

000 factories with an aggregate of between five and six millions employees.

The average wage was \$438 a year. That is less than \$37 a month, or about nine dollars a week. So much for factory workers. Since wages, like water, tend to seek level, we should expect this average to be maintained in other occupations.

That expectation is realized in the case of the miners.

Very many miners receive less than \$9 a week. In his argument before the coal commission, Mr. Clarence Darrow showed that only one-third of Mr. Baer's employees receive over \$33 a month. He showed that while 5 per cent received \$800 and over, per year, yet there were 49 per cent who received less than \$200. These two-hundred dollar men did not have steady work.

Mr. Darrow in his estimates took no account of the irregular employees whose annual earnings were as low as \$300. He left out of consideration also the 5 per cent at the top who received \$800 a year and over.

What, then, was the average wage of those miners who fell between the \$400 and \$800 mark? After deducting \$40 a year for tools and supplies, Mr. Darrow found the average annual wage of these middle class miners to be \$436 or \$9 a week.

The laborers about the mines received \$7 a week. The breaker boys received \$3.50 a week. Some received less than that. There were boys who worked from 6 o'clock in the evening to 6 o'clock in the morning for 3 cents an hour. If the wages of these wretched creatures had been taken into account, as well as those who received irregular employment, the general average would have been brought far below \$9 a week. So we have the assurance that \$9 a week is a liberal estimate of the wage received by the men who work in the mines as well as those who work in the factories.

That wage is not sufficient to keep the average family of five. That wage will not permit a man to live in a comfortable house, and have wholesome food on the table and clothes and school books for his children, to say nothing of a bank account for a rainy day.

A living wage ought at least to enable an American citizen to maintain his family in health and comfort by his own labor. But the children of a man who receives no more than \$9 a week are obliged to leave school at an early age. They are obliged to deny themselves that course of training which we intended for all. That means arrested mental development for the children. It means a citizenship with a low grade of intelligence. It means trouble for the republic.

We might speak of the high death rate of people who work for such low wages. We could show by statistics how dangerous are their occupations. We could show how deadly are the quarters where they are compelled to live. But we could not show by figures the mental and moral depression of these people. We could not tell the story of all those blighted aspirations. We could not give voice to the voiceless sufferings of those who toil without hope.

What are you going to do about it? Some preachers and church members will say: "That is not our affair. That is an economic question. That is a political matter. That is outside the domain of religion." The people who say that are the priests and levites of today. They pass by on the other side and leave humanity to its fate.

### Erin Has Her Own

The sons of the Green Isle, in whatever country they have found a home have heard the good news of the contemplated restoration of the old sod to the Irish people contained in the bill recently introduced in parliament. S. E. Kiser gives expression to the joy everywhere expressed in the following stanzas:

The winds that are blowing o'er Erin  
Are the gladdest that ever have  
blown  
Since the last of old Ireland's monarchs  
Stepped mournfully down from his  
throne;

Over every gray bog and green slope  
They are blowing and spreading the hope

That Erin may yet have her own.

There's a beacon of promise for Erin  
Glowing high on each sun-lighted hill;

There's a glorious promise repeated  
In the song of each rollicking rill,  
And all of the breezes that blow  
Are singing wherever they go  
That God loves old Ireland still.

Carey Chapman, Chico, Cal.: Send coupon book. Will do the best I can, although there are more mullet heads here to the square mile than any place I ever was in.

### THAT "SCHEME" AGAIN

#### Further Developments in the Controversy Between The Independent and The Appeal to Reason

Readers of The Independent may wonder why any space is devoted to answering the recent onslaught of the Appeal to Reason relative to the populist endorsement of Mr. Bryan at St. Louis in 1896. In the first place this was the first time when any specific charge of a "deal" or "scheme" has ever been made—at least, that The Independent has seen. Mr. Ricker, one of the Appeal's associate editors, is a former mid-road populist, and has set up the claim that Mr. Bryan told him in 1897, while traveling from Omaha to Council Bluffs, Ia., in substance, that the Bryan nomination at St. Louis was the result of a scheme or deal or plan arranged by Bryan and the populist leaders months before the conventions of 1896.

This was denied by Mr. Bryan in a letter to The Independent, published in our issue of February 26. The Appeal of March 14 republished Mr. Ricker's letter to The Independent and Mr. Bryan's reply, together with over two columns of comment by Mr. Ricker. Most of it consists of the usual mid-road rant about the fusion populists' dishonesty, but one paragraph contains a specific allegation:

"What am I to think," queries Mr. Ricker, referring to Mr. Bryan's denial, "now when he flatly denies what he so explicitly stated to be in our interview? Has Mr. Bryan forgotten the deal between Mr. Rosewater, Mr. Allen and himself by which understanding Mr. Holcomb was elected governor of Nebraska in 1894, the particulars of which were related to me by Mr. Rosewater some five years ago?"

Immediately upon receipt of the Appeal containing this new charge, letters were written to Mr. Rosewater and Senator Allen, a copy of the letter to Mr. Rosewater being as follows:

"Lincoln, Neb., March 14, 1903.—Hon. E. Rosewater, Omaha, Neb.—Dear Sir: The clippings enclosed are from The Independent of February 5 and 26, 1903, the matter appearing under the heads, "The Appeal to Reason" and "That 'Conspiracy,'" having a direct bearing upon what is to follow. You will note that Mr. Ricker (who was formerly a mid-road populist, living somewhere in Iowa), in the Appeal to Reason of January 24, 1903, made the assertion that while in conversation with Mr. Bryan in 1897, Mr. Bryan admitted to him that he (Bryan) and the populist leaders, months before the democratic and populist conventions in 1896, had arranged "so that the people's party would be placed in this humiliating position" (that is to say, that Mr. Bryan would be nominated by the democrats at Chicago and then endorsed by the populists at St. Louis). I challenged the statement on two points, denying (1) that any such arrangement was in fact made, and (2) that Mr. Bryan ever told Mr. Ricker that any such arrangement had been made. Mr. Ricker responded with the letter published under the head of "That 'Conspiracy'." Mr. Bryan's rejoinder follows under the same head.

"All this so far, of course, is of no particular interest to you, it having no bearing upon the fortunes of the political party with which you affiliate. But in the Appeal to Reason of even date herewith is reprinted the two letters (of Ricker and Bryan) which appeared in The Independent of February 26. The controversy has narrowed down to a question of veracity between Ricker and Bryan, and Mr. Ricker comments in part as follows:

"What am I to think now when he flatly denies what he so explicitly stated to me in our interview? Has Mr. Bryan forgotten the deal between Mr. Rosewater, Mr. Allen and himself by which understanding Mr. Holcomb was elected governor of Nebraska in 1894, the particulars of which were related to me by Mr. Rosewater some five years ago?"

I believe no populist, democrat, or republican, in Nebraska will deny that the influence of yourself and the Bee was a potent factor in electing Governor Holcomb; but in view of Mr. Ricker's previous assertions, the only reasonable construction to place upon his present language is that (a) you, Senator Allen and Mr. Bryan made a "deal" whereby Holcomb was to be nominated and elected, and (b) that you related the particulars of this "deal" to Mr. Ricker some five years ago. Is this true? I confess that I am as skeptical regarding it as I was regarding Mr. Ricker's former assertion. Yours very truly,

"CHARLES Q. DE FRANCE,  
Associate Editor."

To this letter Mr. Rosewater has made no reply, but The Independent

has learned indirectly that he has no distinct recollection of the conversation and does not wish to mix into any controversy. Standing alone Mr. Ricker's language conveys no news, but in the light of his former assertion, a "deal" or "arrangement" or "understanding" implies prearrangement. The question is: Did Messrs. Rosewater, Bryan and Allen, previous to the conventions, arrange to have Holcomb nominated and elected governor? If so, that is a piece of news to many thousands of Nebraskans. The second question is: Did Mr. Rosewater relate the particulars of this "deal" to Mr. Ricker? Mr. Ricker says he did; Mr. Rosewater refuses to answer.

No one denies that Messrs. Rosewater, Bryan and Allen each assisted in the election of Governor Holcomb, and no one denies that they did good work. But Mr. Ricker's insinuation is that these gentlemen planned the whole thing in advance. And if it be true that they did so plan in advance, it is a matter which concerns republicans, democrats, and populists alike. Senator Allen, in the letter which follows, denies that he was party to any such "deal."

"Madison, Neb., March 19, 1903.—Hon. Chas. Q. De France, Lincoln, Neb.—My Dear Sir: I have your letter of the 14th inst. containing excerpts from The Independent and the Appeal to Reason, in which it appears that Mr. Ricker asserts that Mr. Bryan admitted to him that he (Mr. Bryan) and the populist leaders months before the democratic and populist national conventions of 1896 had arranged "so that the people's party would be placed in this humiliating position," referring to Mr. Bryan's probable nomination by the populists at St. Louis.

It further appears that Mr. Ricker asks, "Has Mr. Bryan forgotten the deal between Mr. Rosewater, Mr. Allen and himself by which understanding Mr. Holcomb was elected governor of Nebraska in 1894, the particulars of which were related to me by Mr. Rosewater some five years ago?" I desire to notice Mr. Ricker's utterance to the extent of denying that there was any arrangement at or before the national populist convention of 1896 that Mr. Bryan should receive the populist nomination for the presidency, and to express my dissent from the statement that there was a "deal" between Mr. Rosewater, Mr. Allen and Mr. Bryan by which Governor Holcomb was elected governor of Nebraska in 1894, as there was no such "deal." I likewise have reason to believe that Mr. Ricker is mistaken in what he claims Mr. Rosewater said to him "some five years ago."

"If there was a "deal" I was not a party to it and know nothing of it; if there was an arrangement or understanding by which Mr. Bryan was to receive the populist nomination to the presidency in 1896 before his name was actually placed before the convention at St. Louis I am and have been ignorant of the fact. I am well convinced that Mr. Ricker is thoroughly in error in respect to these statements.

"Mr. Ricker and his co-adjudicators must adopt some other method to discredit the populist party and to destroy it than by the circulation of such reports. I have faith in the populist party; faith in its principles; faith in its continued existence, and faith that it will grow and under its present or some other acceptable name ultimately be triumphant in the United States. I have not the slightest notion of deserting its standard or of permitting the organization to go down if I can prevent such a disaster. I admire many things in scientific socialism. The socialism of Marx and Bellamy would be of infinite benefit to mankind, but it is a thousand years in advance of the age and men must be re-fashioned before it can be successfully adopted. We must deal with men as they are and not as we would like them to be, and on one or two vital principles of government upon which all can agree we should unite the reform forces into a compact organization by which through party discipline and by force of numbers we may be able to reform the government and bring it back to the old time purity and simplicity of the fathers of the republic. Any policy that falls short of accomplishing this desirable end is short-sighted and unworthy of consideration.

WM. V. ALLEN."

These allegations would amount to nothing and would not need notice, were it not for the fact that the Appeal is attempting to draw populists into the ranks of "kangaroo" socialism, winning them by working on their prejudices instead of a genuine "appeal to reason." The Independent bids God speed to any populist who joins the socialist movement because he believes in the principles; but let him learn and believe through a genuine appeal to his reason and not

through an "Appeal to Prejudice."

Suppose it were proven beyond the shadow of a doubt that Messrs. Rosewater and Bryan told Mr. Ricker what he says they told him; and suppose that what they told him were absolutely true—how will that ultimately benefit the "kangaroos"? If "tricky" leaders killed the populist party, why can't they also kill the "kangaroo" movement? It will be all the more easily accomplished with a suspicious membership drawn together through prejudice rather than a fundamental knowledge of what is wanted.

A "movement" that can be killed by dishonest leaders isn't very much of a movement, it may be said in reply; but "kangaroo" socialism must grow very much yet before it reaches the populist strength as shown by the vote of 1892.

### The Coming Union

Editor Independent: I desire to reply to Brother Kain's article asking me why I did not invite the Bryan democrats into a union conference. I assure him and all others interested in the battle for human liberty that I give a hearty welcome to all the Bryan democrats and also to that fearless and invincible champion of human rights, Hon. W. R. Hearst.

Mr. Hearst has done more to educate the people in advanced ideas on all lines of reform than any other man in the last twenty-five years. He is always first in relieving destitution, first and unrelenting in fighting monopoly. He has won more victories for labor through his newspapers and the courts than the whole coterie of so-called reform democrats. He is the man of the hour and if nominated for the presidency in 1904, he will sweep the country like a cyclone. He is the only man in the country that can unite all the elements that have any humanity left in their mental construction.

President Roosevelt is making himself solid with the trusts and they will spend an unlimited amount of money to re-elect him in 1904, but it will not avail them as they are doomed to defeat. The corruption that dominates the republican party at present from town board to the halls of congress has never been equalled in the country's history. It is even less credit for a republican to champion their cause now than it was for a democrat to sustain democracy in 1856-'60-'64. The slave power (damnable as it was) could not hold a candle to the money power.

But rotten as the republican party is, we must not forget that Cleveland, Hill, Olney, Whitney, Gorman and their supporters are infinitely more contemptible than the republicans as they ride in the livery of heaven to serve the devil. There must be an entire separation from that crowd. They must be kept out of our councils as they are only serving as spies. United the reform forces on Hearst and Allen, and victory is ours in 1904.

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