bank and refuses to loan the people any more promissory notes, the business of the nation suffers, it becomes depressed, stagnant, because the ratio between the actual money in circulation and credit money is decreased, hence credit is destroyed and confidence lost. This will be clear when it is understood that there is not enough actual cash money in the country to do a cash business; in fact, there is not enough in the world. Whence it follows that there must be a credit business and that credit business is necessarily transacted through the medium of credit money whether that credit money is called "promissory notes" or "bank notes." Upon the lack of money follow suffering, want, the miseries of poverty, shrinkage of values, bankruptcy and ruin. The people have no money to buy the necessaries of life and they starve, just the same as they do in Turkey or on a desert island. The fact that a farmer in Kansas has sold his wheat crop at a large advance, or that the balance of trade with Europe is in our favor by two hundred millions of dollars, does not satisfy the hunger of the starving citizen of any of our cities, for he does not get any of the money. It is turned over to those who control it and who make money out of

money. It is too precious to expend upon paltry bread and meat. However, being an absolute essential it is doled out in small quantities, just enough at a time to make one want more, and then he is in a condition to sell his soul or his vote to get more.

It was deemed wise by the government to not only refuse to create money for the needs of the people, but to restrict it below the amount per capita actually due in Federal, State, County and Municipal taxes, including interest on the various public debts. That is, it requires all of the money in circulation to pay the taxes and interest on the public debts every year, and that money not only does not return to the people, but they are left in debt. This applies to every man, woman and child of the seventy-five millions of our population. This restriction of the circulating medium was adopted as a policy upon the theory that a dollar should be an honest dollar, as though any money created by the government could be dishonest money. The idea brought the government down to the level of an individual contemplating the defrauding of his creditors. Another reason was because it was desirable to adapt our financial system to that of foreign governments, notwithstanding the fact that this country is the greatest producer in the world. It was attempting to adapt our system to the bolstering up of the effete systems of Europe, Asia and Africa, under which the people toil and sweat for the very poorest and most meagre subsistence, thankful that they are not put to death as incumbrances in the way of progress. The most bitter controversy raged over this subject and the restoration of silver money became a political issue in 1896, which was defeated, however, by a bare plurality, leaving the mass of the people almost evenly balanced upon the subject. It is sufficient to say here that the financial policy of the government produced the most deplorable results. At least twenty-five millions of people in the South and West

were ruined by the sudden shrinkage of values, many of them being reduced to absolute pauperism, a commercial death blow to a population nearly as great as that of England, for whose benefit and at whose instigation that financial policy was adopted.

Bearing in mind the fact that money is the essential requisite for carrying on the simplest commercial transaction, and that there must be enough of it to accommodate the demands of every branch of trade, the reader will be surprised on investigation to find that the great body of the people, whose wants are all the more pressing, as their interests are smaller and on a less margin than those of the wealthy man, were never and have never been consulted about the restriction of the circulating medium, except so far as their consent was inferred by the result of the Presidential election in 1896, and even that result was brought about by the voice of those who did not fully comprehend whither the issues would lead them. One of the issues was the specious one of patriotism, but what patriotism had to do with the financial needs of the country, except to justify personal sufferings and poverty from patriotic motives, nobody can tell. The whole matter of the financial issue was left to bankers and brokers, those who handle and utilize the aggregate millions of the people, those who hold in their hands the money of widows and orphans and of the laboring men. The people were deluded into the belief that their small holdings, aggregating about two thousands of millions of dollars in the savings banks and other corporations, would be enhanced in value by the restriction of the circulating medium, and that if not restricted and the people should not be deprived of the wherewith to successfully transact business, that all the money of the country would be reduced in its purchasing value and ruin would inevitably follow. They were told in flowing oratorical sentences, in lurid editorials, that the calamities which would follow the expansion of the currency to meet the increased demand for it, was as nothing

compared with the unsavory reputation which the nation would acquire as a robber and defrauder of its creditors, and the people were urged, besought, and the laboring man threatened with loss of employment in the cause of good, sound, honest money. The people heard the pitiful cries of the bankers and brokers begging them to save the government from a felon's cell. They accepted martyrdom cheerfully, and like lambs went forth to their slaughter with bankers and brokers doing the killing. In the meantime, the authors of the prosperity that never came up to the predictions, laugh in their hoods like the Roman augurs at the gullibility of the populace. They mercifully extended the mantle of protection over everything speculators and the money power could squeeze a dollar out of, and not only forced upon us free trade in, but absolutely prohibited the creation of, our most valuable product, silver coin. In other words, we are protected where we should have free trade and we have free trade where we need protection.

CHAPTER XIV.

MONEY. (Continued.)

Too much honesty in money matters is injurious. There is no objection to a man being honest, but honesty need not destroy common sense.

It was considered by the old political economists that there is a certain amount of work, in the way of circulation, which a piece of money will perform that apparently enhances its value, likewise its usefulness.

To illustrate this after an American fashion: Suppose I have a ham—a ham is used for the purpose of illustration because something good to eat will bring the truth home to a hungry man quicker than anything else, unless it be something good to drink to a thirsty man. I may eat the ham, in which case it passes out of existence, but as I do not care to eat it, and keeping it will suspend its value by withdrawing it from circulation, so to speak, that is, it will not be of any use to me or anyone else, I barter it to my friend John Doe for corn, of which article he has more than he can personally consume. My friend Doe trades it off for a pair of shoes, the shoemaker for a hat, the hatter for a dog, the dog-man for something else, and so on indefinitely, until the ham is finally consumed or returns to me again from some debtor in satisfaction of his debt. That one ham has performed the service of a great many hams, and if I had had a dozen hams they

could not have performed or accomplished more than the specific purpose to which that single ham was applied. True, the dozen hams could have done twelve times as much, but that would have been a mere repetition.

Applying this idea to a dollar of actual money and the same result follows. The ratio of accommodation growing out of the use of a dollar has been variously fixed by political economists. It is the one truism in political economy which possesses more common sense than any of the others, but, unfortunately for us, it is the one which is the most constantly violated except when it comes to be applied to banks and bankers. For some unknown reason it is ignored when the interests of the people are concerned.

Formerly, the ratio was fixed at one to seven, that is, one dollar would accomplish the purposes of seven dollars in circulating value. With us it is about one in ten, or a larger ratio if one can be squeezed out of money, until the verge of insolvency has been reached. We find from bank statements that the ratio of actual money on hand, compared with the amount of the deposits, is much greater than this ratio, and the man with the "cash" idea imagines that they are all insolvent. According to the well settled rules of business transactions, however, there is no insolvency because the banks pay out on checks without default, unless there is a panic and a consequent "run" on the bank, in which case it does become insolvent, or it "bursts," as we commonly say. It is related of Abraham Lincoln, who once held a small post office, that when his term of office expired, and it came to a settling up with the government, that he owed a certain amount of money for postage stamps sold by him during his term of office. Upon a demand for that money, Mr. Lincoln gravely drew out a stocking and poured out of it on the table in front of the inspector a lot of miscellaneous coins and bade the official count them.

The amount exactly equaled the price of the postage stamps. He explained that as fast as he sold the stamps he placed the money in the stocking because it belonged to the government and not to him, and he therefore had no right to use it.

The same idea is illustrated in the case of the Kansas banker, a farmer, who had accumulated considerable money. He started a bank for the accommodation of his neighbors. Very soon everybody for miles around began to deposit their money with him, and when they wanted any they checked it out. One day he refused to pay a check, stating that he had no more money to pay it with, and the bank closed its doors. A bank examiner quickly appeared to investigate the "fraud," and the depositors howled for his blood.

The first thing the examiner did was to open the safe and to his astonishment found it stuffed full of money. Counting it and comparing it with the deposits, he further found to his greater astonishment that every dollar of the deposits was intact. Asked to explain this extraordinary condition of things, the old man said:

"That there money's the depositors'. I paid out all my own money and hain't got any more. I wan't going to be such a rascal as to pay out my depositors' money."

It appeared that as fast as money was deposited with him he tied it up, labeled it with the depositor's name and kept it intact in the safe. It is needless to say that the bank was not insolvent, but he gave up the banking business when he was informed how to do it, because it "scairt" him to handle other people's money.

He was doing a cash business, and had no conception of credit business or credit money, and was entirely unaware of the circulating power of money. He was honest to a painful degree.

Incidentally it may be remarked that our own gov-

ernment is honest, strictly honest, as honest in fact as Abraham Lincoln or the Kansas farmer-banker, but it is a bigoted honesty that stands by while the people of the country are starving and the business of the country is suffering. It is an honesty that is too good for this earth. It is like the bigot who stands beside the bedside of a dying man and permits him to die without the consolations of religion rather than send for a clergyman of another denomination. Physicians of one school of medicine will also do that, rather than permit one of another school to come in and save the patient.

A case in point of honesty occurred quite recently in the city of New York (1898). A man was unjustifiably assaulted by the police and sustained injuries that proved incurable and rendered him unable to care for himself. A clergyman was appointed as his guardian and the result of an action brought by him yielded the sufferer the sum of five thousand dollars in damages. Upon rendering an account of his stewardship, it was found that the cripple had left, out of the five thousand dollars, the sum of \$151.95. All of the rest had gone in two years for nurses, physicians, lawyers, etc. There was no question of dishonesty; on the contrary; it was honesty on the highest possible plane. The nurses, physicians, lawyers and other laborers were paid their wage, and the victim was left only enough to bury himself with. It would not have appeared dishonest to the world if the "ninety-five cents" of the residue had been made an even dollar. If a rascal had had charge of this case, it is not going too far to say that some of these bills would have been cut down to the extent of giving a helpless cripple at least one-half of his five thousand dollars. It is well to be honest, but common sense is not dishonesty.

The railroads of this country owe about five thousand millions of dollars, all of which is represented by credit money in the shape of stocks and bonds, the

government credit money is a drop in the bucket compared with it. Yet the railroads mostly flourish, and they employ and pay a multitude of laborers. Their credit money is of a constantly fluctuating value, the market for which goes up and down, and makes but generally "breaks" those who dabble in it. If, added to the railroads, we take sugar, coal, oil, tobacco, bunting for our great and glorious flag, and everything else all along the line down to milk for unweaned babes, the street railway companies that gather in our nickels, the Italian and Greek padrone companies that monopolize our pushcarts, bootblack and newsstands, there does seem to arise an occasion for a grand "kick" on the part of the American people, who are not politicians nor members of trusts and syndicates, because the government does not at least try to do something for them. It is not satisfactory that the government enact the angelic dodge and refuse to come in and tread where the others do not fear to rush.

But it is not the government that is a myth, a mysterious nonentity: There was a king in France once who said: "Je suis l'état"—I am the State—but they either cut off his head or did something disagreeable to him for saying it. No, it is not the government, and abusing the government accomplishes nothing, it is fighting the air. It is the speculators who stand behind the administration of its affairs and preach honesty and morality to it, until the poor old government loses its head and does not know what to do, and then, like everybody else, does the wrong thing. It is a case of too much honesty, such an extravagant honesty, and so loudly proclaimed from the housetops and in political platforms that it has become open to suspicion.

It is ventured here, that if every official in the nation were to accept bribes, steal, embezzle and do everything else that the political party "out" says the politi-

cal party "in" does, that the government would still be honest if the people are honest. I don't mean the politicians and the speculators, for they cannot be honest or patriotic if they tried, they are afflicted with total depravity, but I do mean the people in general, who are being perpetually hoodwinked, whose expectations are raised to the highest notch and never realized, the rank and file of voters who run after the politicians' band wagon and hurrah for prosperity with empty stomachs, the Egyptian pyramid builders, the Mexican tortilla eaters and the rest. They are the ones who can prevent the government from failing or from becoming decrepit through over honesty, for they have it in their power at any time to turn the rascals out. But rascality is a trivial matter compared with the grievances of the other seventy-five millions of people, less the rascals, who are interested in a financial policy that will bring them some returns. It is certainly not a foolish idea to imagine that the government can adopt a financial policy that will be as successful as that of a railroad company, or a sugar, coal, oil and other trusts. Moreover, it can make its own credit money of a fixed value as it always has done, and the country would prosper under it as it always has prospered. This country was built up to its present height of grandeur on its credit money and the people grew fat upon it, and it was only when it was taken away from them and given to the speculators that the country began to crawfish and the people lost their fat.

The very article which has always been used for speculative purposes—gold—is made the standard, the security for the circulating medium, whereas the productions of the people, staples, labor, silver, are not given a passing thought. The labor of a man is worth so much; then he is entitled to that much circulating medium. He produces so much; then he should have as much circulating medium as

will make the difference between the worth of his labor and the profits on the products of it. That is the quantity of demand and the standard of amount. We say to a man: "Your money is there and you can have it if you earn it." We say to the producer: "There is your money, bring on your products." We say that now, but the trouble is the money is not there.

There is no wealth but money under our system of political economy; it is made the only wealth by our business system. Moreover, money is a production like wheat, iron and other products of the soil extracted by labor, the only difference being the stamp of the government on the metal of the money, which gives it a standard value as a medium of exchange, which is not the case with a bushel of wheat, a yard of silk or a ton of iron, such nomenclature being standards of measure, weight and quantity and never of exchange value. The effort to compare a dollar with a bushel of wheat, a yard of silk, etc., is to distort the idea of the exchange value of money by forcing things incompatible and inconsistent to become affinities where affinity can never exist. Money is the standard of value fixed by the government upon a medium of exchange used to purchase the other products.

Now, money or the material, the gold or silver out of which it is created, being essentially a product of labor, whatever reduces the amount of the production of either gold or silver enhances the value of the money created out of them and gives money a higher exchange value for wheat, etc., and reduces the wages of labor in producing wheat, etc. That is, money buys more wheat and more labor; wheat is lower and wages less. It is forcing one product to compete with another product, or with all the other products, which results disastrously except to the speculators.

If the government should restrict the production of wheat, pianos, boots and shoes, etc., it would undoubtedly have a disastrous effect upon our indus-

tries, but it has not only restricted the product of silver, but has demonetized it altogether and destroyed the labor which produces it, the same as would be destroyed labor in producing wheat, pianos, boots and shoes, in the event of their restriction or prohibition.

CHAPTER XV.

A FINANCIAL PROBLEM.

There is no reason why a financial policy, successful at one time, should not be successful at another time under the same circumstances.

Two persons having an equal amount of money or an equal quantity of goods, wares and merchandise, cannot both make money out of each other. What one gains the other loses. This rule is true of any number of persons, nay, it is applicable to all of the individuals of a nation. It is only when there is an increase of the original capital that there is a legitimate object of commercial pursuit. It is the same when the amounts of original capital are dissimilar, the proportions must be maintained or there is trickery or injustice, not to say robbery.

It is out of the increase or product of a product that spring legitimate business transactions, and, provided the original wealth or capital is not undermined, diminished or destroyed, there can be no limit to the accumulations which every individual is entitled to make.

Assuming a man to have \$50,000 in money—real money—or its equivalent worth and value in goods, wares and merchandise, and he permits inroads to be made into his capital or “start” in business without replacement; soon he will be left without anything. The money, the goods, are not lost or destroyed, some other individual has them. The quantity of value or worth remains the same unless, as in

the case of a total destruction by fire of uninsured goods or the absolute loss of coin money by dropping it into the sea, for instance. Credit money, such as promissory notes, bank bills, etc., cannot be destroyed, their apparent destruction being so much gain to their creator. The individual who publicly burned ten thousand dollars in United States Treasury notes to spite the government, added ten thousand dollars to the wealth of the government and committed financial suicide. Had he thrown into the sea ten thousand dollars in gold or silver coin it would have been a dead loss and nobody's gain, for, although gold and silver coin are not based upon any intrinsic value, they are the redemption money of credit money. So it is that when an uninsured stock of goods, wares and merchandise, a thousand bushels of grain, a thousand sheep, etc., are destroyed there is a dead loss and nobody's gain, because such products are the basis of credit money. The credit money remains, but the redemption product thereof being lost, insolvency ensues.

Following out this line of argument to its legitimate conclusion, it is clear that money, either in coin or credit money, should equal the amount of the products that may be exchangeable for either or all. This is actually the case in every day transactions. The greater part of the business of the country to-day is transacted on credit money in the shape of individual bills and notes, because there is not sufficient government bills and notes to operate with. Hence it is that because the government will not provide a sufficient supply of stable currency for a circulating medium, the business of the country is driven to engage in an irresponsible and uncertain personal banking business, as bad as the old system of private banking, when the credit money issue of private banks varied from par to ten cents on a dollar. The financial panic of 1857 is within the memory of many now living. It was

brought about by permitting credit money issued by private banks to be the basis of commercial transaction on the mistaken supposition that it was cash. Instead of their own bills and notes, people used the bills and notes of private, irresponsible banks, whose notes of issue were limited only by the speed of a printing press engaged in turning them out. These banks were swept out of existence because their issue was based almost exclusively upon speculative probabilities, and, to use an American phrase, "You can't bank on a probability."

This was the condition of affairs in 1861, when the government was reduced to great straits to pay the expenses of the War of the Rebellion. The government needed money and credit, but there was neither to be had, for the reasons above mentioned. Coin had disappeared, not because the government needed it, for there would not have been enough coin in any event to pay cash, but because the vicious system of private bank credit money had brought about its entire absorption by home and foreign speculators. There was a wide margin of profit for speculators in seventy-five or ninety per centum discount, which was the difference between the actual and face value of the then credit money. Confronted by its own necessities, the government was forced to do, for its own preservation, what it should always and may always do for the benefit of its people—it issued its own credit money, and in such enormous quantities that the political economists of the world were paralyzed and predicted ruin to the American Republic.

With the issue of government credit money speculation began again, but the government was saved and established upon a higher financial plane than ever before.

To turn aside a moment and ask a pertinent question: If the government by monopolizing an entire, enormous issue of credit money, was enabled to save

the nation and place the country upon a more exalted basis than any other nation in the world, why can it not also save the people of the nation and place them upon a higher plane of financial prosperity? The question is always one of sufficient money. The answer will appear hereafter.

But to return to what was intended to be said: The inevitable and mysterious "gold" began to burn in the pockets of home and foreign speculators, patriots hastened to transform the blood of the people of the country into profits. If any person desired gold—which was not needed, except for speculation, or to gratify his appetite with imported patê de foie gras, he was obliged to buy it just as one would buy bread and meat (a curious illustration of the idea that gold is standard money), and at one time the yellow metal commanded two dollars and sixty-six cents in Treasury notes for every alleged dollar in gold. Some said that gold had gone up in price—how could it if it is standard money and not merchandise like all other products of actual money? Others again argued that "greenbacks" had gone down in value—how could they if government credit money has no value?

This seemed to be a dreadful condition of affairs. The wise men of the earth worried over our future, our own learned political economists who had mapped out a different policy for the government to pursue, one based upon that of a monarchy, shook their heads mysteriously and speculated in gold. But strangely enough, and contrary to all precedent, everybody had money and also bread and meat. There were no poor and a case of hunger or starvation was unknown. Everything in the way of circulating medium was in paper, from the five-cent scrip up. The cent was too small to be considered at all; it was ignored, and if a man wanted one apple or five apples he laid down a five-cent scrip. Prices increased, became "inflated," as the suffering friends of the poor call it, until flour

stood at sixteen dollars a barrel, sugar at twenty cents a pound and other things in proportion. But mark this significant fact! Everybody had sixteen dollars or the twenty cents to buy flour or sugar with. We were living under the French "assignats" system, our currency was the old Continental currency, whence arose the expression of worthlessness, "Not worth a Continental damn," but we were hilarious over it. The industries and agricultural interests of the country were stimulated to an extraordinary degree; the laborer sang merrily over his work and the buzz of wheels and clang of hammers resounded all over the land. It is conceded even by the speculators that the country never enjoyed such an era of prosperity, and we became the wonder of the world. The slaves of other nations saw in us an opportunity to get rid of their shackles, and they did free themselves by flying to our shores. The labor unions of the day were social organizations; they were not struggling for bread and life then, nor trying to find out why in a country of plenty there is neither work nor bread. There was no hunger or misery and no suffering except the heart pangs of widows and orphans or relatives weeping for those who shed their blood in a war the pressing demands of which FORCED THE GOVERNMENT INTO A FINANCIAL POLICY WHICH RESULTED IN THE GREATEST PROSPERITY EVER ENJOYED BY ANY NATION SINCE THE WORLD BEGAN TO MOVE.

But we were getting too fat and the same old canker worm began its work. The home and foreign speculators, who had forced their gold up and the credit money of the government down, demanded their pound of flesh, and they got it, together with the blood of their victim with his moribund body thrown in. There was no Portia, no just Judge, it was Shylock who was at one and the same time judge, jury and executioner.

A veteran newspaper man whose ideas of political economy were limited to the raising of potatoes at a cost of two dollars and a half each and milk at a higher cost than pommery sec, trumpeted forth the cry: "The way to resume is to resume." The high moral ground for the government to take in the resumption of specie payments, as laid down by the moralists to be benefited by it, was that the government faith had been pledged and that faith must be kept. The exact pound of flesh must be yielded. The administrators of the affairs of the government forgot that other and prior high moral contract, to wit, the contract between the people and the government, they even forgot the maxim of its own political platform, "The greatest good to the greatest number," and wandered away into the darkness and miseries of the greatest good to the smallest number. The speculator triumphed, the rich became richer and the poor poorer. Does any man seek for proof? Let him look about him—*Si monumentum quaeris, circumspice*. When the government's faith had to be kept, and the speculators' pockets filled with wealth, how loudly was proclaimed the fact that this being a government of the people, the morals of the whole people were involved, but when it is the people themselves who ask something for their benefit it becomes a government of some other kind. It does make a difference whose ox is gored.

So it happened that Shylock got his pound of flesh out of the nation, and it was so easily done by the "moral" argument that he has been carving up the corpse of the body politic ever since. We have reached the point mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. The capital of individuals is being eaten into and they have no increase. That possibility is destroyed, as is a whole warehouse of grain by rats who might have enough for themselves and to spare for

others, but prefer to destroy what they cannot consume.

“One day a dog with a piece of meat in his mouth crossing a brook of clear water saw his reflection in the limpid stream. Thinking it another dog that had something, his cupidity persuaded him to acquire it. Wherefore, dropping the meat which he had, he attempted to snatch the other.”

“A farmer, after swinging his scythe all day in the grain field, was on his way home with his scythe over his shoulder. Crossing a clear stream on a narrow bridge, he espied a large fish apparently asleep and within his reach. Thinking only of what a nice dinner the fish would make, he gently raised his scythe as high as he could so as to give more force to his blow, intending to kill the fish with the end of the handle. In turning and twisting about to get a good aim, it so happened that he brought the sharp blade of the scythe across the back of his extended neck. With all his strength he brought the scythe handle down. The fish merely moved out of the way and went to sleep again, but the farmer. . . . ”

“Verbum sapientiae sufficit.”

CHAPTER XVI.

LABOR.

An insight into the nature of labor and some facts connected with its character as a scapegoat.

The labor problem is the most exasperating one of modern times; exasperating because it is so complicated and apparently so impossible of solution.

Labor in general is here referred to because there is no reason for disputing the theory that he who uses his brains as a bread-winner and not for speculation is as much of a laborer as he who employs muscle only.

It is useless to claim as a practical principle of political economy that wealth is the product of labor, for labor possesses no known method of enforcing such claim against wealth, it being a mythical claim, like the *damnum absque injuria* in law; that is to say, a wrong without a remedy, or a claim barred by the Statute of Limitations—a moral obligation, but no legal means of enforcing it.

It is a fact, however, that labor produces wealth or money, which is capital, although when capital has been once accumulated and no longer in the hands of labor, it ceases its connection with labor, becoming independent capital, or a free product, which may command labor. A curious outcome of the visionary theories of dreamers, in that the creature has become the creator.

All things have conspired within the past twenty-five years to set at naught or overturn supposedly fixed principles which were established for the regulation of

men in their relations with one another, notably so in the matter of labor. The advent of so-called "Female Emancipation" has crowded out of employment a multitude of able bodied men, deprived them of occupations they were fitted for, and in which they were able to earn a compensation sufficient to enable them to perform the social duty of marrying, and obey the divine command to increase and multiply, and their places filled by women at low wages. To such an extent, indeed, that the sentimentalists who brought about the culmination of Female Emancipation are seriously advocating compulsory laws in relation to marriage because men are not inclined to marry. Chinese and other contract and pauper labor, permitted under our treaties with foreign nations, in despite of the welfare of our own citizens, including the Italian padrone system, have added their quota to the distressing burden which labor is compelled to shoulder. Add to these also prison labor, sweat shops, labor saving machinery, and the consumption of about one thousand millions of dollars' worth of imported goods, wares and merchandise created by the cheap labor of foreign nations per annum, and labor is very close to the alternative of crime or pauperism.

In the so-called learned professions, the law and medicine, the same condition of things is observable. With politicians forming a syndicate that offers an unsurmountable barrier to the rank and file, any kind of a lawyer will do the business, for it is not law but "pull" that is required. In fact, there are only a few lawyers who may hope for anything but the slimmest returns for their legal education. It is fraud, chicanery, trickery; the defrauding of creditors, the robbery of widows and orphans; it is the shyster and pettifogger who browbeats the man of honesty and learning, and easy-going, facile, political judges look on and laugh, while a servile press puffs up the charlatan and

mountebank and denounces the man of steady habits as, too slow for this age.

In the medical profession, hedged about and hampered by professional termagant nurses, there exists the same necessity for "pull" as in the case of the lawyer. Cabals of medical societies bar the doors against Hippocrates and Galen, and get no further in the science of medicine and surgery than the discovery of microbes of inoffensive parentage, and the removal of a patient's vermicular appendix.

Indeed, every occupation is run by a ring, and those outside of it are the Lazaruses who gather crumbs that fall from Dives' table.

Writers and authors should not be omitted from the category of labor, for they, more than any other laborers, are at the mercy of others. Their destiny is in a bad way, for their toil is not of any fixed value and does not receive any certain compensation. A man who digs a ditch receives his pay at once whether the ditch is immediately serviceable or not, and the butcher who sells meat does not have to wait for the price of it until it has proved acceptable to the purchaser. But the author's screeds are accepted and he lives on "wind" until the same are published. Certain cliques and rings determine who shall or shall not receive compensation for their labor, and syndicates prevent an American author from gaining any prestige or renown by the suppression of his authorship; they have even grown so bold that they determine who shall or shall not succeed in the business of book publishing. It is the universal rule that unless it be an English, Scotch, French, Russian, Norwegian, Dutch or any other but an American name, "We do not care for the manuscripts of unknown authors," as if an author could become known unless his manuscripts are accepted. No, this is a mistake, notoriety is open to him in the advertising columns of newspapers at regular advertising rates.

Theology, as a profession, is not included in the category of labor, for although compensated, that compensation is charitable, and received in the shape of donations, tithes and contributions; as well include the tax collector under the head of "labor." Labor, properly speaking, does not ask charity, it demands work.

History does not furnish us with the details of the practical working of the system of political economy in vogue among the ancient Egyptians, but we suspect that the builders of the Pyramids, that is the toilers, were slaves, their wage small and their food insufficient from our modern point of view. It mattered little to their taskmasters whether they lived or died, there were always others to supply any deficiency. It is probable that the slave class constituted the bulk of the population, and from them were drawn the soldiery, a slight elevation of condition, but there their progress began and ended. We read about their kings and harlots, just as at some future period of the world's history Macaulay's citizen of New Zealand will read about our prominent politicians and lives of illustrious men and women published at fifty dollars each in Turkey morocco bound books, but we do not read about any particular struggles made by the Egyptian slaves to free themselves; perhaps they did not think of revolting, or did not express any universal dissatisfaction, nor can we tell whether they would have succeeded if they had turned on their oppressors. We assume that they were satisfied, for we have their parallel at this end of the century in the people of an adjoining republic.

In Mexico the native Mexican, that is the descendants of the Aztecs, Toltecs, Mayas and what not, are satisfied with twenty-five cents per day in Mexican silver, which are equal to twelve and one-half cents American money. They are not worth much more than that, and the question of humanity is not an ele-

ment in the modern system of political economy regarding labor. They live, however, and grow fat, moreover they perpetuate other slaves pursuant to the divine command, and urged thereto by social laws and customs to make more cheap labor. They thrive on their wage, for their wants are few and simple, their bill of fare is invariably the same daily, as it was when Cortes dealt them out rations as a conquered people, to wit: tortillas, beans, and occasionally, on feast days, chili con carne.

They all save money out of their wages, and either bury it or gamble it away. No man ever saw a Mexican Indian whose pockets did not jingle with coin. They do not worry about financial questions and do not meddle with the affairs of government, all that is attended to for them by the politicians just the same as our affairs are managed by our politicians, although we still make a few feeble objections.

These two extremes, the one of remote antiquity, the other of modern times in a neighboring republic, are referred to, to the exclusion of all other conditions that have ever existed or that now exist, for the purpose of showing that it is not only the system of government, but also the submission of the individuals to lowly habits, that creates those conditions. To refer to other nations would involve an inquiry into the circumstances surrounding existing conditions, which are totally different from and adverse to our own circumstances, and therefore inapplicable to the United States, in which some very wise and shrewd statesmen have repeatedly said there is coming the naked question of work or starve.

As was said in another chapter, the totally different circumstances and conditions surrounding the American citizen, his ability to find means of obtaining bread, and his equal facilities for acquiring wealth, or money, or remaining in abject poverty, demand a new

and different system of political economy than would be suitable for any other country.

There is no system of political economy that was ever suggested, no measure ever broached for the relief of mankind that was, is, or ever can be capable of universal application, because the various nations of the earth are governed by different and antagonistic systems. It is the government of every country that fixes its political economy and makes its rules and principles fit the administration of its own affairs and not the affairs of any other country. To attempt to adjust them upon some universal standard of application is a labor of folly. As well ask the nations of the earth to change their form of government and fall in with the sentimental ideas of visionaries.

We are, however, attempting to fit foreign conditions to our own system, and even the labor unions listen to the Sirens of foreign unions, with the result that failure has more or less attended their efforts as a natural consequence. The sensation of hunger is identically the same in the United States as it is in England, Armenia or Cuba, but that effect is produced by different causes, and the means and opportunities of preventing it or of entirely obviating it are more plentiful here than there, so what good can their systems accomplish? We are advancing, not retreating. If we were to throw overboard all of these foreign interlopers, who know nothing about the great principles that underlie our system of government, and seek an explanation here of the reasons why the cause of labor has not practically advanced, and why the conflict between labor and capital is as bitter as it ever has been, there might be some progress made and the strife between capital and labor become less bitter, and the rough, angular edges which prevent fraternizing smoothed away.

The delegate from England, Germany, Russia, France, South Africa or Timbuctoo may talk to us

until he is speechless without being able to give us any valuable information or practical ideas or advice. He does not know our system, but we know his, for our system is inclusive, whereas his is exclusive. In the United States WE are the people, indeed; to them in England or elsewhere, they are the three drunken tailors of Tooley Street, who issued a proclamation beginning: "We, the people of England." With us it is fact; with them, absurdity.

It is well for a man to know the enemies of his own household, for that knowledge will enable him to take the proper measure to insure a quite and peaceable dominion, if not by persuasion, then by driving out the disturbers. It is on that account that so many evils have been pointed out in this book, not by way of blemishes in our system, for there are none, but as preparatory to curing them. A backslider from Christianity does not mar the purity of the founder of Christianity, or condemn religion.

CHAPTER XVII.

LABOR.

(Continued.)

The connection between Labor and Money; how that connection is severed and the consequences thereof.

There never existed a dollar of money that made itself. It is the product of labor, and does not grow spontaneously like trees and plants. Even in the latter case all consumable things come from labor; the sowing of the seed, the harvesting of crops and the gathering of fruits. Men are not fed as was the prophet Elijah, by the birds. Labor makes the powder and shot with which to kill the birds it eats, and Elijah is the capitalist and millionaire fed by the bird of labor that is killed with its own powder and shot.

When a man is "making" money, as the saying goes, he is either earning it by the labor of his own hands, employing labor to gain it for them, speculating and scheming to get it away from others without earning it, runs a charity organization which begs it, or is in the business of embezzlement.

Speculating is done by means of coin, credit money or its equivalent, and it is from speculation that enormous fortunes are made suddenly. Under our system, as it is now administered, labor can not acquire wealth or even a competence. It must leave the workbench and the spade and pick and turn speculator to enjoy the blessings of our present financial policy.

The amount of money deposited in the savings banks of this country is estimated at about two thousand millions of dollars, the great majority of which belongs to labor, widows and orphans, and other dependent people. This fact is proudly pointed at, and loudly shouted from the housetops as an undeniable answer to "calamity howlers." "We are a thrifty people; nobody need suffer want; we are enjoying an era of great prosperity; we are progressing with giant strides," and other claptrap. The reader will find all these oratorical evidences of satiety in political platforms, speeches, and essays of highly fed and salaried clergymen and people who live down a deep well, and therefore do not see the sunlight. But when he turns away from oratory and buncombe and takes a walk through the streets of any of our cities, or attends a meeting of our labor unions, he does not find that sleek fatness the wind of words indicates. When he does find financial obesity, that exudes dollars and doughnuts from every pore, it is in the luxurious apartments of the capitalists and the so-called millionaire. There is where the prosperity is, and there is where it remains. On the one side plethoric rotundity, on the other a bag of poverty-stricken bones.

How does it happen that with two thousand millions of dollars in the savings banks, presumably the money of the laborer, of the poor and of the widow and orphan—for capitalists and millionaires do not deposit their savings in the alleged banks of the poor—that the owner of it must wearily tramp our streets and frequently commits suicide in despair of getting it? Why does the guardian possess a double chin and "belly with fat capon lined," while his ward must scrimp along at a fifteen-cent restaurant, or gather food from our garbage barrels?

The reason is not far to find. The money is not there, it is in the hands of the capitalists, millionaires and speculators. Of a truth, and in the nature of

things, it can not and could not be there. In the first place, there is not money enough or bank notes in the country to reach that amount, and in the second place, if there were enough, and it should be locked up, it would bankrupt the entire nation and not leave enough circulating medium to buy powder and shot for the capitalist, millionaire and speculator to blow their brains out with. It is all borrowed, and individual credit money deposited as security for the credit money of the government. Think of the financial policy that makes a man's promissory note good security for a government note.

It is the story of the ham mentioned in the second chapter on "Money," but in this case the capitalists and the others not only get the one ham, but all the hams, and keep them, selling them back to the producer at a high price, or a high rate of interest. The producer becomes the consumer of his own products, and thus the laborer may be said to be "eating off his own head."

The money that labor has scrimped to save and put away in a bank for a rainy day is borrowed by the capitalists and others, who kindly allow part of it to dribble back again into the hands of the producers, provided they pay a high rate of interest for the inestimable privilege of using some of their own money.

If it were possible for all of the depositors of savings banks, and other banks for that matter, to simultaneously demand their money—they are prevented by law from so doing, for it would ruin the bankers, capitalists, millionaires and speculators if the people once got possession of their money, and the case must necessarily be, therefore, a supposititious one—they would get only a small percentage of their money if they got any at all, because it would not be there, and because the individual credit money left in its place as security for its return is practically worthless, it is what a poker sharp would call "bluff." It would be in

the hands of capitalists, bankers, brokers, millionaires, the lah-de-dah element, the American citizens who buy a thousand million of dollars' worth of foreign, cheap labor pâtés de foie gras; who smuggle diamonds and laces through our custom house; who expend two and a half millions of dollars of it in luxurious palaces and grounds and get them assessed at three hundred thousand dollars; who, when it is too warm for their delicate skins in New York City, Chicago, San Francisco or elsewhere, hie away in their elegantly equipped yachts for foreign climes, with their sisters and their cousins and their aunts, or with those belonging to someone else; who swim in champagne and indecency in public restaurants; who buy their places in legislative bodies; who send pantaloons and flannel shirts to the sweating tribes of the South Sea Islands, frying pans to the Cubans, wheelbarrows to the Africans and their kind regards to the Armenians and Siberian exiles. All of it is your money, good neighbor, the product of your labor, of your sweat, and of your aching bones. You will find somewhere in the above schedule, which may be enlarged ad infinitum, several reasons why you do not and cannot get your money back again, and you will be able to make a staggering guess that the additions you make to your deposits come out of the increase of your own money, which you earn over and over again, but derive no benefit from. That is why you do not get rich, neighbor, and it is why the capitalists and the other fellows do. You do not even reach a competency, or a sufficiency for a rainy day. Here is the reason of that also:

If your poor little bankbook shows enough to make it worth while to get it away from you, enough drops of sweat—beg pardon—money, to make a small bucketful, the idea will come to you to procure a home. The idea is not original with you, it began in the Garden of Eden, and it is called "The Temptation and Fall." You have not enough money to buy a home

outright, so you must run in debt. It does not occur to you that a financial system that will not enable you to earn enough money to avoid running in debt at one time will not enable you to get enough money to pay that debt at another time. So you listen to the voice of the charmer, who is willing to take what you have got and wait for the balance secured by a mortgage on your future sweat and blood and bones. The same gentleman who appeared to Mother Eve in the Garden whispers in your ear that you ought to have a home all your own and save rent. A grand idea that, "to save rent," and you save it by paying in interest on your loan more than your rent would come to. Your friend above mentioned has just the home you need, a nice, cunning little home, got it by accident at a sacrifice. Your wife, who knows no more about the wiles of the serpent that did her predecessor, Eve, is delighted with the nice vines running all over the front porch—they cost about twenty-five cents in bulbs and seeds, and then did their own growing without further expense to the owner. Time is of no consequence, take your own time about paying, long time on deferred payments are preferred because you do not feel the vivisection so much.

You are now put in the mill, on the nether millstone, and the upper stone laid on you gently at first. You prefer a banker to a Building Association, because you can see for yourself that in those beneficent institutions a man makes money by not borrowing it and loses it by borrowing, besides being saddled with a mortgage. To the banker, therefore. It happens to be hard times, so he says, and you have no other way of finding out, and he cannot spare any money just now. This means, to a man up a tree, that he has the money, but cannot make enough out of it if he lends it, it would be unlawful. But he gives you the address of a broker—all banks have their brokers for the purpose—which broker he thinks, but is not sure, may

have some money to lend. To the broker, therefore. This gentleman, for some inscrutable reason, is always blessed with a very prominent nose, and talks to you as if you were trying to cheat him in a second-hand clothes deal. Money is tight—always the case when it comes to borrow it, moreover it is very scarce—but you can have a “leettle” at a large discount and if you are willing to pay his commissions for the great trouble he will be put to to get it. You are bound to have a home or “burst,” so you fall in, drink in everything like an innocent babe. The broker puts on his hat, goes around the corner to the same bank you just left, gets the money without any security, for he is in the secret employ of the bank, and after you have expended about half of your savings in commissions, discount, advance interest, deed, mortgage, fees for searching records and lawyer’s fees with notary’s fees, you get the money. No, you don’t get the money, you can’t be trusted with it, you might run away or spend it for the necessaries of life. You get a building contract, under which the money is paid out to the contractor recommended by the broker, as your home goes up. You do not get enough to buy your wife an ice cream soda, the baby a pair of new shoes, or yourself a “stogie,” but you are progressing in the direction of a home, which, unknown to you, for you are not blessed with prophetic vision, means the Alms House, for there is the foreclosure sure to come. You are in the hands and at the mercy of our great financial system. You do not understand why you are foreclosed and thrown out, and you change your politics, voting for some other party than the last one you voted for, but you do not get your home back, the juggernaut of American finance rolls along, crushing out the breath, blood and bones of its victims without cessation.

Reader, do not imagine this to be always the case. It is common though, too common. It is like the lottery business, which allows some to draw prizes to

encourage the others to come in, but the prizes are paid out of your own money, the projectors not having any of their own, for the very good reason that they are not laborers, and, therefore, have not earned any. It is always the money produced by labor that is used for speculation, as it is the money of other people that makes bankers rich.

The people who bury their money because they are afraid to trust it to banks are not very much out of the way of the truth. What they lose by burglary and mice is insignificant compared with the amount they lose through banks, brokers and speculators. What a curious spectacle, laws intended for the benefit of the people operating to their detriment! There is not very much mutuality in the protection afforded the dear people.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LABOR.

(Continued.)

Herein many things it would be well for Labor to omit. Labor should look up, not down.

“The laborer is worthy of his hire.”

“The destruction of the poor is their poverty.”

The evils that have befallen the man whose labor brings him sustenance, instead of being mitigated, have gone on increasing of late years, until it is safe to say that the lot of the laborer is more deplorable than ever, and no one seems able to alleviate his condition or suggest a suitable remedy to cure its miseries.

Not that remedies are lacking, for the laborer may be likened to a sick man requiring medical assistance. His physicians are legion and the remedies proposed by them as infallible cures are as diverse as they are multitudinous, and the more numerous the more pitiable the condition of the patient. Hence it may be conjectured with truth that the patient having been brought to a moribund condition by too many physicians and remedies, he is merely a subject of experiment for quacks, who are ignorant of the nature of their own remedies and unacquainted with the constitution of their patient, or rather victim.

Or it may be assumed by way of illustration that the laborer is a penitent sinner, seeking that greatest of all goods and highest of all human aims, the salvation of his soul. He seeks the counsel and advice of a

variety of apostles and prophets, many of whom indeed thrust themselves upon him under the specious plea of pure benevolence. But instead of having his doubts removed or finding relief from the consuming fire of remorse, the twin companion of repentance, he falls into despair, through too much diversity of opinion and sheer inability to reconcile them. Moreover, his doubts concerning his ultimate abiding place in the nether world are increased. He discovers the various dogmatic opinions to be, or he would so discover them to be if he used a modicum of reason and common sense, all shifting ideas of apostate apostles and false prophets; the blind leading the blind, and all falling into the same ditch of muddled intellects, emasculated common sense and self-interest.

The reason is plain. The labor question has been evolved into a general system, and like all other systems in which the cause of the individual is lost in that of an aggregation acting in a corporate capacity, it stands in need of a radical revolution to purify it from its tyranny and from the unyielding dogmas upon which it is based. As in the case of the poor, "their poverty is their destruction," so it is that the destruction of the laborer is in his labor elevated into a dogma upon the ideas and under the manipulations of his leaders by whatever name they may be designated, whether "Trades Unions," "Federations of Labor," "Knights of Labor" or other meaningless nomenclature.

During about sixteen years of persistent struggle to ameliorate their condition under the auspices of the Trades Unions and other leaders, the rank and file of laborers in the United States, in bread for themselves and families, have expended the very pretty sum of \$190,493,382 in strikes and lockouts, with only a loss to their employers of \$94,825,837. A net gain to the employers of \$95,667,545, whereas the laborers have thrown away the sum total without any gain. Add

to this princely sum the costs and expenses of about twelve thousand unions with an army of officials, walking delegates, boycotters, helpers, arguers, patrolmen, etc., etc., none of whom are apostles, moralizers, theorizers or liberators except for hire, together with the sums paid for the initiation of a million or so of members, their monthly dues, contributions, traveling expenses of numberless delegates to numberless conventions, etc., etc., and the sum total is so appalling that anybody not a member of a labor union hypnotized by his "Grand Worthy" this and "Most Serene" that and the other thing, would stand aghast at the concentrated systematic folly of continuing it and recall that old saying, "A fool and his money soon parted," as well as consider the slavery of capital a blessed relief.

Nor is this the end of the financial dysentery that is gradually and surely killing the patient. It is true that certain results have been attained and these are pointed at with pride as so beneficial as to be well worth the sacrifices that have been made. But, are they? With the vast amount of political "pull" lavished upon legislative bodies whose members had no other recourse but to enact certain laws or suffer political ostracism, the suffering workingman was still further assisted along the road of eventual impoverishment in a variety of hidden ways. Have the almost universal "Eight hour" laws, "Child and female labor" laws, the repeal and abolition of the "Apprentice" system and various other pretended benefits accomplished anything but loss in wages? Are not all of them based upon the same foundation of bat-like stupidity? What has the vast army of laborers not lost by a reduction of the hours of labor? It has certainly cut off one-fifth of its aggregate wage, which to a million of men means a good round sum, which the most inflated plutocrat would not see his way clear to do. There have been many conflicts to compel the

payment of ten hours' wages for eight hours' work, but the victory has always and will always be gained by those who refuse to pay for what they do not get, and there is no legislature in the land who would dare enact such a law—it could not. And so one might go on all along the line and point out the fact that not only has the cause of labor not been benefited by legislative action, but has suffered detriment and loss. Whatever benefit has accrued has gone into the pockets of a multitude who would starve at any occupation in which they were compelled to labor, and these have reaped emoluments beyond their wildest dreams and which have hitherto been supposed to be the exclusive prerogatives of princes of the royal blood and plutocrats, and this they have accomplished by transforming the labor question into a system of which they are the managers. The laborer is certainly a well and easily plucked victim. So easily indeed is he gulled and hoodwinked that it is almost a crime to do it, and were it not for his anxious willingness to be plucked, it would be highway robbery. It is the element of free will that takes the whole matter out of anybody's business, which would probably be the result if the laborer did not so spasmodically disturb the peace and serenity of others with his loud complaints in petty matters.

No, the accepted agitation of the labor question has not bettered the condition of the workingman by erecting his cause into a system without a policy, any more than prohibition has decreased the manufacture and consumption of whiskey and beer; reformed politics destroyed a scintilla of corruption; the Sunday laws increased the pious observance of the first day of the week or added to church membership, or the loud outcry against sin from malignant pulpits purified morals or closed the gates of Hades. None of them have ever or will ever succeed in bettering human conditions or making them purer, but have always and will al-

ways make them worse and more deplorable. The same results have followed the attempted forcible solutions of the labor question through the quackery displayed in the treatment of it. It is because none of them are based upon the proper foundation of reason, common sense and the inalienable rights of man. They split upon the same rock as all laws and systems seeking to enforce sumptuary laws and compelling morality, purity and honesty. They are sought to be made the rule of conduct; to override conscience and contracts, and so they bring nothing but penury, want, poverty and starvation.

Is not the cause of labor just, and is not the redemption of the laborer from the shackles of slavery and the salvation of his family from the pangs of hunger an honorable and meritorious object? None more just or more meritorious, that is true. But it is easy to justify the application of a wrong remedy by the statement of a true proposition. It may be stated as coming from the lips of every Christian clergyman that whoso dieth not in the Christian faith shall be damned, therefore to convert him to the way of salvation his property must be confiscated, he must be racked, boiled in a cauldron of pitch, broiled on a gridiron, stoned and otherwise induced to save his immortal soul. These things have all been done to demonstrate the necessity of the soul's salvation, and are being done to-day, not so openly as heretofore, but quite as effectively, for it is what always comes from systematic bigotry and fanaticism of any kind, whether it be called religion or the labor question.

You are not required or asked to starve, man! You are required to act up to the lights and energies within you, and you are also required and bound to permit every other man to do the same without your interference. Your cause is right; your manifold grievances demand redress and they would have been remedied were it not for your system. Here is an

illustration which will be understood with a little cool and careful thought:

Mr. John Doe is an iron worker worth three dollars a day. Being a single man, his wages supply his ordinary wants with a few dollars over to put in some savings bank against a rainy day; withal he is a temperate man. The law permits him and society and religion urges him to marry, which, of course, he does, a proceeding which divides his wages into halves, and he then becomes a dollar and a half man, having a double expense. Some landlord gets more rent; a grocer, a new customer, and the dry goods trade has increased. John becomes pinched and wants more wages, but does not receive any increase; he is worth three dollars and no more and to give him more would be going into charity and not business; moreover, he is a worker and not a beggar. It should have been stated that when our friend Doe was married his savings were exhausted in paying a fee to some magistrate or clergyman for performing the ceremony and entertaining the respective friends of the bride and groom, because it would have been mean not to do so on such a joyous occasion. By and by comes the first born, introducing a physician, medicine, nurse, and, perhaps, a girl to do the housework. Doe himself may lay off a day or two to take care of his wife; if he does he pays just three dollars per day for the privilege. If Doe and his wife are Christians the little one has a christening to the further increase of some clergyman's systematic emoluments, and for the benefit of mutual friends at the christening. John's savings being gone, he borrows from the future. He has now become a dollar a day man; his clothes show wear and appear a trifle shabby; he is also run down at the heels. He does not look up at the sun with his old pride of strength, for his burden drags his shoulders down. Still, he continues to plod along, and, according to the requirements of society and the re-

ligious instructions of pious people, adds another little waif to his family circle, and still others, bringing in more doctors, more medicine, more everything but wages. John becomes desperate and demands higher wages on the ground that he cannot support his family on the usual three dollars, but his employer refuses.

"No, John," says the boss, "you are only worth three dollars a day. I am not to blame if you had so little sense as to go and get married instead of remaining single. You have taken the burden upon yourself and now you want me to help you bear it. No, go to your advisers in the matter."

This reasoning seems conclusive to John, who makes up his mind that he was a fool, but as there is no help for it he must bear the burden like an honest man. He meets a walking delegate and is surprised to learn from him that his old employer is a heartless tyrant because he will not pay the wages of four for the earnings of one, no matter who's to blame.

"I tell you," says the walking delegate, "wages must be in accordance with the needs of every man; that's what his labor's worth. The law and society force you to marry, and religion says you must multiply. It would be a pretty state of things, now, wouldn't it, if a man has to be punished or permitted to starve for doing what the law and the Almighty says he must do? See here, my boy, you must join the union or you won't hold the job you've got much longer; there's them that want it bad enough. I'll propose your name and you'll only have to pay twenty-five dollars initiation fee and your monthly dues and occasional contributions to pay expenses and to help out the boys not working. You'll be all right, the union will fix you."

And it does fix him. Instead of buying bread he pays his money into the union, which seems to have an army of men out of work, to whom his contributions go towards supporting.

John tells his story to the union and it raises a storm of indignation. "What!" they all exclaim, "pay a man only three dollars and him with a family on his hands!"

As a matter of principle a strike is ordered and for several months John does not get any wages at all, but as a substitute the union allows him five dollars a week. To eke out a living his wife, never very strong, takes in plain sewing or washes out. The children neglected, poorly fed and clad, are taken sick and die, but are buried with great pomp by the union in full regalia, but the children remain dead. Overwork sends the wife to the hospital a confirmed invalid, while John takes to drink. So our friend has gone back to the same point he started from years ago with the difference that he has killed three children, ruined one woman and increased by one the vast army of drunkards. It never occurs to him that he may have been to blame in the slightest degree, or that his wife and children could have starved to death more comfortably on three dollars a day than on nothing. When maudlin drunk he weeps and wonders who's to blame.

Labor is fighting windmills instead of shutting off the power that keeps the sails in motion ready to unhorse it; it is following the methods of the Prohibition party which attacks the poor saloon man and leaves the rich distiller to flood the land with rot gut; it is worrying at the spigot without noticing the wide open bung.

CHAPTER XIX.

LABOR.

(Concluded.)

What will happen if Labor would act instead of talk.

I believe that the future welfare of this nation lies in the proper, speedy solution of the labor question, and that labor itself is the only power able and competent to solve it. Without its aid we are following along the same lines that all other nations have followed, by the following of which the greatest and most powerful of them have sunk beneath the sands of time and disappeared, leaving behind them nothing but a horrid memory, a nightmare. The old ideas of government are effete, dead, and the living ideals are to be found only in the United States. From the beginning labor has been looked upon as a mere stepping stone to wealth and power, and upon the back of prostrate labor have walked the great of the earth, lash in hand, to keep it prostrate.

It does not require any learned disquisition from the pen of a political economist to tell us that labor is feared, not because it is the producer of wealth, but because the conscience of men pricks them with the knowledge that when labor shall understand its true position and power, it will take its proper place as the creator of wealth and compel wealth to descend from its usurped throne. It is a case of usurpation; the creature, wealth, has taken upon itself the rôle of the producer, its creator, and not until the situation shall

have been reversed can there be any settlement of the question.

It is because of the false position assumed by wealth, its usurpation of the functions of labor, that it is compelled to maintain that position by force, calling to its aid a false system of education which engenders prejudice and establishes false and deceptive theories as infallible dogmas. Learned dreamers and pseudo scientists are seduced away from the living question by flattery, or by the alluring baits held out to them by wealth, and tempted, they fall back, after a few feeble struggles, into the old ruts that have never led to the least possible good, but the following of which has brought ruin and desolation upon the most powerful nations, and is breeding decay in those still surviving. The germ of decadence need not find congenial soil in this country, for it is the only nation where the conditions which surround the labor question are favorable for a final solution. And it is the first time in the history of the world when labor has had opportunities to solve its own problems. It has always been the master who made terms with his servants, now there are no servants.

The hands of labor are not paralyzed in this country, for here a working man may hold up his head and look squarely at the sun. If he looks down, and his glance is furtive and he shambles along with the gait of a peon, it is because he feels still clinging to him the dead and useless barnacles of the effete, decaying systems of the old world. All these were stricken from his limbs when the tocsin of Liberty and Independence sounded upon "Liberty Bell," but the shadow of the burden which paralyzed the limbs of his predecessors still haunts him; he cannot realize the fact that he is free, and he fears to move lest the old lash come down upon his back to tell him that his freedom is a myth.

There need be no apotheosis of labor, there can be

none here, for the rights of labor are not superior to all other equal rights, but its equal rights must be maintained. There is life in maintaining the equilibrium, death in its disturbance. That is why there are paupers, poverty and starvation. Capital has thrown our social relations out of balance and labor does not know how to restore the equilibrium, so it attempts to undermine it. No one but a boor or a mischief-maker ever dreams of labor in overalls sitting upon a throne with capital under its feet. That would be tyranny, the same tyranny that capital now inflicts upon labor. Where revenge is sought there will always be inglorious defeat. Revenge is the dream, the vision of the European slave, the remedy of the Nihilist, Anarchist, Socialist. It has no place here, for "We are the people."

When the laboring men of the United States begin to realize that they, and they alone, possess the power and ability to solve, not the labor question alone, but all other social questions; when they learn that all of the organized systems of pretended philanthropy, higher life, education, public welfare, morality, etc., are the mere shadows of the substance which they possess, and when they take these matters out of the feeble hands that are playing with them as children play with toys, or convert into money making schemes, then Labor will begin to assume its natural position; it will no longer ask for bread and receive a stone; it will not be left to the cold mercy of gold-greedy charity, but it will take its proper place beside capital, not as its inferior, but as its equal and vested with equal rights. These rights will be accorded it, and they will be maintained, for labor will then play a real part in the government of the nation, and will not remain satisfied with the crumbs that fall from Dives' table.

Who that stops to think and look as far into the future as is permitted his mortal vision, does not see

that in labor is the only solution of the questions mankind are striving to solve? What other power is there that can effect a solution? Can the present distressing condition of things go on forever, or even continue much longer, without sending men back into the slavery of the divine right system? Wealth is becoming more and more insolent, the money power more and more arbitrary and tyrannical, politics has become a mere grab for gold, the money poured into organized charity is doled out in infinitesimal quantities to make its necessity more apparent and justify its unceasing demands for more money. The poor are designedly kept in poverty for money making purposes, as their wages are cut lower and lower, even incorporated religion pipes the "divine right" and "Servants, obey your masters."

Capital sits upon a high throne, and it must be taken down to stand beside labor, or labor must be elevated to sit beside capital. When, I repeat, labor realizes its power and understands its proper position—I am not now referring to European labor, but to the American kind—it will not be compelled to resort to the makeshifts of petty strikes and boycotts. There will not be any more lockouts, for the man who attempts them will be treated as is one who defrauds a bank. The public welfare will be extended to cover the rights of labor, and capital will be made to understand that it can not glut itself with the product and leave the producer to starve. It will be a short, sharp revolution when united labor shall cease talking and act. When it shall become a machine like the great political machines, and cease to be an aggregated system of theories. When it shall cast out its petty, incompetent and treacherous leaders and, having fixed upon a platform with principles in accord with their rights and in accord with the rights of every other citizen, and in conformity with the organic law, which may be even changed if not sufficiently broad to protect their rights, and then

announce to the political machines that the labor machine is in working order, the other machines will hasten to apply for a trackage contract over the right of way. There will be a surrender of ill-gotten rights, and when a man wants work or bread he will get both without being sent to jail for vagrancy if he asks for either, and the American workingman who expresses an honest opinion of his own will not be "blacklisted" into pauperism along with his family. •

CHAPTER XX.

CORPORATIONS, TRUSTS, SYNDICATES.

A dissection of this new Trinity which is apostolizing the whole earth.

In contemplating this New Trinity, let the reader pause and reverentially bow his uncovered head, for he stands beside the grave of human rights; over the festering remains of the individual, above which floats as an aureole the apotheosis of that pernicious doctrine: "The greatest good to the smallest number."

It required years of the most forcible civilization and an aggressive Christianity, amounting to the force of the Spanish Inquisition, to restrain the fanatical Hindoos from immolating themselves beneath the wheels of their hideous idol's Juggernaut. Now the Hindoo no longer sacrifices himself to his sinister god, his body is no longer crushed and ground to death by the wheels of his chariot; all that is forgotten in the seductive charms of a new dispensation. It came high, that new dispensation, and in blood and treasure it cost more than would have cost the Juggernaut had it kept on rolling until the end of time. But progress demanded that they should be civilized, and it had to be. Moreover, there was money to be made by the civilizers.

If the soul of a Juggernaut victim could return to the scene of his great suicidal sacrifice he would find no dumb, senseless god parading in a crude, lumbering machine with its ponderous wheels rolling relentlessly over cracking bones and crushed and bleeding bodies.

He would find the old superstition a thing of horrid memory, and in its place and stead a pleasanter and more civilized method, but an equally certain and deadly Juggernaut.

Individual rights are as nothing compared with the uncontrollable rights and privileges of modern corporations, from which spring the most odious monopolies in the shape of "trusts" and "syndicates" in despite of the attempts of legislatures to control them. Originally intended to afford opportunities for aggregating capital for the legitimate purposes of trade and manufactures, they have become so great an absorbant of every department of human affairs that they destroy trade and business as well as cripple manufactures by stifling competition, which has always been regarded as the life of trade. And not only this, the credit money issued by them in the shape of stocks and bonds form a seductive medium for speculation, in the hope of acquiring great and boundless wealth without earning it, in the presence of which lotteries, faro banks and the roulette wheel pale into insignificance. To this may be added the fact of every day observance, that their influence has already overshadowed and now controls the government itself. Is labor ever consulted in the affairs of the government? Never; it is always the corporations, for the reason that they control the financial output of the nation, and therefore manufacture its financial policy, whereas labor, which furnishes the money, stands by and permits it to be done, fearing the appellation, "anarchist, calamity howler," if it dare raise its head in protest. It is the fable of the wolf and the lamb over again; the millenium when the lion and the lamb lie down together, but the lamb is inside the lion.

There is no difficulty in defining what a corporation is, but there is a difficulty in defining what it is not. The trend of our judicial decisions is in the direction of attaching something supernatural to their powers,

something holy to their operations which it would be sacrilegious to interfere with or curb. A wise man once said, "Corporations have no souls," putting his statement upon the ground that only the Almighty could create a soul, and that a man being the creator of corporations, it could not have a soul. It did not require a very wise man to tell us that, for we have the experience of every day that from three to fifteen men with responsible souls can lawfully combine and produce a monster without a soul and without moral responsibility. They may be good and respectable citizens, even church deacons remarkable for their personal piety and goodness, but when aggregated in a soulless machine they remorselessly and without the slightest compunctions of conscience permit it to go on and commit the most grievous acts of robbery, fraud, cheatery and oppression, and sanctimoniously pocket the profits and retain their proud positions of respectability, piety and honesty; nay, the Church, that great moral teacher, does not hesitate to invest its money where it will do the most good in that respect. It has always been supposed that on the great last day, man would be stripped of all entangling circumstances and excuses and be compelled to stand upon his own personality, but it seems that many will seek to shield themselves behind articles of incorporation and spring some constitutional question on the Creator if an attempt is made to deprive them of their defence.

Every corporation is a trust, and, as we have said, was originally intended as a means of aggregating capital for the legitimate purposes of trade, manufactures, etc. But in the majority of cases at the present day they are mere aggregations of worthless credit money commonly known as "wild cat" stock. The law permits an aggregated creation of individuals to do that which in the case of an individual would be

grounds for sending him to jail for fraud, robbery, obtaining money by false pretences and the like.

A few men, not less than three nor more than fifteen, except in the case of banks, when the number is unlimited, may incorporate and do that as a corporation which would be a crime if they were to do as individuals. They may stock a "crowbait horse," a "hole in the ground," a worthless "patent right," an ineffective process at a million dollars capital, and judge-made law sternly applies the maxim "caveat emptor" to the purchase of shares of stock, when it would compel the return of a man's money on the ground of fraud if he were persuaded to purchase for a song, the property on which the issue of capital stock is based to the extent of millions of dollars.

A dishonest debtor does not need to abscond in these days; he takes his wife, his sisters and his cousins and his aunts in as dummies, incorporates according to law, sells his plant, his goods, wares and merchandise to the new creation for shares of stock, even for the entire issue, and the law says he has received full value for it and the corporation is protected in its purchase, whereas an individual, even though he paid actual money, would be compelled to surrender to the creditors.

A certificate of stock by law is money, transferable from hand to hand like bank bills, and may pass current as such, and if a man takes them, buying "a pig in a poke," he will not be heard to complain; nay, he is made doubly liable for the debts of the corporation existing at the time of his purchase to the full face value of the shares bought by him. This is worse than the credit money of the banks of 1857, for then the unwary citizen lost only what he paid, whereas now he not only loses the money paid for the stock, but as much more as will amount to its face value. A money making scheme which had no parallel in the dark ages, when men were unenlightened and only

half civilized. The general public are compelled to redeem the bogus money of corporations, while the promoters and manufacturers of it are not even liable for a single dollar.

Our laws are all construed for the protection of corporations in their schemes to wring money from the people without value paid. They hold out their "temptations" to the public, dazzling them with beautifully engraved and lithographed certificates of stock bearing a large golden seal; in lurid prospectuses they hold out visions of wealth to be obtained for a song, and with the names of distinguished American statesmen, ratifying their statements and lending their names for a block of stock, as did the lords of England in Hooley's case, the public are blinded to their own interests and fall into the trap. True, the laws of some of the States surround the formation of corporations with certain prerequisites, but when the laws of one State are not favorable, the promoters incorporate in a State where the laws are more lax; then they can do business anywhere in the United States, whether the laws regarding foreign corporations are complied with or not, the only penalty for the non-observance of such laws being a deprivation of the right to maintain an action in the courts. This, however, is easily overcome by assigning the claim to a resident, as is the case when a non-resident seeks to avoid the necessity of giving a bond for costs. The assignment cannot be inquired into, the courts presuming a valuable consideration. West Virginia is the present home of all sorts of bogus corporations and schemes to defraud and oppress mankind. Corporations with capital stock running up into the millions and based upon nothing, may there be formed at a cost of only fifty dollars in fees and they are then at liberty to sow their "wild cat" stock everywhere, or combine into trusts that destroy and ruin where they cannot control.

There was once an attempt made to stop the fraudu-

lent schemes of corporations, in a certain State where the laboring men held sway. They enacted a law that corporations should be taxed upon the total amount of their capital stock at its face value. This was proper, for the courts so hold, being unable to hold any other opinion without at the same time admitting the fraud, that every corporation is assumed to have property equal in value to the amount of its capital stock.

A certain man, who owned a controlling interest in a certain gas company and managed its affairs, in order to squeeze money out of the public, increased the capital stock of his company from one million five hundred dollars, which happened to be the reasonable value of its property, to fifteen millions of dollars, its unreasonable value. To sell this increase stock he first gave it a "moral" aspect by donating blocks of it to certain clergymen, who in their turn "placed" it with servant girls, dressmakers and workingmen and women generally. But along came the Assessor and put the entire fifteen millions of dollars upon the assessment rolls as the value of the company's property. He knew it was ten times the value of the property, and so did everybody else, but he deemed it his duty to obey this law, which this time was against fraud and in favor of justice. The Assessor would not listen to any appeals to reduce the assessment. "No," said he, "you say this property is worth fifteen millions; you hold it out to the public to be worth that sum, and I will not permit you to take advantage of your own fraud. That is a maxim of law which is always applied to a poor man in our courts, and I propose finding out whether it is also applicable to a corporation."

The Assessor was denounced by all the corporation newspapers as a scoundrelly workingman, an anarchist, and various other epithets were hurled at him as is customary in cases where robbery according to law is interfered with, but he stuck. A writ of prohibition

was issued out of the Supreme Court, the court of last resort in that State, and the newspapers were nearly destroyed by spontaneous combustion in their frantic denunciations of "double taxation, robbery of the poor, destruction of constitutional rights, and the customary Uriah Heep melodramatic exhibitions. But the Supreme Court, whose chief justice was also an anarchistic workingman, stuck by the Assessor, and decided that he was correct in his application of the law.

Then uprose the friend of humanity, and with the tears streaming down his cheek, said: "Your honor, what will become of the poor people who have bought that stock? They will be defrauded of their hard-earned money, and by a court of justice——" "Stop," said the Chief Justice, sternly, "that is a matter involving your own conscience, not the conscience of this court. Every man is presumed to know the consequences of his own acts." The next case was called and the incident closed. It may be added that the promoter of this scheme was not sent to jail, nor did the poor people ever get their money back, but there was a noticeable reduction of capital stock in that State immediately afterwards to somewhere near the actual value of its property. Is it exaggerating to say that if, in a certain State less than a thousand miles from New York City, corporations were taxed upon the amount of their capital stock, there would either be enough realized to pay the national debt, or else thousands of these bogus companies would go into some honest business?

It is always the poor who must suffer, and there is not a case mentioned in history where human rights were sought to be obtained, recovered, or maintained, that the poor did not do the suffering, even to the shedding of their blood. There is food for thought in the fact that the rich never petition for a redress of their grievances. It is always the poor, and there has never been a human right obtained that was not wrung

from the rich and powerful by the poor and maintained by their blood. Why are the poor dissatisfied and complaining? Their wants are never supplied, nor are even their moderate desires gratified. It is always wealth that doles out to them what it deems sufficient, and it is not in the nature of things that the "dole" should be more than enough to maintain them in an abject condition of hungry, wistful subjection and dependence.

CHAPTER XXI.

STRIKES, BOYCOTTS, LOCKOUTS.

The merits of this Trinity as a competitive Apostle of the one mentioned in the last chapter.

The first lockout happened in the Garden of Eden and it brought disaster upon the whole human race; indeed, there are many who argue that we have not yet recovered from its effect. True, our first parents forfeited their and our birthright, but the judge was the Creator, and if in his wisdom he formulated the plan which plunged the human race into a slough of misery, and left nothing but Hades for him to expect, he had good and sufficient reasons. We feel at liberty to say, however, that whatever His reasons were He was not governed by selfish, personal motives, as are His imitators at the present day.

Our revolutionary fathers "struck" against the oppressions of England and secured the blessings of freedom for a nation that under its auspices has become great and glorious. So it has always been since the world began; when a nation or people felt the shackles of slavery, they rose up and struck them from their limbs.

Our own government boycotted Cuba by blockading it with a fleet of warships, and it may be said that boycotts against evil doers and oppressors have been ratified by the Almighty himself. The pages of history teem with instances of strikes and boycotts, and good has always come of them, whereas lockouts have resulted in nothing but disaster and wrong.

There is truly respectable authority for strikes and boycotts, far better and more reliable authority in the history of the human race than is found in the dictionaries, which attach a pernicious idea to them and charge the Irish with their paternity. Well, iniquity lies unto itself at times, and some are hoist by their own petard. If the Irish are to be charged with whatever has been of benefit to the human race, let them have the honor of it.

A clergyman recently wrote a book upon the subject "Applied Christianity," and in the usual manner of clergymen who fight the battles of Mammon, he frothed at the mouth at the wickedness of strikes and boycotts, but finally settled down into what he possibly thought was sarcasm, but which was the unwitting truth, and said: "The publication of a boycott is an excellent advertisement of the boycotted dealer." So we have it on the word of a clergyman that a boycott is of benefit, an accomplished good. What, then, can be said against them?

This clergyman is like many others who condemn the efforts of labor to alleviate its condition. In fact, there has never been an attempt made on the part of any oppressed people to free themselves, that some clergyman did not frown upon it, bewail it and denounce it. This peculiarity arises from the idea of "divine right" which the profession of theology applies to Mammon, notwithstanding the fact that Christ himself commanded their separation. The "Things which are God's" are inextricably mixed with the "Things which are Caesar's." Thus it was that John Wesley in his spiritual ardor felt it his patriotic duty to crawl at the feet of an English king and offer to betray the infant Colonies of this country, who were struggling for freedom from oppression. It has always been, and is now, the theological idea that man should suffer uncomplainingly here below, in order that he may fit himself for a glorious eternity of freedom and happi-

ness in the green pastures and beside the purling brooks of Paradise. The band wagon that blaes forth a future blessed condition of humanity is the same as the political band wagon that flaunts the most gorgeous promises upon its banners, while the bandmasters swell out their fat paunches in exultation at their power to hoodwink humanity. It is the same empty stomach, whether it be fed upon the husks of political promises of relief or the theological fiat: "Make your peace with God, and then you shall have some soup." When the Dives of politics and theology permit a few crumbs to be gathered up by the Lazarus of Labor, instead of carefully sweeping them up for their dogs, mankind may be able to compare the blessings of the other life with those they enjoy in this, and not consider everything a Hell.

Wholly disregarding the fact that there never was a slave who sought to strike the shackles from his limbs, that did not prefigure the efforts of labor to obtain a recognition of rights superior to those of abject slavery and submission to the selfish whims of its masters, there has been attached to those struggles of labor a stigma, an immorality, and all kinds of differently worded laws have been passed to restrain them upon criminal grounds as conspiracies against the rights of others. But when Mammon, in the shape of Capital, conspires against labor, there are not only no laws passed to restrain it, but positive legislation extends the power to dominate it. The merchant, the manufacturer and the others proudly stand upon their superior right to manage their business in their own way. They, and they alone, are running their own business and they are running it to suit themselves. They are absorbing all the rights and leave none whatever for others. An ocean of egoism, not a drop of altruism. With unlimited work to be done, and a multitude of willing workers ready to perform it, their families suffering the pangs of hunger and starving before their

eyes, Mammon defies them until they consent to accept a pittance that reduces their lives to that of the mere existence of animals without souls. Whoso seizes upon the bread to stay the pangs of hunger is sent to prison for the crime; whoso deprives him of that bread is a law-abiding citizen. A man is justified in killing him who seeks his life, it is self-defence, and it is based upon a maxim that has held good since the world began: "Self-preservation is the first law of nature." But when labor seeks that self preservation in strike or boycott, it is shot down in cold blood, and the killers awarded gold medals.

There are some who fear that this government will become so strong that the people will lose some of their constitutional rights. There is no ground for such a fear, for even now it is not strong enough to protect its own citizens, and permits unauthorized bodies of men termed "deputies," the agents of Mammon, to shoot and kill to their bloody minds' content. There is no fear to be apprehended in centralization. There was centralization, martial law, in the late war with Spain; the government had but to speak through its officials and the thing would be done, but they let our soldiers starve and die for lack of the necessaries of life, and they did not blush when charity came in to fill the place of duty. The fault is not with our system; it is in the administrators of that system, politicians who worship the gold of Mammon and know no other god. The mystery is that they should be permitted to do it.

With the greater part of the money of the country the product of labor, labor loans it to Mammon, who uses it to crush him further down. It is useless to expect that labor will combine and use the ballot for relief, for their leaders fall before the temptation of gold and the cause is betrayed, or else they are led by foreign visionaries and fall into disorders which accomplish their ruin. There is no political party or selfish

government policy that could stand a moment against the power of Labor with a united ballot in its hands. The mere idea of such an overwhelming power would send the politicians into spasms, and to overcome it or secure its influence they would make the most abject promises of radical reform, and when they got into office they would fail to keep any of them. This has been going on for a generation, and there are no signs of a change. What a grand strike it would be, what an effective boycott, if Labor were to actually, not theoretically, cut loose from great political parties that keep on riveting its shackles! But it is not to be, and so Labor continues to strike and boycott and submit to lockouts that are of no efficiency because they are not followed up. Napoleon's practice was, when he had given an enemy a preliminary thrashing he kept on following him up until he was smashed. He did not "hurrah" until he had won. It is a good thing for the labor leaders, however, for they are never out of a job. With the money of the poor lining their pockets, they appear on public platforms in dress suits and talk learnedly of what labor is going to do, and labor does nothing but try to earn more money to give them and to loan the capitalists.

It is all a question of money, friend, and not of right or wrong. Human rights have nothing to do with the labor question, which ought to be fully understood by this time, if it ever will be understood. What is the money power doing with your money? Why do you let that power have it? Suppose you keep it in your own possession or under your own control? What would happen? You would not have to scrimp and save to do it, you could keep right on just as you are doing now, but the banks would not get it, nor would the various attractive ways that tempt it out of your pockets steal it from you. That is the money you might keep and you would have bread and beer the

same as now. You could not be any worse off, but by and by the banks would need money, speculators would have to have it; they would try to coax it out of you by offering a good rate of interest and appeal to your patriotism. But you would not let them have it, you would hold on to it. What a difference you would then see, friend. The government would rush to the rescue of capital, as it always does, and as it never does when labor is suffering. Silver would be remonetized, the mints would be working night and day, government credit money in the shape of bank bills would then be the proper thing to issue. You would be adding to your pile all the time, and if things increased in price you would have the money to buy them with and would not need charity. The politicians would pat you on the back and call you a "good fellow" instead of anarchist. Your wives would sing at their work and your children dance on their way to school. You would laugh and grow fat, but the other fellows would not suffer. You would see to that, and help them a little, about as much as they help you now. You would organize little charities for them and give them plenty of soup without compelling them to join the church or give a certificate of good moral character. In this and in various other ways that might occur to you, you would heap so many coals of fire on their heads that they would reform and adopt more altruistic and less egoistic methods in the manner of doing business.

All this, however, "is to laugh," but there are so many ridiculous and impracticable theories floating about that the addition of a few more will only cause a slight diversion.

CHAPTER XXII.

ARRANT LAW.

Some persons imagine everything to be law that is called law. They will learn different in this chapter. Sometimes the law is itself more of a crime than its violation.

“Laws are like cobwebs where the small flies are caught and the great ones break through.”

We fancy that we have progressed in law, government and civics generally, but have we?

It is true that in the matter of punishing crimes against money we have reached a pitch of perfection that would make a freebooter stare, and in our manner of enforcing the payment of taxes and collecting revenue we can give pointers to a Turkish tax farmer.

We have systematized and arranged hoi polloi in job lots, herded them like cattle according to the value of their hides and tallow and their milk-giving qualities, and in the skinning, rendering and milking process we labor under a greater sense of the obligation of getting than how we get it.

It is not in the multitude of invasions of the personal rights of individuals, nor in the mistaken and often corrupt interpretation of the proper application of the organic privileges which are possessed by all citizens in common that we are to look for law, yet so numerous and so flagrant, withal so universal, have become the violations of the plainest rights of citizens

in the pretended necessary regulations of their mutual intercourse; so difficult has it become to resist the unconstitutional exercise of official power and the exaggerated performance of alleged official duties, that the citizen has been transformed into an abject slave, with so much fear of the power governing him, and which is an object of his own creation, that he feels himself powerless to either throw off or shift the yoke imposed upon him.

In the fact that innocent men are often condemned to death and actually executed through the weakness or corruption of some time-serving judge permitting incompetent evidence to be presented to a jury, acted upon by a vicious public prosecutor zealous for notoriety, or like a windbag goaded on by the plaints and servile, ignorant clamor of beer drinking, conceited editors, there is nothing that can weigh against the principles upon which our system of laws was originally founded.

When the wealthy plunderers of thousands of confiding citizens drive their victims to the verge of starvation and despair and themselves find relief at the hands of a facile jury, or in the sympathetic exercise of the pardoning power, no man can justly insert a wedge in the foundation of the system that forbids it.

Men and women are daily shot to death and clubbed into insanity for a mere refusal to obey the imperious summons of some petty official who, unpunished, constitutes himself an executioner of the citizen whom the law even dare not kill without a solemn trial.

Upon some trivial technicality arising under a revenue law, the citizen is ruined in his business, his home destroyed and all his earthly prospects forever blasted to gratify virtuous spite, or to aid a political issue.

Under the guise of religion men may stand behind the protecting aegis of a church incorporated according to law, and rant and rave and let drip from their lips the most venomous and filthy slanders, vituperations

and calumnies, even unto the open denunciation of the purest of wives and mothers as harlots, and no man raises his voice in protest lest he interfere with that religious liberty and liberty of conscience so positively established by our organic law.

When the homes and privacy of the citizen is intruded upon, and his most sacred personal rights trespassed and trampled upon with impunity, when families are broken up and scattered and the heart's blood of mothers wrung from them at the enforced sacrifice of her children to the maw of a power that is greater than the law which created it, there is not a word of protest or complaint, for all men know that the general good is the supposed aim.

We bow with submission to the Supreme Court of the United States when it declares that a State law providing for a cumulative sentence of three thousand years for selling beer is good law and constitutional, although we somewhere feel within us a sentiment that the Spanish Inquisition would be more merciful, for its victims were, at least permitted to find relief in death.

We feel that the heroes who shed their blood to abolish the same kind of law, shed it in vain, when we read Mr. Justice Brewer's opinion in the Kansas case, that a State law confiscating millions of dollars' worth of property for the technical violation of a mere revenue regulation is perfectly just and proper, and in harmony with our institutions, although our organic law forbids anything approaching the old bill of attainder.

In a western city of alleged civilization and culture, a poor man was sent to jail for thirty days for engaging in the butcher business without a license. He had killed and carved a pet lamb, the only food he had for himself and his starving family.

In another twentieth century city a saloon man was sent to jail for thirty days without bail, because his servant, while cleaning up one Sunday, gave a sick

man a little brandy, and the same judge who followed the law discharged a man who had killed his brother in a fit of rage.

A young man unable to stop a hard-bitted horse and a small boy hurrying home from school are shot dead by a policeman because they refused to stop immediately they were ordered.

A poor woman hastening to a drug store to procure medicine for a sick infant, the doctor meanwhile waiting for it, is clubbed into insensibility by a guardian of the peace and thrown into a cell. The woman becomes insane and the baby dies, but the majesty of the club law receives a bouquet at the hands of a man who stood in his pulpit and denounced the majority of the respectable wives and mothers of New York city as harlots, and neither he nor the policeman were tarred and feathered.

Those whose hides and tallow are worthless and who cannot be milked are thrown into jail under vagrancy laws and the public treasuries milked for the costs and fees charged for the labor of doing it.

But these are mere amusing, segregated evils and are not to be attributed to the sentiments of justice and equity underlying our laws, for it is a well known and understood theory that our laws are intended for the greatest good to the smallest number. Wherefore, though the many should perish and the few alone survive, that would be the legitimate result of our system and in full accord with our institutions. Nay, it may soon come to pass that the vast majority, the ninety-nine per centum of our entire population, will be called upon as patriots to surrender their few remaining liberties to the control and domination of the one per centum. This would not be so very far away from the present outlook; indeed, much less than one per cent. of our population now have the entire control of the fate of the other ninety-nine per centum. The re-establishment of slavery in Georgia and Florida by the

open sale of white men to work in the mines, and the whipping post and tortures of the electric chair, indicate that we are crawfishing in the direction of the old feudal days.

It would not be surprising if the ninety-nine per centum should suddenly awaken to a realizing sense of their strength, and under a leadership that will not sell his companions for paltry gold retake the rights which the laws have deprived them of. A violation of law for justice sake, a paradox exhibited in the United States for the first time in the history of the world.

But there is no danger of such a calamity, as any person may perceive by a judicial survey of the situation which is commanded wholly by the one per cent., and the ninety-nine per cent. are timid about even expressing a political opinion not in strict accord with the others, since they are denounced as anarchists for so daring to do. It is a case of the wolf and the lamb reversed.

There was a time when it was held to be the correct theory that whatever power was not conferred upon the governing class in the organic law was retained by and remained at the command of the people, a "reserve power" which they might call into play at any time for their own protection should the government be powerless to act. This reserve force, belonging to the people, sometimes breaks out in mining districts, in what are known as "vigilance committees" and in "lynchings" and other acts, in which an entire community acts as a unit to obtain redress of some injury which the courts have no power to grant, or where they refuse to act. It was a long time before the Italian government could be made to understand our system of government in that respect when it laid claim for damages and redress for the lynching of the Mafias in New Orleans and in Colorado. As a rule now, however, the careful decisions of our courts have shorn the people of that reserve power and extended it to the

various governments of the country under the name of "Police Power," a pretended inherent power in the constitutional government itself to travel beyond its limitations to the extent of restraining the people from the exercise of any reserve authority or any authority whatever, except the mere casting of a ballot to select their rulers, and even that power is very much curbed by registration laws which will eventually confer the right of suffrage upon those only who are in accord with the policy of some administration.

This domination of the reserve power and authority is more plainly perceptible in municipal ordinances and regulations, the prohibitions in which reach as far as the confiscation of property and down along every grade and character of human acts, even to expectoration in public places and innocent exclamations.

The distinction between a tax and a license, though not perceptible to the eye of a layman, is quite clear to the judiciary, and hence, it is settled law that a man may be taxed into submission and likewise licensed out of existence, or at least put in a condition where the only thing at his command is the free exercise of the involuntary muscles of his body. When the day shall arrive requiring a limitation upon the quantity of air a citizen may consume, a means will be discovered of regulating it for the benefit of the one per centum.

Like drowning men we are grasping at the straws of arrant law, finding in them our hopes of salvation, while persistently turning our faces away from the life-boat of justice and equity. Petted and stuffed by politicians like Strasburg geese, we fancy we are enjoying great blessings until we find when our fatness is appropriated that we are nothing but geese.

I fancy that we have become so impregnated, saturated, with foreign ideas, that we can no longer see or understand our own rights and privileges. Not that we are suffering very much, oh, dear, no; but that is not the point. We do not suffer from razors and

poisons, nor do we dream of any danger lurking behind them, but when we see a razor in the hands of a lunatic or a child it becomes a deadly weapon and we fear it. So we look upon barrels of poison bravely and without a tremor, but having swallowed a small portion we turn tail in a cowardly manner and run after a physician.

Our law is like a loaded gun charged to the muzzle with deadly missiles of all kinds. We admire the make of it, its beautiful proportions, its carvings and mountings, we take pleasure in the possession of it, and exhibit it with pride on all occasions. But along comes somebody who takes it down from its secure resting place, points it directly at our heads and with finger on the hair trigger, says: "Your money or your life!" What a good joke, and we laugh at it, but by and by we grow uneasy, we can see into the muzzle which begins to look very large, and the deadly missiles are protruding out of it. It might go off and then where would we be? So we surrender our money to save our life. The fault is all our own, for we should not have permitted the "somebody" to take it out of our possession and control, and handle it to our loss and damage.

It is what we are doing, however, with our law. It is loaded with deadly things, and it has a very delicate hair-trigger, the slightest pressure upon it, and presto! we are gone. Yet we permit everybody to tamper with it, we even laugh when it is aimed at someone else, though we stop laughing when the muzzle shifts around our way. We have submitted so long to this tampering with our laws that we have lost control of them, and the persons who have taken charge of their administration have come to look upon it as their right to continue and expect us to submit always, visiting upon us the severest penalties for contempt of court if we exhibit the slightest traces of our former independence.

These are small things, slight encroachments, it is true, but they aggregate greater things than the causes which produced the Declaration of Independence. We will have to try what throwing overboard the tea again will accomplish, but this time we shall not disguise ourselves as Indians, but be and remain American citizens without disguise.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THROWING THE TEA OVERBOARD.

It is time to prepare for a new Declaration of Independence.

Aside from "Great National Questions," as they are called, the main object of which in political platforms is to create a dense smoke to conceal the stolen firewood kindled with the sparks of patriotism, are a multitude of trivialities to which very little attention is directed because of their obscuration by the smoke aforesaid. In the great hurrah over "public welfare, general good" and the like, we forget that it is the "individual good" which creates the national good. We think we synthetize, whereas we analyze, for our supposed synthesis is the apex of analysis, and there we stick at the extremes without doing anything. We plant our flag on the summit of the hill with loud huzzas, while underneath are forces at work burrowing us down to ruin. So it always has been; we are always dazzled by the glare and blare of big things, while little things are noiselessly engaged in accomplishing our ruin. A farmer can always protect his crops against an enemy above ground, but the numerous hidden agents working at the roots of his productions are not heeded until too late. We do not protect our cheese against elephants, but against rats and mice.

The poor suffer more from the small interferences with their rights and privileges than they do from great ones, for the forces at work to perpetuate pov-

erty do not work openly to any large extent, but confine themselves to bagatelles which excite no comments. The aggregate of these trifles, however, acquires immense proportions amounting to "public evils, general loss," as opposed to "public welfare, general good," etc. Nobody considers a nickel as of much account, but a multitude of nickels expended in car fares makes enormous dividends to the companies, and enables them to say to you and to me: "The public be damned." It is the misapplication of the expressions "public welfare, general good" and the multiplication of individual wrongs which is making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Why is it that the laborer is so often defrauded of the product of his toil and the material man of his merchandise under mechanics' lien laws ostensibly enacted to prevent it? The answer is because he is postponed to the capitalist. If the mechanic and laborer were given a lien superior to purchase money and builder's contract, there would be more justice than can be found in the present law, and speculators would not so easily acquire valuable property by the robbery of the laborer as is done every day. It is a fact, as stated in another chapter, that the speculator is allowed by law to conspire with the owner of property and a builder to secure labor and materials sufficient to make the property highly productive and valuable, and then by foreclosing on a purchase money mortgage of a grossly excessive amount, "cut out" the laborer and the material man. The author can cite one single case in New York City in which the laborers and material men were done out of twenty thousand dollars in this way, and the amount of all of the cases of similar fraud and robbery runs up into millions. We recognize labor in a sentimental way and then defraud it. Labor is entitled to a first and superior lien upon its own production, and should even be relieved from the expense of filing a so-called lien which is no lien, and

be permitted to prove its claim as in the case of claims against the estate of a deceased person or an insolvent, and as a preferred claim.

In the matter of exemptions, a man must be a householder or the head of a family before he can hold even the clothes on his back. A woman, though single, may have all the exemptions of a householder, and may even have her debtor arrested and confined in jail without benefit of bail if he refuse or is unable to pay her the wages she is entitled to.

The rights of creditors, except when they are laborers, are strained to the utmost in his favor, and the doctrine of *caveat emptor* stretched to obscure the rights of the debtor. It works hardship to enforce unequal rights. A man of family is allowed certain exemptions, a pair of andirons, a coal scuttle and other useful articles, including a cow and two hogs, which the municipal authorities say he shall not be allowed to keep. Other nonsensical things are included in his exemptions, things which if he had would justify him in opening a wholesale provision store, but he never gets that much ahead, and the law does not supply any deficiencies in the poor man's stores any more than it does in the money market. In the case of provisions, the creditor may take them all away from him in an action for the purchase money. When a merchant sells a man goods, the purchaser is bound to pay for them if he accepts them, and if he does not, the creditor may take everything away from him, except his pair of andirons, coal scuttle, etc., and leave his family flat upon their backs without bread. Yes, there are two other things he may keep and welcome: a pew in a church and a lot in a graveyard, but bread, no. If the creditor were confronted with the rights of a helpless family, wife and children, and the doctrine of *caveat vendor* applied for their benefit, there would be less pauperism created. In the case of chattel mortgages on household furniture, the grasping mort-

gagee is allowed to take back by force even the bed from under a sick woman, retain the money already advanced, which is as much as the rickety stuff is worth, and in addition put the mortgagor in prison for failure to pay the balance due. If this is not punishing poverty, what is it? The man who creates a pauper should be as much of a criminal as he who robs another of his money. But "business is business," and so it goes with the letter of the law creating pauperism.

When a man borrows money from a building and loan association he is compelled to buy a number of shares more than equal to the amount he borrows and he drags out his life trying to pay up. But if he buys the shares and does not borrow, he receives as much benefit as if he did borrow. They are money making institutions, where the poor man struggling for a home is the victim. If any one imagines they are charitable or beneficial institutions, let him borrow money from them.

But why continue to schedule matters with which every one is or should be acquainted, or from which he may have suffered? It is money that is over-protected and the personal rights of the poor that are disregarded. By "poor" I do not mean the man or woman actually suffering the pangs of hunger, though there are many of them, too many, but I mean the man who is dependent upon his continual, every day labor for bread and meat, whether he is a sewer digger, a dry goods clerk, or an underpaid newspaper reporter. The loss of labor and the failure to get it means starvation. It hangs over one's head like the sword of Damocles, and the slender thread which holds it grows more slender and frays out when he resists. We are becoming afraid to say our souls are our own. The law might afford relief, but there are none who will enact such laws. Who would dare impose a tax upon the capital stock of corporations? A howl of "double taxation" would be raised, but you and I know, reader,

that all the property most corporations have is their "wild cat" stock, and double taxation would be no bugbear, except to those desirous of perfecting their fraudulent schemes and seducing money out of the pockets of the poor and needy, without giving anything in return. Where is the man bold enough to cut loose from ancient forms originating in oppression and declare that a foreclosure, an execution or attachment shall not take all a debtor has on earth, and leave his innocent wife and helpless family to pauperism? True, a man is responsible for his own acts, but the innocent and helpless should not be punished either for his folly or his crimes. If the laws against usury were applied to rents, the sky would certainly fall, and if a banker were sent to jail for doing that through a broker which he may not do himself, the President of the United States, moved to compassion for the banking business, would pardon him out. What would happen if all government money were exempt from taxation and individual credit money taxed as property? Why, Europe, Asia, Africa, China and Japan would make us take off the tax, and the administrators of the affairs of this government, who appear to be managing them for the benefit of every other nation on earth except the United States, would remove the tax as an onerous burden. Suppose licenses were to be construed to mean regulation instead of the ruin and confiscation of a man's business and property. How the reformers and prohibitionists would rattle their teeth in dismay and utter the darkest threats. If all of our irresponsible and intermeddling charity societies were taken possession of by the State, our un-American churches would foam at the mouth and have a fit, but there would be no more starvation. If a man charged with a crime were protected from the rack and thumbscrew of police officials and the latter sent to prison for violating the rights of American citizens, we should feel that the Spanish Inquisition is really but a horrid dream.

If the six or seven different kinds of public, private and volunteer policemen and detectives, who manufacture crime for the purpose of preventing it, were punished as accessories before, during and after the fact, there would be less crime committed and very little to detect. When the "Police Power" of the State is retained by the State and not delegated to private individuals, the citizen can sleep in peace unmolested and secure in his home as in a castle. When the social evil shall be regulated by the State, and its diseases quarantined, there will be less sins of the parents to descend to the third and fourth generations. When poverty and misfortune shall not be regarded as crimes, but deemed entitled to the same protection as the millionaire and the harlot in silks and satins, we shall then begin to be Americans.

On the contrary, if all these and numerous other things be ignored, one might as well be the subject of the king of Dahomey.

The rights of American citizens, both in their individual and public capacities, together with the financial policy of the government, are issues of the gravest importance to the people if not to the money power and to bankers and trusts, and when the political parties and their bosses begin to comprehend that those issues must be made in favor of the people, there will be less theorizing upon sentimental matters, and more attention paid to the power behind them all that demands its rights, and that the country should be made to support the people it now contains.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHARITY.

Some reasons going to show that American citizens are not objects of charity.

That there is a strong connecting link between our systems of charity and the proselytizing impulse of religion is evidenced by the fact that religion and soup are commonly administered in conjunction. A man is hungry; very well, he can have bread and soup, but if he is a sinner or does not bear a badge of good moral character he is brushed aside and so far away from the soup pot that his nostrils cannot get even a whiff of its savory steam.

There may be some good and valid reason for this inconsistent conduct; indeed, it may be based upon the idea that men do not need charity so much as work, and therefore to distribute charity indiscriminately would be to encourage idleness. There is a paradox in this common method of reasoning. If men want work and not charity, and to feed the hungry is to encourage idleness, what is to become of the multitude that cannot find work? If the enormous sums of money wasted on useless charities were to be turned into labor the problem would be nearly solved.

It is a fact recorded daily in our newspapers and boastingly declared from our pulpits that individually and as a nation we raise more money for charity than any other nation on earth. That is a very poor showing for our "institutions," and indicates what is said over and over again in this book, that we are in a

worse condition than any other nation, notwithstanding our greater productions and our infinitely superior system of government. In a country that produces more than any other country on earth, and which can support many more millions than it now contains, people faint and die of hunger even on our public streets, and are often carried away in public ambulances from the very doors of plethoric charitable institutions, where they have been refused bread. The young, the starving laborer, the aged, the infirm, the cripple and every class of destitution may be seen on our public streets daily and nightly crying for bread, to receive in lieu thereof the stone of some peace officer's "G'wan now, or I'll run ye in," and this in the shadow of institutions that receive millions of dollars per annum to relieve such distress. Some call them "beggars," but a mere nomenclature does not alter the fact, and in this case it is not every man who can starve like a gentleman or who has the heart to see his family gaunt with famine. He therefore asks for food or that which in the absence of labor is the only thing that will procure food, to wit, "money," whereupon he becomes a criminal. If this is not creating a monopoly of organized charity by law, then there are no monopolies, trusts or syndicates on earth.

It is only the poor, the starving, who ask for food, that are denominated "beggars," and who are cast into prison upon the charge of vagrancy. There is a crowd of other "beggars," who ply their vocation unmolested by the kind permission of the authorities. They wear fine linen, imbibe high-priced wines, dine upon *pâté de foie gras*, and are paid large salaries and commissions, one charitable concern in New York having once offered as high as twenty-five per cent. commissions for money collected in the name of charity. They hold fairs and devise money making schemes in the name of blessed charity, and out of the proceeds retain sufficient to keep them in silks and satins and

tailor-made gowns, cigars and whiskey, until the next charity fandango occurs. They travel all over the world in first-class style with their sisters and their cousins and their aunts, hobnob with the nobility of effete Europe, and with a bottle of perfumery held to their delicate nostrils commiserate the miseries of the poor. Their glowing reports of the great good they have started to do and of the sufferings they have alleviated in their imaginations, together with the beautiful time they had with lord this and lady that, bring tears to the eyes of their maudlin auditory and a check for their expenses out of the charity fund.

The purpose these people start out to accomplish does not appear to be ever accomplished, but always about to be accomplished. Common casual observation tells us that poverty is increasing and the conditions surrounding the poor are becoming more and more deplorable, whence we are at liberty to surmise that all these respectable beggars are obtaining money by false pretences, and if there were any power that would insist upon the enforcement of our laws in accordance with their spirit, they would be held to a strict accounting and forced to disgorge, or be sent to jail like any vulgar, poor criminal. There would certainly be more justice in that than in making a criminal out of a man who has neither money nor bread because he attempts to procure either in the only way he is able.

As was hinted at above, one would suppose from the millions invested in charity that we are a nation of beggars, but when he surveys the magnificent temples and palaces erected to the cause of charity, he laughs in his sleeve and rapidly reaches the conclusion that charity in America is a grand money making scheme in which the Lord is the beneficiary and the managers the trustees, a neck and neck competition with the banks, corporations, trusts and syndicates to grab all the money possible and distribute it according

to their own whims. When we read of an organized charity receiving over ten millions of dollars annually for charitable purposes, and yet unable to furnish a starving man or woman immediate relief, except on the recommendation of some clerical Uriah Heep, who may happen to be in Switzerland engaged in reforming the morals of that deplorable republic and using charity money for the object, we are inclined to doubt the wisdom of permitting these irresponsible people to have the absolute control of all this money. It is useless to argue that a man has the right to put his money where he pleases or give it or throw it away if he wishes; he has no more right to do that than he has to commit suicide. The State has the right to exercise its sovereignty over abandoned or misused property whether it be money or poison.

When it comes to the fact that our charities cost an average of about three dollars in salaries and expenses for every dollar actually expended in relieving the pressing wants of the poor, it is time for the government to call a halt, as it may do, and as it does do when it prohibits a man from collecting usurious interest.

There is one society which the law ought to countenance, and to the management and control of which it should transfer all other so-called charitable organizations, and that is a society for the protection of human beings and for the destruction of poverty. What do I say? A society for the protection of human beings and the destruction of poverty? What an absurdity! As if any society or syndicate of societies could protect humanity or mitigate poverty, when the government serenely stands by and refuses to exercise its duty and power to do both without calling upon charity? The value and pride in American citizenship consists wholly in the fact that the conditions which surround it are made superior to and are totally dissimilar from the conditions which exist in every other

country. When our circumstances are made to return to and fit the conditions that have not witnessed the slightest change for ages, and have become so oppressive that the people of other nations are compelled to fly to our shores to live, there is no more value or worth in American citizenship than in being a subject of the Shah of Persia. Of course, it is a laudable, a holy object to assist one's fellow-man, but the idea of charity which is "love for one's neighbor," has been degraded into soup bones, stale bread and an occasional turkey dinner. Our so-called charity organizations and spasmodic alleviations of hunger have become cankerworms that are eating into American citizenship and destroying its vitality and manhood. They and their congeners, the church corporations, with all of their ramifications and subdivisions, are killing where they cannot cure. Fully twenty per cent. of the most valuable and productive property in the United States (made unproductive) belongs to them, and the burden of taxation is lifted from their shoulders and placed upon the already heavily laden shoulders of the poor, upon the specious plea of benefit to the State. The people are the State, and not the king, and when charity imposes burdens it certainly does not benefit the State. If all of this choice property should be placed upon the assessment rolls without discrimination, wherein would the poor be injured? Poverty is increasing and the difficulties which interfere with the American citizen in earning his bread are becoming more and more unsurmountable. If any real good of a general nature has ever been accomplished or can be accomplished by our absurd charity organizations with their congeners above mentioned, let them demonstrate it and be awarded as much merit as is proportionate to the amount of general benefit conferred upon the State and no more. Our whole system of private organized charity and morality is a wanton scheme for the obtaining of money by false pre-

tences and is one of the chains attached to the poor to drag them down and hold them in a condition of dependent poverty. They are foreign to our institutions, which are opposed to poverty and which declare to the world as they did in the beginning that American citizens do not exist through charity but by their natural forces being permitted full scope. No man wants charity in this country, but he does want work. Charity is a drag upon his energy, and our system of forcing him into so-called morality when the administration of our system of government forces him into immorality is a farce.

CHAPTER XXV.

EDUCATION.

Education is quite proper when in the right direction. Generally speaking, it is an unsuccessful attempt to measure different kinds of brains on the same pattern.

By some radical perversity on the part of nature—comparing her works with those enlightened man might perform to better advantage were he given the opportunities—men, though cast in an identical, original mold, develop into so many varieties of ragged, burred edges that they lose all resemblance to the product of the natal matrix.

To force them back into the original mold and compel them, by a substantial recasting, to revert to some uniformity is the prayerful task of a large body of men and women, impressed with the manifold inconsistencies of nature and penetrated with the earnest belief that to them has been awarded the business of curing them.

At first blush it would seem impossible to reconcile the wide mental differences observable among men, but to the scientific mind of the man or woman of natural or acquired genius nothing is impossible. Whoever dreamed of steamboats ploughing the seas? Talking a thousand miles over a wire, looking through a stone wall and flying in the air, were but a few years ago regarded as sins against the Creator. No, in this age of inventions and discoveries it is foolish to scout at anything. We have the Scripture for it:

“Out of the mouths of babes cometh forth wisdom.” A truism that is in evidence every day. Have we not four-year-old pianists, eight-year-old clergymen, and ten-year-old lawyers?

Ostensibly, no two things are or ever were created exactly alike. The peas or beans in the same pod are dissimilar, and the two eyes in every human head possess distinguishable, diverse characteristics. To broaden the idea—a simple, casual comparison of any two apparently similar objects immediately presents such striking differences that the fact of dissimilarity may be considered self-evident.

Some say that it is a wise provision of nature to affix contradictory indicia to inanimate objects, for if they were similar and indistinguishable the power of selection by means of the physical senses would be entirely lost. Thus a broiled lobster and a Welsh rabbit would be indistinguishable to the palate, and there would not be any difference between a fresh oyster and a raw potato. Of course this is pure sensuality on the part of those who admire the works of nature, which is eliminated by those in pursuit of a higher life to whom cornbeef and cabbage is turtle.

This alleged wisdom of diverse nature is also apparent in the outward characteristics of mankind, and enables men to distinguish each other without a label or trade-mark, whereas, were all men alike, it is patent that the consequences would be productive of endless confusion.

If it be true, as many persons are inclined to believe, that men's physical peculiarities are indices of their psychological phenomena, it will explain the reason of their intellectual differences, but it is in the domain of mental differences that the attempt is being made towards a reconciliation or unification of spiritual inconsistencies, so that all men shall possess similar mental attributes as though cast in the same mold. That this is true, is evidenced from the standards or

qualities to which all men must conform, and upon which they are rigidly measured.

The object is a laudable one, for it is solely through the mental differences that there is so much divergence of opinion, whence happen injustice, war and disturbances of all kinds. By forging the spiritual part of man into the same mold the calamities which come upon mankind would cease and the millennium begin its reign. Had this been better understood, the difference of opinion as to the merits of human slavery would not have brought on the Civil War, for it would have been averted by an unanimous opinion one way or the other. The continual rending asunder of the business of the country in general elections, or its piecemeal disintegration through gubernatorial, county, township and city elections, is occasioned by differences of opinion as to the best manner of managing the affairs of the country or of some locality. All this turmoil would be rectified by bringing about unanimity in the mental attributes of at least a majority of men.

It is a pleasure to say that this great desideratum is about to be attained through paidology, the new child study, which takes a child and methodically trains it up to manhood from its birth. By placing children in incubators, under air-pumps, aided by hypnotism and electricity, varying the treatment with exact equal quantities of light, heat and sound, together with the use of chemicals, mild doses of narcotics and nervines or anti-nervines, as the case may require, in combination with trusses and various other mechanical contrivances, it is expected that the plastic physical and mental characteristics of infants will be restored to something like natural uniformity. All these, with surgical operations on the cranium to allow equal development of the brain, and the suppression of evil instincts, will probably result in curing all differences of opinion in the race of the future. It is evident, however, that a few undeveloped individuals must remain to act in

the capacity of bell-wethers, otherwise the uniformly equalized sheep will be left without any certain guide.

When that happy day arrives there will be no more Petrarchs, Flauberts, Handels, St. Pauls, Paganinis, Mozarts, Schillers, Alfieris, Pascals, Richelieus, Newtons of Swifts, because the terrible disease of epilepsy which afflicted them will be wholly eradicated.

Nervous tics and St. Vitus dance will not prostrate mankind to the extent of creating such sufferers as Montesquieu, Buffon, Dr. Johnson, Crebillon, Lombardini, Campbell, Carducci, Socrates, Napoleon or Caesar.

The taste for alcohol and opium will be substituted by that of chewing gum and soft drinks, so that men hereafter will not be called upon to mourn the loss of any future Coleridge, Thompson, Carew, Sheridan, Steele, Addison, Hoffman, Lamb, de Stael, Burns, Savage, de Musset, Dupont, Kleist, Caracci, Morland, Turner, de Nerval, Dussek, Handel, Gluck, Praga, Rovani, Somerville, Webster, Clay, Poe, Seneca, Cicero, Catherine of Russia, Isabella, Lady Hamilton, Jezebel and Judith. Nor will it occur to the future Zenos, Cleanthes, Denys, Lucanuses, Chattertons, Raoul Toches, Socrates, to disappear from the midst of their sorrowing friends by the *felo-de-se* route.

For all such morbid geniuses will cease to exist and the microbe liable to create them be destroyed. On the contrary, all men will be like peas and beans in a pod, turnips and cabbages in the same patch, or sheep in the same pasture. All will possess the unvarying expression of clams, and have nothing to do except practice Delsarteanism and smile agreeably at each other.

Oh! happy day, when suffering shall be no more; when the sick shall be made well for the mere wishing; when sin will cease from sheer inability to commit it; when the dreadful pangs of maternity shall be relegated to incubators or pills, and when the State shall

assume the paternity of its citizens! When—but the reader is kindly requested to supply the balance of good things likely to happen when paidology shall prevail and all of us are governed by cast-iron rules.

It would ill become an American citizen to decry education. That it is meet and just that the youth of the nation should receive some kind of an education must be conceded; that it is necessary to the happiness of the individual, or essential to the safety of the republic, is denied. There are fanatics in the cause of education as there are fanatics in everything else, but the fanaticism that is furnished with material to perpetuate itself is the most dangerous; feeding a flame is not the best way to extinguish it.

Education brings cares and responsibilities which the shoulders of many cannot support without sinking, and in their despondency they fall into reckless ways of living. "To whom much is given, of him much shall be required." It opens the way to a knowledge man would be better without, and one step taken leads to many, and then a final plunge to drown remorse. Others again, lifted out of their proper sphere of life, the one for which they are best fitted, find nothing beyond, and, unable to return, become nothing but useless incumbrances upon the face of the earth, tramps, vagabonds and frauds, living by their wits. There are scholars driving mule teams in the mountains of the great west, better fitted to fill the chairs in our great universities than their present occupants. Musicians and artists whose genius in music and painting would make them masters wander about with the sky for their covering and a clod for their pillow. Physicians, lawyers, scientists, all men of profound learning, fill the lowliest positions, contentedly waiting for their term of mortal existence to cease. The mere knowing how to read is the origin of many crimes and immoralities. There is much folly and misery in education, much bliss in ignorance. It is

true that according to civil rules, ignorance of the law will not be received as an excuse for its violation, because then everybody would plead ignorance. But the moral law excuses sin committed through ignorance of the law. "I had not known sin, but by the law; for I had not known lust except the law had said: Thou shalt not covet."—Romans, vii., 7, 8.

On the other branch of the subject, States and nations have suffered more from education than they have been benefited by it. It is more difficult to lead an educated man in the direction of a holy life, or keep his feet in the way of morality, than it is an uneducated man. When Mother Eve bit into the apple she did not perceive the fine sarcasm in the serpent's language, "Ye shall be as gods," and it is possible that few moderns see it yet. When a system of education is administered for the purpose, in a great measure, of fostering and perpetuating prejudice, superstition and bigotry, as is too often the case in the United States, it may well be doubted whether it is as much of a protection to the nation as it is commonly represented. Jerusalem, Athens, Rome, Arabia and other nations and dynasties overflowed with schools of learning, and their wise men have left imperishable records of their vast attainments, yet none of them were preserved by their education. There is nothing left of them but broken fragments which still shine with the splendor of their knowledge. India still remains, say some, but her learning has degenerated into trance mediums, clairvoyance, ghosts, devils and hobgoblins, a species of "fakirism" in which the silly, fantastic dreams and fancies of opium eaters and uneasy women who have forgotten the object of their creation, play the prophet and darken wisdom with a multitude of words.

No, education is not what it is pretended. It is the object and purpose of education and its results that make it either valuable or detrimental. It lifts up or it casts down. We do not yet educate except for the

mere lust of educating. We have the solid masonry of a foundation, but instead of erecting an edifice commensurate with that foundation, we put up a ramshackle structure that is shaken in the wind and is constantly in need of patching, repairing and bracing up. As was said in the beginning of this chapter, we are turning out sheep and vegetables, expecting them to become lions and oaks, but they remain sheep and vegetables. We are playing a game of chance, casting dice in the hope that good luck will attend the hazard, and we are so entranced with the possible gain that we forget or overlook the probable loss.

What is the purpose of this vast and costly system other than the control of over two hundred millions of dollars, expended during about one hundred and forty days of each and every year, and which is constantly increasing? Is the game worth the candle outside of the money there is in it? Let us inquire about it.

It can not be admitted that the money in it is the sole object, although it certainly amounts to a sufficiently enormous sum to make it one of its objects in these days of gold greed, and we therefore fall in with the idea commonly received that it is the object and duty of the State to aid its youth in preparing for their life struggle, and to raise them up to the standard of good citizenship. This is all very fine and laudable, so far as it goes, and withal, quite nice and sentimental, but what next? There is nothing next. Stopped on the very threshold, they are turned back, thrown out to struggle for themselves. The great and bounden duty of the State stops at that and cares little what happens afterwards. If it be the business and duty of the State to play the parent at all, it is its business and duty to keep to that rôle until its youth are safe. It should go further and see that they have opportunities to apply their education without compelling them to become barroom loafers, tramps, paupers or thieves.

There are few avenues open to them, and even those avenues are fast disappearing.

This is the great fault with this hue and cry after education. It provides nothing after the process of education is completed. A youth must eat and drink, have clothing and a place to sleep. True, he may become a newsboy, get a turkey dinner on Christmas and Thanksgiving day with a great flourish of trumpets and hurricane of pious words, sleep in a doorway and feed on the memory of the turkey dinners the rest of the year. It is not the few successful ones that are to be looked to as the grand results of our system of paternal education, it is in the multitude who do not succeed that we must find its defects.

The time is not far off when the problem of education will present a graver and more serious aspect than sentiment and misguided sympathy affords it. Everything is now of a roseate hue and we are blinded with the effulgence of our own goodness. We do not see the great army of over twenty millions of youth between the ages of five and eighteen years, an army constantly increasing in numbers, that will come knocking at the doors of our legislative halls, crying: "You have educated us, now give us work." Then, legislatures will be at their wit's end for an answer, but the question will have to be answered without delay.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE RIGHT TO LIVE.

The resurrection of this fundamental but forgotten right. Also the removal of certain doubts as to its efficacy.

“Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;” that is the usual theoretical classification of our inherent, inalienable rights.

The rights specified by the people in the constitutions are not absolute rights, but political rights; a misunderstanding of this has often been the cause of much trouble that might have been avoided. Many a man has lost his life upon the mistaken supposition that he could do as he pleased.

The law may take away a man’s life, restrain his liberty, or deny him the right to pursue happiness if he do it in a manner unpleasant to others. A man may become a nuisance, for instance, while exercising his rights.

When the law deprives a citizen of his right to live, it does so as a penalty for the commission of some heinous crime like murder. Some of the States of the Union, however, have abolished capital punishment for various reasons, while others maintain it upon the wording of holy writ: “An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,” a literal interpretation, which is refuted by the learned Englishman, John Seldon, who says: “‘An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.’ That does not mean that if I put out another man’s

eye, therefore I must lose one of my own (for what is he better for that?), though this be commonly received; but it means I shall give him what satisfaction an eye shall be judged to be worth." The Oriental method is to make the punishment fit the crime. A practice which prevailed when the Scripture was written and which still prevails among Oriental nations.

It is the *lex talionis*, or law of revenge, but the idea with us was not only punishment, but to make it operate as a deterrent, a punishment that will strike terror into the hearts of would-be murderers and stay their hands. The practical result of this idea has not proved as successful as its advocates hoped and its use as a punishment is now put upon the ground of good of the State. The practice in the State of Kansas seems to be much more effective than elsewhere. In that State capital punishment has never been abolished, but it is never inflicted. The convicted criminal is duly sentenced to death, but the Court does not fix any date, that being arranged at the discretion of the Governor, who never really fixes any date. It means a life imprisonment with the death penalty held over the convict in *terrorem*. In deference to theoretical science the electric chair has been adopted by Ohio and New York as a superior means of taking off a murderer. Such a means of execution has been condemned by many as cruel on account of the intense, although momentary agony it produces on the body of the victim, our law not being enforced by way of revenge, and painful agony not being a deterrent to those who do not feel it; it is driving a stake through the body of a suicide. If the law will destroy human life, say they, let it do so in a painless manner, hence many substitutes have been offered, one particularly being sulphuretted hydrogen or illuminating gas let into a closed cell upon the victim as he sleeps. In this manner the convict passes away into the unknown without pain and without a struggle.

It is difficult though to get rid entirely of the idea and practices of the old Spanish Inquisition.

In olden times the right of the subject to live was suspended, and he was put to death on the slightest provocation, even for soliciting alms, as was the law during the reign of Henry VIII. of England. So heresy was punishable by the most horrid forms of death the executioners could devise. Robbery and crimes against money and property, as well as crimes against the inviolability of women, were visited with capital punishment. In the early days of the history of this country the Puritans burned those whom they were pleased to term "witches," and in our own days a soldier may be shot for desertion or for sleeping on his post. These latter punishments are inflicted more for the purpose of preserving discipline than as actual punishments. Napoleon, however, never inflicted the extreme penalty unless the desertion was in the face of the enemy. In the case of war, human life entirely loses its value and two opposing armies kill and maim without stint, victory going to the side which kills the most men, or which displays its ability to kill the most, in which event peace is patched up and a money or territorial compensation awarded the victor, the same going to secure some advantage to those who remained in the rear. As in former times it was deemed justifiable to put men to death for the benefit of their souls, so now in modern times it is common to kill in war for the purposes of national trade, or for the good of morality, but in the latter case the putting to death is by proxy, to wit, the subjects or citizens instead of the principals, rulers or moralists.

Aside from war; however, which, like necessity, knows no law, it cannot be doubted, politically speaking, that every citizen's life, liberty and pursuit of happiness must yield to the demands of the State, but even then, like the exercise of the right of eminent domain, none of those rights can be violated except by due

process of law. The only cases where due process of law is omitted and the arbitrary rule applied are in violations of municipal laws or ordinances, particularly in violations of what are known as "Sunday laws," in which cases the operation of the constitution is suspended, the citizen then coming under the "divine right," being a remnant of the witch burning idea of the Puritans. As between citizens themselves, however, the right to live is absolute, and every man's life stands upon an equality, whether that of an Apollo or a cripple, a rich man or a poor one, a crone or a beautiful maiden, an infant or an adult.

The theory of this right is based upon the fact that man is not responsible for his birth and should, therefore, be accountable to no one for his life, except, as before stated, the good of the State is involved, but in that case the right is said to be lost by reason of post natal acts.

Caesar, however, is always sitting upon a throne everywhere; in a monarchy, a despotism, a republic or a band of brigands. There is no difference, per se, between the Caesar of Russia, England, China or the United States, except in the case of the latter, he is more tractable, because of the tremendous power ready to spring up against him if his subjects' rights and privileges are tampered with. Perhaps Caesar, personally, would not be so dangerous and such a bugbear to his subjects and citizens were it not for the ill advisers surrounding him, for it has often happened here, as well as in the wilds of Asia and the jungles of India and Africa, that the life blood of citizens has been poured out like water, not in any war, but in deference to capital in its conflicts with labor, and on account of a mere difference of opinion, as also in the exercise of the right of American citizens to assemble and secure a redress of their grievances. As was said in another chapter, the life of an Egyptian slave was as nothing, and in our sister republic of Mexico the

extinction of peons causes no comment. They are mere incumbrances in the way of progress and it is easy to fill their places with other wretches of like uselessness. The same thing has been observed in the case of our Indians, who are put to death on the slightest provocation. Their savage nature, the wrongs that have been perpetrated upon them and their race, and the revengeful spirit and desire for redress which a white man would be ashamed not to possess, all go for naught when it becomes necessary to get rid of them as incumbrances in the way of some civilized and thrifty cattle baron, wheat grower or hustling real estate agent. But the real excuse for this is and must be civilization. But that excuse carried too far will react. The American citizen has hopes and ambitions that neither the Egyptian, Aztec nor Mexican possesses nor could ever hope to possess. The slave works, eats and sleeps and waits for death. The American has been educated in the belief that he has a birthright, that he has certain rights which the law, the officials and his fellow-citizens will respect, and that if they do not, that he is entitled to a remedy to compel that respect. When that remedy fails him and he sees himself at the mercy of elements liable to take away his rights and oppress him, he seeks to protect himself as his education teaches him, and if he is massacred it shows one of two things: First, that the government is not strong enough to protect him and therefore kills him as the easiest way out of the difficulty, or, second, that there are times when, under the pretence of public safety, the blood of citizens may be spilled by their fellow-citizens without process of law, regardless of the right to live, an acknowledgment of the doctrine of lynch law, which is a two-edged sword, for the public safety does not concern one class of citizens more than another.

Our forefathers did not cut loose from a monarchi-

cal system of government with any intention of returning to it again.

What care the administrators of the affairs of this government, whether National or State, for the rights of individuals? In the little Dutch republic that amuses us so much because of its littleness, the ruler's oath is to protect the rights of individual citizens as well as to protect the State. In the United States the official oath is to support the Constitution, an instrument which declares the rights of the individual citizen to be pre-eminent. But in the fulfillment of that oath, in the carrying out of the objects and purposes for which it is exacted, the individual is absorbed, lost, in what officials are pleased to call "common good, public welfare, greatest good to the greatest number," and other high sounding terms that are the clap-trap of kings and personal governments.

Time was when an American citizen could begin at the bottom rung of the ladder and work his way to the top, but if he attempts it now, or discovers a means of rising above penury, he is crushed down and out of existence by aggregations of capital known as "trusts," which will not permit him to sell a spool of thread, a pint of milk, a soup bone or a jackknife except at their regulated prices. Coal oil is cheap at ten cents per gallon considering that it used to be forty cents; and where one could get only six or ten pounds of sugar for a dollar, he can now get twenty pounds for the same money, yea, even for a silver dollar that is worth only forty-five cents. A most prosperous condition, and the great and amazing part of it is that there are so many who cannot get either coal oil or sugar at even that low price, though everybody had enough and to spare when it was forty cents a gallon and ten cents per pound respectively. We can now travel miles and miles for a mere nickel on our beneficent transit lines, where before it would have cost us a dollar or more. What has afforded us these and vari-

ous other blessings? Why, vast aggregations of capital called "trusts and corporations," which have absorbed the individual, crushed him out of existence, reduced him to poverty and cringing penury, all for the "common good, public welfare." Reader, do you find any "common good, public welfare" elsewhere than in the pockets of the managers of the trusts and corporations? They are the "rich beggars" referred to in the chapter on "Charity," and we literally walk over each other in our anxiety to give them our nickels, and then we go home and wonder where we are going to get our next meal.

They are the destroyers of competition, the speculators that prevent labor from producing money lest they have a little less. In them we can see the plain reason why no man can rise, and why it is that capital has become the producer of labor and holds labor in the hollow of its hand, squeezing and crushing it down to the lowest notch possible to maintain life.

The "Right to Live?" Say, rather, that it is the right to exist only, and when the toiler, enfeebled by inadequate nourishment, and his mind affected by the dazzling promises of a "Prosperity" that never comes to him, becomes incapacitated to earn even the pittance thrown at him as if he were a beggar and a slave, the sole right left him is: The Right to Die.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE GLORY OF THE KING.

“Divine Right” and “Public Good” seem to have bridged the gulf between them and to be now hobnobbing like old friends.

The fields of the “Old World” are strewn with the bones of humanity that went down to death, with “Long live the King” upon their dying lips, and the pages of history teem with the desperate deeds of valor performed by heroes whose names will live and resound throughout the earth until time shall be no more. The agonizing cries of heart-broken widows and orphans have time and again rent the heavens in vain for relief from their miseries. All for what purpose? For the glory of the king; to bolster up some decrepit, selfish monarch, or, at the call “to arms,” to rush into the jaws of death to sustain a system of government, which when made strong and powerful by the blood of its supporters, forgets them and becomes more tyrannical than ever.

All the wars and struggles of the human race since the beginning have been undertaken upon the theory of “public good,” when they have only had for their real object the private good of the few. The general welfare, the public good, the honor of the nation, the glory of the king, have always been the specious bases of all patriotism, and the destruction of the individual. When contending armies are hurled at each other, and their bones are shivered as glass, the victory is awarded to the leaders, and the king receives the ova-

tions of the multitude who forget their dead in his glory and renown. Forgotten are the bleaching bones of the individuals, by all except the jackals and the vultures, while stately monuments are erected to the glory of the king and dedicated to the greatness of the nation.

In this country we have no king, no Caesar but of our own creation and selection, and whatever ills may betide us, they are all of our own doing. That is the naked theory of our system. In practice we feed the Caesar we create upon such strong meats, even upon our own life blood, that he grows greater than his creators, and in his pride of strength falls back upon the same old idea of "good of the public," welfare of the nation," etc., etc., and after his car of triumph follow the same weary slaves, dragging their feeble limbs and applauding the king. They revel in the loss of their individual liberties in the great cause of general good, public welfare, etc., it never occurring to their minds that the ones to be helped are the ones who need help.

There never was a more entirely misconstrued, misconceived and misapplied theory than that of public welfare. When the infant Colonies cut away from the oppressive administration of an English king, sloughed off the ulcers and barnacles of the "divine right," and established a new, a novel system of government, free from the pernicious effects of the monarchical form of government, and based that new and novel system upon equal rights and certain inherent privileges, it never occurred to them that we could ever return to the system which they shed their best blood to throw off. Had they thought so, they would never have struggled and shed their blood to get rid of it. To them the rights of every individual citizen were as sacred as the rights of all. The rule of the majority was accepted, because that rule was in accord with the rights of each and every citizen as guaranteed

by the organic law, and there was enough grace in the hearts of the ruling majority to see to it that its rule should not oppress, but govern and not dominate. The rights of the individual were guarded, and the individual citizen protected without resort to the enervating power of paternalism. The segregated rights of individuals were aggregated into public welfare without the destruction of the individual.

But how is it now? The reader has but to open his eyes to see. The greed for gold, the bawd of ambition and the tawdry vanities of the "divine right" have brought us back to the European idea of public good, public welfare and, as once said a prominent citizen, "The people be damned." Go where you please in Europe and in the shadow of her institutions of learning, including political economy; her palaces of art; her laboratories of science, and among her stately monuments and grand architecture, lying prone in the dust and dirt of the streets, living upon the garbage thrown from the heavily laden tables of "public good," are multitudes of "Lazzaroni" (Lazarus, indeed), who raise their faces out of the dust and shout: "Long live the King!" as he passes by in his gilded coach, surrounded by gorgeously equipped troopers with drawn swords ready to cut down the rabble if they dare shout anything else.

But we in this country have not yet reached that abject condition of poverty and slavery. We have no king, but we tighten our belts and stay our empty stomachs with hope as we follow in the trains of our petty kings, our wire pullers, our bosses, the evil advisers who stand behind the mythical throne of a shadowy, intangible Caesar, of which they are the substance. A king thinks nothing of the ragged incarnations he rides through with his train. He is not ashamed of it, for is he not the king by divine right, and has he not the poor always with him? With us, though, the public good demands that our lazzaroni

be hunted into holes and corners, penned up in hot or cold, bare rooms, in back streets, curtained out of sight by the veil of general welfare. Off the public places they are driven by peace officials, so that when Caesar, their Caesar, rides through with his jingling chains and gilded coach, surrounded by his toadies, his eyes shall not be offended with their misery and their extended hands, nor his ears assailed with their cries for "backsheesh." If they annoy him with their petitions for a redress of their grievances they are sent to prison as disorderly persons or prohibited from voting at the primary election.

Our petty political kings are not paternal, that is a relic of barbarism, despotism. A despot, the vicegerent of God, would cast handfuls of small coin among his paupers and take pleasure in their scrambles to obtain possession of them, but we give our coins to those who already have much, to be distributed as their whims, bigotry or heartlessness may dictate. Verily, to him who hath shall be given and from him who hath not shall be taken even that which he hath.

The shallow pated foreigner, fresh from the corrupt courts that maintain their splendor out of the life blood of the poor, and call their fatness "public welfare," comes to our shores and our petty kings fall down and worship him. He is wined and dined, toasted and fêted and carried about in triumph, to see our stately monuments, magnificent palaces, and returns to his native land to tell of our magnificence. The curtain is not withdrawn from before the skeleton in our closet and he does not see our back streets, our carefully concealed paupers nor their miseries. That ulcer is covered up, but it is there, and it is the public good, the general welfare, that keeps it there. When some enlightened foreigner, acquainted with human nature, suspects the same conditions as in his own country, and finds them, he tells us boldly that we are no better than anybody else. For this he is denounced by

a servile press, as a liar, a fraud and a calumniator and even his moral character attacked as is that of all those who speak the truth. We see it, however, every day, and we are not liars, nor detractors, nor calumniators; moreover, our personal character has nothing to do with disproving the facts. We are not enemies of progress, for we accept the telephone, electric lights, steam engines, sugar, coal oil, and other things too numerous to mention, as evidences of our prosperity and of our greatness. We keep off the grass, do not pluck flowers that are going to waste for want of plucking, abstain from spitting upon the floors of public conveyances, do not drink beer on Sunday and prefer starvation to buying bread on that day; in our humanity we preserve the lives of cats in our back yards, that make our lives a burden; we submit to being run over and mangled and maimed by the progressive juggernauts of rapid transit; we toil and sweat to raise money for taxes and licenses to avoid going to jail for not paying them. In fine, we exhibit all the admiration possible for our progress and submit to the most unparalleled exactions, squeezings and robberies, for the good of the public and for the general welfare, but the poor are still with us, which is the sigh in the heart of every king, and the vaporish lament belched up to heaven from the over-fed paunch of the hypocritical divine.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MODERN MARTYRS.

Showing how there are others besides the Roman Emperors who can manufacture martyrs.

'Tis not alone to those who shed their precious blood, whose saintly limbs are racked and flesh torn because they keep the faith preached unto them, that shall be awarded the crown of martyrdom. Our modern graves are filled with victims and others yawn for those whom living tyrants send to death in pain and torture.

The Christian martyr little recked of his dismembered shell; to him the rack and thumbscrew and the tiger's maw were welcome helps up to the great shining throne, and to his uplifted eyes appeared the outstretched arms of Christ and his brother martyred saints. He lay upon the flaming fagots as upon a bed of roses, and the smoke of his consuming flesh was gateful incense to his dying nostrils. The blood, indeed, of the early martyrs was the seed of the church, which, upspringing in a fertile soil, soon choked the weeds of persecution.

In the bright dawn of civilization, the dark, steaming haunts of persecution were exposed to public execration and the foul instruments of torture and murder laid away as curiosities of human cruelty to man. The fires beneath the horrid cauldrons of boiling pitch and the human gridiron were quenched by the plentiful rain of civilizing mercy. And now we are flat-

tered by the thought that none must suffer for opinion's sake and that the rays of a new century's sun just now about to rise, cast halos around men free from mental slavery.

The pangs inflicted upon the flesh that racked the limbs and cracked the joints of him who clung to Christ and died for his opinion's sake, are only dreams and seen but through the dim and musty records of the past, for martyrdom is over. True, the martyrdom of the shell, but what of that inflicted upon the spirit? There is a multitude of graves already filled I say, and others yawn for those who suffer and who die for poor opinion's sake, and that, too, by a martyrdom more cruel and more sore than from hard iron hooks or boiling pitch or broiling fire. An agony that the Christian martyr felt not, for his spirit was stronger than his flesh and weakened not. In his soul the image of the crown of victory soothed his pain and changed his bitter torments to delights. But now the torture is that of the soul and nothing brings it comfort. No room is there for hope or crown, for well he knows that after all is o'er a dismal, deep and dire hell opens wide its portals to receive his weary spirit. "Who kills my body saves my soul." This said an ancient saint, but he of modern times protests the body must be saved though perish human soul.

In the heart hunger of a woman scorned for other love by him who gained her maiden soul and took the all she freely gave, there is an agony that sometimes drives to death unhallowed and that yields no corporal pangs.

A babe, for whose sweet sake its mother bore her tragic travails with contented smiles, torn from that mother's breast by tyrant law that wounds but does not heal, affords that mother torture worse than if she suffered death to save her infant's days.

Two hearts bound fast together in love's thralls, affinities that correspond, are thrust asunder by a

keen relentless sword wielded by stern conventional-ity and bitter, sullen selfishness and jealousy. The heads of those who love, but love too late to escape the meshes of a slavish net, are wound about with sorrow's mantle, and in their hearts are planted germs of dark despair which, sprouting up like noxious weeds, soon choke the avenues of a joyous life.

In the soft susceptibility of youthful innocence, with a heart unripened to the knowledge of its destiny, nay, caught, perhaps in some rebound, the life, the soul, mayhap, is caught within the meshes of its own innocence and then is cast out by unholy custom to linger on and suffer till death ends all its misery.

What of the man who, moved by high impulse, aspires to things which circumstances or his friends hold in suspense beyond his reach? The struggles of his soul to reach and realize the ideal in his heart become the agonies of death as time fast passing leaves him dangling o'er his grave in middle age or riper years with hopes all shattered, and his soul gorged with despair, and thus he falls down into oblivion without regret. That man has suffered martyrdom, for all around him, rank incompetence betrays the need of his superior mind, yet is he cast aside by jealousy and proud conceit of those who fear that his ascendancy will injure them and cast them on the garbage heap of useless things.

When the dew is on the grass in early morn the son of toil takes up his weary burden and lays it not down again until the sun has withdrawn his light, and then he drops it on a threshold of misery and famine. Perhaps to wrest from him the uttermost farthing's worth of the priceless labor which is his all, he is still further burdened lest he fail to earn his martyr's crown. Mayhap, from constant toil he turns aside awhile to ease himself and those he loves, and draw them all up to a higher plane, but the very efforts made but drag him lower down, as one who treads the fatal sands, until

he sinks, and nothing leaves to mark the spot where he lies buried with his hopes.

The poor who struggle for the right to live, in their upheaving, fermenting wretchedness soon run against and disturb the calm serenity and discretionless maze of absurd, arrant law, and then within a prison cell are left to meditation to find reasons why they venture eyes to draw their breath and live. They cannot say with Julian, casting up to heaven a clutch of mortal blood: "Galilean, thou hast conquered," for all is dark to them, and their poor, united brains know not the reasons for the hasty judgment entered up against them, nor can their dull minds grasp the new construction put upon the mansuetude of Christ. A pauper, tramp and vagabond, nor hath he means to live, so he is locked up in a shivering cell with famine as his aid, to teach him suffering, and to roll up to a fat amount official emoluments.

'Tis writ that whoso's charged with crime, the same shall all his innocence retain, until some man shall come and prove his crime; but hounded on by fawning, servile and senile press, his guilt is proved before he comes to trial, and even then, a facile, journalistic court and prejudged jury of men not his peers convict him from the mouths of low born, perjured spies and pimps, who glory in their infamous renown. Mayhap, by methods worse than rack and thumbscrew, he is beseiged by dull clods in uniform, who goad him on until his mind gives way and babbles out "confession" to relieve his oppressed mind, the which is taken by the courts on mere hearsay, as gospel truth, and on it send the victim to his crown. And so he dies, oppressed unto the end, but when his martyred bones have long since tumbled into dust, and truth and innocence at last appear, the wolfish press that sent them down, raise up their pious voices horror-struck 'gainst facile, senile law, and bloody executioners, and strive

to snatch the crown of martyrdom from off their victim's head.

The poor, frail body, helpless in disease, looks up with hopeful eyes to him who bears a sheepskin of his worth and merit, and swallows down adulterated drugs that wrench his body, and at last his soul set free. Or else, perchance, is practiced on in some hyena's den by surgeon's knife, before a crowd of boys and girls to whom the law forbids the doing of the same upon the body of a soulless dog, and thence is hurried piecemeal into some nameless tomb, his skin to serve as pocketbooks for the rich, his bones as buttons for the proud. Too poor perhaps, if he survive, to be at care of those he loves, the sick man's carried to some public ward, to there become the prey of brutal tip-fed nurse, who knoweth naught of mercy to the one who hath not coin or scrip within his purse.

Upon our streets are those whose chief employment is a constant living death. Driven from pillar to post and cast into a filthy cell, mid ribaldry and curse, or haled up before some arrant court, through crowded streets, by those who tread upon the air of notoriety, and aim to purify by rendering more impure, and murder mercy through their fiendish lack of it, these poor soiled doves are held up spectacles, as were the ancient martyrs of the Roman populace, and go down into the dark valley with curses on their lips against the cruel system that doth send them there. Meanwhile the author of their woes, the maker of their crown, sits down among the sanctified and thanks the Lord that he is not like them.

The poor, dull brain, best fitted for a yoke, perhaps some blue-eyed country maid, well fitted for her sphere, is crammed with education, art and other stuff that puffs her up with pride beyond her scope of handling, and when refined in the crucible of crazy schemes to lift the so-called downtrodden, and the lowly, until

ashamed of her former humble state, her patrons cast her on the stormy sea of life to drown.

But worst of all the cruel tortures that on man are heaped, and by devices that would shame a Nero, and bring a blush of shame to the hide-bound cheek of Torquemada, are those employed beneath the guise of modern piety. The sects, as various as the sands beside the sea, bar from the cooling shades and bubbling springs of Paradise all those who do not stand before their altar rails and mask hypocrisy with religion's cloak. Dragged from one hell by one sect, the struggling sinner finds himself into a worse one cast by some competing church. 'Tis "Here, Lord; there, Lord," that he hears resounding on all sides, but when he closely looks he finds no Lord at all, and only the Golden Calf they worship all. Seeking for what will bring some surcease from his rounds of sin, the wretched seeker after peace and truth discovers all at swords' points and in strife contentious, their pious jaws with hatred, calumny and slander wagging. No peace finds he in internecine strife, so overboard he casts them all and guides himself by such light as he finds within his mind and heart. Yet is he made a martyr of, for damned he surely is because he does not bear the proper brand, nor is his name pew-labeled anywhere, without which he is told he cannot pass through heaven's gate.

Why need we multiply examples when the modern world is overrun with Neros, Torquemadas and Calugulas? Mankind is tortured from his cradle to his grave, by those who, holding that on earth there is no peace, make good their doctrine by the foul disturbance of it. His spirit troubled and his soul dismayed, at home, abroad and everywhere. His comings and his goings watched, and pitfalls, nets and traps spread for his wandering feet. Deceived, betrayed and robbed on every side; his privacy invaded and his home

charms dispelled; the choicest feelings of his heart held up before a mocking world; his purity denied, his motives misconstrued; beset by malice, petty vengeance, greed and biting scorn; o'erwhelmed in a sea of envious, jealous hate, what is there left for modern man but martyrdom and a martyr's crown?

CHAPTER XXIX.

SABBATISM.

Liberty of conscience does not mean that some are at liberty to choke others into their way of thinking.

“And he said unto them, ‘The Sabbath was made for man and not man for Sabbath.’”

—St. Mark ii., 28.

Of recent years an old disease has broken out afresh in various localities, which, although not epidemic, frets and afflicts the body politic with a variety of disorders that threaten its speedy dissolution unless quarantined. It is, moreover, intermittent in its appearance, and is frequently attended with violent paroxysms, resembling the symptoms accredited to hydrophobia, which, according to experts not already afflicted with it in its incipient stages, bids fair to destroy whatever of vitality is left in the political system. The most appropriate name by which this erratic disease may be designated is “Sabbatism,” and it can easily be recognized from the virulence of its mental frenzy and intellectual delirium.

The pages of holy writ and the teachings of tradition disclose the fact that the Almighty held in his own hands the lash which descended upon the backs of those who violated his commands, and he maintained as his own exclusive prerogative the right to inflict penalties for infractions of his law. Hence we find him excluding our first parents from the violated garden; setting a mark upon Cain lest some man should

take the law into his own hands and kill him. It was He who opened the floodgates of heaven and drowned a villainous people; cast a consuming rain of fire upon corrupt Sodom and Gomorrah; transformed Lot's over-inquisitive better half into commercial chloride of sodium. He rolled back the waters of the Red Sea like unto two walls and sent them crashing together again to swallow up the hosts of Pharaoh, who sought to replevy their goods, wares and merchandise from the thieving Hebrews; prevented Moses from entering the promised land; loosed the dumb tongue of the unruly Balaam's ass; hanged Absalom by the hair on the limb of a tree; raised up a whale to swallow the shirking Jonah; stayed the course of the fiery sun to enable Joshua to exterminate his enemies; used Samson as his agent to beat common sense into the heads of his enemies with the jawbone of an ass; afflicted Job with boils and other inconveniences; blew the surprising horn that felled the walls of Jericho; opened the heart of David to repentance after he had demoralized Uriah's wife and assassinated her husband. It was the Lord who opened Solomon's eyes to wisdom after his troublous experience as the original founder of the Mormon dynasty; tumbled the walls of Jerusalem about the ears of its citizens; sent bears out of an adjacent wood to devour the impious infants who jeered the prophet's baldness. It was his finger that wrote upon the wall at the Belshazzar banquet the words that prepared the way for a new system of government worse than the old one. He instigated Jael to nail Sisera's head to the ground; cast Jezebel to the dogs; sent the birds to feed his starving prophet, manna and quail to the hungry children of Israel in the wilderness; struck water from Horeb's rock; sent John the Baptist and then his own Beloved Son to redeem his faithless wards and put it in their hearts to crucify him to make good his fore-ordained word.

In all of the smallest details of human affairs, the

Lord himself appeared as the Supreme legislator, judicial tribunal and executive, as well as ministerial officer. His agents and all of the machinery and paraphernalia to provide compulsory observance of his commands never had other than advisory powers and were not permitted to go beyond mere prophecies and threats of what would be inflicted upon a stiff-necked people if they turned a deaf ear to their prognostications, and there is only one instance where a prophet took the law into his own hands. Moses coming down out of the mountain saw the golden calf, and the people dancing around about it. Then his anger waxed hot "and he cast the tables out of his hands and brake them beneath the mount" and made the Israelites swallow the ashes of the golden calf which the high priest made to accommodate himself to popular clamor and gratify public opinion, and the golden ashes are still in their veins.

But in these modern times it is assumed that the Lord is withholding his strong hand, that his right arm has lost its cunning and that he has forgotten to enforce the penalties for the violations of laws which his hand wrote upon the stony tablets, and so his present prophets usurp unto themselves his exclusive prerogatives, and not content with enacting the rôle of prophets, whose province was to warn and threaten, play false ones by enforcing the divine law as they construe it, and punish its violations with their own hands.

They blow their trumpets, but the walls of Jericho still stand; they hold up their hands to the sky, but the sun goes on its course; they expose their baldness to jeering multitudes, but the bears rush not out to devour the ribalds. They even venture to cast pearls before swine, but the hogs turn not to rend them. Even asses speak to them; but they do not hearken. They let their hair grow long like that of Absalom, but they are not caught in trees; they rush about the

streets of our modern Jerusalems crying "woe! woe! woe!" but there is no woe but that following upon the heels of their own misgovernment. Many of them cast themselves down before dogs, but the dogs flee in dismay unable to stomach them. They rave, rant, storm and threaten and their breaths are rank with foul calumniations, vituperations and villainous abuse, but the stars remain in their places; the firmament does not waver and the earth remains firm upon its foundations. Nothing comes of their frantic exertions, so they deem the Lord careless in his duties and shoulder his burden themselves, and through the aid of Caesar and the civil law think they make themselves true prophets by their ridiculous and absurd punishments inflicted on those who turn a deafened ear to them. In the police reports and annals of crime they find the fulfilment of their futile prophecies.

Living in the mouldering ruins of the past, shivering upon the barren rock of fulfilled law, they cannot see that the law has been fulfilled, and that man shall not be saved by gall and vinegar, but by honey and mansuetude. They live mid dreams of some future kingdom, like the Jews, who still hope for the coming of their king. They refuse to pay tribute to Caesar and demand that Caesar pay tribute to them.

What is this Sunday, for Sabbath it is not, on which to buy or sell, or act or do, hinges the fate of man's immortal soul? 'Tis but a mere convention, sumptuary law, to force man to accept some unloved thing on pretence that 'tis better for him to accept; a cycle, period, one-seventh of anything.

By wholesale profanation of the divine law which on the stone the hand of God first writ, man changed the day from that on which God rested from creative toil unto the first on which he first began. Whose change and by what right? And why should not the man who keeps the last, the Sabbath, which is the law

of God, meet with protection by more moral right than he who keeps the first, the Sunday, made so by some man? If thus religion or its simulacrum sways the civil law when our organic laws says it must not, then may it dictate what our manner of worship shall to them be most meet. Why not elect some high priest by our pothouse politics, and have our legislatures dogmatize; bring back the rack and thumb-screw, with the fagots and the pot of boiling pitch? 'Twould be as well, for now the law makes every conscience free and punishes for the using of that privilege. If, as some say, it be mere regulation, habit, custom, which hath long prevailed, then why not send to jail the man who sets his teeth in beef on Friday, or scourge the man who eats accursed pork? The science of it is what he who runs may read.

It was long ago, two generations nearly, so long, indeed, that the new generation claims a new discovery in what was common knowledge to old men still living on the earth, when in their youth, that Cardinal Wiseman lectured upon "Science and Revealed Religion," and put the same forth to the world in book form that may be anywhere obtained. It was duly criticised, abused, denied and vilified as was and is the common fate to all who broach the truth. He demonstrated that the alleged days of the creation were not our days of twenty-four hours each, an easy thing to demonstrate, since not until the fourth day were there any sun, moon, or stars to make a day like ours, but were cycles of time which represented ages, every one of which went far beyond the traditional and biblical age of the earth and all created things. This opinion was based upon geological researches and discoveries, that made it as plain as though read from an open book written by the same august hand that fixed the law upon the tablets of stone. It was also held that in geology there was nothing to conflict with the dogmas

of religious faith, and that the sacred writer used the word "days" strictly in a metaphorical sense, when referring to the creative days when the world and all things else were made.

The great Cardinal's object was meritorious, and was to answer certain accusations of the sects that the Church of Rome was opposed to science and afraid to investigate, hence it was necessary to show, by way of an apology, that a close accord existed between the two. Although the sects at first refused to accept science from such a source, and clung with tenacity to the six twenty-four hour days, they were compelled to surrender bigotry to reason, common sense and inexorable science, and now no man believes in anything but cycle days. Hence, as has been said, there is nothing to make the first day of the week other than a mere conventional day, and one not of divine command, as expounded by the sects, since if they changed the lawful day, by what right did they change it? And if they did not, then they have no right to enforce what is not theirs.

It is well that we who dwell beneath a diurnal sun and moon can, with the aid of our sense of sight, agree upon the conventional division of the day and night into twenty-four hours—the glorious sun rises in the morning and sets at eve to rise again the following morn. There is our day. But should we settle down beneath a polar sun, what would we do? When some municipal power, urged by the pious denizens of the Polar lands, shall make the six months' polar day but one of six within which to labor, and prescribe the seventh as the holy one, and force on us the seventh year as his true Sabbath, during which neither man nor his ox, nor his ass, nor his barkeeper, nor his grocery clerk, shall labor, or sell and deliver, or give away any solids or liquids, what argument could be used to draw his mind away from such an absurd thing? Whatever might be said would be a sacrilege, and he

would stand upon the rigid law and force us to submission. There are those now who would swallow such a preposterous view with their scriptural milk and make it a political issue, and would as now, when in the throes of frenzied sabbatism, compel all men to yield on pain of fine and imprisonment.

CHAPTER XXX.

VIRTUE AND VICE.

The rediscovery of the lost dividing line between them.

“Facilis descensus Averni;
Noctes atque dies patet atra janua Ditis;
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad
 auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est.”

—Virgil.

Virtue is an acquired trait, whereas vice seems to be a natural disposition. The educational part of virtue lies in the frequent application of the rod of correction, but vice, like a merry imp, lies in wait behind circumstances and opportunities.

The repentant sinner sneaks up to the anxious seat shamefacedly, while a sinner will get drunk in a devil-may-care way, and loudly boast of it.

Virtue never becomes a habit, but vice is like a toper that would take one more swig at the intoxicating jug though he stood upon the abyss of perdition.

Vice requires little urging—*facilis descensus Averni*—whereas it demands superhuman energy and strength to follow virtue—*Hoc opus, hic labor est*.

It is a great pity that this should be so, and I have often thought that it ought to be the other way, that is, if a man had to be clubbed into vice, he would remain in the way of virtue.

It seems to be reasonable, though, that the more valuable the prize, the more labor it ought to require

to reach it. But the reward of virtue is a long way off, and even then it is made doubtful of attainment by the singular policy of those who propose to superintend the distribution of the reward. What every man demands in this stage of the earth's existence is some immediate compensation for his outlay of money or energy, and from a careful survey of many harvests vice produces the most abundant and quickest crop.

It is no inducement to the sinful rank and file that virtue is its own reward, for most men are satisfied from their own experience, when it comes to maxims, that everything is its own reward. Even a green apple or a mince pie is in evidence of this as a truism. Moreover, there are so many remedial agents that conscience itself is no longer a matter to be apprehended or regarded as a satisfaction.

The surroundings of vice are more ornamental and its methods more seductive than those of virtue, and this conclusion may justly be drawn from the fact that the great majority follow vice as their principal occupation.

Many persons describe vice as a monster of frightful mien, but there is an evident error in the description, for the constantly increasing number of those who fall from virtue indicate that there must be a hideousness appendant to virtue which drives men away from it.

It is from a contemplation of the peculiarity of the human family to always pull the other way that induces many to credit the doctrine of total depravity. There is certainly cumulative evidence upon the point that man's normal condition is that of vice, but it is a horrible thing to believe that the creation of man was a mistake, and that he has no free will, a corollary immediately following total depravity. It is true that the Lord himself repented that he had made man, and sent the flood to get rid of him, and that he made a second trial, which proved worse than the first, but

this is evidence of the fact that man is not essentially depraved, but is possessed of free will, and responsible for his own acts. Otherwise it would be charging the Creator with having created an irresponsible being, and then holding him responsible for what he could not avoid.

One would think though that with original sin washed away in the waters of baptism, man would find himself in the primitive condition of Adam and Eve before the Fall, but there is no appreciable difference between a regenerate and an unregenerate; there is always the same fig leaf indicative of the crime of our first parents.

This is the way the matter looks, humanly speaking, but theologically the idea of Calvin was that it made no difference whether one of the elect followed virtue or vice, he could not be ultimately lost. This was an encouraging stride in advance of a moribund theology, and afforded abundant consolation to those who, while possessing a holy fear of the tribulations that awaited them in the hereafter, yet could not resist paying homage at the shrine of vice, and also furnished them with good reasons for avoiding the irksome duties attendant upon a life of virtue and indulging in the pleasanter and more accessible things attached to a cycle of vice.

It may be that the majority of men at the present day are Calvinists at heart, a suggestion that is quite plausible from their acts, which are undoubtedly at variance with the hard, unyielding rules of morality. Why suffer the pangs and hardships of the virtuous when to eat, drink and be merry are not essential badges of perdition?

A still further advance upon the idea of Calvin is that now so prevalent, that Hades has no existence except in the imagination. But it has been noticed that the votaries of that belief give credence to it from interested motives, having either done something

which would qualify them for a sojourn there, or are preparing to commit some act, the penalty for which would be a permanent residence in the pit, and therefore rather than endure such an injustice they abolish it altogether.

It appears that virtue and vice are often dependent upon a man's financial condition. It was St. Augustine who first called attention to the fact that the poor found the path to heaven an easy one, whereas to the rich it was not only arduous but often inaccessible. He realized in his own experience that the inability of a man to afford the expense of a life of vice compelled him to submit to one of virtue, hence he despoiled himself of his wealth and became an apostle of virtue. An example too seldom followed to make any impression on the ranks of the wealthy, who prefer their wealth to poverty and are willing to take their chances as to virtue with wealth as "an impediment to its practice," as Lord Bacon says.

In this present advanced age of human thought, it is impossible to define virtue or vice, or to establish any distinct boundary line between them. Indeed, there is no man who can practice any virtue without encountering somebody else's vice, and on the other hand, there is hardly any vice that a man can fall into without also practicing somebody else's virtue. And so it comes about that men, bewildered, soon grow indifferent and go along through life as if there were no such thing as virtue or vice in the world.

The signs of the times are that this condition of things will not long remain at haphazard, for there are many at work compiling statute law into a code of morals and moral government, and then the morality of an act will depend upon the penalty attached to its commission; moreover, its conviction can always be provided for by its official commission.

The great distinction nowadays between virtue and vice lies in the common belief that vice is always poor

and virtue rich. Beyond the occasional attacks made upon the vices of the rich by sensational clergymen and the froth of impecunious newspapers for rent or for sale, the great army of the friends of humanity accept poverty as essentially vicious and direct all of their efforts in the direction of battling with and overcoming the vice, leaving the poverty triumphant. They are husbandmen who destroy weeds by pruning the tops instead of cutting out the roots. That this is so is easily demonstrable. Does poverty attack the vices of the rich? Behold a seething, bubbling mass of virulence spewed upon it; the banner of the brotherhood of man is quickly folded away and the brassy banner of patriotism unfurled, calling legions to its support to crush out the wanton, rebellious outrage.

Let me whisper something in your ear, neighbor, for it would be anarchy to say it aloud from the rooftops: The vices of the poor are as nothing compared with the vices of the rich; they have not the same golden opportunities. We imagine the peccadilloes of the poor to be vices because they do not wear stylish clothing, live in unhealthy and low quarters, digest poor food, even the trash you would not throw to a dog. Where there is so much squalor there must be vice, you say; something must be rotten where there exists a bad smell. But listen further, friend: You are confounding vice with poverty, at least mixing them, and making one the essence of the other. That is where the mistake is, as I have been contending all along. Is it any greater pleasure to the victim whether he is put to sleep with a vulgar sand bag wielded by a ruffian or a jeweled hat pin in the hands of a magnificent woman? Whether is it worse to become drunk upon rotgut whiskey in a Raines law hotel, or procure the same kind of a jag on champagne at Delmonico's? The police make a distinction, for the whiskey "drunk" is thrown into a cell to sleep off his debauch, whereas the gilded devotee of

Bacchus is tenderly put to bed, boots and all, and tucked in with swan's down coverings. The brazen Jezebel, who loves for the mere lust of loving, who exhibits her jewels and her seductive personal charms in all the décolleté paraphernalia of fashion in public places and in public halls to the aggravation of eroticism, has her beauty and her charms delineated in the virtuous newspapers to the further spread of the tempest of lust and the deification of vice. But the poor woman, weak from want, her poor charms lost in the skeleton of poverty, secretly staggers about the hidden by-ways and purlieus, waiting to sell her remnant of a body for bread; she, she is caught in the meshes of merciless municipal law or by some descendant of Onan, the agent of a purity association, and cast into prison. Why? Because she is spreading lust and endangering a virtuous community by her wicked example? That cannot be, for she works in secret and in fear and trembling, whereas the other is covered with signal flags. It is because she is poor and her poverty is her crime. The cause, the author of that poverty, of that crime, is the perfumed wanton who sits on high bedizened with jewels and satins or the simpering fool by her side, sitting upon his hinged hat.

Who can deny that it is always the poor who are fastened upon and quarantined as the wretched victims of a disease, of an epidemic, and the root of the disease, the filthy rags hidden beneath silks and satins, untouched? Hence it is that vice will always flourish, for the origin of it is in the rich, and their wealth places them beyond the reach of the moralist who would lose his wage by preaching Christ. It is a cowardice to attack a victim incapable of resistance, but so it is.

CHAPTER XXXI.

WEALTH AND POVERTY.

This chapter is both true and untrue, depending upon the way it is looked at.

“Rich men sin and I eat root.”

—Timon of Athens, Act I., Scene 1.

“For ye have the poor always with you.”

—St. Matthew xxvi., 2.

The condition of wealth and poverty depends upon two essentials: The ability to get money and the power to retain possession of it after it is acquired. The presence of both these elements makes what is usually called a “rich man,” the absence of either creates a “poor man.”

There is no known rule by the observance of which these essentials may be learned. They are neither the result of education nor ignorance, for learned men are frequently poor and ignorant ones arrive at the blessed condition of millionaires. Nor is it thrift or prodigality that makes one or the other, for a thrifty miser may be a pauper in rags and a lavish hand may cast his money in a mossy hollow, or, casting it like bread upon the waters, it may return to him.

It is probable that if all the wealth of the earth were transferred from the hands of those who now hold it into the possession of the poverty stricken, it would soon find its way back again, and the relative positions of wealth and poverty again become as they are

now. Nay, the poor would be reduced to a more pitiable condition than before, because having once experienced the delights of wealth, their condition would have added to it the deplorable mental pangs attendant upon its loss or theft.

The beatific condition of wealth grows out of the possession of money and the capacity for spending it, and the dissatisfaction of poverty arises from the knowledge of the uses to which money can be applied and the inability to apply that knowledge to practical purposes.

This brings the question to the fact of knowledge acquired in a cruel school—a useless accomplishment. The child sees the bright moon, wants it, and cries because no one will give it him. Better blindness, or at least a bandage, rather than be surrounded by similar circumstances during a lifetime.

The man whose back is bent with toil and whose sole food is black bread, is not poor; but when there comes to him the knowledge that there is an unequal distribution of what he is told are the good things of life, he envies the possessors of wealth, his bread becomes bitter and his lot miserable. Then he is poor, indeed.

It is a fact, borne out by statistics, that there are as many rich men who commit suicide through despair at finding ways to rid themselves of their money, or through the anxiety of taking care of it and fear of losing it, as there are poor men who make way with themselves through lack of it. And though this fact does not settle anything, it makes clear another fact, that a reversal of the conditions of the rich and poor would not produce any better or more satisfactory results than those constantly occurring around us now.

It is idle to believe that we would know what to do with money if we had all we desired, for there never was and never will be an individual who knows just exactly the proper thing to do with the “root” under

any given combination of circumstances. We have behind us six thousand years of varied experience in every line of human affairs, and we have the certainty of absolute knowledge that men's natures cannot change, and will not change in any appreciable degree, by changing their conditions or surrounding them by new circumstances. This is the general rule, and the possession of money does not constitute an exception.

It must be admitted that while a poor man always desires to become rich, a rich man never desires to be poor, unless, as in the case of the very saintly and holy, some equivalent is obtained for the money. The suddenly rich poor man plunges into dissipation, becomes a prodigal spendthrift and succeeds in squandering his means, finally falling into the pit, deeper than he was in before he climbed out on his ladder of gold. But the rich man, suddenly impoverished, sets to work and recovers his wealth. The one knows how to make money, the other can only spend it, which brings us back to the starting point, that wealth and poverty are mere matters of special training; a successful thief will serve to illustrate the difference.

It is a true thing to say that more money is made out of the vices and misfortunes of humanity, more when added to the sum total is the cost of luxuries, than out of staple necessities, and history discloses the fact that where such a condition exists there is more general prosperity than when the great mass of the people are satisfied with the actual necessities of life. This indisputable fact is one of the conclusive proofs that the dreams of economists and reformers can never be realized.

Indeed, with our modern social views and policies, it would be impossible for us to return to the former system, where the bulk of the populace were satisfied with a little rice, a handful of dates or figs, and all the rest given up to maintain imperial pomp and the splendor of magnificent temples. Moreover, the blessings

of civilization carried to the uttermost parts of the earth are nothing but the conversion of economists to prodigality for the benefit of trade. We would teach the frugal hosts of Oriental people to pay us their hard-earned money, instead of to their oppressors. We shift their burden of taxation for them.

Civilization has certainly brought about a better distribution of wealth, and where there exists utter poverty there has been either improvidence or robbery. Indeed, no man need be poor, for, if by reason of the superior educational facilities afforded him, he is unfitted to work with his hands, his educated brain finds opportunities in the well filled ranks of the chevaliers d'industrie to acquire the wherewith to dine and dress well, besides a little over for the maintenance of the gaming table and race track. He may also enter the lists with those engaged in the dissemination of theological opinions, and the newer and the more startling are his theories in this open field, the greater will be his following and the better lined his purse. A splendid field is in the organization of some charity, the profits of which are as three dollars to the organizers for one expended for the benefit of the beneficiaries, an investment that has no parallel except in the profits realized from the sale of stock in heavily capitalized incorporations duly organized according to law. There can be no Lazarus in these modern times, for the modern Lazarus would so ingratiate himself that he would have a seat at Dives' right hand and realize great profits from commissions by persuading him to invest his millions in magnificent schemes, mayhap he would elope with Dives' daughter.

From the man who throttles the markets of the country of the world and corners the necessaries of life to his amazing profit, down to his prototype who sells adulterated foods and drugs, waters his molasses and vinegar and gives short weight, all are doing remarkably well, and the only one who justly complains is

the unsuccessful thief, or the embezzler caught in the toils. Even piety opens the door to positions of trust and profit with their consequent supplies of cash for champagne suppers and vaudeville performances. There are avenues without stint and no man can monopolize them all. Hence no man need be poor.

But all this is the dull wit of a cynic or the oily language of an optimistic Pharisee. Wealth and poverty are the extremes in human life; wherever there is found wealth, there also is found poverty, and the greater the wealth, the more grinding the poverty. They are the unsurmountable barriers in our social system.

In approaching any city we find the hovels of the poor in the suburbs and as we near the center the buildings, temples, monuments and what not increase in grandeur and magnificence. Like a huge wheel, the human machine revolves and by its centrifugal force throws out to the circumference and scatters along its periphery, the soiled, torn and tattered rubbish of humanity, reserving the hub for the concentration of wealth. A diffusion of poverty!

We go abroad and delve among the grand ruins of antiquity, to find models which we utilize in our own edifices; ruins so grand, stately and magnificent, that the wealth we are accumulating has not yet been able to equal. But we are studying, working and planning not only to equal them, but to surpass. When we have accomplished our aim, what then?

The broken columns, the delicate traceries, the exquisite carvings, sumptuous palaces, peerless statuary, wonderful monuments and mysterious Sphinxes and Pyramids, were all once vast centers of wealth, the hubs of wreat wheels which revolved faster and faster, and cast far out and away from their rims, as contaminating things, the shreds of humanity that created them all. Far out in the pitiless sands their bones are buried deep, lost to sight, but the monuments re-

main, the refinements of wealth. We are nearing the summit of their glory, for our wheels are revolving faster and faster; our centers are growing in greatness and we are dazzling the eyes of all mankind. We also are casting out into the desert of want, burying them in its arid, unfertile sands, the poor, the poverty-stricken, the eye-sores and disturbers of the refinement of wealth. We are perfuming our mummy cloths to hide the rankness of our corruption. The kings of Egypt did the same, but their bones are scattered like those of their victims.

The boundary line between wealth and poverty is not yet made impassible. The poor have not yet become the pyramid builders of Egypt, the Aztec peons of Mexico. They do not move out of the way fast enough; they might crawl back upon the hub and stop the motion of our wheel to prevent it grinding into powder themselves, their children and their children's children. They are a standing menace to our progress, for we have not yet reached the summit of refinement visible in the magnificent ruins of past ages but we are hurrying thither. Fine progress, indeed! but crab-like. Yet 'tis historical that the world has never moved except upon the back of poverty and over the prostrate poor.

When the tocsin sounded upon our Liberty Bell, it seemed as though a myriad of shadowy eyes looked thitherward in shining joy, that the causes which sent them down to perish would cease to be, and that here their fellows would enjoy the reality of what they only dreamed. But now their eyes are hopeless, for they see the same causes at work to help fill their ranks, and that the tongue of Liberty Bell has ceased to speak.

Is the tongue of that Liberty Bell silent? If so be it is, what is there that can make it speak again?

CHAPTER XXXII.

PESSIMISM—OPTIMISM.

Extremes meet, hence both may be "Calamity howlers."

"Hung be the heavens with black, yield day
to night!

Comets, importing change of times and
States,

Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky."

—King Henry VI., Part I., Act I., Scene I.

"And God shall wipe away all tears from
their eyes; and there shall be no more death,
neither sorrow, nor crying; neither shall there
be any more pain; for the former things are
passed away."

—Revelation xxi., 4.

These are the two discordant elements that play havoc with the affairs and hearts of men. One is as bad as the other, with a shade of merit on the side of pessimism. The earth was created in an optimistic spirit, which, when the object of that creation was nullified by the extraordinary lack of common sense exhibited by our first parents in the now unlovely Garden of Eden, was changed to the most radical of pessimistic ventures.

A large gulf in the original optimism was dug and filled with the darkness of pessimism and, floundering in it, man looks back to the joys lost to him forever

by another's folly, and again, forward to the forbidding cliffs that bar his entrance into the joys to come. He is granted the sight of a few faint rays of hope, which are as illusive and delusive as are all theories that have no actual, real existence.

The people of the earth are muddled in a maze of crooked definitions and wander aimlessly at cross purposes thrown in their way as stumbling-blocks by the felonious intent of their fellows. Those who flatter with optimistic views are bold as brass in their presumption, and mislead the earth to its undoing.

They forge the fetters of the slave while holding out to him the tinsel star of hope; fill up the stomachs of the poor with visionary bread, and goad the toiler to still lower bend his weary, aching back and cheerfully submit to crushing burdens, for that a good time is coming. The evils that afflict the people of the earth can never be cured by optimistic fancies, no more than can the racking pains and galling sores of the bedridden be healed by their concealment.

There never was a time so ripe with arrant greed, a greed that to maintain its own unholy gains and grasp for more, enacts the rôle of Pharisee, whose tenets authorized the lash upon the backs of slaves while whimpering in their ears that misused command of Christ: "Servants, obey your masters."

What mean these idle catchwords, that fall from some men's lips, with sound and sense as meaningless as the mumbled language falling from a parrot's tongue?

In the theological order, both are mortal sins of like degree, since optimism is presumption, and despair the other. In politics the party "in" are optimists, the party "out," vile pessimists. Financially, the man oppressed by dire want imagines that the final trump is sounding, whereas the man of substantial means treads in a flowery garden. The pious see the gate of heaven opening wide to them and glory over the im-

pious hanging on the verge of hell. The Scribes and Pharisees are optimists, and the Good Samaritan, who plasters up the wounds of the wayside victim, nothing but an arrant pessimist. The pangs of hunger find a lodging place within the stomach of a pessimist, and a royal dinner is the joy of an optimist. The slave looks through a darkened glass, but to his master all things are bright and clear.

Optimism is a comparative virtue; pessimism, a relative vice, wherefore the latter is dominant. Love is the destroyer of pessimism; optimism sinks beneath the touch of bankruptcy. The contest between the two is like an eternal game of tenpins, where the pins are constantly overthrown, to be as constantly re-set, and the score of the game is always a tie.

Our modern optimists are Roscicrucians, who bewilder the masses with vain ideals which they do not believe have any existence, and fill the earth with lamentations because they do not exist. They flatter themselves with high sounding words and vague and dreamy utterances that entangle many, but which mitigate no evils, redress no wrongs, soothe no pain and cure no wounds. They are the mind-healers of the earth who feed the hungry at their Barmecidal feasts and give the thirsty the dead sea fruit of delusive hope.

Whenever a human wrong has been righted, an enslaved nation freed, a sinner brought to salvation, the deed has always been the work of a pessimist, and whenever a wrong has been inflicted, an obstacle cast in the way of mercy, charity and brotherly love, it may be traced to the optimistic school of philosophers, whose doctrine is found in the language of the poet:

“One truth is clear, whatever is is right.”

A philosophy that plunges man down into a gulf of despair, without hope of relief, without power to defend against oppression and injustice. A philosophy

which, carried to its ultimate optimistic length, leads to the depths in which are sunk all those who bear upon their banner the common legend:

“Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die.”

There is less hope for those who climb to dizzy heights of optimistic congratulation than for those plunged in the dark gulf of pessimistic woe, for to the latter there shall come a new heaven and a new earth, and former things shall pass away. But the former have forestalled their future abiding place by a creation out of their own presumption.

It is the pessimist who is harmless, for he exposes his ailments to all the world; shouts his warning cries from the housetops. He is a perpetual eyesore to the smooth, oily optimist, who is to be feared, for he creates his own optimism by the destruction of the rights of others, employs force to beat down opposition. The child that cries for bread is a pessimist, and the man who flings it into the gutter to be covered up by death, out of sight, is the optimist. Optimism is the rack, thumbscrew, faggot, gridiron, peine forte et dure of the Inquisition, which forced its victims down upon their marrow bones to cry “peccavi.”

Already has the thumbscrew been applied to American politics, and the optimistic precursor of a prosperity which

“ . . . begins to mellow
And drop into the rotten mouth of death,”

is preparing to crush out the pessimist who sees no prosperity. There is no prosperity, but the pessimist must say there is or suffer martyrdom for denying it.

The “Force Bill” of New York is the entering wedge, one of its means of desecrating and violating the rights of American citizens, and compelling them

to bend the knee in meek submission to the power of an administration whose way leads to the death of liberty. The slightest opposition, the disturbance of so much as a hair upon the head of optimism, and "crack" may go the gun in the hands of an arbitrary power, superior to and independent of the Constitution, laws, rights and privileges of the citizen. It is the beginning of the domination of the public will by force in a peaceful republic, the advance agent of a despotism that from now on until the fading away of the year "nineteen hundred" will expend all its power and energy to perpetuate itself in office. If not, why this preparation to intimidate the citizen in the free exercise of the right of suffrage? If the people cannot be trusted to preserve their rights and require a guardian, by what right, under what law, through whom, has this machine become their guardian?

With the full consciousness of its corrupt, disastrous methods; with the full knowledge that it cannot secure the welfare of the people and at the same time obey the mandates of its master, the money power, it stoops to methods more fitting in an Oriental Pachalic than in a free American republic. Nor will it hesitate to commit crimes of the greatest magnitude to perpetuate its misgovernment and maladministration in the interests of money. With tears flowing down its crocodile jaws, it seeks to cover up its own corruption and oppressive methods by bewailing the downtrodden condition of other nations, while standing over its own people with a lash. To this, machine politics have led us, and like sheep we are following our leaders into the ditch and over the precipice.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

INFALLIBILITY OF THE HINDSIGHT.

Showing why we know more this week than we thought we knew last week.

“Foresight” and “Hindsight!” What a wide, deep, impassable chasm yawns between them! Will it ever be bridged?

The man who in a spasm of self-righteousness first said, “I told you so,” has never been discovered. He is the great unknown, whose followers are as innumerable as the sands of the seashore. The creed he promulgated has never been altered, amended or repealed, and the faith manifested in it by his apostles and disciples has never been weakened by even a breath of heresy.

The ever sleepless, always ex-cathedra hindsight is the sole staff and support of the frail, weak and imbecile foresight, besides injecting into it something of the life blood of energy and activity which inspires it, perhaps goads it, into blindly groping about in the darkness of unwisdom, until it falls into the ditch of absurdity, where it flounders in despair, waiting for hindsight to come to its rescue, which it always does, and wiping off the mud replaces it upon the edge again, whence it again falls into the same ditch upon the slightest provocation.

Blessed hindsight! How different things would be this week had we known as much last week as we do now! How miserable would we have been last year had we not known that we would be further advanced

in knowledge and information this year! It is the one bright ray of hope in whatever we do, that at some future time we shall discover that we would have done different if—But it is ever thus; we never do the same thing twice in just the same way. It is always some new thing, or some new phase of the same old thing. Or, perhaps, the circumstances and surroundings are dissimilar and so unrecognizable, that we are continually forced to call upon our hindsight for aid in our extremity.

“You might have known better.” True, my friend and fidus Achates, but you knew I was going to do it, and wherefore, then, did you wait until I had done it before warning me?

Fellow-wallowers in this slough of despond, did you ever profit by the teachings of your hindsight? You never did, for there was never a mortal who did. And did the value of its monitions ever compensate you for the attempt? You need not answer, for we can make the universal answer “no” for you, because we have tried it and come out just the same way. The reason of the failure is plain; if you think seriously about it, no man ever has an opportunity to do the same thing over again in exactly the same way. There is always a slight shade of difference, but it is as much of an impasse as a mountain. Your hindsight discovers this, and it is never mistaken, it is infallible.

No, it is not the power of prophecy, clairvoyance, or the intelligence of a spiritist medium that lies behind hindsight as a motive power. These merely predict something as liable to happen which may not happen if your course of conduct leads you around it, whereas hindsight always operates upon something that has already irrevocably happened. If it had not it would not be hindsight, but something else.

The mind shudders at the contemplation of the results that would have occurred had hindsight swayed the world and influenced mortality. Napoleon would

have been Madame de Stael and the dagger of Brutus would not have permitted Marc Antony to make his celebrated speech over Caesar's remains, for that noble Roman would have remained at home with Calpurnia. We venture to say that in such case, Columbus would have refused to discover America, and it may be that to gratify popular clamor, the earth would have revolved on its axis the other way and the sun would have shone at night when most needed. And also, though it is a shame to say it, many of our defeated candidates in our periodical elections would have been elected and the others defeated.

Perhaps it is just as well, when one comes to think of it, for there is no greater nor more delightful privilege than to remind men of their mistakes and follies and say, "I told you so." And when the fool who says, "I told you so," is in his turn struck by the same talismanic sentence as with a boomerang, he gives a sickly smile and says, "Humanum est errare," which is the same as saying, "Oh! well, of course, I told you so."

In loud, resounding, deafening platitudes, men warn each other of the rocks and shoals of life, after becoming wise like Solomon with a thousand tribulations. Every one gives to every other one his own compass, and when they stand upon the shoals through some mysterious variation of the foresight of another, and when about to die as the fool dieth, a voice is whispered into each one's ear, saying, "I told you so."

It is quite common for American citizens in the habit of occasionally exercising the right of suffrage to sometimes look back upon their vote and wish they had voted otherwise, or remained away from the polls. Indeed there is a large and increasing number of citizens who seldom or never vote, for the reason, as they say, "It will not be of any use." Of course, this refers to the rank and file of perfunctory voters, those who are never and can never be candidates for any

office; who do not receive any of the loaves and fishes of official patronage; who are smiled upon, taken by the hand, called "my dear Mr. Smith" and treated to beer and cheap cigars before election, but totally ignored afterwards. It does not refer to the managers of the machine, its oilers, stokers and steersmen; those who have the pull and the influence, nor to newspapers who are in the business of politics up to their necks, and swim in fat printing jobs; who are paid by the column for shouting patriotism and denouncing all those of the opposite parties as liars and calumniators for money, who run after the machine with their penny-a-liners spread out to catch the drops of rich grease that drip from its wheels. None of these people ever look back with regret except that they did not get a little more oil. They have no hindsight, they are full of foresight, not for what the people ought to have, but for the filling of their own pockets. It is the tools, the dumb stocks and stones, those who allow themselves to be led astray by cheap noise, brass bands, beer, poor cigars, glowing promises, fawning smiles, fuss and feathers and ante-election flattery, those who have no minds of their own and who say, "We have nothing to lose," when they have everything to lose and all to gain. They are the ones who are the victims of hindsight.

There is one powerful element that might be brought to bear against hindsight, to prevent its destroying foresight, and that is the lesson learned in the school of experience. "A burned child dreads the fire," but a grown man allows himself to be repeatedly drawn in through the door of poverty by the seductive blandishments of promises. The music of a brass band, the oratorical lies of stump speakers, whose arms are in public office and public funds up to the elbows, appeals to patriotism from hireling newspapers who have less patriotism than Benedict Arnold, induce him to surrender his freedom and sell his birthright for less

than a mess of pottage. His remorse then brings him up to the anxious seat, where, filled with spasmodic zeal for his own interests, he plants his foot firmly down, refusing to advance a single step further with the machine until it recognizes that he has some rights to be respected; but he soon weakens and backslides. He is like the man who wakes up in the morning after a night of hilarity and good fellowship with an enlarged cranium; he swears off, but trips again and again until he becomes a confirmed dipsomaniac, a victim of the delusive "gold cure."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

EAT, DRINK AND BE MERRY.

A consolatory chapter for the hungry.

“There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink, and that he should make his soul enjoy good in his labor.”
—Ecclesiastes ii., 24.

“Whoso starveth his body, hath a starveling soul.”
—Lunar Caustic.

There are certain persons so persistent in their efforts to keep all the rest of their fellows tugging at the nursing bottle during the brief period of human existence, that we suspect some personal weakness to lie at the root of their sumptuary regulations.

There are those full of superstition concerning the number “13,” and when we investigate the matter, it is found that one of the 13 was Judas. Hence we opine that the fear of that odd number arises from the knowledge of a personal weakness that might lead the believers in the superstition to betray the Saviour or some friend.

It is this overwhelming fear of inability to resist temptation that produces what are known as “reformers,” whose vagaries are based upon their own sad experiences, and upon their own distressing lack of strength to overcome the obstacles strewn along the pathway of life, whence, out of kindness of heart, except where financial or political motives interfere,

and seeing man mirrored in their own morbid imaginations, they set out to ameliorate what they assume is a similar condition in their fellow-men. They are those of whom St. Paul speaks in 1 Corinthians viii., 9, and who also, by reason of too long a milk diet, are not strong enough to digest good meat. Being milk fed, they are carnal. (1 Corinthians iii., 2-3.)

There is reckless error, particularly in the matter of diet, and incalculable damage has ensued by the shattering of nerves at Barmecidal feasts, and injury to the stomach through loss of saliva at the forbidden survey of the good things of life provided by a bountiful Creator for the wicked, but which the saint regards as the sacrificial meats of idolatry.

Quoth Sancho Panza: "Let me eat, I say, or let them take their government again, for an office that will not afford a man his victuals is not worth two horse beans."

It should never be forgotten that the human digestive apparatus is very like a distillery in its operations, and when crude, raw materials are introduced into it, the component parts of those materials must be mechanically extracted by the mortal interior. Whatever distressing symptoms occur, the dyspeptic acidulations and what not are but the fermentation required in the process of digestion.

The expression, "raw materials," has been used designedly, for the unfermented juice of the grape may be more deleterious than the same juice fermented into wine, for in the latter case the work is already done, whereas in the former the stomach must undergo the arduous labor of distillation. The same may be said of soda water and all soft drinks, with their fermentable syrups which eventually drag the stomach into the slough of dyspepsia.

If the truth were told and careful statistics prepared, it would appear that dyspepsia brought about by under-indulgence is more common than that attributed

to over-indulgence, whether the abstinence or excess be denominated "temperance" or "drunkenness."

Depriving the human system of its necessary stimulants and other nourishments leads as much to the crime of murder as to the driving of it into dipsomania or apoplexy by excessive indulgence. The extremes meet and there are as many cases of *felo de se* from excessive temperance as from intoxicating liquors.

Dyspepsia and biliousness never excite love and affection or any other of the sentimental passions, except, perhaps, piety, and then it is dyspepsia and not religion that crops out. On the contrary, these twin evils develop dislike, hatred, and rouse all of the evil passions, even the murderous instinct—particularly in the heart of the person whose life is joined to that of the dyspeptic. It is to this morbid condition of the liver and stomach that may be attributed most of the emotional religionism extant among persons of hypochondriacal and feeble temperament, and it may be repeated as a truism that more harm has been done by dyspepsia and an inactive liver in the body of an ill-regulated eater, than by whiskey or wine drinking in a healthy stomach. No one ever heard of an epicure worrying about the end of the world, the destruction of the country, or weeping over his own sins and those of others. Such unpleasant traits of character are reserved for the abstainers from the good things of life.

There is no getting away from the fact that the pessimist, he who believes the world is or ought to be coming to an end; the thoroughbred believer in total depravity; the lugubrious, rueful sorrower at the iniquities of mankind; the disturber of everybody's peace of mind, by harping on hell; the man who cannot let well enough alone and the patriot who deems the country in so much danger of ruin and that he is the only one who can save it, is the man who feeds on cod-liver oil for his lungs; patronizes gruel for his stomach's sake; revels in calomel to restrict or enliven his

liver; swallows tons of saturated solutions of lime and sulphur to quell disturbances in his kidneys; spends a small fortune in porous plasters to warm up his spleen; abstains from wine and tobacco for fear of paresis, and is finally attacked by an appendicitis because he persists in eating the wrong things and sternly sets his face against living up to his manhood, and is also the crank, the fanatic, the lunatic, the saint who monopolizes the green pastures and flowery meads of paradise, and relegates everybody who disagrees with him, as does wholesome food, to the other place. According to the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh, it will require considerable purification to fit such bodies for the joys of heaven, as they are understood by the multitude whose stomachs are able to digest good, solid meat.

Let him eat who wills, and what he wills. The faith that will cure a disease will bring it on, and the truth will some day appear as clear as the sun at noon-day, that heredity is more from inadequate stomach training than the taint of ancestral blood. Of course what is one man's meat is another man's poison, and every one must follow the dictates of his own stomach in such matters, particularly when, after a long course of gastric abuse, either by too much abstinence, or over-indulgence, he has brought his stomach into a condition unfit to listen to the dictates of reason. It is a good saying, repeated on all occasions, in and out of season, that "No man should put into his stomach that which will steal away his brain." But it is a poor rule that will not work both ways, and therefore it is equally as good a common sense rule that "No man should put that into his brain which will steal away his stomach."

To again quote our friend Sancho Panza: "Look you, Señor Doctor, hereafter never trouble yourself to get me dainties or titbits to humor my stomach; that would but take it quite off the hinges, by reason it has

been used to nothing but good beef, bacon, pork, goat's flesh, turnips and onions; and if you ply me with your kickshaws, your nice courtiers' fare, it will but make my stomach squeamish and untoward."

The relations between the body and the soul are so intimate and their connections so delicately balanced that the text will bear repeating: "Whoso starveth his body, hath a starveling soul." Hence, let us eat, drink and be merry, for "there is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink."

Wherefore not? We certainly have an abundance suffering to be eaten, and which it would be a sin and a shame to allow to go to waste with so many hungry stomachs more than willing to absorb it. According to the statistics, which resemble the "general good" while the "particular good" is starving, the following is the annual meal check of the population of the United States, exclusive of a tip to the speculating waiter. In solids and fluids, say the men of figures, which cannot lie, we pay for solids and fluids consumed by us the neat sum of four thousand five hundred millions of dollars per annum. This is the bill of fare, the "menu:"

FISH.—Eight hundred million pounds.

BEEF.—Five thousand million pounds.

PORK.—Four thousand million pounds.

MUTTON.—Eight hundred million pounds.

POULTRY.—One thousand two hundred million pounds.

EGGS.—Eight hundred and fifty million dozen.

POTATOES.—Three hundred million bushels.

SWEET POTATOES.—Forty-five million bushels.

BEANS.—Three million bushels.

PEAS.—Six million bushels.

ONIONS.—Two million five hundred thousand bushels.

RICE.—Three hundred million pounds (one-half of which is imported).

BUTTER.—One thousand three hundred and fifty million pounds.

CHEESE.—Two hundred and thirty million pounds.

BUCKWHEAT.—Fifteen million bushels.

BREAD, CAKE, PIES, ETC.—Enough to use up one hundred millions of barrels of flour, containing one hundred and ninety-eight pounds each, not including rye flour, barley, oat and corn meal ad libitum, drawn from a supply of corn, rye and barley, amounting to two thousand two hundred millions of bushels.

SUGAR.—Five thousand five hundred million pounds, seven-eighths of which is imported.

To wash down this table d'hôte, we annually swallow:

COFFEE.—One thousand one hundred million gallons.

TEA.—One thousand one hundred million gallons.

SOFT DRINKS.—Four hundred million gallons.

HARD DRINKS.—One thousand four hundred million gallons.

To aid in digesting this grand meal, we smoke about three thousand five hundred million cigars and cigarettes, the check for which amounts to about seventy millions of dollars extra.

It should be noted that with the exception of coffee,

tea, rice, sugar, alcoholic liquors, tobacco and sundry delicatessen, we export as much as we consume, the statistician assuming that what we do not export is eaten up by the population.

The average daily ration, therefore, of every man, woman and child in the United States, including puny infants and the infirm and delicate, equals about four pounds of solids and liquids, and may be doubled; moreover, there is enough unproductive land to quadruple our bill of fare. Hence it happens that Mr. Blaine was correct in his statement that the United States would support many more millions than it now contains.

But in truth and in fact it does not support the millions it now contains in spite of the above lavish menu, gathered from the most recent statistics attainable. So far as is concerned the labor which produces these provisions there is no difficulty, for that can be supported out of the products raised by it, without regarding money as of any consequence, but it happens that there are five millions of laborers engaged in the manufacture of products that are not food products, and for their sustenance money is absolutely essential, inasmuch as all this plenty would not avail them to the extent of a single meal without it. To them should be added those dependent upon them for support, which would enlarge the number actually dependent upon the wages of labor to enjoy the bountiful repast to at least twenty-five millions. This means that when labor is not employed it cannot eat, or rather, shall not eat, for without money it is a case of abstinence. We know as a fact that labor is not all employed by a multitude, and that when some labor is employed, its wage is inadequate to secure its daily ration of four pounds.

In spite of this plenty, we have over one hundred and fifty thousand paupers, inmates of public institutions, to which, when added, are the multitude of out-

door paupers, inmates of private institutions and the unfortunate who live from hand to mouth, and those saved from starvation by the charity of their fellow poor, the amount of American pauperism in this land of plenty will exceed the pauperism of any other country in the world except England, whose financial policy we have adopted and whose institutions we are striving to imitate.

It should be borne in mind that the nation contributes for the relief of the poor and to private charities, the enormous sum of nearly three hundred and fifty millions of dollars annually, and the calls for charity in the shape of more money are greatly on the increase.

All this gives food for thought, and must demonstrate, even on a superficial examination, that our boasted prosperity is a humbug, and that the only meaning and application of it lies in the so-called "general welfare," which is the prosperity of the few and the increase of poverty among the many. Our grand table, groaning with eatables and drinkables, is fenced off and made inaccessible to the multitude who know that plenty exists, for they can see it, but they cannot reach it without money to buy. All they do get are the crumbs that fall from this modern Dives' table.

There cannot be any valid objection to a man's living on turkey if his taste runs that way and he can afford the price, but there seem to be numerous objections to a poor man's earning more than the price of his daily bread. If the man who dines on turkey could be prevailed upon to share his bird with the other man who has none, both would be satisfied and the entente cordiale between them would be a beautiful illustration of the brotherhood of man. But alas! the turkey man cannot be persuaded to surrender any portion of his savory dish, though it gives him an apoplexy to devour it all, hence it is necessary for his

own good to employ force. Not brute force, understand, but the same amount of force should be used to compel him to surrender part of his turkey as he uses to prevent you and me from having any. What can be fairer than this moderate and sensible application of the law of retaliation?

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE UPSHOT.

Being what a man has a right to be and to do; what he might do if he would, can do if he will, and ought to do because he can.

A citizen of the United States is expected to rely upon his own energy and ability to acquire a competence for his support and for that of his family, if he have one, or for those dependent upon him. He may be unable to reach this goal for two reasons:

First—On account of infirmities.

Second—The interference of others.

In the first category are included mental defects, which make it impossible for him to be other than a charge upon the State, as would also be the case of a temporary or chronic malady. Of course, it will be understood that we are assuming the case of an individual who starts out in life to "make a living," as we say, and has nothing but his natural abilities to begin with. He is fresh from the schools, and is ready and desirous to become a good citizen. He is neither an idiot, a lunatic, an Indian ward of the nation, nor a Chinaman or other Oriental protected by a treaty superior to our Constitution. He is a common everyday American citizen, in whom are vested certain rights and privileges, one of which is the right to provide for his personal welfare and that of those dependent upon him. Whatever may be his physical infirmities, unless they are such as render him entirely dependent upon others, he is capable of doing something, though

it may not be fully adequate to his needs, in which case, it is clear, he will require some outside assistance. In this respect he may be said to be quasi dependent, that is, not entirely dependent. Notwithstanding his condition of quasi dependence, he is bound to exercise his independence as far as he can, for no individual has the right to be a burden upon others except in so far as it is impossible for him to be otherwise. Those totally disabled by nature, or who have become so through accidental circumstances, are not to be considered here at all, because the laws of humanity inherent in the State provide for them, or should provide for them, without imposing the burden of their care upon others or compelling them to beg for charity. By the State are not meant the intermeddling societies and organizations referred to in another chapter, but the State itself, whose duty it is to receive its helpless citizens into its own, actual care, for they are none the less citizens, and in the full possession of all their rights as such, notwithstanding they have lost the power of exercising and maintaining them. The whole responsibility rests upon the State and cannot be lawfully delegated to irresponsible parties under the guise of "charity." Our system of government is more than a mere name; it is not a makeshift or pretence to enable its administrators and managers to rob the people or permit others to do so.

Neither should there be included in this first category those who become helpless through vicious habits or rash business ventures, which drag them into insolvency and poverty. These, however, and all who are "unfortunate" should be given opportunities to retrieve themselves, and if they are ready and willing, they may be placed in the second category, but if unwilling they should be compelled to do whatever they are competent to perform, or taught some useful occupation suitable to their several capacities, and kept at

such employment until sufficiently redeemed to justify being placed in the second category.

In the case of those citizens above referred to, no difficulties can possibly arise, unless they exist in the interference of irresponsible societies and organizations, attempting to relieve the State of duties which belong exclusively to it, and who, by their officious intermeddling, create the most incurable evils and tamper with the most sacred rights of the citizen. All these should be placed under the direct control and supervision of the State, in charge of its own responsible officials. Whatever rights of property may be involved the State is certainly powerful and able enough to properly and equitably adjust, but the interference with the duties of the State in regard to the care of its citizens, whether adults or infants, should be forever ended.

When it comes to those in the second category, difficulties spring up on all sides.

It is assumed, and the assumption is based upon reason, common sense and the spirit of our institutions, that when the State educates its citizens it does so on an implied understanding which amounts to a contract that when the specified education shall have been completed, the citizen shall possess the right to continue his career and exercise his right and duty to become a good citizen, by providing for himself without being a charge upon others or upon the State, as in the cases first mentioned. This is not only his duty, but his right, and if he is prevented or interfered with in the performance of that duty or in the exercise of that right, without fault on his part, it is clearly a wrong, and it becomes the duty of the State to remove the obstruction. If the aid of the State, its protective arm, be withheld, it is because there is a defect in our laws or else they are not properly administered. Wherefore it is quite proper and wise for the citizen to

supply the defect in the law, and remove the maladministrators from office, electing such officials as can be relied upon to properly administer the laws in accordance with their spirit, without attaching the highest importance to their letter.

There is no law, whether mandatory or directory, prohibitive or permissive, civil or criminal, under our system that has not behind its mere wording a spirit superior to that wording; a principal of equity and fairness which must prevail or be observed and which would always be observed and prevail were it not for corrupt and unjust judges and incompetent, brutal officials. Our laws are not religious dogmas, the observance of which is intended to be enforced by means of the rack and thumbscrew, cauldrons of boiling pitch or any cruel methods.

There are many obstructions which interfere with and defraud the citizen of his rights, and totally defeat the object of the State in providing him with an education and fitting him to be a good citizen. It is a sorry thing to say, but experience and observation sanction the truth of the saying, that the State not only does not remove the obstacles and hindrances in the way of the citizen, but sanctions and approves them. Nay, more, the State openly aids in perpetuating these interferences with the rights of the citizens, and aids in defeating its own objects in making him a citizen. It has even used the public moneys to prevent their removal, as it has done during panics in Wall Street, when it would have been of incalculable benefit to the public if the whole robbers' den had been blotted out of existence. When the people lose confidence through the very efforts of the powers that be to destroy it, they rush at once to withdraw their money from the places of deposit, but the government steps in to aid the banks, ostensibly to restore a confidence which it has destroyed. When the banks and the spec-

ulators make a run on the people and take away all their money, does the government come to their rescue? Certainly not, for in its misapplication of the blessings of "public welfare" that part of the spirit and letter of our organic law is limited to the money power.

If the citizen desire to learn a trade he is met with a bar put up by the trades unions, a bar so rigid that the son of a laborer is not permitted to learn his father's trade. This bar is of no benefit to the cause of labor, and it is erected upon the basis of a false theory of political economy, that competition in labor will reduce wages. But however false the theory may be, there is a plausible reason for the bar of the labor unions, and when that reason no longer exists the bar will be removed. To the reason, therefore, why a citizen is prohibited from learning a trade or from pursuing any occupation he may be fitted for, a prohibition which drives him into pauperism and crime.

There is more than one reason why an American citizen cannot exercise his rights as such; there are three principal reasons:

First: In an apparent conflict between capital and labor, which is not a conflict on the part of labor, but a fight for existence. On the part of capital it is a conspiracy to bring labor to its knees and beg for such wages as the mercy of capital may think fit to allow.

Second: In the absorption or control of all of the money and circulating medium of the country by banks, corporations, trusts, syndicates and other speculators.

Third: In the enormous amount of individual credit money forced upon the people in consequence of a grossly inadequate government circulating medium.

There is a remedy for all of these unhealthy conditions, the opposition to the administering of which is purely sentimental ostensibly, but based upon the most intensely selfish grounds, grounds which, if

sufficiently powerful to prevent the operation of any remedy, would dethrone the Czar of Russia, decapitate the Sultan of Turkey or create a revolution in staid old England.

These three reasons why an American citizen is deprived of his right to exercise the independence of his citizenship and his children forced to the barroom, into pauperism or crime, arise from no fault of his own. He is the innocent party, but he is forced to be the sufferer, and does not possess any means of redress or alleviation except as hinted at throughout this book, in the ballot. He and his fellows have no quarrel with the system of government, but he has a most righteous quarrel with the unequal and unjust administration of its affairs. As is said in the "Preliminary Remarks," referring to James G. Blaine, "This country will support many more millions than it at present contains," so that the trouble is not in inadequate productions, but it is in our administrators of the affairs of the government foisting upon the people the radically wrong systems which millions upon millions of paupers from their graves in the old world cry out against. These three causes which lie at the root of our troubles are not considered worth mentioning by our political economists, all of whom run after definitions and confess that they cannot find the real cause of poverty and starvation in a land of plenty. We live in an age of theories, and instead of thinking out the problems that almost solve themselves, we turn away our eyes from their visible demonstration and seek more theories in books which never have benefited the human race or filled an empty stomach except in charity. Puffed up with the vanity of words, men argue themselves into hoarseness, and when speechless, take to books and do more idle talking through their pages. The laws of nature and of common sense are changed by crowing hens and cackling cocks, and the egg they hope to hatch is always barren.

The milk of human kindness has become a sour, putrid mess filled with the stinking flies of dead theories, upon which more are cast to likewise die and smell of corruption. To him who would strain the mess or let it settle down to save the supernatant goodness, the cry is always, "Hands off," and so 'tis always stirred and never clears.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SEIZING THE OPPORTUNITIES.

In the general grab game going on, we must not let everything get away from us.

Throughout the preceding chapters it is intimated that the quarrel between capital and labor grows out of the false assumption on the part of capital of the right to dominate labor and the unceasing struggle of labor to prevent that domination and maintain an equality of right, but it may be repeated here without wearing out the idea, that capital, being the product of labor, is not and cannot be its enemy; indeed, the destruction of labor means the destruction of capital. Let the question assume the nature of a dilemma, one horn of which would be the last above mentioned proposition and the other this: If labor destroys capital it destroys its own product and thereby extinguishes itself. The dilemma itself demonstrates that capital and labor are essential to each other's existence. The matter is not one depending upon the tiresome definitions of political economists, it resolves itself into a question of absolute, indisputable fact. Wherefore, then, it is proper to say, that when there is no labor there can be no capital, and even applying the idea of "accumulations" to the idea of capital, it may be said with equal truth that when there is no capital there is no labor.

It does not require a microscope or a telescope to learn that both labor and capital are existing, patent facts. To this should be attached another self-evi-

dent fact, to wit, that all of labor is not employed and all of capital is not utilized, or, to speak in newspaper language, a multitude are starving for want of work and the banks are "stuffed" with money. The reason of this is perfectly clear; the money is not in circulation, or, which is the same thing, capital is not invested, whence labor starves for want of work.

This brings us to the second reason set forth in the last chapter why an American citizen is unable to exercise his rights, to wit: "The absorption or control of all of the money or circulating medium by the banks, corporations, trusts, syndicates and other speculators."

That this is true is an indisputable fact, for no man goes to labor to borrow money, because labor has none; it is constantly in need of money; it is only at the banks and of the others that money can be had. This also does not require a magnifying glass to perceive. It may be very true that the money in the banks belongs to the depositors and to labor, though the courts hold differently and regard all of the money deposited in banks as the property of the banks, but that does not prove anything against the culmination of the idea sought to be conveyed by this chapter, but rather confirms it, for it is, then, in the control of the banks, etc., who neither give it away nor throw it away. It is confessedly the people's money, at any rate, and is the circulating medium. But it is used by the banks to loan out and make money with, and it is clutched in a tight grasp until as much is squeezed out of it as is possible through the agencies of the corporations, trusts, syndicates and speculators. Admitting it to be the people's money, it would be impossible for the people to withdraw it all at once, no matter how much they might desire it, for it would not be there to be drawn out. If a general "run" were to occur that would be what is known as a "panic," and the banks would be obliged to close their doors. But before that could happen the general government

would feel justified in preventing such a calamity that would amount to what political economists term "a universal bankruptcy," and step in with its entire treasury, and if that proved insufficient, it would create more money in the shape of bank notes, ready for distribution among the banks of the country. It has done this before and will do it again.

Now, here is a singular condition of things; the people in the exercise of their right to their own money drive the country into a universal smash by trying to take possession of it, and in exercising their right of possession compel the government to come in with the public money and the newly created money—calling government credit notes "money," inasmuch as they answer the purpose of money. It will be perceived that the general government recognizes the right of the people to take their money out of the banks, but steps in and inflates the currency to prevent injury to the banks; an act which, if the people were gold bugs, would create an uproar and be denounced in political platforms as a reduction of the value of their money, but being the people's money, the government does not consider the morals of the thing so much as it does in the case of the money power. But why should the government be put in this position? Have not the people put their money into banks, and if it is not stolen, is it not there for them to take out again? It is not there, and it is stolen, not criminally, but metaphorically. Banks do not bury their money, nor hide it away in old teapots and stockings, it is substituted by individual credit money; and this brings us to the third reason why an American citizen suffers from want of work, which is, "The enormous amount of credit money forced upon the people," the latter part of the third reason being omitted just now, to be referred to later on.

We are far from being an insolvent nation, the assessed value of our real and personal property, as they

appear upon the various assessment rolls of the country, excluding all public property, churches and other exempt institutions and other things, as government bonds, and property which escapes taxation by various devices, all of which will amount to a third more, amounts to the aggregate sum of about thirty thousand millions of dollars, to which, adding the property not taxed, the amount reaches forty thousand millions of dollars' worth of property in the United States at an assessed value which is very much less than the real value. Against this are real estate and chattel mortgages amounting to over eight thousand millions of dollars; individual credit money amounting to more than five thousand millions of dollars, exclusive of the promissory notes and bonds secured to be paid by the mortgages, and we have a grand total of over thirteen thousand millions of dollars of individual money afloat, without counting shares of stocks, all to be paid by somebody, not all at once, but still to be paid or redeemed.

But how shall it be paid? Not by renewals, for the debt still remains with its deadly interest. It must be paid in money, and, allowing the ratio of one dollar to do the work of ten, there is not enough actual money in the country to pay it or to redeem this mass of credit money. The real ratio of actual money to individual credit money is not more than five per cent. actual money to about ninety-five per cent. of credit money, and it will be difficult for any one to say how it is going to pay it. If it is good by reason of its being secured upon the volume of property of the country, why is it that the government can not issue more credit money of its own on the strength of the same security. It is certain that five per centum of actual money can not be made to pay ninety-five per centum of credit money, and, in fact, it does not do it. Every effort has been made to stretch the five per centum out as far as possible, but the only result has

been to increase the credit money and decrease the actual money. Here is where the question of labor comes in.

It requires actual money to pay labor, but the five per centum is all there is, and that cannot be used except spasmodically, because the business of the country, in the shape of individual credit money, needs all of it and more with it. Actual money comes from labor, and can not flow through the channels of trade from any other source, it being sufficient to close up our manufactories to demonstrate that fact. So it happens that the five per centum of actual money being all required to make good the credit money, labor must go without. This is the reason why labor is insufficiently employed, and it creates a bad condition of things which affects every department of trade and commerce. This leads us to the latter part of the third reason why an American citizen does not get along. "There is a grossly inadequate government circulating medium."

All sorts of theories have been broached, all kinds of suggestions made to correct this great and growing deficiency, and everybody has been tinkering with the financial condition of the country for several decades, but none of them seem to have reached the point that it is the business and duty of the government to prevent the individual credit money from swamping the government money. The practical effect of the government coming forward to sustain the banks in times of general or great panic is to preserve an equilibrium, but when the banks and other money creations make a run upon the people, and create great suffering for lack of work and money, the government does not appear to even dream that there is any such thing as an equilibrium. On the contrary, the general public is considered very much of the nature of a pack horse, and laden with as many burdens as it will carry without perishing; indeed, it is deemed "unpa-

triotic" to rebel. This is noticeable in the constant persistence of the national government to still further decrease the actual money and increase the individual credit money by restricting the currency. Every restriction of the circulating medium comes out of labor, for labor does not produce credit money, but produces and is compelled to rely upon actual money. An addition of one per cent. to our volume of credit money as it now stands, would be felt by labor in a reduction of wages and in a great falling off of the number employed; in fact, poverty, want and famine would increase enormously, but the purchasing power of a gold dollar would be increased. When credit money shall reach par, that is to say, when the amount of the circulating medium shall be only one per centum to one hundred per centum of credit money, then will come ruin and desolation, the immensity of which, and its reactionary effect, will frighten even the money power into loosening its hold upon the people, and it will then discover that in reaching the summit of its hopes to hold the people in abject slavery, it is in danger of toppling over and falling down the other side.

The real contest which confronts the labor unions, is in forcing the government to protect the people against the designs of the money power by increasing its circulating medium to an amount which will prevent individual credit money from absorbing it. In 1860 it was determined by the government that there should be twenty per centum of government circulating medium to eighty per centum of credit money, to properly carry on the business of the country, and whenever the government money has been kept at that ratio there were no complaints of "hard times;" indeed, at that time the labor unions were not engaged in a struggle against poverty and starvation and the slavery of capital. When the government, to save itself, issued so much paper money that the world waited with bated breath to see it drop into ruin, it prospered

and grew stronger and it carried its citizens up with it into prosperity. But when the speculators and trusts began to exert their influence over the administration and to make more money for themselves in a speedy manner, they persuaded the government to restrict its currency. Then it lost its own grasp and fell and with it fell its citizens, and they lie groveling to-day where too much honesty to money sharks and too much dishonesty to the people flung them. Instead of driving the thieves out of his house, the owner and father permitted them to rob his own family and divided the guilty money with the thieves.

The financial issue must come up again and it will come up again in such shape that the wailings of a poverty stricken people will be heard. The morality which permits a creditor to send his debtor into poverty and starvation will be so applied as to prevent him, and if those who back up the grasping creditor, to the detriment of those of his own household, persist in their efforts to enslave them, they must be taught a lesson they will remember for all time.

The government makes the most glaring discrimination between its own citizens and is, figuratively speaking, holding its own pet lamb so that the butcher may cut its throat. What kind of an administration is it that will permit its banks to keep only one dollar in ten of its deposits, declaring that to be the settled rule of political economy when the greed of the money power is to be satisfied, but when it comes to applying the same rule to the people who do not ask to become rich, but ask for work and bread only, it turns away and declares it would not be honest? With six hundred millions of coin redemption money, it issues only one thousand five hundred millions of credit money in bank notes, and would if it could restrict the circulating medium to dollar for dollar. The people have it in their power to change the complexion of this state of affairs, for if it is not stopped soon it may happen

that the money power will keep possession of the government and permit no one not in accord with them to hold office. It came very near that at the last Presidential election, but it is assumed that the people are neither asleep nor hypnotized by the "bosses," to the extent of yielding up their rights without a struggle.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE ONLY WAY.

That there is "only one way" to destroy Poverty is proven by the fact that nobody has ever discovered any other way.

Let no man be carried away by the idea that the mere manufacture of money by the government would help matters, for there might be thousands of millions created and stacked up as high as the national Capitol building and still leave the country plunged in the lowest depths of poverty and starvation. It would not help a single individual or relieve a starving citizen by so much as a loaf of bread. The government is not a vast labor machine, it creates money, but does not produce it, and therefore the government money, whether gold, silver, paper, tin or leather, cannot become part of the circulating medium of the country until it has been produced by somebody; and it must be bought like anything else, to become valuable. Nature grows wheat for the farmer, but it is a valueless article until it has been harvested and afterwards sold. If there were no purchasers it would be idle to grow wheat. The same reasoning applies to money, the government enacting the rôle of nature, whose work is unavailing if not utilized. But the money created by the government is not produced by it, no more than is the wheat produced by nature. Behind nature and behind the government is the power that sets in motion the laws governing both nature and the government and enables each to carry on its operations. This power is labor and labor alone; without it there can be

no money, no crops. Let him who disputes this truth concentrate all his mental powers upon an acre of ground and try to raise wheat, or let him look steadily at a gold or silver dollar or any kind of money and expect it to reproduce itself. He may add another dollar to it, but that is not producing it, for the dollar he adds has already been produced by somebody. Nothing will come of his mental or psychological efforts, he must get down to labor. A man who steals money or a usurious money lender does not produce money; they absorb what has been produced and diminish the wage of the producer by the amount they absorb.

Let us once more and for the last time revert to the evils of a shortage in the circulating medium.

There comes a time in the life of every business man when he must pay his debts or go out of business. It is impossible for him to do a cash business for the very simple reason that there is not money enough to enable him to do it. No, not enough money in the whole world. Let this idea be attached to all of our credit money. It must be paid, and paid out of the five per centum of actual money, which we have stated in the last chapter is all there is to be had. The manufacturer of the credit money, the maker of the promissory note, to meet his obligation, naturally turns to the man in front of him and demands payment of the credit money which he holds, and out of which he expects to meet his own obligations, but not obtaining sufficient, he must apply to the bank for a discount. This may be refused, and generally is refused, not because the note is not considered good, but because money is "short," an excuse which is a subterfuge, because money is always short, but in this case the object of the subterfuge is to force the merchant into the hands of some broker, so that the banker and broker together can exact two or three per centum per month for the use of the money. This exaction amounts to more than the merchant has made or can make in his busi-

ness. The banker is only "short" of money to the merchant, to the broker money is "long," the broker being the secret agent of the bank, every bank having its broker, as was explained in another chapter. Nobody ever heard of a banker suffering for money or starving to death. Even should the bank "burst" he can always have his "cold bottle and bird." The very idea of the word "banker" brings to the mind a vision of pursiness, stately tread, fatness, softly rolling carriages, fine wines, diamonds, *décollété* garments, opera, harlots, et id omne genus. It is the *hoi polloi*, the crowd, the common herd, the people who are told to have confidence, who give up their money to the bankers' enrichment, who go without and grow poor and starve and cannot afford bread let alone the "cold bottle and bird." Idle men they are, who sit surrounded by bags of idle money like great spiders with the threads of their strong web firmly hooked to every business man, waiting for the maturity of credit money, and when that day comes the victim is drawn into the den to pay or be devoured if he does not. When he is drained of his life blood he is thrown out upon the garbage heap of insolvency and poverty and his place taken by a fresh, young victim, unwarned and unarmed against the blandishments of credit money.

The relief can come in only one way, in the shape of more actual money, whether it be called gold, silver, paper or tin, but it must be produced before it can be created. Out of nothing nothing comes: *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. The Almighty did not create the earth out of nothing, there was something produced out of which it was created.

It has been said, and all political economists agree upon the proposition, that money can only come to us as the product of labor. The banker and money shark do not produce it; they and their kind are the ones who get it away from those who do produce it.

This is fully explained in a preceding chapter. It is also stated that there never was a dollar of money that produced itself, somebody must have produced it, and that somebody is always labor, and will always be labor, which is the only actual producer of money.

Our condition is now such that labor can no more produce money than can a farm wheat without a farmer, a blacksmith a horseshoe without the iron, but our necessities demand that money be produced, and evidently the easiest, simplest and quickest way is the best.

Without attempting to argue the silver question, for this book has nothing whatever to do with "Bryanism," "Populism," or any other "ism" any more than it has to do with "gold bugs," it is too plain and palpable a fact to be denied, that silver is the readiest and quickest money that can be produced. It is a product of the earth just as much as the wheat or potatoes the farmer digs out and cuts down. The cost of the production of silver, or the wage of labor in producing it, however, is greater than that of any other product of the soil. By the destruction of bimetallism, labor was also destroyed by prohibiting labor from producing it, and labor was cut off, annihilated, to the extent of affecting disastrously a part of our population amounting to twenty-five millions of people at the very lowest estimate, and that loss to labor went into the pockets of the money power to their further enrichment. The industry of silver mining was stopped short, and there was no product of labor, consequently no labor. Labor could not go elsewhere, because there was no place to go; it was annihilated, consumed like bread that is eaten, impossible of rehabilitation.

It is admitted by all, even the opponents of bimetallism allege it as a reason for their monometallism, that from fifty to sixty per centum of the product of silver goes into the pockets of labor. The wildest dreams of the most disgraceful and conscienceless usurer never

contemplated such a return for his money, and it is a shame to say it, but it is true nevertheless, that working men themselves were persuaded into jealousy and envy at what they thought was an outrageous price for the labor of their fellow laborers, to such an extent that they combined with capital to destroy them, little recking of the fact that they were reducing their own wages by preventing labor from producing money to compete with capital. They did not understand that the amount realized by the producer of silver was out of a new product, and not wages; it was an addition to the circulating medium which passed through the hands of labor into the various channels of trade, and offset by the amount produced, credit money, effacing it to the amount of the silver production whether it went into money or the arts. It was sixty cents more money put into circulation, that could not get into circulation in any other manner. They measured every sixty cents produced by labor out of silver upon the same measure as interest money, although they might have known that interest money is a payment for the use of money, a charge upon money and not a product, and therefore no help to the circulating medium as was and is the production of silver. It was labor that created something that did not exist before and which could not exist until labor had produced it. Labor destroyed labor and is now suffering for its stupidity, while the tempters look on and laugh as they charge it with the willing authorship of its own calamities. "Ye shall be as gods," said a serpent once upon a time, but the willingly tempted and their descendants are far from being gods.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE ONLY WAY. (Concluded.)

The result of following "the only way," will be the annihilation of Poverty, and the destruction of many other unbearable things.

If labor should produce enough silver money to reach an equality with credit money, the result would be the extinction or the curtailment and control of credit money, and the masses of the people would be benefited by the amount destroyed. It is plain that in such case both labor and business would not be restricted to the inadequate five per centum of actual money out of which to pay labor and meet the obligations of credit money. There would be then sufficient actual money to compensate and relieve both. Is it not clear that this would be the result, and is it not also clear that if this result should be accomplished that labor would at once be relieved and the destruction of poverty begin? Where else can a beginning be made, or where else has it ever been made? It is the wolf that cries "honest" money to the lamb and appropriates the whole stream. By the continued restriction of the circulating medium it is true that money becomes more valuable, but to whom? To labor? No, that is impossible, for labor is prevented from producing it and is compelled to rely upon accumulations of capital, which remain stationary. Labor becomes the servant, the slave of capital, and not its equal. It depends upon capital and not upon its own productions.

This is the most extraordinary reversal of all the rules and canons of political economy the world ever saw. It is destroying the soul that does exist even under systems of government where the people are not free and converting our own enlightened and free system into a money despotism that never before existed in the world, even under systems that held the lash of slavery over its victims. They did permit their slaves to produce and fed them out of the product, but we say labor shall not produce and shall not be fed; the ox is muzzled. The production of gold is not an answer, for if all the labor in the country were to work at the extraction of gold from the soil it could not produce enough in a thousand years to relieve the pressure of credit money. It is incapable of being sufficiently produced by the very nature of the difficulties of its extraction. The real contest between capital and labor is in the production of money by labor, and not in the mere attempt to secure high wages, for without the production of money by labor there can be no high wages, indeed wages must become lower still.

This is not a question of cheap money or dear money, honest money or dishonest money; such expressions are meaningless and absurd. It is a question of more money, whether it be gold, silver, paper, leather or peppermint lozenges. But it is idle to go into ridiculous comparisons; what is sought is the destruction of poverty, and it can only be destroyed by providing a greater quantity of circulating medium, and that can only be produced by labor producing silver, which is the most available and easiest material afforded by nature to give relief, withal the quickest. Monometalism is death, bimetalism is life, and when labor is fully employed in producing that which will afford relief there will not be any more starvation, no more abject poverty. When the people rise to the fact that their salvation is in labor producing a circulating medium, and permit labor to produce it by turn-

ing silver into the channels of trade, which is the only way money can get into circulation, and accept the free coinage of silver as the only remedy, the idle holder of idle money will be compelled to do as every business man must do to give his money an earning power, to wit: he must employ labor to accomplish it. The multitude of unemployed would not be looking for political positions to procure bread, for they would be engaged in their natural occupations, and the office would seek the man, giving us better satisfaction and better government. Our condition would be the very reverse of the present one.

Competition now is the unavailing struggle of the poor man with the rich man, and against concentrations of capital; then it would be the competition of capital against or with labor, and that old and forgotten but true maxim: "Competition is the life of trade," would resume its significance. Contractors would be seeking labor and labor would not be compelled to run after contractors and beg for bread or small wages, just enough to sustain a miserable existence. Instead of one hundred men struggling to get one man's place, every man would find and fit a place. There would be no more use for Labor Unions, for the strife between capital and labor would be at an end, and every man would be his own labor union. The man who lives on usury would not be able to drive his merciless bargains, he would be compelled to come down to his level and be a producer or submit to the fate of the producers he is now starving. The man fitted to be a bank president would not be driving a coal cart, nor would the man fitted only to drive a coal cart be a bank president. Trusts and syndicates would not control all our "honest" money, and the small butcher around the corner would not see his customers flocking to three-million-dollar department stores to save a penny on a pound of meat.

Would all these and many others things be accom-

plished by the free and unlimited coinage of silver? Certainly, but not because it is silver, but because it is the only available material that will or can afford relief. Try to get away from the partisan idea and come down to something that means "public good" and "general welfare" extended to all the people and not restricted to optimistic "calamity howlers," who cite the Scriptures, as does the Devil, for a purpose, and that purpose is the replenishing of their pockets by mortgaging yours. Understand that the man who is gaining money gains it out of you, squeezes it out of you by reason of your necessities, and that if you are producing money, you do not need him. He is fully aware of that, hence his cry of your dishonesty in depriving him of the only visible means of support between him and the jail on a charge of vagrancy. The name of this money making shark is "Legion," and if you have even casually read the foregoing pages you will find him and his peculiarities delineated. If you possess the spirit an American citizen should possess it will not require much thinking to awaken you to the fact that it is time to turn about and travel in a direction contrary to our present road. The rut we have been traveling in has not led us to the Promised Land, and there is grave doubt whether it points in that direction.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

RUBBISH CLEARED AWAY.

The failure of experimental schemes should put us on our guard against mere theories.

All systems of political economy, all plans for the relief of distressed humanity, fall with the weight of their own defects when confronted with the universal demand and necessity for more money. In the absence of that one great desideratum, it is immaterial, likewise irrelevant, whether wages spring from capital or whether capital originates in labor, for it is so plain that he who runs may read, that if there is no capital there can be no wages, and when there are no wages there is no capital. Even assuming that some labor originates in accumulations of capital, which labor must have produced at some time, the labor produced by them would be as limited as the accumulations are stationary. Accumulations of capital must not be understood to mean "accretions" or additions to money any more than interest, for accretions or additions to the circulating medium can only occur when labor has created dollars which did not exist before.

When a man increases his capital by one million of dollars, or one dollar for that matter, he has not increased the circulating medium by a penny, that remaining the same.

The increase in the capital of the man referred to is merely the withdrawal of so much money from one place of deposit and its deposit in another place, or the mere change of the name of the depositor at some

bank. What one man gains another loses, and vice versa. It is always robbing Peter to pay Paul. The volume of capital is not increased, nor is it diminished by addition to or subtraction from the store of an individual capitalist or of all of the capitalists combined, nor by any amount of shuffling, any more than a pack of cards is increased or diminished by its shuffling.

When a number of men cannot find work in one locality they go to another where they may possibly find it. Then they naturally say: "There is more money in such and such a place than there is in such and such another place," hence they find work. But the truth is there is more money in one locality than in another because it has been shifted to the locality where work can be found. There is neither more money nor is there any more work, for work can only be had at one of the two localities and not at both, and the reason of that is because labor is not afforded an opportunity to produce or create the money.

Take the case of a grain farm for further illustration: Labor is employed from the cultivation of the ground and the planting of the seed to the harvesting of the crop ready for market. Here is something produced out of the ground, or out of the raw material, which is the same thing, which did not exist before. Extend the idea to the entire grain product of the United States. This will mean an annual creation of over two thousand millions of bushels of corn; five hundred millions of bushels of wheat; eight hundred millions of bushels of oats; ninety millions of bushels of barley; thirty millions of bushels of rye, and sixteen millions of bushels of buckwheat, to which may be added fifty million tons of hay; three hundred million bushels of potatoes; two thousand million pounds of hops, and a myriad of other things, all of which are new creations, accretions, produced by labor, and in the price of them is included the advance money to wages. None of these products are worth anything

beyond the mere uses of consumption until turned into money by their sale in the market. But we have not enough money in this country to buy our own products, so recourse must be had to credit money to make up the deficiency. Even then there is nothing gained, because the volume of the circulating medium is not affected, and there being no money to be made here, on that account, it is shipped and sold in a foreign market. Here is where our circulating medium is increased by the amount of the money received from foreign countries, and that money is the profits realized out of the production of labor in producing or creating the products mentioned. This, in 1898, amounted to about one hundred and seventy-three millions of dollars in gold, and it was a new creation coming from labor just as much as if miners had dug it out of the ground, and it was made an addition to the circulating medium by the government. The foreign gold received for the wheat was exchanged for government circulating medium, which thus got into circulation and was turned into the channels of trade.

But these one hundred and seventy-three millions of dollars, accreted money, represents a very small portion of the individual credit money, although it took the place of the latter to that extent, so small a portion, indeed, as to be scarcely perceptible. It elevated the per capita amount of circulating medium slightly, so as to reach about twenty-three dollars, but still left the circulating medium short of the annual taxes by about three dollars per capita. That is, as has already been stated, the people of the United States owe the government in taxes all of the circulating medium and three dollars more per capita. This is not an alarmingly prosperous condition of things, except so far as a few speculators are concerned, men who put the profits in their pockets, and do not add a single dollar to wages, labor being on the increase, increasing faster, indeed, than the soil can yield the pro-

ducts referred to, and the ratio of increase in demand for work being greater than the proportion of foreign gold that comes into our circulating medium. Hence it is that labor must remain stationary and wages decrease, by the difference between its increase and the foreign gold accreted by the government. It must be borne in mind that it is only when the balance of trade is in our favor that there is anything to be added to our stock of money, and then only when paid in gold actually shipped here. What money we expend in foreign countries is always against us, and what they expend here does us no good, unless there is a balance in our favor, which arises out of the fact that we may happen to sell them more of our goods and at a better price than they do us; all of the transactions before the balance can be or is determined is through the medium of credit money because there is not actual money enough to transact the business in cash. Some say this is not necessary, but that is a long story, the end of which is that it enables speculators to make the money and not the people; it is a subterfuge.

Many of the schemes to increase the circulating medium, some of them having been elevated into planks in certain political platforms, rest upon a reduction of taxes, or at least shifting the burden upon shoulders assumed to be better able to bear it. It is a rather far-fetched scheme to attempt to help the people by reducing the taxes, when it is so much easier and simpler to accomplish the purpose in a more effectual manner by creating the money to pay them with. The idea seems to be to redeem the people and alleviate their burdens, by making officialdom honest if not virtuous, and temper the greed for gold with moderation. With the history of the whole world behind us, demonstrating the impossibility of such a reformation; nay, the drowning of the whole of mankind down to one family whose descendants were worse than their predecessors, so much worse, indeed, that drowning was

deemed too easy a death and they are to be burned; even the putting to a shameful death the Christ, their Redeemer; the acknowledged failure of magnificent temples to religion, and thousands of millions of treasure expended in that direction, indicating that the greed for gold is ineradicable, yet we blindly grope about with schemes to reduce the perquisites of officials by reducing taxes. The shifting of the taxes upon other shoulders accomplishes nothing in the direction of alleviating the condition of the poor or assisting the cause of labor, for they are both more or less dependent conditions, and from them and out of them would have to be paid the taxes in any event. We have had higher valuations, income tax, land tax, revenue tax, licenses, etc., etc.; they are as numerous as the sands upon the seashore, but they are none of them practicable. All of them have in mind the laudable object of shifting the burden from the shoulders of the poor, but none of them would relieve them by so much as the weight of a straw.

Suppose a few generous-hearted citizens should form an association for the purpose of paying all of the taxes and thus relieve the people from the entire burden. What a sigh of relief would go up from the hearts of the people? How the newspapers would overflow with gush and portraits and suggest monuments and medals in honor of such patriotic, heroic citizens who become asses to bear the burden of the whole people? By and by some crank would discover that bread had become a little higher, money was hard to get and wages lower. Then that somebody would begin to think instead of hurrahing, and would soon find out, what he might have known before, that the association of public-spirited citizens would amount to a syndicate, which would require for the payment of the taxes the entire circulating medium of the country, besides demanding of the people three dollars more per capita. Where else could they or where else can

anybody else get the money to pay the taxes with, whether on land, improvements, sugar or salt? It would be used over and over again without producing any change in our condition, and in the case of limiting the things out of which taxes should be collected, our condition would be worse, in any event no better. A certain amount of money is required to pay salaries and expenses, and it must be paid out of our own circulating medium, which is growing smaller in amount while taxes are increasing.

A long time ago the citizens of Detroit, Mich., were burdened with a very high tax rate, nearly four per centum. It was an "outrage" and was made a political issue. The party "in" were ejected by the party "out," upon the platform of reducing the tax rate to one dollar per hundred. It was a great victory. Prayers of thanksgiving were offered in the churches, while for the rejoicing wicked, beer flowed in torrents. There was enough spent in celebrating the victory to pay the whole tax for one year at the old rate. When payday came around, the rejoicers found that they had to pay just as much actual money as they did before at the old rate, with a little added to pay for a new valuation which had to be raised to meet the city budget. On the same theory, it would have been possible to realize the sum necessary, on a tax rate of one cent a hundred dollars, by merely increasing the valuation.

Still another plan is proposed: Government ownership. The government should own the telegraphs, railroads and other means of transportation. This is a strange proposition to make in a nation based upon the system of government which supposes the people to be the rulers. In other words, the people of this country are expected to sell their own property to themselves. If the people cannot now manage the affairs of their own government, how are they going to do it when it is complicated with railroads, telegraphs, canal boats, prairie schooners and the like? It is not

proposed to confiscate these properties; on the contrary, the authors purpose that they shall be paid for. They do not say out of what moneys, but we are at liberty to assume that the money will be printed as fast as steam can work the presses. It would seem that before purchasing railroads, etc., the people should turn their attention to the Post Office Department and ascertain why its deficiency runs up into nearly twenty millions of dollars annually.

The government did do some little railroad business, but it was not very profitable, as the history of the Pacific railroads will demonstrate. It came out behind to the amount, in round numbers, of about two hundred millions of dollars, and finally had to give them away for a song to private individuals. If we had a system of government like that of Germany or Russia, for instance, it might be feasible, but even then the capital of the whole country would be centralized more than it is now; it would be President Jackson's bank of the United States over again, in which case the people of this country would be absolutely dependent upon the government for existence, as is the case in Germany and Russia. Government ownership means the impoverishment of a free people. It is not to be supposed that the five thousand millions of dollars of indebtedness upon the railroads and the equities of the owners, amounting to thousands of millions more, can be paid according to the Christian science doctrine, by wishing it. No, it must come out of the people, out of their bread, their wages, their blood, and when the indebtedness matures, how is it going to be paid? Not by renewals, for they would be credit money accretions and not an increase of actual money; a condition would ensue that has been alluded to in another chapter; labor would be still ground down and the people always confronted with the dread spectre of poverty. The railroads and other corporations would be only too glad to sell out to the government, but

they know, as does the reader, that they never could be paid.

All of these wild schemes originate in foreign lands and are transplanted here by dreamers, whose dreams are restless nightmares. There, the conditions are dissimilar and the schemes to rectify those conditions are evolved out of nothing and mean nothing. There is no help, no opening through which the light may penetrate at all, except in producing money out of the raw or crude material. That would at once offset the domination of the money power and hold it in check. Six million five hundred voters thought so at the last Presidential election, and there would have been enough more to have brought it about had it not been for the abject servility of labor itself, and its domination by threats of loss of employment if it dared attempt to seek relief.

There is no power on earth that can bring relief, no scheme can be devised that will or can do other than tighten the chains upon the people than that of opposing money with money. We have reached the point which President Jackson foresaw, when the banking privilege, increasing with the growth of the country, has plunged it into a slough of corruption, and when its unlimited power is so directed that it interferes with Congress and the State Legislatures, and is shackling the liberties of the people. It required twenty years' coalition of the money power and the feudal system to beat down the power of one man, Bonaparte, and how long will it require for millions of free men to regulate, not crush, the monster that rears its head amongst us in proud defiance?

CHAPTER XL.

CHEAP MONEY—DEAR MONEY.

To prevent the people from suffering through "cheap money" they are not permitted to have any kind.

It does not require the wisdom of a Solomon to understand that when money can be had at a low rate of interest it is "cheap money," and that when it controls a high rate of interest for its use it is "dear money." Yet through some mental strabismus the idea of "cheap money" is always attached to silver coin. Even if this be true we can only conclude from it that gold coin is "dear money," a fact which is really undeniable, for no person ever heard of "cheap" gold money. On the contrary, every effort is being made to increase its "dearness." The "cheap money" stigma attached to silver is proven by referring to the constantly fluctuating and continually low market price of silver bullion, and the steady market price of gold is regarded as the essence of its "dearness." We compare silver to wheat and other products, but class gold with diamonds. But this is contrary to every rule of political economy, inasmuch as it is attaching an intrinsic value to money, which is not permissible in any case.

Our silver dollars are worth only forty-five cents. Very well, admitted; but why, then, does the government charge us one dollar for them? It cannot be for the reason that the government is seeking to recoup for having paid too much for silver, for that would be putting the government in the position of a contemptible tradesman, a pawnbroker, who buys

high, and when caught on a falling market, cheats his customers to save himself from loss. If the power of the government can make forty-five cents' worth of silver worth a dollar, is not this a repudiation of the intrinsic value of money? The government does not make the distinction in the case of paper money, for it does not consider the condition of the paper market as it does not of the gold market. It therefore considers gold and paper as standards, whereas silver, the mainstay of labor, is made the universal scapegoat. The United States Supreme Court, in the case of *Juillard vs. Greenman*, 110 U. S., 421, expressly repudiates all distinction, but nevertheless, it is made by the government as managed by the money power, in order to furnish a perpetual basis for speculation, to the detriment of the general welfare of the people. A paper dollar is always a dollar, so also is a gold dollar, not by virtue of any intrinsic value in either, but because the government so ordains; but when it comes to a silver dollar, which the same government says is likewise a dollar, the money power steps in and says it is only forty-five cents, or whatever the shifting market price of silver bullion may happen to be; a valuation which should not govern the power that creates money. Upon this theory, and taking the monometalists' word for it, the money power is clearing fifty-five cents on every gold dollar, taking away from labor the amount of its production in extracting silver from the soil and keeping it. It is the same kind of a speculation that realized a profit of one dollar and sixty-five cents on every gold dollar, out of United States Treasury notes, a profit which labor paid; a taking advantage of the necessities of the government, just as the farmers of Long Island did when the demand for milk for the use of dying soldiers at Camp Wikoff induced them to raise the price of milk from six cents per quart to twenty-six cents. Both of them examples of thrift that proclaims its unswerving honesty to the extent of

robbing the government, and forcing millions of people into poverty and a multitude to the verge of starvation, even to the extent of starving helpless soldiers.

Foreigners say that we are a wonderful people, and we are so indeed, for there is no other people on earth that would submit to such degradation of thrift without making a united effort to at least regulate it. The money that will benefit the people is called "cheap, dishonest" money, and that which enriches speculators, syndicates, trusts, bankers and brokers and impoverishes the people, is the only "honest" money.

When Labor shall refrain from wandering about among palaces, stately edifices and monuments of capital, and from saying, "All this wealth labor created," and get behind the stately edifices, etc., and read there the first principle placarded, the one that theorists stumble over without seeing, "Labor produced the money that builded me," they will be at the cornerstone of the foundation upon which wealth is erected. Money is the corner-stone, the essence, out of which grows wealth, and Labor creates that foundation. We stick at so-called "wealth," the creature of money, and attach Labor to its creation, and we strain our backs looking up at the "sky-scrapers" of flimsiness erected on the foundation which Labor laid. We fish in shallow waters and catch small fry, when we should be harpooning whales in deep water.

Paul Kruger, the President of the Dutch Republic, presented Pope Leo XIII. with a diamond estimated to be worth four millions of dollars. That diamond will be styled "wealth" by some, and if labor produces wealth, it produced four millions of dollars in the diamond. That is as plain as a pikestaff. But labor did nothing of the kind. It merely produced in that diamond what it cost to dig it out and cut it. The balance of the estimated value is fictitious, a speculative estimate, and labor has nothing more to do with that than it has with the price of wildcat stock in the Ex-

change. The estimate is based upon a comparison with other diamonds, and if it could be sold in the market for four millions of dollars, labor would not be entitled to a penny of it beyond the wages paid in making it saleable. If it came to putting it upon the assessment roll for taxation, its wealth would diminish to a shadow. The reason why labor did not produce it is because it is not money, and not an addition to the circulating medium. It possesses a variable value, whereas money has a fixed value established by the government.

The assessor of the city and county of San Francisco, in looking over the return affidavits of property owners, discovered that in the "returns" of "money" the population of the city and county were suddenly reduced to a penniless condition. Those who had millions of dollars returned a few thousand. The assessor, having personal knowledge of the fact that Mr. John Doe, for instance, had on deposit in various banks the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars instead of the paltry one thousand in his return, raised the amount to somewhere near the truth, and did it in every other case. The roar of outraged innocence ended in a contest in court, where it was held that while the assessor had the power to raise the estimated value of all other personal property, because it was all fictitious anyhow, yet he could not increase an estimate of money, for that would be increasing its value, a thing not allowable for the reason that money had a fixed value which could not be increased or diminished. So a deficiency was prevented by increasing the value of the personal property of those who had no money, and money allowed to escape.

There never has been a ruling in any court to the contrary, that money bears upon its face its own value and worth, and that it cannot be increased or diminished. It embodies within itself all wealth, and it is the creator of what political economists are pleased to

term "wealth," the value of which is determined by the amount of money into which it is capable of being exchanged. So we keep returning to the same point, and cannot get away from it very far. It is the truth, and will not down; our floundering about among vain theories does not disprove any part of it by so much as the weight of a hair. Wealth is money, and labor producing money in this sense, but in no other, may be said to produce wealth, but not the fictitious value of it. Labor receives two hundred thousand dollars for the erection of a building which the owner sells for a million. Labor created nothing so far as the building is concerned, it matters not whether the building is called "wealth" or anything else. What labor did create was the money paid out in wages and the money received by the owner. If it created the wealth represented by the building, then who created the money that went into and came out of it? It was the use of the money which had already been created that went into and came out of the building. There can be no double creation of the same thing, or a re-creation of what has already been created.

CHAPTER XLI.

PERPETUATING PREJUDICE.

David said in his haste, "All men are liars," but the reader will say the same thing after mature deliberation.

It was once declared by the astronomer, Richard A. Proctor, that the phenomena of the sidereal heavens could be equally as scientifically demonstrated upon the theory of the fixity of the planets, as upon the assumption of their revolution around the sun. The matter is of very little importance to us either way, inasmuch as it is beyond our power to establish it one way or the other, but if it was of any financial benefit, or of any pecuniary value, it goes without saying that there are not a few who would take the matter into their own hands and insist upon the sun revolving about the planets.

There is as much, if not more, uncertainty in the various theories of political economy as there is in the science of astronomy, and these theories may all or any of them be proven true or false, as desired, and like the old sailor's manner of boxing the compass, they may be read backwards as well as forwards with equal effect. But there is this difference between the theories of astronomy and political economy; the latter is of great interest to certain persons who are in the possession of what we call "wealth," inasmuch as some of the theories may add to that wealth, if properly established as dogmas for the general public to swallow and swear by.

It was a French historian who declared long ago

that history for the past three hundred years has been a conspiracy against the truth, and the same may be said of most of our educational text-books in the hands of the youth of the schools. They are so arranged and clouded as to furnish them with false doctrines and false principles. When a lawyer is preparing a brief, his investigations, the lawyer finds that corporation law he naturally seeks the latest authorities, for he knows very well that the court will base its opinion upon them to the exclusion of ancient ones, ignoring the *stare decisis* to follow recent *obiter dicta*. In the course of his investigations, the lawyer finds that corporation law presents many wide divergences from the corporation law of other days, and peering more closely into the reason he discovers that the recent opinions are based upon the reasoning of text-books prepared by corporation lawyers in the interests of their clients. So our lawyer loses his case because the recent authorities are designedly not in conformity with first principles. The same thing happens in the case of municipal law which, though exceedingly simple, speaking from the elements of it, yet, by elevating it into the domain of science under the name of "civics" and adding a little here, with taking away a little there, altering the complexion a trifle and clouding it in places so as to make it conform better to the opinions of those who want it to be what they desire it to be and not what it actually is, the student is led to imbibe false doctrine and erroneous ideas, to such an extent that he cannot be reasoned out of the notion that municipal law is greater than the organic.

All this is prefatory to the statement that capital has been and is engaged in a conspiracy against the truth of certain principles of political economy, or has twisted them out of shape from motives of self-interest and for purposes of gain, until even the mass of laboring men have come to believe them, and that belief cannot be argued out of them, they even refusing

to abandon them when they have brought the wolf to their door. It is true that some of the religious sects prepare a translation of the Scriptures in conformity with the belief manufactured by them and in opposition to the beliefs of other sects. We all know that religion is severely barred out of the public schools on account of the fear possessed by a multitude of sects that the young will imbibe religious and moral ideas which will carry them to heaven over some other road than that monopolized by some one or the other of them, or that they will become good citizens through the acquisition of some virtue that is not elevated into a trust or syndicate of religious morality. But they are indoctrinated with other erroneous and pernicious ideas, of more moment to them in their social relations when their school life shall have ended, than the eternal squabbling over religious doctrines.

These insidious ideas relate among others to subjects connected with political economy, which are laid down as axioms and accepted as are proverbs and sententious aphorisms, remaining fixed in the mind in after life and difficult of removal. If a child be told in his innocent days that the moon is a piece of tin, that fact will remain fixed in his plastic brain and will not entirely disappear even after he becomes an expert in astronomy. He will always possess a doubt, and in his mind will appear the proposition, "It may be a piece of tin." Error is spread by engendering doubts, and the truth is hidden in the clouds. Self-interest is a system which dominates thought and perpetuates error, and feeds the human mind with fictitious doctrine in the schools and in the text-books, as well as in scientific works, until, by diversity of opinion, the truth is eliminated, or presents the appearance of error.

It is owing to the perversity of erroneous teaching that many are persuaded into the belief that wages are the product of capital and that wages decrease when the number of laborers increase, that is, labor com-

peting with labor will result in low wages. In the first instance it is said to be self-evident that capital hires labor and pays it wages, therefore wages are the product of capital. In the second instance it is the pernicious notion that there are already too many people on earth and the struggle for the survival of the fittest has begun in earnest.

One cannot reason with a poor man pressed by his necessities to find work at any rate of wages, and it is ridiculous to put in his hands a learned disquisition on political economy, bearing upon the relations between capital and labor. He only knows that he wants work and that he cannot get it unless he finds somebody with money to hire him. He finds others like himself, out of work, and together they look over the situation to find as fact, and not theory, that there is no money invested in labor. It matters little to him whether his labor produces money or money produces labor, for he has no money. When he and his fellows pass by some stately edifice, they do not envy the owner his possession of it, he says, and they all say, "I wish I had his money." To a political economist the edifice would represent wealth and the money occupy a subordinate place. He would therefore say, "I wish I owned that house." The laborer would undoubtedly possess more practical common sense than the scientist, for with the money he could directly purchase whatever he might need, which could not be done with the edifice, unless he mortgaged it or obtained rent from it. So we bring wealth back to money, and after all is said it is wealth. Hence the flat declaration derived from necessity, that money is the only wealth, all the others being products of money by purchase, and from what has been said on previous pages, that money is the product of labor.

From this point of view it is clear that money is always less in amount when labor is not producing it than when labor is all employed in creating it. It may

be said that where there is no money there is no labor, and it would be true, but that does not prove anything against the position that labor alone produces money, for, as has been made clear, money cannot make or produce itself. What a strange sacrifice of its own interests when capital, assuming to be the parent of labor, reduces that labor below the existing point to its own detriment!

The Supreme Court of the United States, in the case referred to in the last chapter, declares that "Congress has the constitutional power to direct, at any time in its discretion, unlimited issues of Treasury notes with all the legal attributes of coin. In other words, the National Legislature may make any kind of paper currency a legal tender in payment of private debts, and this power may be exercised whenever a condition of affairs obtains which that body shall consider to be an exigency." Even though Congress should issue an unlimited number of Treasury notes, nobody but the banks and speculators would be any the richer for it, for the reason already given, that such notes are not given away, but must be purchased the same as if created out of gold or silver, by labor, with this exception, which should be ever present in the mind of the reader, that gold and silver are actual products extracted from the soil by labor and of immediate benefit to labor, whereas paper money is not of any benefit, however it may be produced, except to the limited labor employed in the manufacture of it.

It will be perceived from the above decision that the Supreme Court placed no stress upon the idea that gold or silver is of any importance as a redemption medium of the paper money, although the latter are merely promises to pay and are of the nature of ties or links which hold together the various commercial interests of the country in a solid, reliable union, which disowns individual credit money to the extent of its issue and accepts the faith of the government, which

means confidence and prosperity. It is clear that the Court had in mind the principle of political economy which repudiates the attachment of any intrinsic value to either coin or paper money, impliedly reasserting the well-known and received doctrine that the stamp of the government, whether upon metal or paper, is documentary evidence to the possessor of either, that he is interested in the possessions of the government to an amount equal to the money in his hands. There is no redemption to be supposed, for none is required. It is not denied that in case of foreign commerce, metal money is required, but the idea sought to be developed here is that paper money is equally money capable of being applied to the payment of private debts as are gold and silver. We attach too much importance to foreign trade which, after all, is only a balance and then only when it is in our favor. In 1898 it was one hundred and seventy-three millions of dollars, not enough to increase the per capita amount of our circulating medium sufficiently to pay our annual taxes, and it is constantly decreasing through our ill-advised theory of a protective tariff, which is as pernicious as a contraction of the circulating medium. It does not protect labor, but adds to the emoluments of the speculators. It has diverted our shipping to foreigners, is spurring on foreign governments to get rid of us except for purposes of gambling. The transfer of our cattle trade to the Argentine Republic of South America, whose immense pampas are not hampered by "no fence" laws, and the opening up of the fertile steppes of Russia to the production of grain, against which we will be unable to compete in a few years, are as nothing to our wiseacres when compared with the valuable interests of some tin-plate manufactory, in a country that does not produce tin enough to make a wash boiler for cleaning the rags of our political parties. With our mountains full of silver we rely upon a balance of trade to add to our stock of money

and cut off our own citizens from increasing its production. We fear the day when labor shall be regarded as the producer of money, for then there will be no poor to be robbed, no money to be coined out of the bone and muscle of our citizens. A laborer then will not be compelled to cringe before his master lest he lose his small wage and starve, for he will be able to take that from the bosom of mother earth which will buy him bread.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE BLISTER ON A WOODEN LEG.

The reader is expected to draw his own "Moral" from this chapter.

Once upon a time a man, not feeling very well, consulted a physician. The latter felt his pulse, looked at his tongue and finally asked him how he felt. "Well, doctor," replied the man, "I don't feel well anywhere, I feel bad all over; aches and pains, you know, particularly in my head, which is stuffed up and heavy, and——" "Ah, I see," interrupted the physician, "pain in your head. A mere congestion, nothing more. Now you go home, my man, and put this blister on your leg and leave it there as long as you can. It will hurt some, but will do you good by drawing the blood away from your head."

So the man went home and did as he was directed. But it happened that he had a wooden leg, and remembering what the doctor said about its hurting him, he concluded he would avoid the pain by clapping the blister upon his wooden leg.

A few days afterwards the man became really ill and sent post haste for the physician. "Why, why, how's this? Not well yet? H'm, pulse high, tongue badly coated? Well, well, that blister should have cured you. Did you put it on as I told you?" "Yes," said the man, "I put it on as soon as I got home." "How long did you leave it on?" inquired the physician. "Why," answered the man, "I never took it off, it's on yet." "What?" exclaimed the physician

in astonishment, "a blister on your leg for four days? Why, it must be taken off, that's what ails you. Let me see." The physician lifted the covering and there, behold! an elegant blister, whose powers of suction were exerted in vain upon the wooden leg. "Well, I'll be——" but the physician remembered his morals just in time to save himself, and taking up his hat and pill box, departed, leaving his patient to his own devices, as evidently not worth curing.

Reader, when you are afflicted with any political complaint, where do you apply the blister?

THE END.



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