

Debs Papers
P419
.CC
12

No. 33 Twentieth Century Library. 3 cts.

Published by TWENTIETH CENTURY PUB'G CO., 4 Warren street, N. Y.

Fortnightly.]

NEW YORK, MARCH 14, 1891.

[\$1 a Year.]

CHARITY.

BY HUGH O. PENTECOST.

Free schools, free libraries, free museums, free baths, free hospitals, free poorhouses, free lodgings, and free lunches are more demoralizing to the people than saloons, lotteries, poolrooms, faro banks, and houses of prostitution. The vices of drinking, gambling, and lasciviousness injure only the persons who indulge in them and those who are immediately dependent on them. The vice of charity demoralizes and tends to pauperize and enslave the whole community. Drunkenness, gambling, and lasciviousness are evils which individuals take on themselves. Charity is an insult and degradation thrust on some by others. Drunkenness, gambling, and lasciviousness are the outcome of individual folly. Charity is the result of an unjust system of society. Drunkenness, gambling, and lasciviousness are a disgrace to the individuals who practice them. Charity is a disgrace to the human race.

Personal vices pass for what they are—evils to be shunned. Charity being a deadly and dreadful evil, passes for a virtue. Charity is a hypocrite in the guise of a saint, a confidence-woman dressed as a nun. In

the name of charity, men and women do with zeal, and frequently with the best motives, what necessarily injures the race. By distributing their goods to the poor they think they add to their own righteousness and subtract from the miseries of others, while in reality they commit a kind of crime and perpetuate the woes of mankind.

Such a thing is not possible, but if it were it would, in the long run, be a blessing to the world if the doors of every free school were suddenly closed forever; if every free hospital were razed to the ground, neither they nor their like ever to be rebuilt; if every poor-house were destroyed, with no others to take their places; if homeless people were nevermore sheltered in police stations; if no person ever again gave money or food to the needy.

The children of the poor would then grow up in ignorance; the ill among the poor would then die in their homes, like rats in their holes, with none to bury them; honest people, willing to work, would starve to death by thousands, and their corpses would lie along the roadsides, rotting in the sun; men and women would freeze in the streets all winter long, and men rushing to business in the morning would stumble over them.

The vision of what would happen if charity were to suddenly cease is horrible beyond words to describe, but it is a vision in full view of which the people would learn the truth more speedily than they otherwise will or can. They would then see the unmitigated effects of this present social system, which authorizes and enforces the exclusion of the poor from the opportunity to live in comfort.

The State authorizes and enforces the monopoly of land, the necessity of life, and of money, the necessity of trade. As a consequence, the landless and the moneyless are at the mercy of the Land Lords and the Lend

Lords. These Lords employ the helpless to work for them. They take from the workers almost all they produce. They do not allow them to retain enough of the products of their labor to feed, clothe, educate, and heal themselves and their families. Hence the need of charity.

Now, if the State were left alone to do its horrid work of spoliation and starvation, that work would not long go on. Men would see the awful results of this social system and would find a way to establish another which would produce happier consequences. But the State has a faithful ally in the Church. The Church works hand and hand with the State. The Church covers up the sins of the State.

The people see the poverty and misery of the world. They do not understand their cause or cure. They do not know that they are produced by man and may be abolished by man.

Whenever the people see something they do not understand they think it must be produced by God. When they did not understand about the lightning, they thought it was a flaming javelin with which God pierced them. When they did not understand about the cholera or the yellow fever or the earthquakes, they thought it was a way God had of punishing them for not going to church. And the Church fostered these beliefs as long as it could, because they kept the people terrified and dependent on the priests, who made them believe that they had influence with God and could persuade him to turn off his terrors when the people became submissive to the Church.

The people have found out about the lightning, the cholera, the yellow fever, and the earthquakes. They do not hire the priests to pray these things away any more, because they know they cannot do it. But they have not yet found out about poverty. The priests tell

them that poverty is caused by God. They tell them that poverty is a great blessing; that the poorer they are in this world the richer they will be in heaven, if they are obedient to the Church. They tell them that, of course, it would not be just the thing to have the poor people coming to the churches where the rich people are, because they would spoil the carpets and bring bad tenement house smells into the house of God, but there is always a nice little mission chapel in their own neighborhood, quite good enough for "the likes of them," which has been provided for them by the kind hearted rich people, and they can go to this spiritual poor house and get ready for heaven without bothering the rich people in their high-toned devotions.

They tell them that God does not make everybody alike. Some of his children he endows with the gift of being poor. These he loves the best of all. That is why he blesses them with poverty, ignorance, sickness, and dirt. Others he endows with the gift of making money. He gave William the Conqueror, for example, the wit to see that if he divided up the land of England among his generals it would be very pleasant for him and his generals, for in that way they could always have a nation of slaves to work for them; and he gave him the power to carry out the scheme by which the royalty and aristocracy of England have ever since been riding on the backs of the working people. He gave his dear son Jay Gould the cuteness to see that if he can buy up a controlling interest in a railroad and then wreck it he can get the rest of the stock very cheap, and after that he can make the road prosperous and sell out at the right moment with the effect of abolishing his own poverty along with other people's wealth. He gave the Vanderbilts a certain discernment by which they are enabled to work the New York legislature in the interests of the Vander-

bilt family. He gave the Astors a special faculty for getting possession of land which has the power, thanks to legislation, of making them enormously rich without working. He gave to the good Baptist brethren who run the Standard Oil Trust the wonderful gift of swallowing everybody else in the same line of business, and very kindly taught them how to substitute piety for honesty.

But these people are not his favorites. The poor people are his favorites. They are the ones to whom he deals out his love and his chastisements without measure. These rich people are very unfortunately situated. Their souls are always in danger of being lost. Their riches plunge them into many temptations. Especially are they liable to grow selfish and hard hearted; and so the Heavenly Father confers on the poor people the high honor of being the means of the spiritual development of their rich brothers in the kingdom of heaven. By dispensing charity to the poor the rich are kept tender hearted—to everybody but their own employés. This is one reason why poverty exists.

If all young medical students were able to pay for their medical education, there would have been nothing to tap the heart of William H. Vanderbilt and draw thence half a million dollars to build a medical college. If all persons were able to buy books, there would have been nothing to move the emotions of Andrew Carnegie and lead him to build a free library. If no people were too poor to hire physicians or take care of themselves in their old age, how would the rich people ever know the joy of building hospitals and old people's homes? If there were no tenement house districts, what would the rich ladies have on which to exercise their desires to do good to others?

It is perfectly plain that God's rich children would

be in a pitiable spiritual condition if there were no poor people to be kind to.

The people do not understand about poverty, and so the clergymen tell the poor that they ought to thank God for making them poor and for sending his rich children to them to alleviate their poverty; and they tell the rich people that they ought to thank God for making them rich and giving them the poor people to exercise their sympathies on. They tell the poor that it is a virtue to be contented in their poverty. They tell the rich that it is a virtue to be charitable. They tell the poor that love in a cottage is much sweeter than love in a mansion; that the rich have many cares and miseries of which the poor know nothing. They tell the rich that they are so much better situated than the poor that they should open their hearts and give.

Thus the Church plays into the hands of the State. This is the reason why the rich, whether they are religious or not, are so generous in supporting the Church. Without the aid of the clergyman in deceiving the people, the State-created monopolist could not rob them.

But all that the State does in this regard is unjust, and all that the Church teaches on this subject is untrue. Poverty is not produced by God. It is produced by law. Charity is not a virtue. It is a crime. It mitigates the immediate suffering of a few individuals, but what it gives them in bread or medical attendance it takes away from them in self-respect. It takes away more than it gives, for self-respect is worth more than bread or health. It mitigates the immediate suffering of the individual, but it stays the process by which the chains that bind the human race in poverty are slowly rusting away.

When you educate a poor man's child free of cost to him, you do two things, both of which are bad for him. You make it possible for some monopolist to hire him

to work for less than he would be willing to if he could not get his child educated free; and you prevent him from inquiring how it happens that he cannot earn enough himself to educate his child.

When you carry a poor person to the hospital, you do the same two things, and you lead him to cultivate the slavish thought that when he falls sick some one else should pay for his care.

When you give bread to a beggar, you still again do the same two things, and you lead him to suppose that when he falls out of employment somebody should contribute to his support.

When you do a charitable act, you think you are helping the poor, and you are, for the moment, helping some poor individual, but you are not helping to abolish poverty, which is the thing that should be done; you are not helping the poor as a class; you are helping to keep kings on their thrones, noblemen in their palaces, corrupt politicians in power, and the tentacles of monopolists sucking at the sources of wealth. When you drop a dollar in a hospital box, it goes to swell some monopolist's bank account. When you give a beggar a cent, the Land Lord or the Lend Lord gets it ultimately.

But that is not the worst of it. Monopoly and charity stand or fall together. By indulging yourself the pleasure of charity, you force on others the misery of poverty. Not only does what you give in alms go to the monopolist, but by your giving you strengthen the present social system, which could not exist a year but for charity. Your charity is a mask which hides the face of monopoly. Your charity helps to stay the ravages of poverty, which the exclusive ownership of vacant land and the exclusive control of money produce. The ravages of poverty should not be stayed. The whole world should see the disease in all its horror. If men, women, and children were walking the streets

in rags and dropping down of starvation by thousands, as they would be doing if it were not for the mistaken charity that interferes with the natural action of monopoly, people would begin to inquire the reason for the plague, and they would soon discover it.

This man thrown out of employment would ask: "Why must I use my savings paying rent when I could build myself a shanty for ten dollars, and by the time my savings were gone be raising enough from the earth to live on?" Why? Because all about him, land is kept out of use for the express purpose of compelling him to pay rent and submit to the exactions of an employer.

This man would ask: "Why may I not invest my last quarter in shoe-strings and sell them for thirty cents?" Why? Because he has to pay five dollars for a license to sell shoe-strings, for the express purpose of making it difficult for him to earn a living without an employer.

This man would ask: "Why cannot I borrow a hundred dollars without having to pay back a hundred and six, or ten, which I cannot do without loss?" Why? Because money is monopolized for the express purpose of making the man who has it not dependent on the man who has it.

This man would say: "Why must I pay out my last dollar to a tax collector for the privilege of being alive?" Why? Because a number of politicians wish to live at his expense.

If it were not for charity, the problem of poverty would be presented to the world in all its naked repulsiveness. The majority of the human race would have the alternative of suffering it without mitigation or solving it, and they would solve it. I do not know how they would set about solving it, but they would find a way.

I am convinced that all things come to pass in this universe by what we call the law of the survival of the fittest. It is useless to inquire whether this law is beneficent or malevolent. My own opinion is that what we call nature is neither beneficent nor malevolent. But whether beneficent or not the fittest do survive. Outside of man this law, as we call it, goes on unhindered. Man is the only being impertinent enough to think he can successfully meddle with the working of the universe. Apart from his relations as a social animal he cannot thus meddle with nature. But in the ordering of society he can and does. He has not checked the operation of the law of the survival of the fittest, but he has made such arrangements that results appear under that law which would not have appeared if he had not meddled with nature.

Man has constructed an arbitrary system of society. That system has caused natural forces, as we say, to run in a new channel, just as a stream of water may be diverted by the building of a dam. The law or custom by which property in vacant land became exclusive was an impertinent interference with nature, with the result that some of the most consummate numskulls and jokes on humanity the world ever saw are on top in society, while some of the most intelligent and honorable human beings are at the bottom. The law of the survival of the fittest works, but by man's meddling with nature that law preserves all the natural born fools that are to be found in the aristocracies of the world and all the half imbeciles that have inherited wealth in this country, and destroys millions of the best specimens of humanity because they are not suited to thrive under the present social system. Look at the people who have wealth and who occupy the great offices in the world today. Do you suppose they would be on top if somebody had not been meddling with the uni-

verse? Is Queen Victoria really the fittest woman in England? Is Benjamin Harrison the fittest man in America? Is Hugh J. Grant, or Ward McAllister, the fittest man in New York? Nature does some very strange things, but she never heaved these people to the top all by herself. They are the fittest under the arbitrary social system which man has invented, but if man had never meddled with nature such people never would have been heard of. Under natural conditions if there had been any Queen in England, if there had been any England, she would have been the Queen because she was a queen, and not because somebody was her father. If there had been any President in this country, it would not have taken a million dollars of boodle to get him into a chair much too large for him. He would have got there as man got at the head of the animal kingdom, because that was the place for him. If there had been any leader of society, it would not have been because he knew the difference between a rum punch and maraschino.

But, you see, the introduction of the land monopoly, and the money monopoly, and all the other monopolies that grow out of them—the trade monopoly, the transportation monopoly, the lawyer's monopoly, the peddler's monopoly, the school monopoly, the Gospel monopoly, the marriage monopoly, and a thousand others—turned the stream of natural law into a new channel with the result of putting hypocrites in office and heroes in prison; with the result of putting parasites in palaces and wealth producers in rags.

What I am trying to make clear to you is that monopoly is an impudent and blasphemous interference with the orderly operations of nature. It never could have lasted long, however, and never would have done much harm if it had not been for charity. Charity was invented for the purpose of covering up the effects of

monopoly, and it, therefore, in its turn is also an interference with nature. Charity prevents monopoly from exposing itself to the world in all its hideousness. To put a stop to charity would tear the mask from the face of monopoly and leave the people to deal with it for what it really is.

There are some things you will always find going together in this world, and they are all things that the world would be much better off without; indeed, the world will never be a fit habitation for men until we see the last of them. They are all pairs of hateful twins. They are these: God and a slave; religion and ignorance; monopoly and poverty.

The clergyman and the politician will tell you that these are all human necessities, and in so far as misery attends them it may be met and assuaged by charity. But in my opinion if there were no belief in God there would be no slave; if there were no religion there would be no ignorance; if there were no monopoly there would be no poverty; if all were gone there would be no charity; if there were no charity all would go.

Sociologic and Economic

PUBLICATIONS

— OF THE —

TWENTIETH CENTURY PUB. CO., NEW YORK.

—o—

- A Far Look Ahead. Paper, 50c. The book is devoted to customs, habits, and love in the misty future, and for pure, genuine imagination, most charmingly worked out, is unexcelled.
- A Plea for Impartial Taxation. By Duryea, Wakeman & Dawes. 5c.
- A Gentile. The Mormon question in its Economic Aspect. 25c.
- A Symposium on the Land Question. By Auberon Herbert, Wordsworth Donisthorpe, Sydney Olivier, J. C. Spence, Robert Scott Moffatt, Michael Flurschein, Lt.-Col. W. L. R. Scott, Herbert Spencer, Henry W. Ley, J. B. Lawrence. 40c.; cloth, 75c.
- Andrews, Stephen Pearl: The Science of Society. Very able. \$1.
- Bagehot Walter. Physics and Politics. An application of the principles of Natural Science to Political Society. 15c.
- Bastiat, Frederick. Essays on Political Economy. \$1.25.
- Bellamy, Charles J. An Experiment in Marriage. A suggestive solution of the marriage problem. 50c.; cloth, \$1.
- Bellamy, Edward. Looking Backward—English or German, 50c.; cloth, \$1. Lays the foundation of the Nationalist movement.
- Bell, W. S. Anti-Prohibition. 20c.
- Besant, Annie. Law of Population; its consequences and its bearings upon human conduct and morals. 30c.
- Beugless, Rev. J. D. Incineration. 15c.
- Birney, J. G. Churches the Bulwarks of Slavery. 15c.
- Bolles, Albert S. The Conflict between Labor and Capital. 75c.; cloth, \$1.25.
- Bowen, Prof. Francis. American Political Economy. Including remarks on the management of the currency and the finances since the outbreak of the war of the great rebellion. \$2.50.
- Brassey, Thomas. Work and Wages. Cloth, \$1.
- Business Man's Social and Religious Views. From a Poor Man's Standpoint, \$1.
- Butts, I. Protection and Free Trade. Portrait. \$1.25.
- Burton, John E. Golden Mean in Temperance and Religion. 10c.
- Buckle, Henry Thomas: History of Civilization in England. 2 volumes, \$4.
- Carnegie, Andrew. Triumphant Democracy; or, Fifty Years' March of the Republic; 50c.; cloth, \$1.50.
- Capitalist (A). Rational Communism. Portrays the Present and Future Republic of North America. 500 pages. Paper, 25c.; cloth, 50c.

Sociologic and Economic.—*Continued.*

- Chadwick, John W. The Theological Method of Evolution and Social Reform. 10c.
- Clement, R. E. Civil Government. For advanced grammar grades and high schools. Cloth, 84c.
- Conrad, J. J. [ex-convict]. Convict Labor and Prison Reform. 10c.
- Darwinism and Politics. By David G. Ritchie, M. A.; and Administrative Nihilism, by Thos. Huxley. In one volume. 15c.
- Denslow, V. B. Modern Thinkers. What they Think and Why, With introduction by Col. R. G. Ingersoll. Portraits of Comte, Swedenborg, Adam Smith, Bentham, Paine, Fourier, Spencer, Hæckel. Cloth, \$1.50.
- Deweese, F. P. The Molly Maguires: Their Origin, Growth, and Character of the Organization. \$1.50.
- Donnelly, Ignatius ("Boisgilbert, Edmund") Cæsar's Column. A Story of the Twentieth Century. 367 pages, bound in extra vellum cloth, \$1.25; paper, 50c.
- Fourier, Charles, and A. Brisbane: General Introduction to Social Science. \$1.
Theory of Social Organization. \$1.50.
- Fowler, Harriet P.: Vegetarianism, a Cure for Intemperance. 30c.
- George, Henry. Progress and Poverty. 35c.; cloth, \$1.
The Land Question. What it involves and how alone it can be settled. 87 pages, 20c.
Protection or Free Trade? (Goes to the root of the tariff question and solves it.) Paper, 35c.; cloth, \$1.50.
Social Problems. 35c.; cloth, \$1.
- Giffin, Wm. M. Civics for Young Americans, or First Lessons in Government. Cloth, 50c.
- Gibbons, John, LL. D. Tenure and Toil; or, Rights and Wrongs of Property and Labor. \$1.50.
- Gronlund, Laurence. Coöperative Commonwealth. A clear presentation of the doctrines of State Socialism. 30c.
- Gunton, G. Evolution of the Wage System. 10c.
- Harrison, Frederick. Religion of Inhumanity, with a Glance at the Religion of Humanity. 20c.
- Hinds, A. A. American Communities. \$1.
- History of Landholding in England, by Joseph Fisher; and Historical Sketch of the Distribution of Land in England, by William Birkbeck, M. A. Two books in one volume, 75c.
- Heinzen, Carl. Lessons of a Century. "Prevention Better than Cure." What is Real Democracy? 25c.
- Ingalls, J. K. Economic Equities. 15c.
Social Wealth. \$1.
- Ingersoll, Robert G., and Hon. Frederick Douglass. Civil Rights Speech. 10c.
- Ingersoll, Chas. Fears for Democracy, regarded from the American point of view. \$1.25; cloth, \$1.75.
- Ingersoll, Robert G. Lay Sermon. 25 pages. 5c.; 50c. per doz.
Crimes Against Criminals. 10c.
- James, C. L. Anarchy. Paper, 15c.
- James, Henry, sr. Society the Redeemed Form of Man. 495 pages. \$2.
- Jones, A. T. Civil Government and Religion. 25c.

Sociologic and Economic.—Continued.

- Kellogg, E. Labor and Capital. New Monetary System. 25c.
- Keyser, J. H. Next Stop of Progress. Limitation of Wealth. 20c.
- Lamphere, G. N. The United States Government: Its Organization and Practical Workings. A description of the three grand divisions of the Government, namely, the legislative, executive, and judicial departments, their powers and duties, with the number, title and compensation of all persons employed in each, together with many interesting facts and histories. 8vo; extra cloth, \$2 50.
- Laveleye, E. D. Primitive Property. Advantages of Communism. \$6.
- Levy, J. H. The Outcome of Individualism. One of the ablest things on the subject. 10c.
- Lieber, F., LL.D. Civil Liberty and Self-Government. New edition, revised and enlarged. Edited by T. D. Woolsey. \$3 15.
- Political Ethics. New and revised edition \$5 50.
- Lloyd, Henry D. A Strike of Millionaires against Miners; or, The Story of Spring Valley. This book tells how the Spring Valley miners were starved into actual slavery. It is the story of a monstrous and inhuman crime. It deals not with theories but with facts, figures, and names. It is a powerful and pathetic book. 264 pages. 50c.; cloth, \$1.
- Longley, A. What is Communism? A narrative of the Relief Community. 424 pages. Its author has had forty years' experience in organizing communities, etc. The book is pre-eminently practical. Paper, 50c.
- Lum, Dyer D. Economics of Anarchy: A Study of the Industrial Type. 25c.
- History of the Trial of the Chicago Anarchists. 192 pages. 25 cents.
- Early Social Life of Man. 25c.
- Malthus and His Works. By James Bonar. 25c.
- Masquerier, L. Sociology: or, The Scientific Reconstruction of Society, Government, and Property upon the principles of the equality, the perpetuity, and the individuality of the private ownership of life, person, government, homestead, and the whole product of labor. Cloth, \$1.
- McClure, A. K. The South: Its Industrial, Financial, and Political Condition. \$1
- McKnight, James. The Electoral System of the United States. \$3.
- Mill, John Stuart. Liberty. Cloth, 30c.
- Socialism and Utilitarianism. \$1.
- Principles of Political Economy, with some applications to Social Philosophy. 2 vols., \$4.
- Mitchell, Dr. S. W. Wear and Tear; or, Hints for the Overworked. Fifth edition, revised and enlarged, \$1.
- Mongredien, Augustus. The History of the Free Trade Movement in England. Cloth, 50c.
- M. G. H. Poverty; its Cause and Cure. How the poor may attain comfort and independence. 10c.
- Money-makers, A Social Parable. Paper, 50c.

Sociologic and Economic.—*Continued.*

- Monroe, James. *The People are Sovereigns. Being a comparison of the Government of the United States with those of the republics which have existed before, with the causes of their decadence and fall.* \$1.75.
- More, Sir Thomas. *Utopia.* Cloth, 30c.
- Moran, Charles. *Government.* 20c.
- Murray, J. B. C. *The History of Usury,* \$2.
- Newton, R. Heber. *Social Studies* \$1.
- Nordau, Max. *Conventional Lies of Our Civilization; Religious, Monarchical and Aristocratic, Political, Economic, Matrimonial, and Miscellaneous Lies.* 50 cents; cloth, \$1.
- Oswald, Dr. Felix L. *Poison Problem, or the Cause and Cure of Intemperance.* 25c.; cloth, 75c.
- Patten, Simon N., Ph. D. *The Premises of Political Economy. Including certain fundamental principles of economic science.* \$1.50.
- Pentecost, Hugh O. *The Anarchistic Method of Evolution and Social Reform.* 10c
- Perry, Prof., A. M. *Political Economy. New edition, revised and enlarged (1883)* \$2 50.
An Introduction to Political Economy (1880). \$1.50.
- Phillips, W. A. *Labor, Land, and Law. A search for the missing wealth of the working poor* \$2.50.
- Postulates of English Political Economy. (Bagehot). Cloth, \$1.
- Potts, William. *The Socialistic Method of Evolution and Social Reform.* 10c.
- Reade, Winwood. *Martyrdom of Man. A compendium of universal history.* 6th edition, 544 pages. \$1.75.
- Richardson, Charles. *Large Fortunes; or, Christianity and the Labor Problems.* 75c.
- Salter, William M. *The Problem of Poverty.* 10c.
The Social Ideal. 10c.
What Shall be Done with the Anarchists? 5c.
Channing as a Social Reformer. 10c.
- Sullivan, J. W. *Ideo-Kleptomania: The Case of Henry George. With Henry George's denial of plagiarism.* 100 pages, 15c.
- Wells, David A. *Recent Economic Changes.* Cloth, \$2.

Twentieth Century

A WEEKLY RADICAL MAGAZINE

HUGH O. PENTECOST, Editor.

Each number contains the address of the editor, delivered the preceding Sunday in New York, Brooklyn and Newark.

Motto: "HEAR THE OTHER SIDE."

This magazine advocates Personal Sovereignty in place of State Sovereignty, Voluntary Coöperation instead of Compulsory Coöperation, the Liberation of the human mind from Superstition, and the application of the principles of Ethics toward Social Regeneration.

It is meant to be a broad-minded, unsectarian meeting place for the representatives of all phases of Economic, Ethical, Political, Philosophical, Sociological, and Religious Thought. Orthodox and Liberal Christians, Spiritualists, Hebrews, Agnostics, Atheists, and Freethinkers of every shade of opinion; Protectionists, Free Traders, Single-taxers, Nationalists, Socialists, and Anarchists, advocates of peaceful measures of social regeneration and revolutionists, will all be welcomed to its columns with equal cordiality, fairness, and respect.

Some Contributors:

Edward Bellamy,
Edgar Fawcett,
Wm. Lloyd Garrison,
Laurence Gronlund,
Rev. J. C. Kimball,
Marie Louise,
Herr Most,
William M. Salter,
Benj. R. Tucker,
T. B. Wakeman,
James H. West,

Rev. John W. Chadwick,
Clinton Furbish,
Rabbi G. Gotthell,
J. K. Ingalls,
Dr. Daniel De Leon,
George Edgar Montgomery,
Hon. Frank T. Reid,
Rev. Minot J. Savage,
Gen. M. M. Trumbull,
Rev. J. M. Whiton, Ph.D.,
Victor Yarros,
Rev. R. Heber Newton.

Rev. W. S. Crowe,
Rev. Henry Frank,
Helen H. Gardner,
Robert G. Ingersoll,
Dyer D. Lum,
Edmund Montgomery,
Prof. Wm. G. Sumner,
W. L. Sheldon,
Si Slokum,
Otto Wettstein,
A. Van Deusen,

Subscription—One year, \$2; six months, \$1; three months, 60 cents; single copies, 5 cents. Five new subscriptions or one renewal and four new subscriptions, \$7.50. To foreign countries in the postal union, one year, \$3.

TWENTIETH CENTURY PUBLISHING CO.,

HELEN WESTON, President.

FRED C. LEUBUSCHER, Treas'r and Sec'y.

✉ Address all business communications to the Treasurer,

4 Warren Street,

New York City.