

THE Railway Times

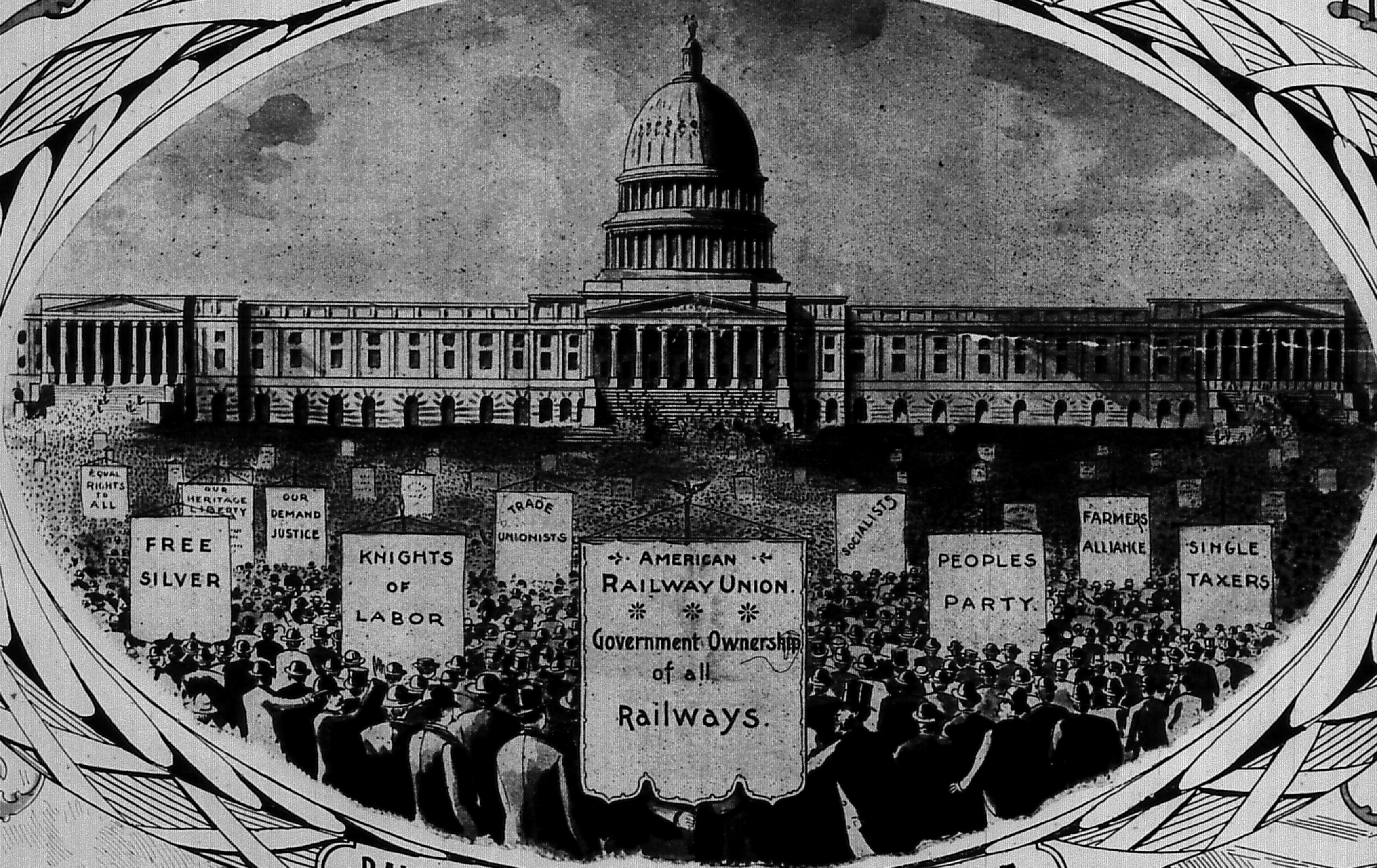
American Railway Union

Gov. Altgeld
Declining Federal
Assistance

Judge Woods
and the Power
Behind the Throne

Published by the

Terre Haute Ind.



BALLOTS OR BULLETS WHICH SHALL IT BE





Interior View of Jail—Morning Hour.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

was born at Terre Haute, Ind., November 5th, 1855, and attended the public schools there until fourteen years of age. In May, 1870, he began work in the Vandalia car shops as painter and car cleaner. He continued at this work until December, 1871, when he began firing a locomotive for the same company. He served in this capacity until July, 1875, when he entered the wholesale grocery house of Hulman & Co., at Terre Haute, where he served until August, 1879. He joined the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen in February, 1875, was a delegate at the Indianapolis convention in 1877, was elected associate editor of the *Firemen's Magazine* in 1878, and appointed Grand Secretary and Treasurer and editor of the *Magazine* in July, 1880. The former position he held

years of age he went to work as wiper for the C. M. & St. P. Co. and later he served several months as locomotive fireman. In 1883 he went to work as car repairer for the Great Northern Co. and remained in their employ until January, 1890. During the last five years of his employment he was chief clerk of the machinery department and had charge of the storeroom. Mr. Kelher was a trusted employe and highly esteemed by his fellow-workmen. Quite early he took an interest in labor affairs and in October, 1889, organized the Brotherhood of Railway Car Men of which he became grand secretary and treasurer. On January 1st, 1891 the *Car Men's Journal* was established and Mr. Kelher became its editor. He was five times elected to these responsible positions and served the order with zeal and fidelity until he resigned to enter a broader field in the American Railway

LOUIS W. ROGERS

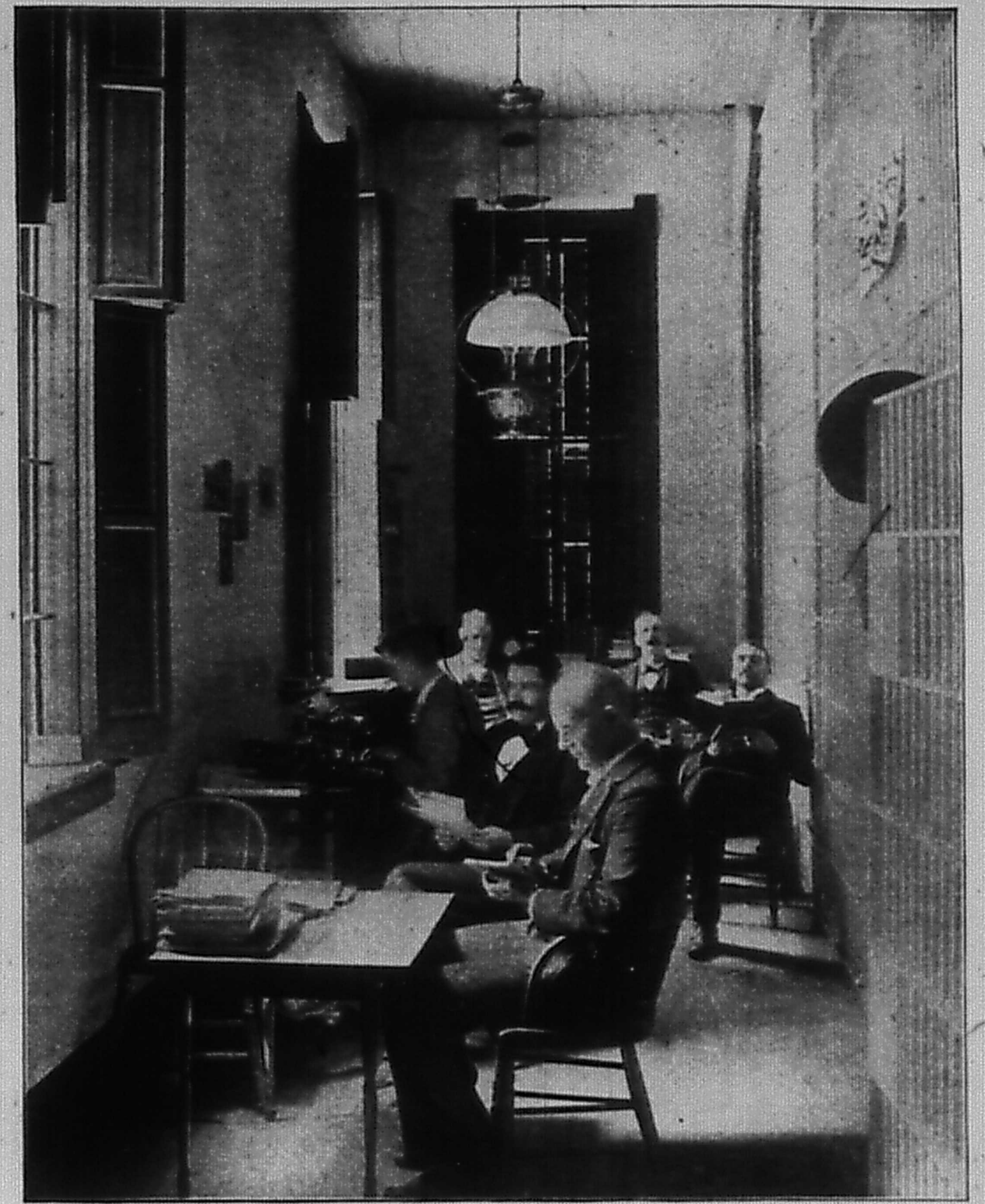
first saw the light at Iowa City, Iowa, May 28th, 1859. He was brought up on a farm, and at a very early age became a tiller of the soil. He was given as liberal an education as the country and town schools afforded, and at seventeen entered Western College of Iowa for a two years' course. He next taught school for a period of five years, and during this time educated himself as well as his pupils. Being of a studious and thoughtful turn he applied himself diligently to his work of self-improvement, and the practical knowledge thus acquired enabled him to distinguish himself quite soon after entering the field of organized labor. Mr. Rogers began his railroad career as a brakeman on the K. C., Ft. S. & G. Ry. He served in the same capacity on the Wabash, and then went to the C. B. & Q., where he was employed when the great "Q" strike broke out in February, 1888. It is needless to say that Rogers took an active part in the strike. He went from place to place speaking words of cheer to the men, and his speeches soon attracted favorable notice from the press on account of the speaker's clearness of thought, elegance of diction and irresistible force of argument.

Of course he lost his situation, and this ended his railroad career. For a time after the strike he published at St. Joe, Mo., the *Patriot*, a vigorous labor paper. Having joined the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen he was elected a delegate to the convention held in St. Paul in September, 1889, and was here chosen editor of the *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, the official organ of the order, which position he filled with exceptional credit and ability until September, 1891. Mr.

vention. In 1893 Elliott was a delegate from Butte to the Chicago silver convention and in 1894 he was a delegate to the free silver convention in Des Moines, Iowa. Mr. Elliott enjoys the distinction of being one of the three honorary members of the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly. Few men with such meagre advantages have accomplished more than can be claimed for Mr. Elliott. He is in the best sense a self-made man. Every leisure moment is devoted to reading and study along the lines of social and industrial research. Broad-minded, big hearted, free from the ignoble traits of small men, Elliott has hewed his way from obscurity to the esteem and affections of many thousands of his fellow-men.

ROY M. GOODWIN

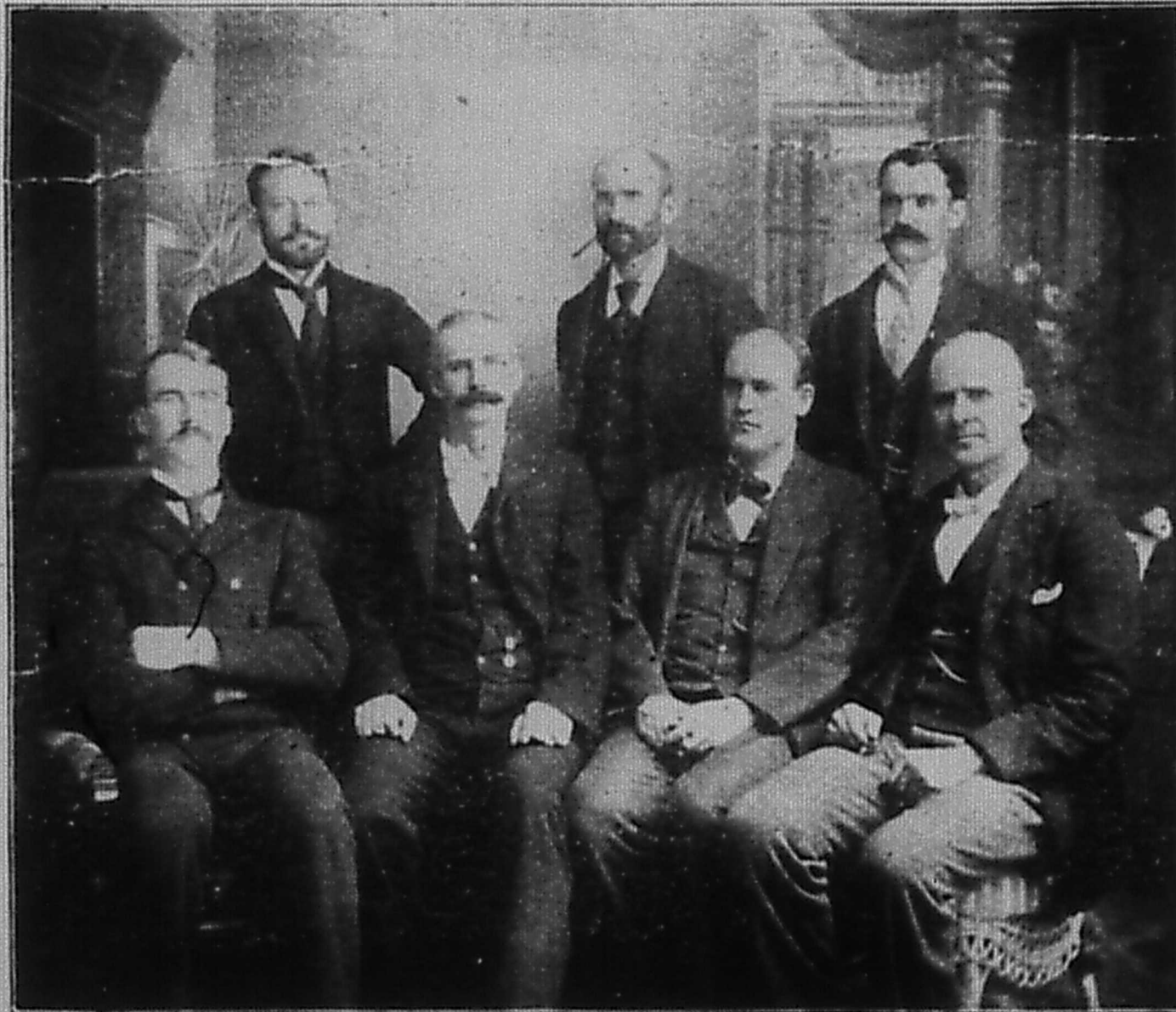
is best known in the Northwest where he has achieved enviable fame as a defender of the rights of labor. He was born at Clear Lake, Iowa, November 27th, 1863, and received such education as was to be had in the common schools of Mason City, Iowa. At eighteen years of age he began railroading at St. Vincent, Minn., his first employment being that of switchman. So well did he perform his duties that he was soon promoted to the position of yard master. Later he served as yard master at Grand Forks in the service of the Great Northern Company. He continued with this company until the strike occurred in April, 1894, when he resigned to accept service as organizer with the American Railway Union. He was for a time connected with the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen and was held in such esteem that he represented his lodge as delegate in the convention held at



Interior View of Jail—Afternoon Work.

Central system and it was during his administration, and through his special efforts, that the pay rolls of the firemen were increased \$37,000 per month. Mr. Burns was widely known for his devotion to locomotive firemen and their interests during all the time he was an engineer. He permitted no advantage to be taken of them and when they needed his help it was always freely given. He was honored with a term in the Illinois legislature where he served labor with such unrelaxing fidelity that he received numberless resolutions of thanks from all classes of organized labor throughout the state. He represented his union in the convention of the American Railway Union in June, 1894, and was one of the conspicuous figures on the floor. At this convention Mr. Burns was elected a director of the order and he has stood true to his duties

until in October, 1893, he resigned to accept the office of organizer for the American Railway Union. Having joined the Brotherhood of Railway Brakemen at Bradford, in 1887, he became an active member of that order and represented his lodge in the Galesburg convention, held in 1891. From 1890 to 1893, he was secretary of the general grievance committee of the Union Pacific system and during his administration many vexatious difficulties were adjusted and many valuable concessions secured. When, in April, 1894, the grand officers of the B. of R. T. took the side of the company in the Great Northern strike, Mr. Hogan quit the order. He attended the initial meeting of the American Railway Union, at Chicago, in June, 1893, coming all the way from Evanston, Wyoming, and saw the new craft launched, which was to stir to its depths the



L. W. ROGERS. M. J. ELLIOTT. SYLVESTER KELHER. JAMES HOGAN. W. E. BURNS. R. M. GOODWIN. EUGENE V. DEBS. The Seven Prisoner-Directors of the American Railway Union.

till January, 1893, and the latter till September, 1894. He served two terms as city clerk of Terre Haute, from September, 1879, to September, 1883, and in 1885 represented his county in the Indiana legislature. He became a member of the American Railway Union at its formation in June, 1893, and was elected President, which office he still holds.

SYLVESTER KELHER

was born at Lake City, Minn., March 8th, 1863. He received his education at the Minneapolis Academy. At 17

Union. He was one of the founders of the A. R. U., attended all the preliminary meetings and from the beginning evinced an enthusiastic appreciation of the conquering power of the principle of unification which the new order represented. At the institution of the order Mr. Kelher was elected secretary of the general union which office he has filled with rare ability and distinction. In all the years Mr. Kelher has served labor, he has dismissed all thought of self and on all occasions has worked courageously and energetically to secure for workmen their unalienable rights.



Eugene Victor Debs, President of the American Railway Union.

Rogers early saw the necessity for closer organization among railway employees, and helped to lay the foundation of the American Railway Union. When the order was instituted in June, 1893, he was chosen a director, and when in January, 1894, the *RAILWAY TIMES* was established he was elected editor, which position he has filled in a manner eminently creditable to himself and the order.

MARTIN J. ELLIOTT

began life at Silver Creek, Schuylkill Co., Pa., December 25th, 1860, and lived there until his 16th year. His parents were poor and could give him but a meagre education. At the early age of nine years he began to work in the mines as slate picker. In his seventeenth year he went west as far as Iowa and there worked on a farm for a year and a half, after which he returned to the Keystone state and went to work in the coal mines. In 1880 he went to Colorado where he followed mining till 1885 after which he went into business for himself. Meeting with business reverses he again returned to Pennsylvania and resumed mining until 1888 when he entered the service of the Philadelphia & Reading as switchman. He served in the same capacity in the D. L. & W. and the Erie and Wyoming and on the latter road served a term as brakeman. In 1891 Elliott again started west, this time going to Montana where he went to work for the Montana Union Co. as switchman, continuing with this company until June, 1894, when he was elected to his present position in the American Railway Union. He was an active member of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and in September, 1893, represented his lodge in the Boston con-

Galesburg in 1891 and again in the convention held at Boston in 1893. As a railroad man Goodwin's record has not a blemish. It is often the remark of old employees on the Great Northern that Goodwin had a faculty for handling men as well as cars, which made him an exceptionally valuable man. He has courage for all emergencies and his honesty has never been questioned. As a director of the American Railway Union he has done excellent service and the labor world will hear much more from him in the days and months to come.

WILLIAM E. BURNS

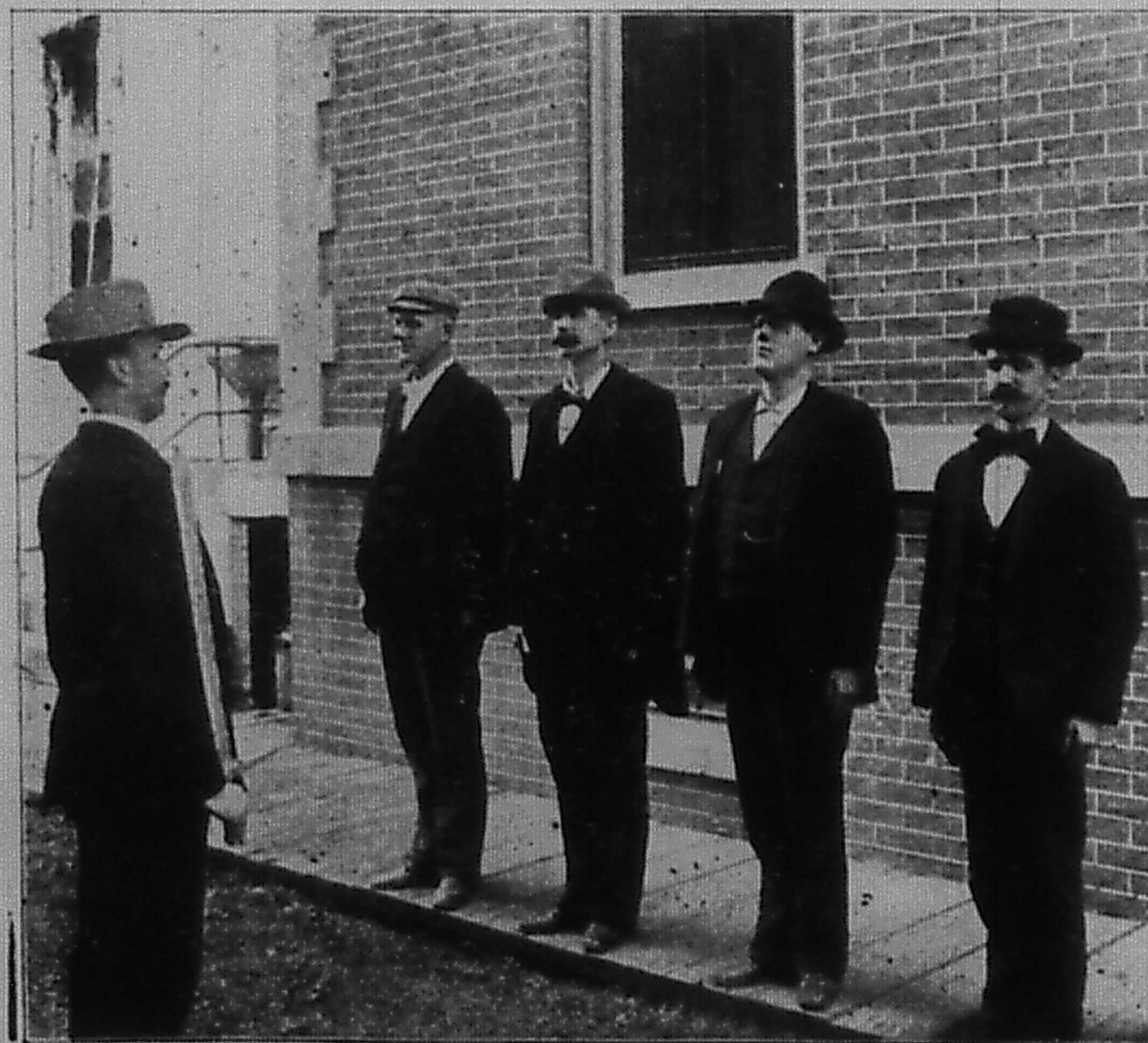
for fifteen years a locomotive fireman and engineer on the Illinois Central, is widely known among the railroad men of the country. He was born in Baltimore County, Md., August 22, 1856, and will, therefore, on the day of his release from Woodstock jail, which is his birthday, be 39 years of age. In 1874, he entered the railway service, beginning as locomotive fireman on the Pennsylvania railroad. He had ambition to go West and in 1879 procured a situation at Chicago as locomotive fireman on the Illinois Central. In 1882 he was promoted to running an engine and served the company as engineer until the great strike of last summer. Soon after he began railroading he joined the Firemen's International Union, of which he was a member until it merged with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. For twelve consecutive years he represented his lodge in the conventions of the brotherhood and at the Terre Haute convention in 1891 was elected Vice Grand Master, which position he held for a term of two years. For several years he was chairman of the joint board of adjustment of the entire Illinois

through good and evil report. His silver head probably accounts for his having been addressed as "chaplain of the colony" during his stay at Woodstock.

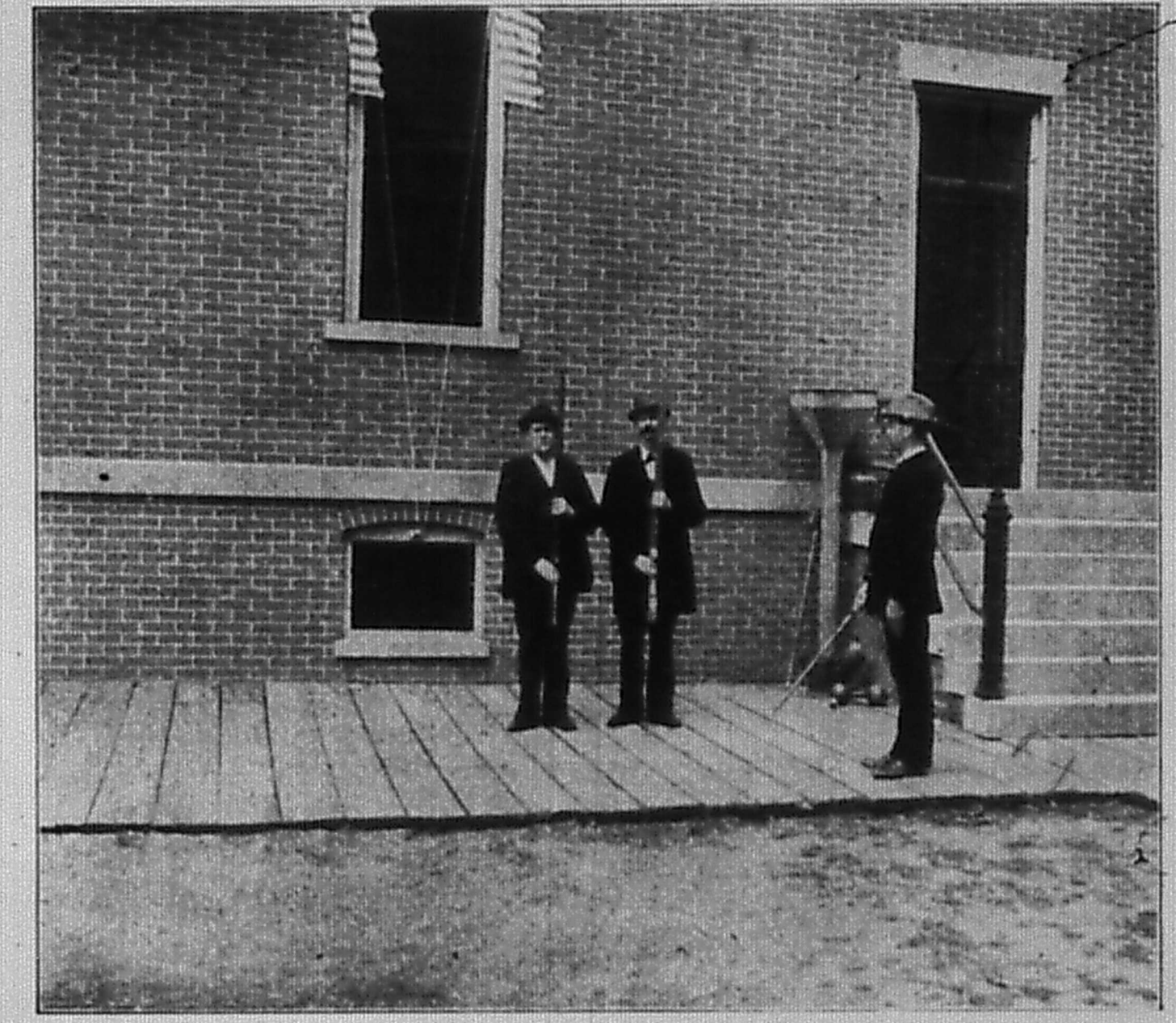
JAMES HOGAN

is the youngest member of the A. R. U. directory. Born at Calais, Me., August 8th, 1867, he entered the railway service at Bradford, Pa., by accepting service in July, 1885, as brakeman. He quit this position in May, 1888, and began braking on the Missouri Pacific at Sedalia, Mo. In 1889 he took a position with the Union Pacific Company, at Ogden and served as brakeman until in September, 1890, he was promoted to the position of conductor, which position he filled with credit

stagnant pool of railroad labor. At this meeting, Mr. Hogan delivered an able and interesting address. He was in unison with the new movement from the start. Trained in the school of experience, he clearly foresaw the folly of fighting united railroad corporations with disunited employees. At the June, 1894, convention of the order Mr. Hogan was elected director of the A. R. U. and he has, with tireless energy and great ability, discharged the trying duties of his office. "Colonel" Hogan, as he is now called, since serving at Woodstock, is the embodiment of generous, whole-souled nature. He is candid to bluntness, sincere and thoroughly honest. He is a student, not only of books, but of events and notes with ceaseless vigil all the shifting currents and eddies of the ever-troubled sea of labor. His friends need not hesitate to predict for him a future of usefulness and honor.



The Squad Drill. Colonel James Hogan in command. "Attention!"



Evening Drill. Sheriff Eckert's old army musket and the Kelher wooden musket. "Present Arms!"



McHenry County Jail, Woodstock, Illinois.

A. R. U. HISTORY.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION.

Its Principles, Its Purposes and Its Struggles to Help the Oppressed and to Unify Workingmen.

No one familiar with the unfortunate conditions in which the want of organization had placed the great mass of the employees of railway corporations, will hesitate to affirm that the welfare of these employees demanded the organization of a new order upon a plan sufficiently broad to take them all in, and do all things possible and prudent to better their conditions. To have any just conception of the

BROAD PHILANTHROPY of the scheme it should be stated that the employees of the various railway corporations of the country number from 800,000 to 1,000,000. Taking the lowest estimate, 800,000, and giving the largest estimate of the membership of all the old orders of railway employees that could be verified, and it will be seen that at least 700,000 of these employees were unorganized—since it would be gross exaggeration to place that membership above 100,000. Such a condition of affairs appealed loudly and ceaselessly for a remedy. These unorganized employees were to the

CORPORATIONS as so many sheep to be sheared, or so many cattle to be skinned, whenever the corporations needed money to buy a judge, or to pay dividends upon water. These unorganized employees constituted in the estimation of the corporations, so many mere animals, to be worked, robbed and starved as their heartlessness and financial emergencies might demand. The organized employees had managed to have their wages advanced to a point approximating fairness. In some measure, they dictated terms and forced contracts, and the corporations yielded to the inevitable—but the unorganized were left to make the best they could of a hard lot and there seemed to be no help for them.

THIS CLASS ORGANIZATION, under different chiefs and different laws, developed along their lines of operation phases of human nature destined to disclose weakness where there should have been strength; envy and jealousy where there should have been confidence and fraternity; treason, where there should have been loyalty, and to make matters still worse, if possible, there arose in their ranks, a species of obnoxious aristocracy, warmed into life by grand officials and boards, which, eating like cancer into their financial vitals, burdened the membership with an annual sum total of taxation of almost inconceivable enormity, for which little or no benefit whatever accrued to the membership, aside from occasional spectacular parades, in which the "Grands" rode "in chairs," and, as the Irishman put it, the rank and file, "walked be jases."

In offering reasons why another organization of railway employees was demanded it is proper to state that the country was full of

EX-MEMBERS of the various organizations, engineers, firemen, trainmen, conductors and switchmen, who had failed to meet the demand for dues and assessments. These men, struggling against adverse fortune were unceremoniously turned adrift. They were moneyless men and the doors of the lodges were closed against them; unfortunate, but honorable, they were made to realize that the term "brotherhood" meant money. They believed in organization. By nature they were not scabs, but the orders were organized upon plans in which vast sums of money were required, and if a member could not meet the ceaseless taxation he had to surrender his badge and regalia and leave the charmed and mystic circle of brotherhood based on cash. To rescue these wanderers, the victims of over-taxation to maintain a species of labor aristocracy, was deemed a philanthropic work, appealing to men familiar with the facts with an emphasis that could not be disregarded.

THE EXPLORATION OF THE FIELD was not the work of a month nor a year. It required a profound study of conditions and of remedies. It required a knowledge of men and of their resources, their needs and aspirations. The magnitude of the work is seen in the number that required assistance. There were at least 700,000 who had never been organized, and as has been stated, many thousands, who had been members of the various organizations, who had been thrust out and deprived of their benefits, constituting an army of delinquents, who, having paid dues and assessments from their earnings until exhausted, were forced, by the brotherhoods—heaven save the mark—to join the army of excommunicants, and thousands of them went into exile, not only to cover their ill-luck but to anathematize the term "brotherhood." At this supreme juncture, after years of thought for the welfare of this vast army of unorganized railway employees, the

AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION was organized. Behind it stood the facts we have recited; before it, heroic tasks to bring order out of chaos and secure by new methods the blessings of wise and beneficent organization.

It involved the severest rules of applied economics. Organization demanded money, but in fixing the rate of taxation the question, not how much could be extorted, but how little could be made to meet the requirements. There must be no spectacular displays, no nabobism, and the world was to be taught that every legitimate need of organization could be reached at an expenditure so small as would revolutionize the financial theories of organization.

Taxation, has been in all time, the Pandora box from which has issued more curses than need to be enumerated, and it was the determination of the founders of the American Railway Union to fix insurmountable barriers against this fruitful source of evils—hence, to become a member of the American Railway Union costs \$1.00 for one year's membership. In this economic rule, railway employees were permitted to contemplate the possibilities of economy. The order's fiscal year begins May 1st and ends April 30th and the constitution provides that "members admitted in the first quarter of the fiscal year (May, June and July) are required to pay one (\$1) dollar; members admitted during second quarter (August, September and October) are required to pay seventy five (75) cents; members admitted during third quarter (November, December and January) are required to pay fifty (50) cents, and members admitted during fourth quarter (February, March and April) are required to pay twenty-five (25) cents, which pays their capita tax to April 30th, next following, the close of the fiscal year." In this it is seen that membership in the American Railway Union cost about 2½ mills a day for 365 days, or one cent pays the per capita tax for nearly four days—and what will strike the average employee as extraordinary, is the fact that this amount meets every requirement, putting to silence and to shame the orders which tax their members extortionately for no worthy purpose.

WHEN ORGANIZED. On June 20th, A. D. 1893, the announcement was made that the American Railway Union had been organized and its banner flung to the breeze, and since that auspicious day, the order, in storm and in shine has attracted the attention of the labor world. Its growth, unparalleled in the history of labor organizations, astonished all who gave the facts even cursory attention. It had sounded the most cheering bugle call the hosts of unorganized railway employees had ever heard on the American continent.

WHAT ARE THE FACTS? It was on August 17th, 1893, fifty-eight days from the announcement that the American Railway Union had been organized, that Local Union No. 1 was organized, and on June 12, 1894, eight months and twenty-five days after the organization of Local Union No. 1 was formed, that FOUR HUNDRED AND TWENTY-NINE local unions had been organized, with a membership approximating

ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND. Such declarations read and sound like a fairy tale of the Arabian Nights, and yet they are as true as a mathematical axiom and as easy of convincing verification. They startled the country. They disclosed possibilities in the line of the organization and unification of railway employees that the old orders of railway employees had never dreamed of. It was at once a revolution and a revelation. Old things passed away, or were shown to be effete; a new and gigantic force had entered the arena of effort. Its power was in the grandeur of the truths it enunciated. It grasped as only truth can grasp the labor problem and at once all thoughtful men in the ranks of labor discovered that

UNIFICATION is the one, the last, the supreme and the only hope of labor to redeem it from slavish and debasing environments. It would be an exhibition of boundless egotism to say that the American Railway Union was first to discover the truth that "in unity there is strength." The aphorism is as old as the eternal hills. Moss-grown with antiquity, it was permitted by the hosts of labor to lie buried and neglected. The American Railway Union grasped the invincible truth, for the ultimate victory of which "the eternal years of God" are pledged, emblazoned it upon its banners and crowned it the presiding genius of the order. And in peace and in war, in battle and in storm, in meridian day and in meridian darkness, in victory and in defeat, enjoying the liberties guaranteed by the constitution, or struck down and in prison by an usurped despotic power, the American Railway Union still proclaims to the labor world that if it would advance in liberty and power, its shibboleth must be unification; and, unification once achieved, all things demanded by justice and right would be secured.

CONFIRMATION. It has been stated that the American Railway Union was organized, June 20th, 1893; that its first local union was organized August 17, 1893. The strike on the Great Northern railroad was declared on April 13th, 1894; hence the strike occurred ten months and 26 days from the day the order was organized, and eight months and twenty days after the first local union was organized. It will be observed that the order was less than one year old when it was called upon to rescue the employees of the Great North-

ern railroad from the curse of a reduction of wages, and the woes which such a reduction would inflict. It was an event that brought into the boldest possible prominence the invincible potentiality of unification. All the employees on the Great Northern were not members of the American Railway Union, but its members, with a vast majority of all the other employees, comprehended the fact that unification was required to secure a victory, and they at once rallied under the conquering banner of the American Railway Union, and as a result every demand was conceded by the corporation, and a splendid victory, such as had never before been gained by any organization of railway employees, crowned with enduring renown the youthful and dauntless order. But the reader of this sketch will have, but a meager idea of the victory gained, unless some mention is made of the power of the force against which it was called upon to contend.

THE GREAT NORTHERN RAILROAD corporation is one of the most powerful on the continent, having 4,000 miles of track and extending from St. Paul to Seattle. It possesses almost limitless resources of money and the influences which money can purchase. Its affairs were under the guidance of Mr. James J. Hill, than whom no railroad president is more resourceful. Rising by rapid promotion from the ranks of indigence to wealth and power, he was specially equipped with the knowledge of workmen which enabled him to determine to what extent he could bank upon their necessities and pocket the usufruct. This great corporation and its rich and powerful president was as defiant as Goliath of Gath—and as ignorant as was that giant of the power of unification with which he had to contend. He struggled valiantly for seventeen days. He had at his beck and call the "grands" of all old and effete orders, who did his bidding and licked his boots, but it was of no avail, and at last he struck his colors to the overmastering power of the American Railway Union, coupled with the disenthraling energy of unification.

This great victory in the interest of labor ought to have secured universal applause from all labor organizations. It merited the most generous tokens of approval from the ranks of labor, regardless of name. It was a blow struck for the emancipation of labor. It stayed the hand of injustice. It grasped and shattered the scepter of corporations, throttled their rapacity and taught them that labor, unified, is invincible. Did the

OLD ORDERS OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES grasp this opportunity to voice their appreciation of a victory which meant their redemption from conditions, the mere mention of which fills the mind with pictures of slavish degeneracy, so repulsive in every line, background and foreground as to defy exaggeration?

In the fiery ordeal, the employees of the Great Northern were passing, where stood, or more properly where crawled the old orders? The answer is they were in constant and cordial alliance with the enemies of labor. Traitors to every profession of fealty to labor, they were so many Judas Iscariots, doing for such bribes as the corporation saw fit to offer, their best to choke the voice of labor when it was calling for help, and paralyzing its arm at the critical hour, when it was striking sturdy blows for labor's emancipation. The victory gained by the American Railway Union on the Great Northern aroused the alarm and the implacable hostility of the

CORPORATIONS and the order rang along all the lines declaring eternal war against the American Railway Union. They saw, with the eyes of seers, if the power of the young Sampson was not curbed, their power to cut wages and impoverish their employees would be forever wrested from them, and to accomplish their ends they adopted the policy of the unification of railway corporations, in an organization known as the General Managers' Association, representing more than two billions of capital and with this money in hand, constituting a colossal debauching power such as the world had never seen before, they expected, if opportunity offered, to overwhelm the American Railway Union in defeat, and establish their supremacy over the lives, liberties and fortunes of their employees. They did not have long to wait, for on May 11, 1894.

THE GREAT PULLMAN STRIKE BECAME and raged fiercely, with constantly varying phases, until its end in August following. To write the history of this great strike would require a volume. Our space is limited to the declaration that it was based upon a simple proposition to rescue, if possible, the victims of oppression in the town of Pullman from death by starvation; to wrest, if possible, from Geo. M. Pullman, the inhuman beast, the power to enslave and starve the victims of his Christless rapacity. In this effort, as noble, as human, as philanthropic as ever inspired men to make sacrifices for their fellow men, the American Railway Union put forth its energies, and in so far as the rescue of men, women and children from conditions worse than chattel slavery, imposed upon them by the monster of depravity, Geo. M. Pullman, is involved, the strike was a failure. It did not accomplish the immediate end it sought and for which it battled. And it is just here, that upon broad inquiry, the question arises,

WAS THE PULLMAN STRIKE A FAILURE? In considering such an interrogatory it is eminently prudent to inquire, was the battle of Bunker Hill a failure? The forces of King George finally carried the day and dispersed the patriots, some of whom gave up their lives in the cause of liberty. If a victory, it was the dearest power ever achieved in the interest of oppression. From the date of that historic battle, British rule in America was doomed. England conquered at Bunker Hill, as a prelude to her defeat at Yorktown and the loss of her Colonial possessions. The battle of Bunker Hill aroused every American patriot. It made the Declaration of Independence possible. It lighted signal fires of liberty on every elevation from Bunker Hill to King's mountain. It extorted from Patrick Henry the immortal words, "Give me liberty or give me death." It inspired patriots to freeze at Valley Forge, and to fight naked as they were born at Cowpens. It was a defeat, destined to ring all the bells of liberty at last, in honor of victory.

The American Railway Union, in Chicago, in 1894, fought a battle for labor's redemption from slavery. Its flag went down, but not in dishonor nor disgrace, nor did the corporations, alone, win the victory. By the use of fabulous wealth they debauched the federal courts and brought to their aid the nation's standing army, with every appliance known to murderous war, and all these forces combined in getting a victory over the American Railway Union, voiced the despotic edict that henceforward workmen should be the wage-slaves of the corporations and the money power of the nation. In that edict, as certain as the rivers run to the sea, they wrote, as with an "iron pen and lead in the rock forever" their doom, their ultimate defeat.

WHAT DO WE HEAR? In all of the broad land from center to circumference, coming over every wire, and upon every wind that blows, the protest of organized labor, premonitory of a gathering storm of righteous indignation. It was not enough for the government, by its courts and its armies to cleave down the American Railway Union in its heaven born struggle to rescue the famine cursed victims of Pullman, but it must further gloat its vengeance, by sending the officials of the order to

WOODSTOCK PRISON where, as we write this sketch, they languish with a despot's heel upon their necks, and where, thank God, they have never been deserted by the liberty loving men and women of America, who have made them the subjects of their prayers, and ceaseless solicitude. The corporations, the money power, the plutocratic tyrants, from Woods to the supreme court harlequins, and up to the oleaginous, Buzzard's Bay hangman, never expected their tyranny would so arouse the workmen of America. They did not intend to make Woodstock prison the converging center of free men's maledictions. They counted upon tame debased, slavish submission—and now there is going forth from that despot's bastle, ceaseless calls for the workingmen to come to the rescue—not of the imprisoned victims of despotism, but to the rescue of liberty, constitutional liberty, that has been struck down by their infamous incarceration.

HO, FOR THE BALLOT! Hitherto workmen have wielded the ballot to maintain in power one or the other of the two old parties who have been the authors of legislation culminating in their impoverishment and degradation. With these old parties, regardless of names, the corporations—the money power—is the dictating power in the government. Its debauching influence is seen on every hand and in all measures, national and state, in which its interests are involved. Under its dominating influence the public lands have been sequestered to the extent of the area of several states. Under the sway of the money power, corporations and trusts, combines and syndicates control the currency, and the robbery of the people proceeds unmolested, until at last we see a so-called democratic administration in alliance with the Rothschilds, the Shylocks of the ages, to rob the people by burdening them with taxation to maintain a parity between different descriptions of money bearing the fiat stamp of the government.

The American Railway Union stands pledged to cleanse the Augean stable in which the two old parties have fed their oxen, mules and asses until the stench defies all figures of speech. This money power does not hesitate to enter the halls of legislation and set up its gods to be worshipped by the weak-kneed, spineless representatives of the people. It enters the white house and the president yields to its debauching influence. It enters the halls of justice and the supreme court does its bidding as retriever spaniels obey their masters. It enters the church, and the robed priests in the pulpit and at the altar preach sermons and offer prayers for its continued supremacy. It grasps the press, accounts a bulwark of liberty, and makes it a willing slave. This aristocratic, plutocratic and autocratic money power, dominating the policy of both the old parties, having decreed the degradation and enslavement of labor in every department of the industrial affairs of the country, the American Railway Union in

its first convention declared its hostility to the two old parties which permit its corrupting sway, and voiced its determination by the unification of its membership to reinstate the authority of the people in governmental affairs, and introduce, for the welfare of all, every needed reform in municipal, state and national government. And finally, the AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION which is now relighting its lodge fires from ocean to ocean, having demonstrated not only its right to live in spite of corporations, courts, armies and prisons and blacklists, and its determination to live in spite of every obstacle and opposing force, sounds the rallying cry to labor to unify its voice and its vote to redeem the country from the grasp of the foes of constitutional liberty, and to declare that in UNIFICATION THERE IS ULTIMATE AND INEVITABLE VICTORY, WHILE IN DIVISION, DEFEAT, DEGRADATION AND WAGE SLAVERY IS ITS CERTAIN DOOM.

THE MINISTRY

Is the subject of an address delivered by the Rev. F. F. Passmore before the Methodist Episcopal Conference, recently held at Denver, Colo. This is one of the most startling arraignments of the "hiring clergy" that was ever uttered by a christian minister. So great has been the demand for extra copies of the TIMES containing this paper that we have published a limited edition which can be had at this office for ten cents each.

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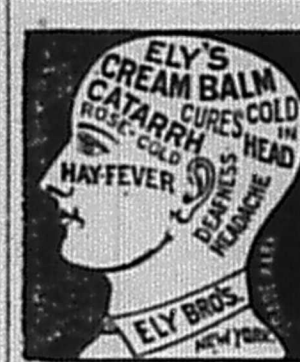
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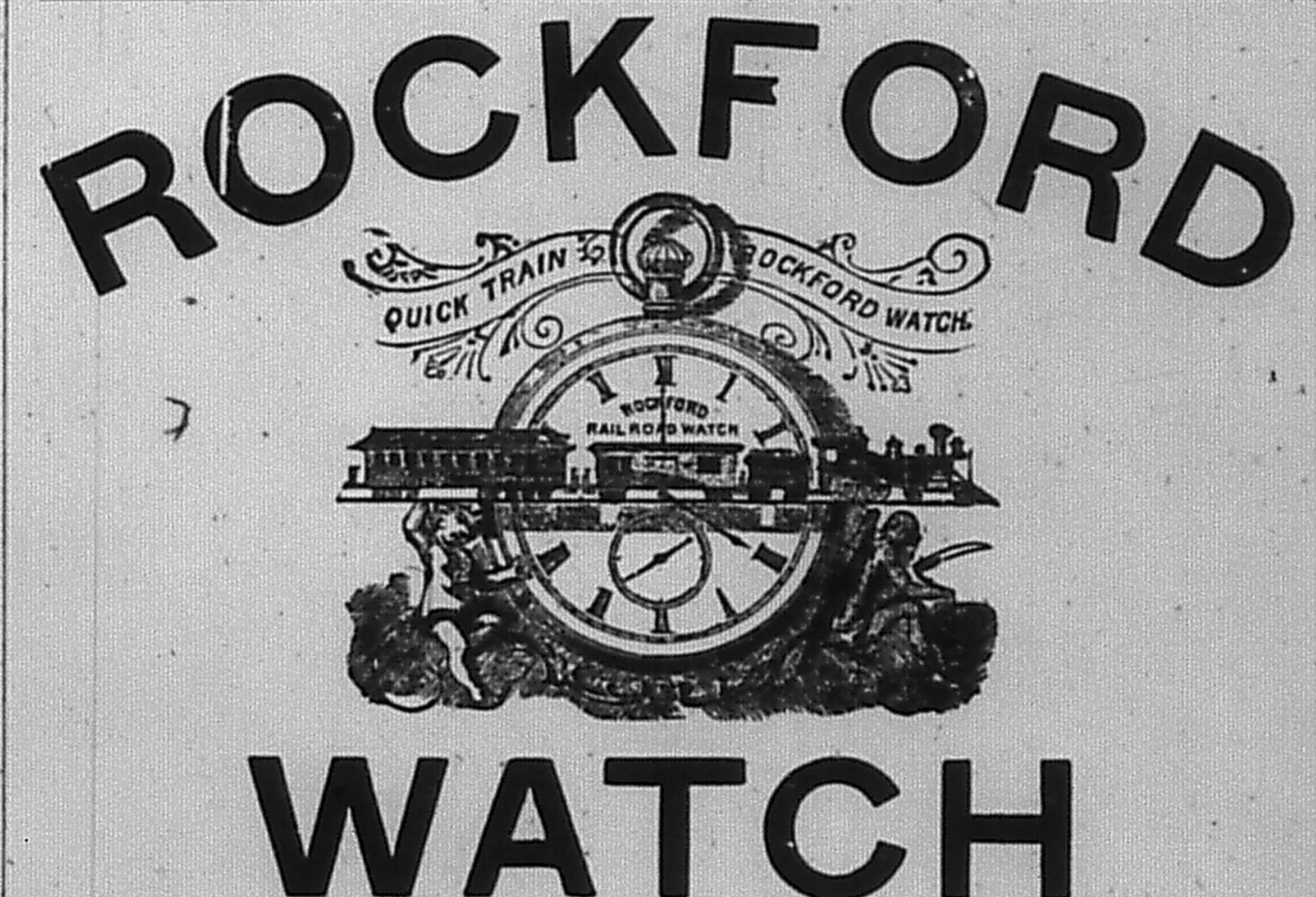
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ARCH CONSPIRACY.

THE GENERAL MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION SHOWN UP IN ITS TRUE LIGHT.

Stray Leaves From the Official "Proceedings" of This Notorious Star Chamber Combination.

One of the incidents of the trial of the officers and directors of the American Railway Union last winter upon the alleged charge of conspiracy was the unexpected placing on the witness stand, by the counsel for the defense, of a number of general managers, among whom was Mr. B. Thomas, chairman of the General Managers' Association. It will be recalled that the trial was very abruptly terminated. A juror was very suddenly taken ill. The prosecution utterly refused to proceed. Nothing but the dismissal of the jury would satisfy them, notwithstanding the attorneys for the defense made every possible concession to have the trial continued until a verdict was reached. It was whispered at the time that the General Managers' Association was quite as sick as the juror. An intimation of the nature of the malady may be found in the subjoined testimony which is only an index of the contents of the several bound volumes of printed "proceedings" of the star chamber meetings of the conspiracy known as the General Managers' Association. Two of the volumes were introduced by Mr. Thomas, the chairman, while he was on the witness stand. He could not decline to produce them after the "proceedings" of the American Railway Union had gone in. The defendants were not permitted to look into these sacred volumes. Only their counsel had the privilege of a very brief inspection. Almost a scene was created when it was discovered that George W. Howard, one of the defendants, was glancing at the contents over counsel's shoulder. The volume was rudely snatched away by Mr. Edwin Walker, misnamed counsel for the government. Mr. Thomas, a witness, called by the defense, was on the stand. Why was Mr. Walker, who represented the prosecution, so solicitous about a witness for the defense? Does not the answer readily suggest itself? Mr. Walker was paid by the government and represented the railroad and that is why he kept his eagle eye on the general managers' "proceedings."

Mr. Gregory and Mr. Darrow, represented the defense, and Mr. Black, district prosecutor, and Mr. Edwin Walker, special counsel, represented the government. We invite the most careful perusal of the testimony of Chairman Thomas, which was prepared by the court reporter and is absolutely authentic. It runs as follows:

B. Thomas, called as a witness on behalf of the defendants, being first duly sworn, testified as follows: Direct examination by Mr. Gregory:

Q What is your occupation? A President and general manager of the Chicago & Western Indiana Railroad Company, and the Belt Railway Company, of Chicago.

Q How long have you occupied that position? A About four years as president and general manager; nearly seven years altogether; part of the time as vice-president and general manager.

Q The Western Indiana is a terminal road here in Chicago? A Yes, sir.

Q Does it run to any points out in the state? A No, sir.

Q And it controls what terminals here? A The Chicago & Eastern Illinois, Louisville, New Albany & Chicago, the Wabash Railroad, the Chicago & Grand Trunk, Atchinson, Topeka & Santa Fe.

Q Having the passenger station at Polk street, called Dearborn station? A Yes, sir.

Q And these various roads have traffic rights over your lines for coming into the city? A Yes, sir.

Q Are you a member of the General Managers' Association, of this city? A Yes, sir.

Q What is that association? A It is an association of the railroads terminating at Chicago.

Q Can you mention from memory the names of the roads that are members of that association and represented in it? A The Atchinson, Topeka & Santa Fe, Baltimore & Ohio, Chicago & Eastern Illinois, Chicago & Erie, Chicago & Western Indiana, Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, Chicago & Northwestern, Calumet & Blue Island, the Illinois Central.

Q The Chicago & Alton? A The Chicago & Alton, Illinois Central, Louisville, New Albany & Chicago.

Q Burlington? A Burlington.

Q Chicago & Great Western? A Chicago & Great Western; the Wabash Railroad.

Q The Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific? A The Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific.

Q Chicago & Northern Pacific? A Yes, sir.

Q Chicago, Louisville & New Albany? A Yes, sir.

Q Lake Shore & Michigan Southern? A Yes, sir.

Q Michigan Central? A Yes, sir.

Q New York, Chicago & St. Louis? A Yes, sir.

Q Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis? A Yes, sir.

Q Pittsburgh, Ft. Wayne & Chicago? A Yes, sir.

Q Union Stock Yards Transit Company? A Yes, sir.

Q Wisconsin Central? A Yes, sir.

Q How long have you been a member of that association? A I think three or four years.

Q Were you a member when it was organized? A I was not.

Q You joined it at a later period? A Yes, sir.

Q Do you know about when it was organized? A I think it was organized in 1886 or 1887.

Q I will ask you whether or not according to your best recollection, it was

not started on the 20th of April, 1886? A Well, I can't state definitely, but about that time; yes, sir.

Q That was not a corporation, was it; it was a voluntary association? A Yes, sir.

Q What were the objects of that association? A The objects of that association were the consideration of matters of management in the operation of roads terminating at Chicago.

Q Who were eligible to membership therein? A The presidents and general managers of the railroads, members of the association.

Q And assisting general managers, were they eligible? A There is nothing in the constitution or by-laws, I think, that mentions an assisting general manager.

Q Were the general managers and presidents of these roads members of that association during the time that you have been? A The managers were usually, as a rule, members of the association. The roads were members of the association and they sent their representatives there. Sometimes it was general managers and sometimes a president.

Q So that these meetings were habitually attended by either the president or general manager of the various roads? A They were generally attended.

Q Sometimes by both? A Occasionally.

Q The membership in the association was limited, however, to roads terminating in Chicago, was it not? A Yes, sir.

Q Can you state briefly, then, for the purpose of giving the jury a general idea of the scope of this association, some topics that have been considered by it prior to the troubles of last summer? A One of the matters that was considered, perhaps I might mention by way of illustration, was the matter of trains that are detained from one road to run around on the tracks of another railroad by reason of some obstruction upon the track.

Q The consideration was as to the responsibility resting upon the road whose trains were sent over foreign tracks, and the responsibility resting upon the road that furnished the tracks over which the trains were run. That is one of the matters that was considered.

Q I will ask you whether or not the question of car service was considered? A The question of car service frequently comes up before the association. There is, however, an association that is especially formed for the purpose of considering that matter.

Q Involving the questions of demurrage? A Yes, sir.

Q And things of that kind? A Yes, sir.

Q The charges, in other words, to be met by the different roads, either to consignees or among themselves? A The general managers have not fixed that. That is fixed by another arrangement.

Q But have they the supreme power in the matter that has been the subject of discussion? A I can't say that they have the supreme power. The supreme power rests in the association. As I understand the matter that whatever power there is, whether you call it supreme power or not, it is formed for the purpose of looking into that special matter.

Q For instance, loading and unloading trains, mileage on cars, packers, packing claims on the railroads, switching at the stock yards, traffic association, reduction in expenses, etc. Have those topics come before your association, to your knowledge? A Some have and some have not. Now, in reference to the matter of car service it came up before the association and was referred.

Q I think, always referred. In the case of the question of per diem charges I presume that is the matter to which you refer. That would come before the Car Service Association, not before the General Managers' Association.

Q That is an association made up of representatives of the different roads, is it not? A It is made up of the roads who have representatives in the association.

Q They have their representatives? A Yes, sir.

Q What representatives did they have in the association? Are they superior to the general managers or inferior? A Under the present arrangement the roads themselves are members of that association and have sent such representatives there as they chose to.

Q I will ask you to state whether or not the question of schedule of wages has been considered by these associated roads? A The wage schedules have been considered by the representatives of the roads.

Q What wage schedules? That is wages for what workmen? What class of workmen have been under consideration? I refer now particularly to the locality where these men are employed? A The wages of all railroad employees have been mentioned and considered in general discussions before the association.

Q That is the wages of all the employees of these associated roads? A I think that the wages of all the employees of these associated roads have been considered and discussed and talked over at different times in the association.

Q Can you give the jurors an estimate of the employees on these associated roads? A No, I cannot do that.

Q It is very large I suppose? A Very large.

Q Probably run up into the hundreds of thousands? A No, I should think not as much as that in the associated roads, but it is a large number.

Q These roads represent a majority of the mileage in the United States do they not, roads centering in Chicago? A Well, I think so.

Q So that it would be fair to say that these roads then had in their service the majority of the railroad employees in the United States? A I would like to say that. I think that is quite doubtful.

Q You think it is quite doubtful? A I never considered the mileage of the roads members—the roads terminating in Chicago in connection with all the mileage of all the roads in the United States. So that I could not answer that question definitely.

Q Do you happen to know the number of railroad employees in the United States? A No, I do not.

Q How has the subject of wages come up? How has the matter been brought before the association? A Oh in a general way the matter has been discussed.

Q I will ask you whether there has been demands by the employees for changes or increase in wages or things of that kind, grievances, in other words? A There was a demand some years ago

upon the railroads. That is the employees of the several railroads made a demand—each class of employees—upon its own railroad.

Q And then what became of those demands? How did they come before the association? A Oh they were discussed before the association.

Q Who presented them before the association? A The representatives of the roads would in the course of discussion mention the fact that demands had been made by the several railroads upon the management.

Q The representatives of the roads then would lay those demands before the association and they would be considered? A I don't know that they would be proper to say that they would lay those demands before the association. They were mentioned in the course of business and brought to the attention of the association in that way.

Q You make a distinction between bringing a thing to a man's attention and laying it before him? A I don't know that I have made that distinction.

Q Well, you have not made it very clear. Is that so far as you know the usual method in which those matters were treated while you were a member of the General Managers' Association? A All matters affecting the operation of the railroads were brought to the attention—was a matter of discussion by the representatives of the roads. They were not always brought to the attention.

Q There were a great many matters that might be brought to the attention of the railroads that might not have been brought to the attention of the General Managers' Association. There was nothing obligatory upon those roads that required them to bring any of those matters to the attention of the Association. So that I could only say that some matters of that character were brought to the attention of the association.

Q Was there anything obligatory upon the members of the association requiring them to bring any matters before the association? A Not that I know of.

Q That was left to the roads themselves to say what they would bring before the association? A There was no rule that prevented them from bringing any rule of that kind before the association.

Q Suppose the men made a demand to have their wages reduced; that would not have been brought up before the association? At least no such case occurred? A Any member of the association would not consult the association unless he should happen to do so for the purpose, possibly, of getting an enlightenment about reducing or raising the wages of the employees. They had a perfect right to do that without reference to the association. The railroads are not managed by the association.

Q I understand you, then, that the association was merely a conference of railway managers, and not a legislative body? A It was not a legislative body, it was a voluntary association.

Q It was in the main an alliance at least, was it not? They kind of agreed to stand by each other didn't they? A Well, they are talking about what they agreed to do. I don't know of any agreement by which they were to stand by one another.

Q Have you ever known of there being a scale of wages for switchmen in Chicago? A There is a switchman's scale, yes, sir.

Q What is that called? A Called the switchman's scale.

Q How was that adopted? A I am not sure about that, but my recollection is that that scale was adopted before this railroad association was formed.

Q Mr. Black, if your honor please, we are not listening to this testimony without objection, because we consider it incompetent. It is very interesting.

THE COURT: Well, it may lead to something.

MR. GREGORY: I think that is what counsel is anticipating.

MR. BLACK: Not at all.

MR. GREGORY: To the payment of the men where employed, is that scale applicable? A It is confined to the Chicago roads, to the roads terminating at Chicago.

Q Is that uniform to all roads? A The switchmen's scale you are speaking of?

Q Yes. A It is not absolutely uniform.

Q Some differences between the Milwaukee road and the others, and the Rock Island and the others, is there not, as to some minor details? A And the Western Indiana, the Belt Railway. They in some cases pay more.

Q What are the points of difference? A Well, we pay more per hour than they do on some roads, I think.

Q How much more per hour, I mean it is a considerable difference? A Well, it is a difference of a cent or two an hour, I think.

Q Did some of these roads pay a little more for the same service? A Some have schedules that allow a greater sum per hour. That is my recollection now.

Q Was that in force last summer, last June? A I believe so.

Q Prior to the strike? A Yes, sir.

Q Do you remember that there was an application made in the spring of 1893 by the switchmen of the various roads on which they were employed for changes in the rate of their pay?

MR. WALKER: I desire that the answer of the witness be confined to what he personally knows. This is a witness for the defense, not for the prosecution.

THE COURT: Yes, personal knowledge.

MR. WALKER: Personal knowledge that you have of the matter.

MR. GREGORY: Certainly.

A There was a demand made upon the Western Indiana—the Belt Railway Company.

MR. GREGORY: Could you state in terms the language of that demand?

A No.

Q Was it in writing? A I don't recollect just now what shape it came to me in.

Q I will ask you to state whether it was not substantially like this, if you remember, after you have heard me read what I am about to read:

CHICAGO, March 6, 1893.

To the General Yard Masters and Managing Officers of the Operating Department:

(With the name of your railroad inserted, Railroad.)

DEAR SIR:—We, switchmen employed by your corporation in and around Chicago, respectfully present for your consideration, the following:

First, The rate paid switchmen to be as follows: Day foremen, 32 cents per

hour; day helpers, 30 cents per hour; night foremen, 34 cents per hour; night helpers, 32 cents per hour.

Second, That ten hours work be guaranteed each crew day or night. Awaiting an early reply, we remain, Yours respectfully,

Yours respectfully,
COMMITTEE.

Do you remember whether that was sent?

A I don't remember whether that was the form in which the application was made or not.

Q Did you thereafter attend a meeting or meetings of the General Managers' with reference to the subject coming up for consideration? A Yes, sir.

Q What took place at this meeting? Take the first meeting when the matter came up, as near as you can remember.

A Well, the matter was discussed.

Q How was it brought forward? A The roads talked the matter over but I don't recollect whether there was a full meeting or not, but it was mentioned that the switchmen of Chicago had made a demand upon the several companies for an increase in wages.

Q Was the demand made upon all the companies substantially? A No, sir; the demand by the switchmen of each road upon the road on which they were employed.

Q That is what I mean. Was it a demand made upon each road by its own employees?

MR. BLACK: I would like to ask a question, your honor.

Q Was this demand in writing? A As I said before, I don't recollect the form that the application took.

MR. GREGORY: If that question is to be raised, who is the president of the General Managers Association, the present president?

A I am the chairman, the president.

MR. GREGORY: Suppose what you want is his recollection of what was done.

MR. GREGORY: Yes, but if counsel makes a question of bringing the papers

THE COURT: Let's have what was done first.

MR. WALKER: When was that?

MR. GREGORY: This was, I think, March, 1893.

Q Then, as understand your statement, it was then reported to that meeting that these applications had been made by the switchmen on different roads, each to their own road, and they were at last called to the attention of the association? A I understood that this was the way the application was made. It was made in that way.

Q And with some slight modifications as to one or two of the roads, probably as to terms? A I don't recollect as to that.

Q What action was taken by the association in regard to that matter? A I think the representatives of the roads agreed that it was important.

MR. WALKER: Let me inquire, was there a record kept of your proceedings in this particular matter? A I think there was some record of it.

Q What I mean is, if action was taken would the records of the association show what that action was? A I think that there was action agreed upon. That is, that an answer should be made to that application for an increase of wages.

MR. GREGORY: What was it agreed that answer should be?

THE COURT: This was in April or March?

MR. GREGORY: In March, 1893, that the application was made.

Q The application was made a short time prior to the opening of the World's Fair. The association was of the opinion that it was important that the matter should be settled definitely. They realized that unless that application was met firmly and positively it would result in a general strike, which it was considered would be a most unfortunate thing, not only for the railroads but for the city of Chicago; and it appeared to them that it was essential that the matter should be met in the firmest manner possible, and acting upon that theory, each road agreed to itself, I will say that the general understanding that other roads would undoubtedly take the same action, sent a reply to the switchmen on the various roads. That reply was that they would not comply with the demand.

Q Mr. St. John was then president of the association? A Mr. St. John president of the association?

Q Or chairman, as you call it? A Chairman.

Q St. John was then the president of the Rock Island, but is now connected with an eastern railroad and has left the city? A That is correct.

Q The way that was finally brought about was by written agreement signed by J. E. Wilson, grand master, and Simsrott, secretary, and treasurer, of the Switchmen's Association to Mr. St. John, chairman of the association, was it not?

A I don't believe I understand the question.

Q Let me ask you whether this was not in substance the way the thing was settled: That Mr. St. John was deputed to see the officers of the switchmen's union, and that the way the matter was finally settled was by a letter from the officer of the switchmen dated the 13th day of March, 1893, and addressed to Mr. St. John as chairman of the General Managers' Association? A I don't recollect that Mr. St. John was deputed to confer with the parties whom you have mentioned.

Q Do you know whether or not he called upon Mr. St. John? Did Mr. St. John and the switchmen's representative confer together? A I don't recollect about that.

Q Do you remember whether there was such a letter as this? A It seems to me there was some correspondence between Mr. St. John and the representative of the Switchmen's Association, but I cannot recall what it was.

MR. WALKER: If your honor please I think that the letters ought to be brought in.

MR. GREGORY: I was about to suggest that.

MR. WALKER: I don't know what counsel is reading from, or anything about it, but he has got copies of letters—

THE COURT: Well, I will hear the next question.

MR. GREGORY: I was going to ask you whether you had printed copies of your proceedings which would cover this matter? A My impression is that the proceedings or the records of them might show what took place on that occasion.

Q You kept printed copies of them in your office? A Yes, sir.

Q Are you willing to furnish to the court the printed copy of the proceedings covering the period from March 1st, 1893 down to the 1st day of March 1894?

THE COURT: Such as relates to this switchmen matter?

MR. GREGORY: Yes, and there are

some other matters.

THE COURT: They ought not to be called upon to present copies of their proceedings excepting such as are competent to this matter.

MR. GREGORY: Yes, but there are other matters I want to interrogate him about. I would ask if the witness is willing to produce those, if he will send a messenger to his office, and then he can read such portions as is necessary.

THE COURT: Have you a copy of such proceedings in your office? A I think so, but there are a good many other matters there in those records that would seem to me ought not—

THE COURT: Oh no; these records would only be competent for the purpose that the court considers competent here. The record would not go into the hands of counsel.

THE WITNESS: Is it a question as to whether it is to be submitted to the court? What is the request?

MR. GREGORY: I am not making any request upon your honor. There are ways of getting this testimony.

THE COURT: It now appears that the general managers kept a record of their proceedings, and that that record is printed, and that a copy is in the hands of this witness. I think it is perfectly proper Mr. Thomas that you should send for a copy of that record, and any portion of it which the court rules on to be competent, to be read into the record. The rest of it will be regarded as private.

MR. GREGORY: I do not desire to examine it at all, beyond matters that are sufficient for my examination of the witness. If the witness will produce it and do so at once, then I would ask that he be withdrawn temporarily.

THE COURT: Have you anybody you can send for that? A Yes, sir.

THE COURT: Do you wish to have him stand aside until it comes?

MR. GREGORY: Yes.

THE COURT: Then call another witness.

MR. THOMAS RESUMES:

THE COURT: What do you wish to call his attention to?

MR. GREGORY: A letter of March 13, 1893, to Mr. St. John, from Wilson, grand master, and Simsrott, grand secretary and treasurer.

THE WITNESS: I would like to make a statement with reference to these books. (Books produced by the witness.) There is no objection to their being examined by the court and by the counsel as to everything they contain, but we would ask that nothing be given out for publication except that which is material to this case.

MR. DARROW: May I look at one of them now under those restrictions? A That is the second volume.

MR. DARROW: I know, but while you are examining the other. A Not the slightest objection.

MR. GREGORY: Have you consulted with counsel since you left the witness stand on this point? A I have not consulted with counsel in relation to this case since I left here. I did it because I thought that was a proper thing to do, upon reflection, inasmuch as you are asking for information in regard to these proceedings. I thought the best answer I could make was to give you the proceedings.

MR. GREGORY: Turn to this letter, March 13, 1893, and I will ask you to read it. A You want me to read the letter of Mr. St. John to the Grand Master of the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association. Is that the letter?

Q You mean the one marked March 16th? A Letter of March 16th.

Q No, the one before that, dated March 13th, from the Switchmen's Union, and Mr. St. John's reply to that. A Yes, sir, I have them here.

Q I just read those.

MR. MILCHREST: We would like to look at them before they are read. I don't know whether they are proper or not. We do not want them to put in collateral matters.

MR. WALK

which these schedules were a part, and if so, to read it. It seems to have been adopted on the 4th of January, 1894. (Question repeated to witness.) A. I am unable to say whether that resolution was a part of that or not.

Q. I will ask you to read that resolution to the jury. A. Resolved, That committee No. 2 be requested to report to this meeting as early as practicable for its consideration what they consider the fair, average wages now paid by railroads in each of the several sections represented in this association, and for each class of train and yard employees.

THE COURT: Is that January the 4th, 1894?

MR. GREGORY: Yes, your Honor.

Q. I will ask you to state whether during the year, the current year 1893, the subject of the necessity for the reduction in wages—general reductions among the railroads forming this association—was not frequently discussed? A. I do not think it was frequently discussed.

Q. Was it not discussed along, particularly towards the latter part of the year 1893? A. I have no recollection of its being discussed at that time.

Q. You have no recollection of its being discussed either shortly before or after this—the passage of this resolution on that subject? A. I have no recollection of it now.

Q. Do you know what committee No. 2 was, who composed it? A. I do not. I don't recollect.

Q. Nor what the object or duty of that committee was? A. My recollection now is that the matter of getting up the schedule was referred to that committee.

Q. Look at this resolution which seems to have been adopted on the 18th of January, 1893.

THE COURT: '93 or '94. MR. GREGORY: 1893. And I will ask you to state whether that was not the resolution under which the regular committee on this subject was appointed, and, if so, I will ask you to read the resolutions to the jury. A. I think so; I think that is.

Q. Just read that. A. Resolved, That a committee of seven be appointed to tabulate for the use of the General Managers' Association, of Chicago, the rates of pay and the condition under which they are so paid, by the railroads centering in Chicago.

Q. Now, coming down to the matters connected with this strike, Mr. Thomas, there was an emergency meeting of the General Managers' Association called for June 25th, was there not? About that time. Yes, sir.

Q. Had Mr. Wickes, the vice-president of the Pullman Palace Car Company appeared before the association prior to that time? A. I don't recollect whether he was there at the time or prior to that time.

Q. He did appear at or about that time at a meeting of the association, did he not? A. He was there on one occasion during the strike, but I don't recollect when it was.

Q. Did he then make any statement or representation as to the situation of affairs before the association? A. Not that I know of.

Q. Not which you know of? A. I have no recollection about it.

Q. Did he say anything at that time, or make any public statement, or any statement to the association? A. I don't recollect that he made any statement whatever.

Q. You don't recollect anything he said? A. We were holding very frequent meetings at that time and I am unable to remember what occurred at any particular meeting and I have no recollection of what Mr. Wickes said.

Q. You have no recollection of anything he said at any meeting? A. I think he was there only once, and I have no recollection whatever as to the occasion as to his being there at that time.

Q. You have no recollection of what he said or what took place? A. I have no recollection now of what took place.

No, sir.

Q. Do you know—did you know he was to be there? A. I did not.

Q. Do you know how he came to be asked to be there? A. I have no recollection on that point.

Q. He wasn't really eligible to the membership in your association was he? The Pullman Palace Car Company wasn't a member of it? A. No, sir.

Q. You are entirely unable to tell us anything to took place at your meeting. A. I don't recollect what took place at the time.

Q. Now isn't it a matter of fact General Thomas, that Mr. Wickes came there and discussed the matter over very fully before your association, and asked you to stand by the Pullman Palace Car Company? A. I have no recollection of anything of the kind.

Q. Do you remember that he said anything—made any remarks—in the meeting? A. I have no recollection of Mr. Wickes nor of any other officer of the Pullman Palace Car Company asking to stand by them, nor have I any recollection of his saying anything about the matter.

Q. What did he talk about? A. I don't remember whether he talked at all, or not.

Q. You said he never attended any other meeting. A. He might have come there for information—to hear what we were going to do.

Q. Do you open your meetings for the benefit of those who desire information? A. We would admit a gentleman of his standing to our meetings, if he desired to come there.

Q. Properly accredited? A. We would not withhold information from any such man any more than we would withhold it from our counsel. There is nothing mysterious about our meetings. We have nothing to withhold from a gentleman occupying that position, certainly.

Q. He was there, then, purely as a spectator, according to your recollection? A. I don't recollect what his business was; he might have been there as a spectator.

Q. Was there any other spectators? A. (No answer by the witness.)

Q. Have you known any other spectators to be present? A. They may have been.

Q. Not connected with some of the associated roads? A. Yes, sir; they may have been.

Q. On what occasions? Who were they? Was it in connection with this strike? A. I think there have been officers of the city there; my recollection now is, in connection with the strike.

Q. You mean municipal officers? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Anybody else? A. I don't recollect of anybody else, just now. They

may have been there: I do not recollect it. I didn't attend all the meetings. There may have been persons in when I was there, without my attention being called to it.

Q. I will ask you whether this report, dated March 18, 1893, is the report of the committee as to wages, etc., and if so, I will ask you—

MR. GREGORY: I desire to offer in evidence (question continued) and to have you read it, if you will. Either you or I. It is a little long. That is what purports to be a report of the committee. (Book handed witness.) A. I think that was the report of the committee.

Q. Was that report afterwards adopted, according to your recollection? A. I know it was accepted and ordered printed.

Q. I mean, after that time? A. I have no recollection.

Q. Will you read it?

THE COURT: Do you want it all read?

MR. GREGORY: I think, perhaps, the substance of it had better be read.

THE COURT: As you want, and then show it to the other side.

MR. GREGORY: I will read, your Honor.

No. 7. (Mr. Gregory then read to the jury, as follows, from said book):

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, May 18, 1893.

Mr. E. St. John, Chairman General Managers' Association, Chicago, Illinois:

DEAR SIR:—Your committee, appointed to tabulate the rates of pay paid by all roads centering in Chicago and to report on the formation and maintenance of an employment bureau for railroad employees, and to formulate a set of rules for the government of all railroad employees, begs leave to report No. 10.

1st. With reference to tabulation of wages: They have classified all classes of railroad employees below the rank of division superintendent and superintendent of motive power or general master mechanic. They have prepared blanks which will be sent to all the general managers to be filled out for their respective roads. These blanks are in the hands of the state of affairs to which the committee has finally passed upon them will be sent to general managers about the latter part of next week. When they are returned they will be grouped and printed in book form and a copy sent to each general manager. In classifying the employees it has been necessary, in order to secure uniformity, to adopt certain terms in describing the man's employment, and the committee requests the co-operation of the general managers in so far as possible in using these terms instead of the special terms which may be used in each particular locality. It will be found that the terms recommended by the committee are synonymous with those in use, and are only introduced so as to make the wage tables of the different roads readily comparable. There has been a great deal of trouble and labor in connection with this subject which will be appreciated by this association when they receive the blanks, and which will account for what may have seemed like slow progress. The committee has been impressed each step in their work with the value of these tables will be to the association.

2nd. The matter of the establishment of the employment bureau. The subject has been discussed at great length and it is the opinion of such committee that such a bureau would be an advantage to such association. 1st. In the procurement of men, both under ordinary conditions and in times of emergency. 2d. In assisting the roads to guard against the employment of a man who proved unworthy on some other road. 3d. In abolishing the state of affairs to which we are all familiar that is extended when a man is disciplined, by the statement that your road is not the only road in Chicago, and that employment can readily be obtained upon some other road, although an offense has been committed. Your committee is opposed to any idea of blacklisting, but it considers that the members of the association should maintain their right to know the previous record of any man who presents himself for employment. In what your committee has mapped out there is no intention or provision for a rule which provides that because a man has been discharged from one road he shall not be employed by another road. The employment bureau will simply secure the information desired by any road a member of the association, and such road will act as it sees fit. It is the resolution of this committee that the employment bureau for railroad employees be established as suggested in Mr. Spicer's resolution of March 8th, and subsequent resolutions on the matter, and for the present the territory be restricted to what is known as the Chicago district. And it is further recommended that Mr. Robert Law be appointed manager of said bureau. It is also the opinion of this committee that all railroads, members of this association, should use blank form No. 1, herewith submitted, whenever they employ a new man in any branch of labor, except what is known as common labor, not including officers, keeping the original application and sending the duplicate to the employment bureau above mentioned. In case men apply for employment to any railroad and no vacancies exist upon that road, they shall be referred to the office of the bureau where their application may be received and placed on file. When men working in any of the branches of service above mentioned are transferred or dismissed from such service, a notice of the same made out upon blank form No. 2, herewith submitted, shall be sent by the proper officer of the railroad in whose employ he is or has been, to the bureau. Blank No. 2 shall be signed only by an officer authorized to approve blank No. 1, which officer shall not be of a less rank than division or assistant superintendent, or division master mechanic, or one performing the duties of such officer. Each railroad shall designate to the manager of the bureau the name or names of each officer or officers empowered to approve applications for employment and certificates of transfer or dismissal.

MR. GREGORY: I want to know if that order has been adopted.

THE WITNESS: I think you will find that that was not adopted. I think all the action that was taken was that the report was made, received by the association and ordered printed.

MR. WALKER: If it isn't adopted I will ask to have it withdrawn and stricken out. It seems to me that the counsel should find out before he read it to the jury—that it never was adopted.

THE COURT: It was not the act of the general managers association, but it is an event that took place before that association.

MR. GREGORY: Was there such a bureau established Mr. Thomas?

THE WITNESS: No, sir.

MR. WALKER: I wish Mr. Thomas would speak louder, I cannot hear him.

THE WITNESS: No, there was no such bureau.

MR. GREGORY: What did Mr. Law do under that resolution or report? A. No further action was taken according to my recollection.

Q. That was not carried out? That report was for the information of the road—members of the association and it was not adopted. A. No further action was taken in regard to it.

Q. No further action was taken. A. No, not according to my recollection.

Q. Now, I will ask you about this resolution January 26th, 1894, referring to the general subject. I will ask you to read that.

THE WITNESS: Now let me see if I understand just what you mean. You ask me to read this with reference to the statement I made that no further action was taken?

MR. GREGORY: I ask you whether that was a resolution referring to this question of schedules, the question of wages. A. This does not refer to the establishment of a labor bureau—employment bureau.

MR. WALKER: If your Honor please I object to the witness reading anything, any resolution that was not adopted or offering any resolution that was not adopted.

MR. GREGORY: This resolution was adopted.

MR. WALKER: I don't know whether it was or not, and I make objection to reading anything that was not adopted.

MR. GREGORY: Mr. Thomas read it.

MR. WALKER: Before he reads it I want to ascertain whether it was adopted or not.

WITNESS: I think it was adopted; I am not sure. I will have to look it over.

MR. GREGORY: I understood that it was. If it doesn't appear so your Honor, why then's another matter.

MR. WALKER: The counsel claims it ought to have been adopted perhaps he will let it go in.

THE COURT: The resolution was adopted as you will find there. (To the witness.) It doesn't appear that that resolution wasn't adopted. (The court here consults with witness in regard to book witness has in possession.)

THE COURT: I will admit them both.

THE WITNESS: Resolved, That committee No. 2 be requested to report to this meeting as early as practicable for its consideration what they consider the fair, average wages now paid by railroads in each of the several sections represented in this association and for each class of train and yard employees. (The witness reads above from a book in his possession.)

THE COURT: Was that resolution adopted at that time?

THE WITNESS: The resolution was—it doesn't appear to have been adopted.

THE COURT: Was it accompanied by a report?

THE WITNESS: It was accompanied by a report, and after the report was read another resolution was adopted, which reads as follows (the witness reading from book):

Resolved, That the report of committee No. 2—

THE COURT: Read right in that connection (referring to book in witness' possession) what the proceedings were.

THE WITNESS (reading): It was moved and seconded that the report be received, and upon the vote being taken the motion was carried. A prolonged discussion of the report was then entered upon, each member being called upon for his views, after which the following resolution was upon motion duly seconded and unanimously adopted. This is: "The report of committee No. 2, under the resolution of January 4th, in the matter of average wages and uniform rules being referred for further consideration and report to the committee to consider the necessity of committee No. 2, and five additional members to be appointed by the chair. Such appointments to be so made that the entire committee shall consist of five members representing eastern lines and five members representing western lines. That the representatives in the association are divided into two classes—eastern and western—the five eastern members to report for the eastern line and the five western members to report for the western line; and that in consideration of rules and other matters requiring uniform action the eastern and western lines committee shall meet as a whole."

Q. Was that resolution adopted?

THE COURT: That was unanimously adopted.

MR. GREGORY: Does that contain the resolutions adopted on the 25th of June, 1894, as to this proposed strike by the American Railway Union? A. This book contains all the resolutions that were adopted in that year.

Q. I will just ask you to turn to that resolution adopted on the 25th of June, 1894. Just read it.

THE WITNESS: Whereas, we learn through the public press that the American Railway Union will declare a boycott on Pullman Palace cars; and that, whereas, such boycott is in relation to matters over which we have no control and in which we have no interest what ever; and, whereas, it is stated that the object and intent of the said boycott is to discommodate the traveling public and embarrass the railroads in the belief that the public and the railroads affected will influence a settlement of the question as the American Railway Union desires; and, whereas, it is necessary that these companies determine for themselves what course they shall or shall not pursue, and, whereas, it is important that the traveling public should understand the position of the railroads in this matter; therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that this proposed boycott being confessedly not in the interest of any employees of said railroad companies and said employees, is unjustifiably unwarranted.

Second, that the employees of said railroads discommodate the traveling public because of their sympathy for supposed wrongs of employees engaged in a wholly different class of labor.

Third, that we hereby declare it to be the lawful right and duty of the said railroad companies to protect against said proposed boycott, and to resist the same in the interest of their existing contracts for the benefit of the traveling public, and we will act unitedly to that end.

Q. And thereafter the companies comprising the association did act unitedly in the matter? A. Substantially so; yes, sir.

Q. Who drew those resolutions? A. It does not say.

Q. That's the reason I asked you? A. I don't know.

Q. Do you know? A. I don't know.

Q. As to the appointment of deputy marshals, were they made through the association, were they made through the railroads to a large extent? Did they furnish lists?

THE COURT: Do you personally know? A. I personally know; yes, sir. We sent for our own deputy marshals by direct application in most cases.

Q. You had a number of your employees acting as deputy marshals? A. We had a large number of Western Indiana employees appointed deputy marshals.

Q. What was your pay roll at that time? I mean how many men? A. The Western Indiana—I think we had about fifteen hundred men. 12 to 1,500 men at that time.

Q. As to this question of publicity I believe that the press were not habitually applied to the meetings of the General Managers' Association? A. They were not.

Q. Do you know anything about the fact of Mayor Hopkins appearing before the association, or some of its members at its room for the purpose of arranging for arbitration or adjustment of this strike? A. I wasn't present, no, sir.

Q. Was that action reported to the association? A. My recollection is that it was.

Q. By Mr. St. John? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And was it approved by the association? A. I don't recollect as to that.

Q. Who was the active man of the general managers during the strike last summer? A. Mr. Egan.

Q. John M. Egan? A. Yes.

Q. Where does he now live? A. St. Paul.

Q. Was he living here at the time? A. He was living at St. Paul at the time.

Q. He was brought here for that purpose? A. Yes, sir.

MR. GREGORY: I want to offer a report of the committee on wages which seems to have been made on the 20th of July, 1893 on pages 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and the resolution thereon on page 16. I do not desire to read these at present your Honor, because there is a good deal of it which is immaterial, but I will read such portions of it as seem to be material.

Q. I will ask you to examine page 6 there in the following pages and see what that is? A. That is a report of the committee that was appointed to ascertain the schedule of rates then in effect on the different roads.

Q. And it also dealt, did it not, with the question of increase of wages, and passed upon it in some instances—made recommendations to the association. A. Recommendations were made by the committee to the association in regard to that matter.

Q. Do you know whether those recommendations, or recommendations in any other cases were acted upon by the association? A. I don't now recollect.

THE COURT: What is the date of that report?

THE WITNESS: It is—

MR. GREGORY: That report is made to the—I don't think it is dated.

THE WITNESS: The committee was appointed on February 25th, and this report was made on July 20th.

MR. GREGORY: I was mistaken your Honor. It is July 20th, 1893.

MR. WALKER: In what book is that? On what page?

THE WITNESS: That is the proceedings of the General Managers' Association, of Chicago, commencing on page 3 of the proceedings of the association of July 20th, 1893.

MR. GREGORY: Go on and read that. Perhaps I had better.

THE COURT: You had better read it to get it in the record.

MR. GREGORY: (Reading to the jury.) To the General Managers' Association:

At the regular meeting held May 8th, 1893, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed, of which the chairman of this association shall be chairman, to consider and report at the next regular meeting as to what liability the association should assume in connection with future emergencies, which may arise, as to which this association is called upon to act. Under said resolution, the committee was appointed consisting of the chairman of said association, Mr. E. St. John and Messrs. E. B. Wall, W. D. McDool, C. H. Chappell and S. R. Ansel, which committee after a careful consideration of the matter referred to it began to recommend to the association the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That when any line in this association has presented to Committee No. 2, the demands of any labor organization or others for increased compensation, added rules, or otherwise, the same shall be carefully investigated and reported upon, with the committee's recommendations to the chairman of the association and the general manager of the line affected. If said recommendation is acted upon by said respective railway and the chairman of the association is advised so that it does and will continue to do so, then such action becomes immediately an association matter and its committee should trouble arise in such road, will take charge of the matter to such an extent as may be deemed necessary and advisable by and with the advice of the general manager of the line affected, furnishing such men as are necessary and delivering them to the line affected, and doing such other work as the committee directly interested may determine upon at the expense of the association with the approval of its chairman and executive committee. This expense shall only include items as follows, unless the association in general meeting approves additional items:

First, The expense of collecting the men from the nearest point on the line affected.

Second, The expense of forwarding such men to the point where they are to work.

Third, The board and wages of such men until they are discharged, the duration of this period to be discretionary with committee No. 1.

Fourth, The expense of returning men to their homes if they are not required to work.

Resolved further, That the treasurer, at each regular meeting shall submit a report of the receipts and disbursements since the last meeting, stating for what the disbursements were made and the amount on hand. Unanimously adopted. It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be accepted, and the committee discharged and that the resolution recommended by the committee be adopted as the sense of the meeting.

Thereupon, a vote upon the motion to accept the report, discharge the committee, and adopt the resolution recommended was taken by roll call, and the motion was carried unanimously.

MR. GREGORY: The other report was

made at the meeting as No. 2?

Q. Did I examine this long report sufficiently to satisfy yourself—I refer to this long report, this long one. A. That is the one to which I refer.

Q. This other report was made in connection with this same subject. It was also adopted by the association I believe.

MR. GREGORY: I offer the report just as it has been read. It has just been read by Mr. Darrow.

MR. DARROW: It will shorten it up your Honor, instead of reading this other one if we can go over it at lunch time. It will give us a chance to examine it thoroughly.

MR. DARROW: Your Honor has looked this over, and with your permission I will read it.

THE COURT: Very well.

MR. DARROW: That is what has already been identified.

THE COURT: As what?

MR. DARROW: As a report of the committee on wages.

"Report of committee that was appointed on July 20th, 1893."

MR. E. St. John, Chairman and General Manager.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned were appointed a committee by the general managers association of Chicago at a special meeting held on February 27, 1893, under the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the chairman shall appoint a committee of five who shall ascertain from each road here represented, the schedule of rates and rules now in effect on said road on every class of employees hereafter applying for increased pay or change of rules."

Each road hereby binds itself upon receipt of any demand for increased wages or changes in their schedule of rates, to submit the same to this committee, to be appointed as above, for its consideration, and to make no change not approved by this committee, without first giving notice to the chairman providing action is taken by said committee or the association within five days.

"The committee do now beg to report to the association a review of the work performed by it from its inception to the 15th day of June, 1893."

"Meetings of the committee have been held as follows: March 7th; March 22nd, 2 p. m.; March 23rd, 10:30 a. m.; March 24th, 10:30 a. m.; March 24th, 2 p. m.; March 25th, 4 p. m.; April 24th, 2 p. m.; May 13th, 10 a. m.; June 6th, 10 a. m."

The committee has faithfully endeavored to take into consideration promptly each matter that has been referred to it.

In some instances a prompt action has not been possible, on account of the necessity of obtaining full information in regard to the "rates paid employees in the same class of service paid by members of the association to enable the committee to act understandingly. The committee is pleased to report that every member of the association has responded with very great promptness to the call of the committee for information, and statement required by it, and where in several instances, the committee has felt it necessary to be advised of the rates of wages paid by companies not members of the association, the desired information has been furnished with a promptness that has greatly facilitated the work of the committee, and at the same time has shown an appreciation of the object for which the committee was appointed, and a recognition of its importance.

"To those not members of the association, and also to the members of the association, the committee desires to extend its thanks for the promptness with which desired information has been furnished. The committee has experienced considerable difficulty in passing upon the matters that have been referred to it, by reason of the wide difference existing even in neighboring territory in the terms by which the various classes of railway labor is designated, and also by the great variation in the rates of wages paid for the same or similar service.

Applications for increase in wages are quite generally based upon a comparison. This is the men will find, that some one road is paying a higher rate to a certain class of labor, the rate being more than is paid to them. They will at once assume that they should receive the same wages, and a little talk among themselves will fasten that idea thoroughly. It may be that the conditions of the service, the mileage or amount of work required are widely different. In such event, when the facts are ascertained, proper disposition of the application is easy. There are, however, many cases where the difference is the service is slight, and it would seem that the request for an advance were reasonable, as the rates on which the application is based are being paid. The decision of the committee is then rendered a difficult matter, especially so where the lower rates appear to be adequate compensation.

"The committee mention these few matters as indicating to the need of a continued close connection on the part of all the members of the association, and the further need at some future time for some steps to be taken to gain a better and clearer understanding of the duties of employees in the various classes of the service, and the bringing of the several classes under common definitions and a better equalization of rates of pay."

furnished the Santa Fe Company, for the guidance of its officers, the schedule of rates of wages paid to all classes of shop employees in the territory of the Santa Fe Company.

"Note.—The shop employees of the Santa Fe Company rejected any proposition from the company and entered upon a strike, which was overcome and declared off after a short interval, the strikers being completely beaten.

Case No. 7.

"Informal action taken on application from the Wabash Railway for information in regard to rate of pay of section hands.

"Company advised that it could pay \$1.25 per day for ten hours' work in Illinois.

MEETING OF MARCH 28, 1893.

Case No. 8.

"Application of C. & St. P. Ry. Co. for re-adjustment of rates paid passenger brakemen.

"Action of committee:

"Resolved, That the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Company be authorized to re-arrange its schedule of compensation of passenger brakemen on a basis of a maximum rate of \$35 per month and a minimum rate of \$45 per month, provided, that the number of men employed at the rate of \$55 per month shall not exceed the number of men employed at the rate of \$45 per month.

MEETING OF APRIL 24, 1893.

"Application of the switchmen of C. & St. P. Ry. at La Crosse, Wisconsin, for Chicago standard scale of wages.

"Action of committee:

"The switchmen of La Crosse, Wisconsin, have for some time been in receipt of \$50 per month under the Chicago scale.

"The committee is unable to find any change in the service or in the work performed that would warrant any increase in the pay of the switchmen at La Crosse, Wisconsin, over that now allowed.

"The committee do recommend that the request of the switchmen at La Crosse, Wisconsin, be refused.

Case No. 10.

"Application for increase in pay of certain employees in baggage rooms in Chicago passenger station, Illinois Central.

"Committee advised that the pay of the men engaged be set at the following figures:

Baggage agents . . . \$83 per month
Assistants . . . 60 per month
Checkmen . . . 55 per month
Check assorters . . . 50 per month

Case No. 11.

"Application from Lake Shore & Michigan Southern railway for increase in wages as specified:

"First—Agent Whiting from \$90 to \$75 per month; agent at South Chicago from \$70 to \$100 per month; Chief Clerk Whiting from \$50 to \$90 per month.

"Second—Yard conductors of passengers, transfer between Forty-third street and Van Buren station, be allowed yard switchmen's pay of \$85 per month in place of \$50.

"The committee advised: First, That it is their opinion that the advance in pay of the agents at Whiting and South Chicago and the chief clerk at Whiting can be granted if the L. S. & M. S. Co. elect to do so without formal action by the committee. The committee is of the opinion that it is not necessary for it to pass upon the compensation of agents or officers in instances where the requirements of one particular position called for a change in compensation, and where advances, if made, would not complicate or effect the relations of other companies with their employees.

Second, The committee is of the opinion that the yard conductors of passenger transfers cannot be called as yard switchmen and receive compensation as such, and approve of the increase asked for unless the L. S. & M. S. desires to grant it.

Case No. 12.

"Application for increase in pay of night depot master Chicago passenger station L. S. & M. S. Ry. from \$75 to \$90 per month.

The committee advise that the increase be allowed.

Case No. 13.

"Application of telegraph operators Wisconsin Central lines for general re-adjustment of wages and rules.

The committee advise:

First, That the Wisconsin Central lines decline to entertain the rules presented, or to adopt any rules as an executed agreement between the company and the operators employed by it.

Second, That if the Wisconsin Central company so elect it determines such rules regulating the duties and employment of operators as it may deem proper, that such rules be issued as the rules of the company, and not as an agreement.

Third, That no increase be made in the pay of operators except in individual cases where the same may be warranted by the service of the operator, and where such increases are made that the rate shall not exceed those paid by companies in neighboring territory. The committee will furnish schedules of rates paid by other companies.

Case No. 14.

"Application for increase in pay of baggage room employees, Grand Central Passenger Station, Chicago.

"Action of committee:

"The application is for increase in accordance with the following schedule:

Position.	Present rate.	Rate asked per month.
Ass't baggage agent . . .	\$50	\$65
Two checkmen . . .	45	55
One checkman . . .	45	55
Collector . . .	45	50
Check recorder . . .	45	50

On this application the committee advise:

"That the wages of the men in question be set by the following schedule. The committee believes that the same is a fair and equitable compensation for the service performed:

Assistant baggage agent . . .	\$60
All checkmen . . .	50
Collector . . .	50
Check recorder . . .	50

MR. DARROW. There are good many more cases of the same kind, simply showing that these questions were referred to the Manager's Association.

THE COURT. I don't think it is necessary to put them all in detail.

MR. DARROW. I don't think it is necessary to read every one of them in detail for they all show the same thing. Q I will call your attention to the matter at the bottom of the page (handing book to witness) and indicating, I take it—it refers to you. A Yes, sir.

Q Do you recognize the matter? A I do.

Q That is a meeting of July 21st, 1893. (Reading.) "The chairman then stated that he had a communication from Mr. Thomas, president and general manager of the Chicago & Western Indiana Railroad Company, in reference to the expenses incurred in connection with the strike of switch tenders, etc., on that road, which occurred about the time of the said trouble with switchmen early in the year, which letter was read as follows:

"Chicago and Western Indiana Railroad Company and Belt Railway Company of Chicago.

CHICAGO, June 12th, 1893.
E. St. John, Esq., Chairman General Managers' Association, Chicago:

DEAR SIR:—On the 22nd of February last, our switch tenders, railroad crossing flagmen and tower men went out on a strike because we refused to comply with their demand for increased wages. The circumstances connected therewith are well understood by the association, as the matter was thoroughly discussed at its meetings. I did not feel authorized to send in a bill to the several hands asking for distribution of these expenses on the basis agreed upon, viz: The number of switchmen employed, without first submitting the matter to our Board of Directors and getting their instruction. This I did at the meeting held June 8th, which was the first meeting of the Board of Directors that has been held since the expenses were incurred. I was instructed by them to present the bill to the association, and I beg to inclose it herewith.

Yours truly,
B. THOMAS.
[Signed.] And the bill is enclosed for \$682 on account of various items of the strike.

(Reading.) "After a further general discussion the item 'Expenses of accidents from switches being misplaced by strikers amounting to \$1,266.12' was stricken from the bill, leaving a balance of \$5,416.72, and thereupon it was moved and seconded that the bill of the Chicago & Western Indiana R. R. Co. as amended be paid by the association, that expense being divided in the same manner as it has been made in March, 1893, viz: In proportion to the number of switchmen employed by the various companies in Chicago at that time.

A vote upon said motion was taken by the roll call and adopted unanimously.

Q Also I will refer you to the action on the same page.

THE COURT: If you get in a few such instances Mr. Darrow wouldn't it serve your purpose as well as to put in a great many?

MR. DARROW: This is on another matter; meeting of July 21st, 1893, the benefits that would result from an organization in other parts (Reading.) "The benefits that would result from an organization in other parts of the United States of associations similar to this were discussed at length, and it was the sense of those present that steps should be taken to stimulate such action."

"After discussion as to the best method to pursue, on motion duly seconded, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That the chairman be requested to extend an invitation to the general managers of the eastern, western, northwestern and southwestern railways not already members of this association, to meet with this association in Chicago at a date to be fixed by him for the purpose of considering additional organizations of this character, and of demonstrating to them what this association has done, and what its prospective value would be to itself, and to them, provided the co-operation that is desired of these lines be had."

"Further, that the presidents of the trunk line organizations be notified of the desire of this organization, that the managers of the lines within that organization should be present."

Q I call your attention to this on pages 4 and 5 relating to the rate of wages (handing book to witness). That is right is it?—A Yes sir. (Returning book to counsel.)

MR. DARROW: (Reading) "That committee No. 2 and No. 4 join in formulating a standard schedule for the Chicago association of general managers and make or recommend such revision of wages as may seem to them necessary, and submit the same to a meeting of the association to be held Thursday, August 24th, 1893, at 11 o'clock a. m. that Mr. A. J. Earling be made a member of this joint committee and act as its chairman."

"That as the committee had not been able to report on the date named in the resolution the meeting had been postponed to this date and the report of the committee was then read as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE.
Your committee appointed to submit a uniform schedule covering the conditions of employment of all classes of labor, upon examination of the various schedules in existence on the lines represented in this association, finds, that the wages paid are based upon such a variety of conditions that it appears impossible for the roads to adopt a uniform schedule at this time such as was contemplated.

Under a resolution adopted at a meeting held on March 9th, 1893, it seems to this committee that this subject should be referred back to committee No. 4. Further, your committee recommends the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the pay of freight handlers in the city of Chicago be reduced to \$1.25 per day for ten hours' work after September 1st, 1893.

Resolved, That the payment of all overtime to train and engineers in road service be discontinued, beginning at a day to be agreed upon by this association.

Also, that the payment of overtime heretofore allowed yard switching and transfer crews for meal hours be discontinued, and that they be required to take their meals at the convenience of the company, and that the making of other overtime be restricted as far as possible, taking effect at a date to be agreed upon.

Resolved, That all the roads, members of this association, notify the various labor organizations with whom they have schedules requiring a stated notice before any changes can be made in such schedule, that a change will be made on the part of the railroad company at the limit of the time stated in the schedule.

Respectfully submitted,
A. J. EARLING,
Chairman.

On motion duly seconded, the report of the committee was accepted and the committee discharged.

Upon motion duly seconded the recommendation that the matter of uniform

schedule be referred back to committee No. 4 for completion and report was unanimously adopted, and the chairman stated that he would urge upon committee No. 4 the advisability of completing their report if possible, at the next meeting.

The further recommendations of the committee were taken up and discussed separately, the opinions of the different members being called for, and action on them was postponed until committee No. 4 shall have made its report.

After some further discussion of the general subject of the reduction of wages, the following resolution was on motion, duly seconded, and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that a reduction in the wages of employees, however much to be regretted, is imperative, and that Committee No. 4 be requested to formulate and present to this association at the earliest practicable moment the best way of accomplishing that result in the interest both of the employees and the roads.

That in the meantime each road do what it can to impress on its employees in its own way the necessity of these reductions.

MR. WALKER: What is the date of that?

MR. DARROW: That is dated August 30, 1893.

MR. WALKER: That was during the panic.

MR. DARROW: It is always during a panic. They were never raised, but reduced.

Q I wish to refer you to that section in relation to forming the general organization of all the railroads of the United States (handing open book to witness). That is all right I take it. A Yes, sir. (Returning book to counsel.)

MR. DARROW: This is on the action of the General Managers' Association, of August 31st, 1893. After concluding his remarks, the chairman read the following resolution, presented at a meeting held on August 17th. (Reading):

"Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the chair to formulate a plan for the joint organization of railway managers in the United States, to report at a general meeting to be called by the chairman of this meeting, not later than two weeks hence, the call to be accompanied by an explanation of the objects and purposes of the organization proposed."

Q I will refer you to page 5, report of committee on wages (handing book to

witness, who examines book and returns to counsel.)

MR. DARROW: This is from the meeting held on September 1st, 1893. (Reading.)

"Committee No. 4 was then called upon for report, and Mr. Wall, acting chairman, stated in behalf of Mr. Wood, the chairman:

This committee was originally appointed to tabulate wages of employees. On this subject it has to report that it was only within the last few days that all of the information was received. After the receipt of the information there was a great deal of work necessary on the part of the committee to put it in proper shape for printing. The report is now in the hands of the printer and is expected to be completed within ten days.

There was referred to this committee, August 30th, the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that a reduction in the wages of employees, however much to be regretted, is imperative, and that committee No. 4 be requested to formulate and present to this association, at the earliest practicable moment, the best way of accomplishing that result in the interest both of the employees and the roads.

A meeting of the committee was called to consider this resolution, but as there were only two members present, no progress was made. Upon conversation between a majority of the members of the committee, it is believed that little of practical value can be suggested now; that when the tables are printed each general manager can make an analysis for himself, and after these analyses have been made and the resulting changes have been effected, there may be an opportunity for a committee to make general recommendations.

The committee can have a meeting after the schedules are printed, and if they see their way clear to make recommendations they will do so."

Witness withdrawn.

The first thing that will strike the reader is the very dim and defective recollection of this remarkable witness, and the conclusion will be either that Mr. Thomas is feeble-minded or that he perjured himself. On matters of the most stupendous importance and of quite recent occurrence Mr. Thomas had not a shadow of recollection. He did

not even remember why Mr. Thomas E. Wickes, vice-president of the Pullman company, attended the "emergency" meeting of the General Managers' Association, held on the eve of the strike, or a word that was said on that occasion.

We have neither time nor space at this writing to give all the testimony or to quote more fully from the "proceedings." The letters of the "grand chiefs" of the old brotherhoods, written to the General Managers' Association during the strike, and which appear in the printed "proceedings," will make an interesting chapter in a future issue.

We have used some italics, which the reader will readily note.

The real purposes of the G. M. Association are brought into the boldest prominence. The real design was to reduce wages and blacklist those who protested. Agencies for hiring men to take strikers' places were established and all expenses for fighting strikers were to be divided *pro rata*. All stood solidly together, no road being permitted to advance wages without consent of the association, and all this was done more than a year before the great strike occurred, or was even thought of. If workmen who combine to resist reductions are conspirators, how about general managers who combine to make and enforce the reductions?

It will be noticed that active measures were under way to spread the association all over the country and solidly unify all the railroads against the employees of any one line or system that might ask for an increase of wages or resist a reduction.

We advise every railroad employee to carefully preserve the testimony of Mr. Thomas. It covers a multitude of questions that are to be discussed more and more until they are settled and settled right.

This same association which unites the railroads of the country in a solid,

impregnable mass, fiercely assails the American Railway Union for seeking to do the same for the employees. They affect to believe that the "old brotherhoods" whom they praise for being so "conservative" are just the thing for employees. Their chief advantage lies in the fact that they subdivide men into numberless classes and factions—just what the managers wish them to do—and hence the perfect and amiable relation between the General Managers' Association and the old brotherhoods.

Another great feature the old brotherhoods are credited with is their unflinching loyalty to the corporations in case of trouble with their employees. They can be depended on not only to remain at their posts but to furnish all the men that may be required to fill strikers' places.

The American Railway Union is organizing all the railway employees of the country into one compact body for their common protection. The best men in the service are flocking to its standard by thousands and when the organization is perfected there will hardly be another strike, but if there should be, the result will not be difficult to foretell.

IN A BAD FIX.

The Agitator agitates as follows: "The indigent unemployed is hedged about in a literal hell. He can't live and he can't die. He must not beg and he must not steal. Society, in its laws, has created a hell of far greater punishment for the unemployed indigent than the hell of fire and brimstone, and, strange to say, churches are far busier trying to save men from a hell that is problematical than from the hell that is ever present for some people, and from which every man, woman and child could be saved."

The way to save every man, woman and child from the hell that plutocrats have created on earth, is to vote them out of power. This done, the hell upon earth will disappear.

When you buy a pair of Overalls to work in or a pair of Pants to wear in or out of working hours, do not forget to ask for Union-made Overalls and Union-made Pants.

See that the name of

SWEET, ORR & CO.

is on the buttons, and you are then sure that you are not getting any sweat-shop work, but good Union-made garments.

SWEET, ORR & CO'S.

Overalls and Pants all have Union Labels.

OFFICES:

115 Worth St., NEW YORK CITY;

NEWBURGH, N. Y.;

260 and 262 Fifth Ave., CHICAGO, ILL.

From Labor Day on into the Fall we will offer some choice bargains in all departments. Fall Goods are now daily coming in, and any goods on hand now must be sold at a sacrifice—at any price to sell them. We below. Be sure immense Cloth can get a Suit in and of the best prisingly low price here, and also have the advantage of selecting from a stock up-to-date make and every reliable fabric

FROM LABOR DAY ON

give a few prices to examine our ing stock. You the latest style fabrics at a sur-embracing every

A Wonderful Clothing Sale.

We ask you to visit the great sale of Men's, Boys' and Children's light and medium weight clothing.

People don't want a long-winded sermon about bargains. We simply submit prices and allow figures to do the talking. The quality and making of our clothing will also speak for itself. We don't want to carry over one single garment if prices will make them go.

Men's Suits.

We place on sale all light colored \$6.50 to \$9.00 sack or frock suits in fine all wool Cheviots and Cassimeres, in all sizes from 33 to 42, at \$4.25

Men's Fine Suits.

We place on sale all \$10.50 to \$18 sack or frock suits; they are odd-suits, but all sizes from 33 to 42; choice for \$7.50

Boys' Long Pant Suits.

Boys' Long Pants Suits, sizes 16 to 19 years; we have sorted out all light weights—all wool suits that we sold for \$4.50 to \$6.50 and will place them on sale for . . . \$1.75 and \$2.75 350 all wool 2-piece suits, double breasted, comprising all wool Cheviots and Cassimeres; sizes 4 to 15; values \$2.50 and \$3.50, at . . . \$1.25 275 Junior Suits, variety of colors, 3 to 7 years, cutaway coats, always sold for \$4.00, \$5.50 and \$7.25, light and dark colors, this season's production, on sale at . . . \$1.95

Dress Goods.

38-inch all wool Serge, navy and black 25c 46-inch all wool Serge, navy and black 49c 46-inch all wool fine French Serge . . . 50c 46-inch all wool Henrietta, navy and black 39c 40-inch all wool imported German Henrietta, all colors 48c

Black Goods.

40-inch Black Mohair 39c 40-inch all wool Nuns' Veiling . . . 29c 46-inch all wool German Henrietta . . 69c 50-inch all wool fine imported French Serge 50c 52-inch all wool Mohair Novelities (fall styles) 79c 52-inch all wool extra heavy Mohair Novelities 98c 54-inch all wool water proof Serge, guaranteed 98c

A full line of the celebrated Priestley's Black Goods just received, beautiful designs, at . . . 75c, 89c, 98c Reed's famous Silk Warp Lainsdown, in black, 40 inches wide, worth \$1.25 98c 54-inch black Broadcloth for capes, all wool 69c

*Examine our new fall line of Novelty Dress Goods arriving daily.

Notions.

Special Handkerchief Sale.

We will sell Children's fancy bordered Handkerchiefs for 1c Ladies' fancy bordered Handkerchiefs for 3c Ladies' fancy corded plain white Handkerchiefs for 3c Ladies' fancy embroidered white Handkerchiefs for 5c Ladies' fancy embroidered and hemstitched Handkerchiefs for . . . 10c Ladies' fancy hand embroidered pure linen Handkerchiefs for . . . 15c The new drawn thread 50c Handkerchiefs for 25c 200 yards Spool Cotton for . . . 2c Warranted perfect machine thread.

Ladies' Belts.

We have in stock about 200 dozen ladies' leather Belts, goods worth from 25c to \$1.50 each; we will clear the entire lot at 5c, 10c, and 15c each. Come early.

A new lot of ladies' Silk Belts just received—35c each.

Iron Toys.

Iron Wagons at cost. Doll Buggies at cost. Velocipedes at cost. Tricycles at cost.

Furniture.

The devices that made the luxurious ease of kings possible have been brought within the reach of all the people during these later days.

Elegant chairs, comfortable rockers and ease-bestowing couches at one time only to be found in the palace and mansion, are to-day within the reach of all, and our furniture department has been one of the factors in this part of the country to bring this change about.

Fine oak Rockers, polished cane seat, arms \$2.50 Small oak Rocker 1.25 High back cane seat Chairs . . . 75c 54-inch Cream Damask 50c 54-inch Bleached Damask . . . 35c 72-inch Bleached Damask . . . 50c

Specials in Hats and Caps.

Immense line of Children's \$1.00 Caps, choice at 25c Men's \$2.00 Fedora Hats 98c Men's \$2.00 fine Fur Derbys . . . 98c Boys' fine 75c Crush Hats 49c

Trunks.

Get our prices on Trunks and Bags. It means money saved.

Pianos.

We are headquarters for EVERY FIRST CLASS PIANO, including the world-renowned Chickering, the Steinway, Knabe, and 30 other different makes. By purchasing in large quantities for cash we are enabled to sell you a Piano for less money than agents can buy them. Name the Piano you want and we will save you from \$100 to \$200 on the purchase. New Pianos to rent. Pianos moved, tuned and repaired.

Drugs.

Red Bug Poison (corrosive sublimate) per pint 25c Witch Hazel, dist. ext., per gal. . . 90c Witch Hazel, dist. ext., per 1/2 gal. . 45c Witch Hazel, dist. ext., per pint . . 20c Bay Rum, imported, per pint . . . 50c Bay Rum, commercial, per pint . . 35c Insect Powder (Persian) per lb. . . 39c Ammonia, per pint bottle 8c Sulphur, per lb. 5c Olive Oil, pure green, per pint . . 30c Olive Oil, yellow, per pint 40c Olive Oil, reblended, imported, per pint 50c

Perfume Sale.

Special sale of the following odors: White Rose, Violet, Heliotrope, Jockey Club, Crab Apple Blossoms, Lily of the Valley, White Lilac, at, per ounce 8c Bring your bottles.

Patent Medicines.

Pierce's Favorite Prescription . . . 75c Pierce's Golden Medical Discovery . 75c Cherokee Indian Hair Grower, small, 42c Cherokee Indian Hair Grower, large, 85c Cherokee Indian Scalp Cleaner, per package 42c Thompson's Beef, Iron and Wine . . 23c Liebig's Beef, Iron and Wine . . . 35c Wyeth's Beef, Iron and Wine . . . 75c Hunyadi Bitter Water 15c Pear's Soap, per cake 10c Duffy's Malt, per bottle 93c Cherry Phosphates, \$1.00 size . . . 50c Cherry Phosphates, 50c size . . . 25c Cherry Phosphates, 25c size . . . 15c Hood's Root Beer, per bottle . . . 15c

Our prescription department is rapidly increasing. Why? Because we use only the purest of drugs at the lowest possible price.

Hayden Bros.

Table Linen.

52-inch Table Linen 18c 54-inch Cream Damask 25c 60-inch Cream Damask 35c 72-inch Cream Damask 50c 54-inch Bleached Damask . . . 35c 72-inch Bleached Damask . . . 50c

Napkins.

16-inch German Napkins 55c 1 Bleached Damask Napkins . . . 90c, \$1.00 A lot of German Bleached Napkins, worth \$2.00 and \$2.25, at . . . \$1.50

Toweling.

Twill Crash Toweling 34c All linen Unbleached Toweling . . 5c All linen Unbleached Toweling, extra heavy 7c Bleached Twill Toweling 8c Bleached all linen Toweling, extra heavy 10c Bed Spreads 47c, 55c, 75c, 95 and \$1.00 A lot of checked and striped lawn, worth 20c and 25c at 5c a yard.

Ladies' and Children's Dep't.

LADIES' WRAPPERS, 65c. At this price we are selling in dark colors, soft Manchester twills and outing cloth Wrappers, full skirt and sleeve, deep ruffle, regular price, \$1.00 65c 75c will buy a handsome percale or heavy indigo Wrapper, skirt 3 1/2 yards, full sleeve and ruffles; sold by other dealers at \$1.00 . . . 75c 89c includes heavy Arnold's twills, in dark colors, outing cloth, percale and chambray gingham, in medium and light colors, all made to sell at \$1.50 89c

Ladies' Lawn Dresses.

We have an assortment which we are selling at \$1.90 and \$3.95. Other houses charge \$4.00 to \$6.50 for similar goods. A handsome Art Transparency given with each purchase of \$5.00 in this department.

Children's Dresses.

95c—We put on sale all our high class dress, in dimity, chambray, fine lawns, etc., worth from \$1.25 to \$2.00, at each 95c Other children's wash dresses . . from 25c to 89c

Sheeting Sale.

42-inch Bleached Sheeting 7 1/2c 45-inch Bleached Sheeting 9c 50-inch Bleached Sheeting 11c 84 Bleached Sheeting 12 1/2c 94 Bleached Sheeting 16c 104 Bleached Sheeting 18c 45-inch Unbleached Sheeting . . . 8c 64 Unbleached Sheeting 10c 84 Unbleached Sheeting 12c 94 Unbleached Sheeting 15c 104 Unbleached Sheeting 18c 44 Unbleached Arrow Brand . . . 5c 44 Unbleached Arrow Brand . . . 4c 44 Bleached 4c, 5c, 6c, and 7c Shirting 5c, 8c Best 10c Ticking 7 1/2c, 8c and 15c Canton Flannel 3 1/2c and 5c

Paint, Paint.

We have a large assortment of Ready Mixed Paints, warranted pure, \$1.00 per gallon.

Hayden Bros.

Carpets.

All wool Ingrain Carpets reduced to 40c and 50c per yard. Brussels Carpets reduced to 45c and 55c. Moquette Carpets reduced to 90c per yard. A good heavy Union Carpet reduced to 25c per yard. Something new in Carpet Department. A fine line of Grill Work for arches and doorways. Closing out a large stock of China and Japanese Mattings at 8c, 10c and 12 1/2c per yard.

Millinery.

Closing out our immense stock of exquisite millinery. Nothing in this line can be carried over. Prices cut on every article.

Jewelry Dep't.

500 Belt Buckles, worth 25c and 35c, choice 10c 50 styles in Belt Pins, worth 25c and 35c, choice 10c Sterling Silver Shirt Waist Sets, worth \$1.00, sale price 48c Sterling Silver Plated Shirt Waist Sets, worth 35c, sale price 10c Solid Sterling Silver Belt Buckles, worth \$2.00, sale price 78c Ladies' Solid Gold Set Rings, worth \$2.00 and \$3.00, choice 78c Solid Gold Band Rings, worth \$2.00 and \$3.00, sale price \$1.25 Babies' Solid Gold Rings, worth 50c, sale price 13c Sterling Silver Thimbles, worth 50c, sale price 13c Ladies' and Gents' Gold Stiffened Hunting Case Watches, sale price \$3.98 Ladies' and Gents' Gold Filled Hunting Case Watch, hand engraved and warranted to wear 20 years, worth \$25.00, sale price . . . \$12.50 Eight-day Solid Oak Clock with half-hour strike, worth \$5.00, sale price \$2.95 First-class Nickel Alarm Clock . . . 58c

EYES TESTED FREE.

Satisfaction guaranteed; spectacles and eye-glasses 15c up Watch and Clock repairing at reduced prices.

Special Sale of Men's Furnishings.

1,000 dozen Men's 4-ply linen Collars, worth 20c, special for to-morrow, each 5c 500 dozen roller end Suspenders, worth 25c and 50c per pair, special for to-morrow 12 1/2c 1 lot of Men's and Boys' Belts, worth 25c and 50c, special for to-morrow . 5c 500 dozen Men's Negligee Shirts, worth 50c and 75c, reduced to . . 25c Men's Gauze Undershirts, worth 25c, 10c reduced to 12 1/2c 1 lot of Men's Wash Ties, worth 25c, reduced to 12 1/2c Men's White Linen Handkerchiefs, worth 12 1/2c 5c 1 lot of Black Silk Windsor Ties, worth 25c, reduced to 5c 1,000 dozen Ladies' Night Gowns, worth \$1.00, reduced to 69c 1 lot Boys' Waists, 50c quality, reduced to 25c

Special Sales

Outing Flannel from (yard) . . . 12 1/2c Shaker Flannel from (per yard) . . 5c White wool Flannel from (per yd) . 12 1/2c 36-inch all wool Flannel from (yd) . 25c Embroidered Flannel from (yard) . 59c 36-inch Shirtings, in light colors and from 3 to 6 yards in piece at (yd) . 5c Remnants of 40 inch plain White Goods at 5c Remnants fine White Goods at 5c and 10c Remnants Mull at (yard) 5c Remnants Ducking at (yard) . . . 5c Remnants Organdies at (yard) . . . 5c

Hardware

Great sale of Hardware this week. A 50 per cent. cut all the way through. Two car loads of best wire steel nails at 2 1/2c per pound. Grass or mowing scythes, only . . . 45c Patent mowing snaths, only . . . 45c Scythe stones, only 5c Brier scythes, only 50c Steel shovels, only 29c R. R. picks, only 75c A good axe, only 49c A good hatchet, only 35c A good brace, only 25c A good saw, only 45c A good chisel, only 25c A good carpenter's hammer, only . 50c A good hammer, only 15c \$1 double iron jack planes, only . . 45c 75c double iron smooth planes, only 39c Iron block planes, only 35c A 2-foot carpenter rule, only . . . 3c 50c padlocks go at 10c 25c padlocks go at 5c Door bolts, only 3c Window fasteners, only 5c Screen doors, only 75c Wire cloth and poultry wire netting at unheard of prices to close.

Builders' Hardware.

In this line we have no competition. Rim door locks, only 7 1/2c Mortise door locks, only 7 1/2c Mortise door locks, in sets, only . . 19c 75c mortise door locks go at . . . 20c \$1.00 mortise door locks go at . . . 45c We carry everything in builders' hardware and will save you 50 per cent. on same.

Guns, Fishing Tackle, Sporting Goods.

We are headquarters on the above goods. Note the following prices: Best loaded shells, any gauge, or make, per 100 \$1.25 Flobert rifles, only 2.25 Winchester repeating rifles, only . 10.00 Single barrel B. L. shotguns, only . 5.50 Double barrel B. L. shotguns, from \$6.00 up to \$300 Greener hunting coats, from . . \$1.00 up Cartridge Belts 35c Cartridge bags 35c Game carriers 25c A good 32 revolver, only \$1.25 Air guns, only 75c Hair clippers, best made . . . \$1.75 Horse clippers, only 1.50

Tennis Goods.

A few more tennis rackets that sold for \$6 and \$7 each, go at \$1.95. Tennis nets and poles at a bargain—don't fail to take advantage of this sale.

Base Ball Goods.

Bats 15c Balls 15c Mitts 20c We also carry a full line of Spaulding's goods at wholesale prices.

Groceries.

You Can't Read These Prices and Not take Advantage of Them.

Minnesota XXXX best Superlative, \$1.00 Bakers' Delight, (high patent) . . . 75c Good Flour, per sack 50c 25 pounds Granulated Sugar . . . \$1.00 21 pounds Granulated Sugar . . . \$1.00 High grade Peaches, 3-lb cans . . 12 1/2c High grade Pears, heavy syrup . . 9c Quart can Tomatoes 6 1/2c Choice can Corn 5c Can choice Sliced Pineapple . . . 12 1/2c Quart can Baked Beans 7 1/2c Remnants Ducking at (yard) . . . 12 1/2c Quart can Armour's assorted Soups 12 1/2c 1776, Soapine, Pearlina, etc . . . 3c Elastic and all Starches, package . . 7c Baker's Chocolate, package 17c

Coffee.

It's impossible to get a pound of Coffee in our store that has been roasted longer than one day. High grade Java and Mocha . . . 30c Fresh roasted Golden Rio 25c Fresh roasted Java (broken) . . . 17 1/2c Fresh roasted Santos (broken) . . . 15c Fresh roasted Rio (broken) 12 1/2c

Tea.

Basket fired uncolored Japan Tea . 29c Uncolored Japan Tea (extra select) . 35c Uncolored Japan Tea (choicest) . . . 43c Uncolored Japan Tea (good) . . . 19 1/2c Fine English Breakfast Tea . . . 43c English Breakfast Tea (extra) . . . 35c English Breakfast Tea (good) . . . 28c Best Ceylon and India Blend . . . 60c

Hayden Bros.' Butter.

Nice fresh Country Butter 7c-9c Finest Creamery made 14c-16c-18c

Hayden Bros.' Cheese.

Fancy full cream Young America . . 10c Brick, Limburger and Swiss . . . 12 1/2c Fancy full cream Wisconsin 7 1/2c

Hayden Bros.' Crackers.

Nice Fresh Soda and Oyster Crackers 5c Oatmeal, Graham, Lemon Creams, Frosted Cream and Sugar Cookies, all 10c

Hayden Bros.' Lard.

3-lb. can best lard, any brand . . . 25c 5-lb. can best lard, any brand . . . 40c 10-lb. cans best lard, any brand . . . 76c

Hayden Bros.' Meats.

Corned Beef 3 1/2c Pickled Pork 7 1/2c Salt Pork 7c Sugar Cured No. 1 Bacon 8 1/2c Sugar Cured No. 1 Hams, only . . . 10c

House Furnishing Goods.

Tin Fruit Cans, per dozen 39c Tin top Jelly Glasses, each 2c Mason self-sealing Fruit Jars, each . 5c Genuine Staffordshire Bowls, worth 25c each 5c Just in, carload Stoneware. Gallon Milk Crocks, each 5c 50,000 Flower Pots, from 1c up Covered Preserve Jars, from . . . 8c up Bean Pots, from 15c up Butter Jars, from 1 pint up to 15 gallons \$300 Stoneware Churns, from 3 gallon up to 18 gallons 14c Cups and Saucers, each 14c Plates, each 2c Chambers, each 15c Slop Jars, each 79c Wash Bowls and Pitchers, each . . 25c Potato Dishes or Bakers, each . . . 34c Wash Tubs, each 25c Wood frame Wringers, worth \$4.50, \$1.95 Wash Boards, each 9c The iron staff Western Washer, worth \$5.00 \$2.95 Knives and Forks, per set 49c White metal plated Tea Spoons, per set 10c White metal plated Table Spoons, per set 26c \$3.50 14-ounce solid Copper Wash Boiler \$1.95 Tea Kettles, each 15c Dish Pans, each 13c Crystal Cream Set, 6 pieces, per set . 15c

HAYDEN BROS. — OMAHA, NEB. — HAYDEN BROS.

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TERRE HAUTE, SEPTEMBER 2, 1895.

Send a telegram to Woodstock jail to-day.

WOMEN often afflict men, but Cleveland has gold bugs.

AFTER a little while it will be the late gold bug President.

OREGON has 10,000,000 acres of dense forest. Who owns the acres?

WORKINGMEN are taking contracts to do a deal of thinking in the future.

AN admirer of Cleveland says "he has eyes." The same is true of a potato.

THE Prince of Wales sighs audibly when he says, like a dutiful son, "O, queen, live forever."

THE White House is a "whited sepulchre, full of all manner of financial corruption and uncleanness."

THE Republicans elected a partner of Baron Rothschild's corner of New York, and already it has cost the state \$500,000.

THE American Citizen asks: "Is it possible that our civilization has gone to seed?" Possibly, but that it is going to the everlasting how-woes seems certain.

REV. S. F. SMITH, who wrote the song, entitled "America," beginning, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," has recently received \$1,600 for the song, written many years ago.

GROVER has gone to the expense of having collars for each one of his cabinet watch dogs. Each collar has a gold plate upon which there is engraved a facious pseudonym.

EIGHT years ago, France enacted a divorce law, and during the time 40,000 divorces have been granted. But it will be some time before France will catch up with Dakota.

WHEN the plutes own all the land, the question, what will workingmen and their children own? The National Populist says "the right to pay rent," and the right to wear fetters.

THE ways of nature are all mysterious. A frost comes and nips the wheat but does not kill the Hessian fly, nor disturb the gold bug—an insect far more dangerous than the chinch bug.

IT is given out that Cleveland will apply various scientific tests before he appoints a successor of Judge Jackson. He says he does not want any more Shir as on the supreme bench.

BARON ROTHSCHILD, Grover Cleveland's partner in all the party gold-bond deals proposes to pay \$100,000,000 for Cuba. Should he succeed, Grover and his pal, Carlisle, would doubtless go to Havana.

CHANNCEY M. DEWEY is charged by the newsboys with the outrage of prohibiting the sale of "Coin's Financial School" on the trains of the New York Central railroad, and the newsboys think Channcey is a first-class ass.

THE *Grandeur Age* thinks "there is coming a new heaven and a new earth," but the coming will be postponed until the people are sufficiently punished for voting democrats and republicans into power. Let's quit, and vote the populist ticket.

CY WARMAN writes good poetry. He has a winged horse that climbs Helicon, or any other mountain, without a wheeze. No mistake about it, Cy has been admitted to the charmed circle of the muses, and holds his place right royally. The Times felicitates him.

REV. THOS. H. BUCHER says he receives a salary of \$3,600 a year, or \$93.00 a week while workingmen with families to support get \$7.00 a week, "and yet," says Mr. Bucher, "well fed ministers stand in their pulpits and wonder at the restlessness of labor." Workingmen see the point.

THE *Other Side* remarks: "If Atlanta had just one honest christian preacher who would be outspoken in defence of the right and the advocacy of justice, and fearless in the denunciation of wrong, the town would indeed be blessed." Well, give Rev. Myron Reed a "call." He fills the bill.

AS we go to press we are in receipt of a letter from Mr. Edward Bellamy, the famous author of "Looking Backward," in which he expresses regret that he did not receive our letter requesting a contribution for the Labor Day edition in time to respond, he being absent from home. He wishes us success in our enterprise, as also the A. R. U. in its purpose.

LIBERTY VS. DESPOTISM.

The Constitution of the United States created the federal government under which we live.

Prior to the ratification of the constitution, we had a federated government under which the Colonies fought the war of the Revolution and conquered—but it did not answer the demand. The preamble to the constitution explains the great purposes in view. It reads as follows:

"We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, 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."

The constitution, as it came from the hands of the great men who framed it, was not perfect—and as a consequence the great charter of American liberty has been amended fifteen times—or on an average once in every seven years—and still it is not perfect. Another amendment is imperatively demanded—the emergency being greater than at any time, when any one of the fifteen amendments was proposed.

The amendment now demanded is to curb and forever crush the despotic power usurped by the supreme court.

It will be observed that in the preamble to the constitution it is declared that "We, the people," form a constitution to "establish justice." The supreme court denies justice to the people.

It is said in the preamble, that "We, the people," frame a constitution to secure the "blessings of liberty." The supreme court has demonstrated that it is the arch foe of liberty in the United States and that it has so warped, mutilated and construed the constitution as to destroy the liberties it was designed to protect and perpetuate. Not only has the supreme court shown itself to be the enemy of justice and of the liberties of the people, but of the republic of the government which the constitution created.

In this connection what could be more in consonance with justice, in arraigning the supreme court before the American people on Labor day, than to introduce the testimony of Thomas Jefferson the patriot who wrote the Declaration of Independence.

In a letter to Thomas Ritchie in 1820 Mr. Jefferson wrote as follows:

"The judiciary of the United States is a subtle corps of sappers and miners, constantly underground to undermine the foundation of our federal fabric."

In other words, it is a traitorous organization—a body of anarchists—having in view the overthrow of the republic. What so effectively could accomplish the fell design, as to strike down the liberties of the people, by usurping the right to imprison citizens by disregarding the guarantees of the constitution?

Again, in 1821, Jefferson, writing to Archibald Thuyat said:

"The legislative and executive branches may sometimes err, but elections will bring them to rights. The judicial branch is the instrument which, working like gravity without intermission, is to press us at last, into one consolidated mass."

Here, again, we have Jefferson's testimony that the supreme court was a standing and an alarming menace to liberty. He predicted that it would destroy the republic. He did not mince matters. He sounded the alarm. Again Mr. Jefferson, writing to C. Hammond, in 1821, said:

"It has long, however, been my opinion, and I have never shrunk from its expression, that the germ of dissolution of our federal government is in the constitution of the federal judiciary: an irresponsible body, working like gravity by night and by day, gaining a little today, and a little tomorrow, and advancing its noiseless steps like a thief in the night, until all shall be usurped from the states and the government of all is consolidated into one."

In this noiseless and thief-like march of the supreme court, Jefferson's predictions are fulfilled. The jurisdiction of the states has been cloven down and the supreme court has, at last, invaded the rights and liberties of the people, and denying them the right of a trial by jury, has Russianized America. Again, wrote Mr. Jefferson to Judge Johnson in 1823:

"I cannot lay down my pen without recurring to one of the subjects of my last letter, for in truth, there is no danger I apprehend so much as the consolidation of our government by the noiseless and therefore unalarming instrumentality of the supreme court."

Mr. Jefferson never ceased issuing his warnings. He saw in the supreme court the greatest danger of the republic. He saw the republic exist in name only, and in its place a consolidated despotism as cruel and as infamous as exists in Russia. Again, Mr. Jefferson writing to Mr. Cory, in 1823 said:

"At the establishment of our constitution, the judicial bodies were supposed to be the most harmless members of the government. Experience, however, soon showed in what way they were to become the most dangerous; that the insufficiency of the means provided for their removal gave them a freehold and irresponsibility in office; that their decisions, seeming to concern individual suitors, only pass silent and unheeded by the public at large; that their decisions, nevertheless, become law by precedent, sapping by little and little the foundations of the constitution and working its change by construction before any one has perceived that the invisible and helpless worm has been busily employed in consuming its substance."

In truth, man is not made to be trusted for life, if secured against all liability to account. In the foregoing it is seen that seventy-five years ago Mr. Jefferson believed the supreme court, "little by little," would ultimately destroy the republic and establish a centralized despotism—and

what he feared has come to pass. The belief exists that the supreme court is utterly debauched—is dishonest, disregards justice and is an enemy of the liberties of the people.

The plutocratic class—the money power—the entire tribe of millionaires, are in sympathy with the supreme court to destroy the constitution. They are the anarchists of the country, and the only remaining hope of re-establishing the liberties of "we the people," supposed to have been made secure by the constitution, centers in the working people and the Populist party.

THE RAILWAY TIMES.

The Railway Times deserves well of the American Railway Union, whose rights it champions, and as fearlessly denounces the wrongs it suffers from the hands of despots.

In the fierce battle now in progress for truth, justice and constitutional liberty, in which all the workingmen of America are involved, the Railway Times makes no concessions and no compromises.

It points to the officers of the American Railway Union in prison, and proclaims that the monstrous wrong, the crime of the century, inflicted upon them is the profound concern of every workingman in all the labor organizations of the country.

It voices the truth, which all labor organizations with patriotic emphasis, endorse; that the country is being Russianized by autocratic decrees of a supreme court and that the time has come for workingmen, by voice and vote, to change the present order of governmental affairs.

To make the Railway Times a mighty force for reform, it should be in the hands and the homes of every member of the American Railway Union and in the hands and homes of every workingman.

Why not give the subject special and immediate attention?

Every member of the A. R. U. may, by special effort, increase the subscription list of the Railway Times indefinitely.

Let the work begin and go forward persistently and persuasively.

There are thousands, outside of the A. R. U., who will subscribe and help on a cause which appeals for help to rescue our liberties from the rule of despots.

GEORGE BARTLETT in *Twentieth Century*, writes as follows:

"After reading the magazine I pass it along that others may obtain some light. Of all possible candidates for the presidency in '96 Eugene V. Debs appears to me the man of destiny; the Moses to lead us out of bondage. If nominated, he ought, with the thousands of labor unions and proper leaders to instruct them, gain a signal victory. Let the People's Party nominate him, and the power of Caesar will have been broken. It seems to me the people's only hope."

Just now, Mr. Debs, with a sturdy philosophy, is making the best possible use of the time, which by an infamous act of despotism, he is compelled to suffer in prison. He is profoundly interested in building up the great order of which he is President and is cheered by the fact, that it is steadily coming to the front in numbers and power, equal to its palmy days. What the unfolding months and years may have in store for him is of little concern. He is a man who acts in the "living present," and will be found equal to any emergency late or fortune may have in store for him.

JUDGE LYMAN TRUMBULL, author of the thirteenth amendment of the constitution of the United States, and one of the greatest men of the century, warns the people as follows: "Let the millionaire should not listen, I would say to the men of the middle classes, of moderate means, farmers and others, though they may not feel the oppression of the money power, arouse to the danger that threatens soon to place you at the mercy of corporate and individual wealth, as the toiling laborers are to-day." How can the people escape the calamities? There are two ways, one via the ballot, and the other—well, France tried the other way.

SAM JONES, the harlequin evangelist, says: "Show me a free silver man and I will show you a man who has either made a failure in life or is in debt." The *Buzz Saw* replies: "Hi there, Sam! We will bet a four dollar dog that we can prove that to be a lie." Of all the mountebank evangelists the country has produced Sam Jones straddles the pile, and we'll bet a ten dollar dog we can prove it.

It seems, that Jenkins and some other ermined "sappers and miners," who are candidates for initiation into the Royal Roasting club, of which his royal forked tail highness is grand master, wrote to Woods for a description of his highness, particularly as to dress. Woods as usual tumbled into a poetic vein and wrote:

"You ask me how the devil goes dress; Well, usually, in his Sunday best, His coat is red, his pants are blue, With a hole behind where his tail goes through."

It is shown by statistics, that the "crime" of suicide is rapidly increasing. The number of citizens who died by their own hands were as follows: 1889, 2,224; 1890, 2,640; 1891, 3,331; 1892, 3,860; 1893, 4,460; 1894, 4,912. In six years there were 21,427 suicides, and this increase of more than 100 per cent in six years is set down to the credit of such labor robbers as Geo. M. Pullman.

A BRILLIANT GALAXY.

The large number of brilliant men and women who have contributed special articles to this edition of the *RAILWAY TIMES* makes each copy a priceless literary souvenir worthy to be treasured for years to come. Among these eminent writers are Richard J. Hinton, of New York, author of "John Brown" and other works of distinction; Thomas Burke Grant, of New York, whose writings are familiar to all readers of standard magazine literature; Henry Wood, of Boston, author of "The Political Economy of Natural Law" and other works; Hon. John Davis, of Kansas, ex-member of congress; Wm. H. Harvey, author of "Coin's Financial School"; Lieutenant W. E. P. French, of the United States army; John Swinton, of New York, the veteran author and journalist; J. A. Wayland, the social reformer, and until recently editor of "Coming Nation"; John McBride, President of the American Federation of Labor; Mrs. Mary E. Lease, the Populist orator and writer; Mrs. Ida A. Harper, for twelve years editor of the woman's department of the *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, now of Leland Stanford University, California; Mrs. Eva McDonald Valesh, editor of the labor department of the *Minneapolis Tribune*; Hon. W. J. Bryan, the Nebraska statesman; Col. J. B. Maynard, of Indiana, the distinguished journalist; W. H. Van Ornum, author of "Why Government at All?" and other works; O. F. Wegener, author of "A New Gospel of Labor"; H. J. Hughes, of Lawrence University, Wisconsin; Ellis B. Harris, of West Superior, Wis.; J. R. Armstrong, Rev. W. H. Carwardine, pastor of the Pullman M. E. church; Henry D. Lloyd, Chicago, journalist and author of "Wealth vs. Commonwealth" and Clinton Collins, Cincinnati, Ohio.

A large variety of topics is treated and the discussion covers the whole field of social and economic inquiry. The *RAILWAY TIMES* feels justly proud in being able to treat its readers to such a rare intellectual banquet and confidently believes that this special edition of one hundred thousand copies will mark a new era in labor literature.

JAMES R. SOVEREIGN.

The following letter from Grand Master Workman Sovereign, of the Knights of Labor, comes to our table just as we go to press:

DES MOINES, IA., AUG. 19, 1895.
Editor *Railway Times*, Terre Haute, Ind.:
DEAR SIR AND BROTHER:—Owing to ill health I am compelled to forego the pleasure of contributing an article for your Labor Day edition. I have cancelled all engagements and will spend a few weeks at Sulphur Springs, Ark., for the benefit of my health.

Although worn out and ill from long service in the field during excessively hot weather, I shall live and fight in the cause of industrial freedom and the rights of the common people until I not only see Debs a free man, but the court that persecuted him and outraged constitutional government is safely landed behind prison bars to pay the penalty of its crime against human liberty and republican institutions.

Fraternally yours,
J. R. SOVEREIGN.

CRIME AND HUNGER.

Carroll D. Wright says "hunger has caused more men to commit petty crimes than anything else," and the *Nonconformist* remarks that of 6,958 homicides in 1890, 5,100 had no trades. Think of the country pretending to be civilized, which forces men by the thousands to crime for lack of food, at the same time that food of all kinds is going to waste because there are no purchasers. Affairs will not be right till no man has to be hungry as long as there is anything to be eaten."

There is food enough for all, but it suits the robbers to keep as many men half starved as possible because a hungry man with a hungry family, will accept any wages offered, and plutocratic fortunes are based upon such cursedness.

FORTY ACRES AND A MULE.

The devil, who is general manager of all the corporations, and has them under his control, "unstraps his jaw" as often as required, and, according to *Justice*, harangues workingmen, who are robbed daily, as follows: "Six days shalt thou stand by the iniquity triumphant, and on the seventh thou mayest whoop up the brotherhood of man and the streets of gold, so that in looking for the future men will miss the good that is here now." And the toilers, believing the devil, continue to be robbed, and on election day vote for the men who degrade them.

SOVEREIGN'S order the Knights of Labor to boycott national bank bills is ridiculed by the bankers and their friends, yet they seem considerably worried over it. Many people are having their attention called for the first time to the peculiar characteristics of national banks and the special privileges enjoyed by national bankers. Agitation leads to education, and education to emancipation. Stir them up Bro. Sovereign. Make them take a dose of their own medicine. Get even, if possible, for the fight the bankers have ever waged against the greenback.—*Chicago Express*.

The prison and poor house are the only sorts of paternalism the old parties believe in. They drive all the people to want and crime and then build prisons and poor houses where they may be incarcerated. The Populist idea is to make such places unnecessary, but the Populists are cranks, you know.—*Spokane (Wash.) Tribune*.

A SONG FOR THE A. R. U.

A song for the U., the A. R. U.
The union so brave and so true,
It is pledged to the right in every fight,
Till labor gets its due.
There is war in life when it hears the cry
Of the poor appealing for bread;
Then it moves in its path like a growing wrath
And shakes the earth with its tread.

REFRAIN

Then sing to the U., the A. R. U.
The union so brave and so true,
It is pledged to the right in every fight,
Till labor gets its due.

To a union of men who do and dare
Though fiercely the storm may rage,
And you'll find every man in the army's van,
To accept the battle's page.
And all the days, and the years as well,
As the days and years go by,
True as magnet to pole, each noble soul
Will fight for the right nor fly.

Then sing to the U., the A. R. U., etc.

MARSEILLES AND WOODSTOCK.

Some years ago the government of the United States commissioned an Afro-American by the name of Waller as consul to Madagascar. It so happened that France, upon some plea, no matter what, was engaged and is still engaged in an attempt to steal a portion of that island. Waller's commission as consul having expired he concluded to remain in Madagascar and go into business. To carry out his purpose he negotiated with the Hovas, a native tribe with whom France was at war, for a concession of land containing valuable timber, including ebony and the *caoutchouc*, or India rubber tree. The French government, or the French army operating in Madagascar, charged Waller with having committed some offence against the rights of France. He was arrested, tried by a drumhead court-martial, and sentenced to thirty years imprisonment.

This Afro-American citizen is now in prison at Marseilles, France. He claims to be absolutely innocent of any wrongdoing; that he is the victim of a monstrous outrage, and his case is now in the hands of the United States government, and the administration is greatly excited over ex-consul Waller's imprisonment, which is eminently proper.

From the first the Waller case has kicked up a big racket in diplomatic circles. An American citizen, a mulatto, known as a negro, had his liberty wrested from him by a court-martial, and now the whole power of the American government stands pledged to secure his rights. Orders are given the American ambassador to the French government demanding that the negro's case be reopened. France hesitates, and peremptory orders are issued to press demands for investigation, to see the papers, to know all about the charge against the negro citizen of the United States. The American government wants to know if he had a fair trial, or any trial at all, and it is going to know. The diplomatic pot is boiling. Old Olney, who could order out the standing army to shoot down workingmen and use his influence as attorney-general to imprison American citizens at home without trial, is now as spectacular as a clown in spangles in his efforts to get Waller out of the Marseilles prison, and this hellaboo over Waller brings into bold, bleak and haggard prominence the imprisonment of E. V. Debs and his associate officials of the American Railway Union in the Woodstock bastle.

In the case of Waller the United States government is putting forth its power to rescue him from prison, demanding that he shall have a fair trial by French law, and that he shall not suffer unless he is guilty.

In the case of E. V. Debs and his associate officials this same United States government perpetrates an outrage of infernal despotism immeasurably more infamous than was inflicted upon Waller, the negro, by the French. The drumhead court-martial which consigned Waller to prison at Marseilles, viewed in its worst aspects, admits of no comparison with the autocratic decree by which the Woodstock prisoners had their liberty wrested from them.

We admit that the government ought to exercise its power to protect the negro. We applaud the government in its efforts to secure justice for the negro, and as promptly anathematize the government for the damnable outrage perpetrated upon E. V. Debs and his associate officials of the American Railway Union now incarcerated in Woodstock jail. In the case of Waller it is French despotism, military despotism, court-martial despotism. In the case of Debs and his associates it is American despotism, judicial despotism, democratic administration despotism, money-power despotism, a combination despotism which strikes at and strikes down constitutional liberty in the United States of America.

Waller in Marseilles prison is the pet of the government. Debs and his associate officials in Woodstock prison are the victims of the implacable enmity of the government. Waller had a court-martial trial. Debs and his associates had no trial at all. They were denied a trial. The judicial despots, backed by the whole power of the government, consigned them to prison and denied them any constitutional guarantee of protection.

All things considered Waller was treated better by the military despots of Madagascar than was Debs and his associates by the despots of the United States. Marseilles is bad enough, but Woodstock is unspeakably the most infamous.

LABOR DAY.

Let it be labor's 4th of July.

Let it have the spirit of '76.

Let it denounce domestic despots.

Let it ring like a million Liberty bells.

Let the motto be, from sea to sea; workingmen will be free.

Let Labor's banners fly on Labor Day, bearing motto of defiance.

Let it warn the rulers that ours is not a government by injunction.

Let Woodstock be the theme of Labor Day orators. It is labor's bastle.

Let it be a warning to tyrants who imprison workingmen without a trial.

Let Labor Day cannon boom; let bugles sound; let trumpets blow, fife scream and drums beat.

Let resolutions be passed denouncing the despotism of the supreme court, and its subordinate satraps.

CHATTLE SLAVERY PREFERRED.

The Boston *Herald*, on the day before the glorious Fourth of July, published a special dispatch from Spring Valley, Ill., in which it was said that "three hundred coal miners have caused great excitement here by offering to go into voluntary slavery if guaranteed, for themselves and families, comfortable houses, plenty of fuel, food and serviceable clothing. They represent the best element among the miners and are willing to thus serve without a cent of wages. They will sign an ironclad contract. They say that it will prove that the present trouble, which threatens a strike, is not their own seeking. During the last three years they say they have often suffered for the necessities of life, and that rather than see their families suffer any more they will become serfs." In this is seen to what depths of despair and degradation plutocratic rule has brought the country. A change is demanded.

ANOTHER JUDGE BOUGHT.

The *Fargo Commonwealth* remarks that "another judge has enlisted himself as a servant to capitalists and corporations—whose innate greed would plant the iron heel of despotism upon the neck of labor and make it cringe in the dust before them." It is none other than Judge Sherwood of the Missouri supreme court, who has filed an opinion that knocks the last prop from under a law enacted two years ago, to prevent superintendents, foremen or officials of corporations from discharging employees who refuse to withdraw from lawful labor organizations or societies. The law was declared to be arbitrary and unconstitutional." The amount paid by the corporation for the decision has not been made public. Such things are among the mysteries of the consulting-room chambers.

INCREASE OF CRIME.

Those who want facts upon which to base conclusions will find in the figures of the last census report, relating to the increase of crime in the United States, facts of startling significance, as follows:

Year. Prisoners. Population. Ratio of prisoners to population.

1850 6,737 1 out of 3,438

1860 16,086 1 out of 1,647

1870 32,901 1 out of 1,171

1880 58,429 1 out of 835

1890 82,320 1 out of 757

Such statistics suggest numerous inquiries relating to the influences exerted by our christian civilization which are anything but creditable, and what is worse, the half is not told.

Reports have it, that George M. Pullman is getting shaky in health; that the devil is feeling for his heart strings, and wants him as a show in hell's dime museum among other freaks. The devil regards him as one of the foremost monsters on the continent, and as Christ said of certain robbers of the poor, worthy of special damnation. It is intimated that George wants to repent of his sins—not if it costs him a nickle—but if the mountains were solid soap, and all could be tumbled into lake Erie at once, the suds would make no impression in washing the stains from his dirty soul. Let the devil have him. He's a first-class freak.

ENGLAND, with a population of 30,000,000, has only 32 judges, or one judge for every 940,625 of population, while New York, with a population of 7,000,000, has 140 judges, or one judge for every 50,000 of population, and Illinois, with a population of 4,000,000, has 178 judges, or one for every 22,472 of population. All the states are similarly burdened with the judge curse. Fully 75 per cent of them are mere jack-leg lawyers who manage to make fortunes of various dimensions by an investment of brains that excites universal derision.

SECRETARY GLYNN, of the Sailors' Union, Seattle, Washington, reports that there were 62 new members initiated at their last meeting. He also reports that there is great demand for union sailors at that port and none but union men are being employed. We may add that the sailors on the coast are all friends of the A. R. U. and read the Times.

WAR not only has laws, but jaws and claws.

PAPERS.

A WORD OF CHEER FOR LABOR DAY

TO EUGENE V. DEBS

With bands of Law upon her writhing hands,
Freedom august! still bewildered stands,
Waiting the impulse slow of halting Time—
A broken march that moveth yet sublime!
Waiting the growth of knowledge thro' all her
lands,
The touch electric that from swaddling bands,
Shall bare the eyes of Justice unto crime.
Where Labor writhes in dark Oppression's
slime,
The day of light shall break in warmth and cheer,
Faint not now, for be it ever so drear.
Move on! Tho' sharp beneath thy feet are stones,
And the murmuring winds breathe only moans!
Move on! The life of man we can but win,
By sacrificial blood that conquers sin.

II.

He serves with sorrow upon whom is laid
The mighty burden of Truth's holy trust;
For whom the common life is everayed,
And on whose strength, ruthless, his fellows raid.
He ever stands on guard, and always must
Meet combat grim: His weapons ne'er may
rust.
Sacred his silence must be kept undisplayed,
Till strong speech makes falsehood fly dismayed.
Be thou sure, Strife and Strength are blended
twins,
For lifting burdening woes and cleaving sins;
While holding with passion they join in peace,
Till by freedom's struggle love's gains increase!
No work is lost! The sun may set so dim—
Lo, it rises with the morning's gladsome hymn!
BAY RIDGE, N. Y. Richard J. Hinton.

Wages and the Gold Standard.

BY W. H. HARVEY.

It is an admitted fact that gold is now
the measure of values. What is meant
by this is that the value (price) of
everything is regulated by the supply
of and demand for gold. The advocates
of a continuation of the gold standard
admit that the remonetization of silver
will put prices up double what they are
now, or in other words, put prices back
substantially where they were in 1873.

Having reduced prices by demonetizing
one-half of the stock of primary or re-
demption money, and fastened upon us
a dear dollar, they refer to money that
would restore prices as "cheap money."

Railway men are intelligent and can
readily see how the money power—men
owning money, and bonds for billions
of dollars payable in money—has ad-
vanced its interest by increasing the
purchasing power of money. Money
measures its value in the property it
will buy, and the less money there is,
the more labor and property it will buy.
So, that these men who own these bonds
payable in money, have their value en-
hanced accordingly.

Maintaining this unjust system gives
the money power an undue influence
over all other property, shrinking prices,
destroying manufacturers whose profits
are wiped out by falling prices, and con-
fiscating the property of debtors. All
this is plain, and the money lenders
know that the producers and farmers
are against them. They also know that
a majority of the manufacturers, traders
and plain people are against them.

To offset this loss of voting strength
among the producers, the money lenders
make an appeal to the laborers of the
nation intended to reach the selfish
motive in man.

They state their case this way:
"You are receiving as big wages as
you did in 1873, and the money you get
will buy twice as much as it did in 1873.
You know wages are always the last to
rise, and to remonetize silver will make
what you buy cost you twice as much as
it does now. Therefore, it would be to
your injury to advocate remonetiza-
tion."

To the narrow-minded and selfish
wage-earner this presents a strong case.
In other words, men choking the life
out of the government and enriching
themselves with millions of dollars ap-
peal to the wage-earner to be their ally
in wrecking a free government. Briefly
what answers their proposition is this:
Even if their statement were true, the
plain intelligent people are patriotic
and are not willing to assist in concentra-
ting wealth by despoiling the pro-
ducers and debtors. To impoverish the
farmers and producers crowds the labor-
ers from the country, and the sons of
farmers into the ranks of the wage-
earners, increasing the number of men
seeking employment, making it more
difficult for organized labor to sustain
wages. It is not true that wages are as
high as in 1873. A railway telegraph
operator told me the other day that
telegraphers' salaries were only one-half
what they were ten years ago. Is this
true? The wages of railway employees
on an average are not what they were
ten and twenty years ago. The railway
employees do twice the work they for-
merly did for the same pay. What old
employees say about wages years ago is
worth more than all the misleading
statements that can be published. Or-
ganized labor can for a time resist a de-
cline in wages, but just as sure as con-
ditions are produced that increases the
numbers of the unemployed hunting
work, wages will eventually be reduced.
An advance in the volume of money—
primary money—will restore prices, set
the tide of labor toward the farms, draw
off from the supply of wage-earners,
make more freight and business for our
railways, advance wages, give steady
employment to all, release the debtors
and restore prosperity to the nation.
Advancing prices means good times.
Falling prices means stagnation to busi-
ness, lockouts and strikes. The best
instincts of American citizenship ap-
peals to every one to drive from our
shores the English gold standard mone-

tary policy, with its falling prices, that
has put us at the mercy of creditor En-
gland, to whom we are now paying
\$200,000,000 annually in interest on gold
bonds. It is sucking the life blood of
the nation. Her titled lords are buying
up millions of acres of our lands under
mortgages which would have been paid
off had it not been for falling prices.
An example of this is Lord Scully, who
owns in this state (Illinois) thousands
of acres of land upon which he has in-
stituted the English landlord tenancy.
What we need is to restore the honest
money of the republic instituted by our
patriotic forefathers, put tens of thou-
sands of laborers at work in the silver
mines of the west and pour the products
of their labor into the money supply of
the nation; pay off our debts with the
honest money of the constitution and
free ourselves from the pawn brokers
and money lenders of the world.

Our so-called wealthy men, railway
presidents, directors and shoddy aristoc-
racy are toadying to this English money-
lending influence while humanity suf-
fers and the life of the republic is
threatened. To the plain people we
can appeal with confidence.

Railway men, you are Americans!
You are of the plain people! You have
common sense! Look around you at
the condition of the country and at the
situations you have, threatened by the
hungry and unemployed demanding work!
Listen and your patriotic ear
can not help but hear the creaking of
the cogage in the pulleys as the spars
of our ship of state are being lowered by
foreign hands!

Railway employees, you are honorable
men! Your country is in distress and
calls on you to free her from the pirates
of commerce and the selfish enemies of
our free institutions. It is a slander
upon your character for any one to pre-
sume that she will call on you in vain.

The Labor Question.

BY JOHN DAVIS.

This is a question of bread and butter.
It is a simple one, when viewed without
prejudice. But right there is the rub.
There are two parties in the discussion—
the employer and the employed—each
viewing the subject from an interested
standpoint. The employer hires men
in the open market as cheaply as he
can and calls it a "free contract." But
when the labor market is overstocked
with men seeking work they underbid
each other down to the starvation point.
In this process it is found that men
without families can live cheaper than
married men, and Chinamen cheaper
than either Americans or Europeans.
Hence, the tendency is to starve, de-
grade, and brutalize all labor down to
the Asiatic mode of existence.

Of course men do not sink down to
the Chinese level of existence willingly.
There is friction and resistance. The
troubles are intensified by extreme pen-
ury and human suffering even unto
death, on one side; and inordinate
wealth and aggressive tyranny on the
other, amounting in the aggregate to
very great danger to society.

But how comes the overstocked labor
market? There are three principal
causes, which, separately or together,
may bring about that abnormal and
dangerous condition. First, the con-
traction of the money of the country
causes falling prices for the products of
labor; this closes shops and factories
and cripples all enterprises which re-
quire the employment of labor; and, if
continued, it must produce general
atrophy and stagnation of business.
Men are thrown out of employment and
are compelled to seek work in great
numbers at the price of mere existence.
When such conditions prevail there can
be no free contracts between employer
and employed. One class of men hold
in their hands the means of life. The
other must agree to the terms demand-
ed or die! The contract between the
parties is the contract between master
and slave on the master's terms. If
not satisfactory to the slave his alterna-
tive is death by destitution; and he is
ordered to die in peace, else all the
forces of the government will be em-
ployed to quell his insubordination.
The old masters of the South said:
"Work on our terms or we will punish
you with the lash." The present mas-
ters say, "Work on our terms or we will
starve you and your little ones slowly to
death; and you must die quietly or we
will set the police and the army upon
you with clubs and grapeshot to 'keep
the peace.'"

A second mode of overstocking the
labor market is the importation of des-
titute laboring men from foreign coun-
tries. And, a third plan is to permit
the appropriation of lands of the coun-
try by corporations and monopolies for
speculative purposes, so that the labor-
ing poor cannot cultivate them except
on the landlord's terms.

These combined causes ultimately
produce the lowest form of merciless
slavery. An example of such slavery
may be seen in the British Islands.
While the bigoted and hypocritical Brit-
ish government has been busy on land
and sea suppressing chattel slavery and
the African slave trade, it has, at the
same time, been nurturing in its own
bosom a system of wage and tenant
slavery which has paved the bed of the
Atlantic ocean from Liverpool to New
York with the skeletons of men, women
and children escaping from their chains.

And, now, in this great country we are
adopting the British system as fast as
time can move. We have shed the
holiest blood of the nation, and have
lavished billions of treasure abolish-
ing chattel slavery, but, in its stead,
have adopted the British starvation
plan. It is better and cheaper for the
great millionaire masters, but it is death
by torture for the slaves and the unem-
ployed.

The remedies for our wrongs and dan-
gers are plain: We must reverse the
engine and proceed in the opposite di-
rection. We must restore the retired
currency of the country and thus in-
crease the demand for labor. We must
restrict and regulate the importation of
the destitute and unemployed from
other countries; and, we must permit
the unemployed to have reasonable ac-
cess to the unused lands of the country,
so that, in default of wages, they may
dig a living out of the earth. In order
to apply these remedies laboring men
must vote for lawmakers who favor
them. Laboring men must learn to
vote for their friends and against their
enemies. Our remedies can come only
through the ballot box.

Duties of the Hour.

BY W. J. BRYAN.

I gladly respond to an invitation to
write a brief letter for the Labor Day
issue of the Times. Labor Day is wisely
set apart for the consideration of those
subjects in which wage earners are
especially interested. I was deeply im-
pressed by a suggestion recently made
by Prince Bismarck in a speech made be-
fore an audience of farmers. He said:
"The farmers must stand together and
protect themselves against the drones of
society who produce nothing but laws." It
is true that those who are known as
non-producers actually produce more
legislation than the real producers of
wealth. That is, the legislative plow is
operated by one class while the old-
fashioned plow is being operated by the
farmers; and the legislative plow not
only produces a larger crop, but is oper-
ated at a less expense than any other
kind of a plow. The laboring men be-
long to the producers of wealth and are
so employed in applying brain and mus-
cle to the natural resources of the coun-
try that they too often leave matters of
legislation to those who have more lei-
sure for politics. I desire to impress
upon the readers of your paper two
ideas. First, that there are sacred rights
to be protected and sacred interests to
be guarded by legislation; and second,
that the laboring classes ought to exert
an influence commensurate with their
numbers in securing this legislation.

There can be no peace, security or
prosperity without government. In this
country government is based upon the
principle that all men are created equal,
and that governments derive their just
powers from the consent of the govern-
ed. If all men are created equal, then
no citizen has a right to injure any other
citizen, and the government should
neither enable nor permit him to do so.
Andrew Jackson said: "There are no
necessary evils in government; evils ex-
ist only in abuses." He was right. If
government will avoid favoritism in the
making of laws and then enact such
legislation as is necessary to protect the
weak from the strong, and stay every
arm uplifted for a neighbor's injury,
government will be an unqualified
blessing. In order to secure a govern-
ment which will properly protect the
rights of all the people, the people
themselves must be permitted to select
those who represent them in office,
whether the persons selected belong to
the executive, legislative or judicial
branch of the government.

The Australian ballot was one of the
great reforms accomplished during this
generation, because it enables each citi-
zen to vote his own sentiments. Next
to the Australian ballot comes the elec-
tion of United States senators by a direct
vote of the people. This will enable
the people to select the senator whom
they desire, and will also enable them to
punish an unfaithful servant, whereas
legislatures can now elect senators dis-
tasteful to the people, and re-elect them
after they have betrayed their trust.
Next to the election of senators by the
people is the election of United States
judges by popular vote. Until saints
become more common among men it will
not be safe to appoint for life those who
are to determine the controversies arising
between man and man. It is argued
that more independence is secured in
the judiciary if its members are appoint-
ed and given a life tenure. This is good
in theory, but history has shown that
the only protection common people have
is in their ability to remove from official
position, whether executive, legislative
or judicial, those who as public servants
do not discharge their duty to the satis-
faction of the masses who stand in the
attitude of masters. Jerome K. Jerome,
the English author, declares that democ-
racy is a failure, and that no one but an
uneducated fool can believe in it. Democ-
racy has never been a failure so long
as it remained a democracy. A democ-
racy which degenerates into a plutoc-
racy will necessarily fail to meet the expec-
tations of those who believe in free gov-
ernment. The weakness of a democracy
is not found in the people themselves,
but in the fact that the virtue of the
people is sometimes lost in transit from
the people through the representatives
of the people. The nearer the govern-

ment can be brought to the people
themselves the safer it is. The laboring
classes of the United States have before
them a great opportunity. If they will
but improve the opportunity they can
exert a very great influence in making
our government what it ought to be, a
blessing to all.

Just at this time the money question
is absorbing the attention of the people,
and the laboring classes are vitally con-
cerned, because there can be no perman-
ent prosperity so long as the supply of
money is inadequate and the value of
the dollar is increasing. But after the
money question is settled much will re-
main to be done. To each generation is
left an unfinished work—the work of pre-
serving "a government of the people,
by the people and for the people."

The Giant Unchained.

BY MARY ELIZABETH LEASE.

When the heart of one half the world doth beat
Akin to the brave and true,
And the tramp of Democracy's earthquake feet
Goes thrilling the wide world through,
We should not be living in darkness and dust
And dying like slaves in the night,
But big with the might of the inward Must
Let us battle for freedom and right.

—Gerald Massey.

The world is ripe; humanity ready for
a great change in civilization. New
ideas are taking control of the mentality
of the race. The forefront of progress is
trampling down traditional customs,
reverent with age and environed with
history. Discoveries are made inch by
inch, the spirit of amenity to growth
marks the age; therefore, growth is cer-
tain.

Common schools and cheap literature
add to the growing intelligence and give
a clearer conception of human rights.
The people are looking for the grain of
justice in the peck of chaff, and de-
manding that the hob-nailed boot and
the golden slipper stand on a level.
The subtle brain of man has brought
the world into elbow touch. Reading
rooms, literary societies, and debating
schools are bringing reason and philan-
thropy to the adjustment of difficulties,
where our forefathers brought a musket
and a brickbat. The arts that belonged
exclusively to the palace adorn to-day
our cottage walls. The knowledge,
locked in dual libraries or hidden in
monastic cells for centuries, as some-
thing too rare for the common herd, is
in our day cheaper than coal and more
common than pork and beans. Mac-
aulay, Huxley and Spencer are the
daily companions of the coal-heaver,
the "hewers of wood and drawers of
water." The harmonies of Handel and
Mozart are heard where the delicacies
of Delmonico are unknown. The spirit of
antagonism and the haste to get rich
are deplored and protested against. The
rivets are drawn from the armor of feud-
alism. The tin horn, with which the
wily politician called his hounds and
hunted his game, is taken away from
him. Party lines are being obliterated
and party fetters broken.

There are scholars and thinkers at the
forge and at the work bench, and the
rough-handed, grimy-faced miner, toil-
ing deep in the darkened recesses of
the earth, catches gleams of the morn-
ing, when the earth with its waters
above and its mineral wealth below
shall belong in usufruct to the living—
a morning whose dawn even now is
shining faintly but clear over the hill-
tops of the future, when every toiler
shall have access to the soil, and the bal-
lot shall be the key that unlocks the
garner where our birth-right lies.

The people are beginning to realize
that loyalty to party is treason to hu-
manity, and that the strife between
party politicians is the barking of two-
legged dogs over a bone, the meat of
which is inside their ribs. Meanwhile
the burdens of labor are growing
heavier, and the awakened intelligence
of the toiler is keeping step with the
wrongs inflicted by greed. The tragedy
of want and rage, of bare ribs and
broken spirit is being enacted. An
army of dead-beats, corrupt officials and
chronic office seekers swarm everywhere.
From the crown of their head to the sole
of their feet this people are ailing. The
dependent, defective and delinquent
classes are increasing—festered lepers
whose disease is incurable, save by the
application of justice, that omnipotent
factor of christian faith. The organized
charities, the misdirected philanthropy,
the crumbs of pity that fall from jew-
eled hands, would be all unnecessary
were justice made the corner-stone of
our republic.

The social cannibalism, the cruelty,
pitiable child-labor and child-vice, the
wage-slavery that has taken the place of
chattel slavery, must go.

To inaugurate a reign of justice there
must be a restitution of the earth. The
wills and deeds, the chartered grants
and parchment scrolls, by which the
dead deprive the living of their suste-
nance, must be destroyed as completely
as God destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah.
Reclaim and restore by congressional
action the unearned lands given with
lavish prodigality to the railroads.
Home and foreign speculators hold the
lands of the people and defile that
which they cannot take away by rent
and usury. In the economy of God
there is no room for a usurer or a land-
lord.

End the crusade of the crust, the
tragedy of hunger and rage by placing the
congested population of the great cities
upon the unused land in the hands of

alien speculators and the lands held by
railroads. The problem of congested
cities, starving poor, idle workmen, and
brutalized, oppressed humanity can
never be solved while the toiler is de-
nied access to his God-given heritage,
the soil.

Limit land-holdings to naturalized
citizens, and repurchase, or reclaim the
homes of the people upon which the
vampires of English landlordism, rack-
rent and eviction, now fatten. Accessi-
bility to the land, with government aid
to the dependent classes until they be-
come self-supporting and enforcement
of that sensible maxim: "If a man
shall not work neither shall he eat,"
will fill the hand with plenty and the
heart with hope.

A nation of hopeless people can never
be a patriotic and law-abiding people.
The development and material grandeur
of the state, the perpetuity of its power,
the happiness that concentrates, the
patriotism that defends, rests upon
home. Home is the foundation of gov-
ernment, the foundation of a nation's
greatness. Where there are no homes
for babes, there is no security in time
of peace, no safety in time of war.

"They were denounced as socialists,
Tabooed by clericals as enemies of God,
And held accused as enemies of capital.
But they answered not save by their Godward
work;
They raised no paupers, grew no criminals;
Nor asked for rates in aid of poverty.
They plowed and sowed and reaped,
Where all were workers, there was wealth for
all."

A Retrospect.

BY JOHN SWINTON.

When Eugene Victor Debs came to New
York from Chicago, last year, as a re-
presentative of the American Railway Union,
then engaged in its memorable struggle,
he made a speech in Cooper Union, which
I heard. I sat near a spot at which I
had sat at another meeting held in the
same place, thirty-four years previously,
which was addressed by another speaker
who had come to New York from Chi-
cago. The western speaker who stood
before me on that platform in August,
1861, was to me a reminder of the other
western speaker who had stood there in
February, 1860. Both men were tall and
square in figure; the complexion of each
was rather dark—darker in the one than
in the other; the face of each was rather
gaunt, that of the earlier speaker much
more gaunt than that of the later; both
were men of good and strong features;
there was something intense about the
facial expression of each; both were men
of commanding and impressive manners.

I recalled the somewhat peculiar and
shrill voice of the speaker of 1860; I
heard another voice in 1894 which re-
sembled it. As they spoke, it was easy
for a New Yorker to discern that they
were both men of the west.

The man to whose speech I listened
in Cooper Union in February of 1860 was
Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois—born in
Kentucky; the man who spoke from the
same platform within my hearing last
year was Eugene Victor Debs, of Illi-
nois—born in Indiana.

I recalled the appearance, the manner,
the voice and the speech of Lincoln as
Debs stood there before me thirty-four
years afterwards.

It seemed to me that both men were
imbued with the same spirit. Both
seemed to me as men of judgment, rea-
son, earnestness and power. Both seemed
to me as men of free, high, genuine, gen-
erous manhood. I "took" to Lincoln in
my early life, as I took to Debs a third
of a century later.

In the speeches of both westerners
there was cogent argument; there were
apt illustrations; there were especially
emphatic passages; there were moments
of lightning; there were touches of
humor; and there were other qualities
which produce conviction or impel to
action. Each speaker was as free as the
other from gross eloquence. I confess
that I was as much impressed with the
closing words of Debs' speech as I was
with those of Lincoln, when he ex-
claimed: "Let us have faith that right
makes might; and, in that faith, let us
to the end dare to do our duty, as we
understand it."

As Lincoln stands in my memory,
while looking far back, Debs stands in
it, as I saw him in Cooper Union a year
ago.

Lincoln spoke for man; so spoke Debs.
Lincoln spoke for right and progress; so
spoke Debs. Lincoln spoke for the free-
dom of labor; so spoke Debs. Lincoln was
the foe of human slavery; so is Debs.

I was in the deepest sympathy with
Lincoln when he came here, as I was
also with Debs when he came here. I
had striven for Fremont in my youth,
as I have striven in later years for prin-
ciples that are the logical sequence of
those of Lincoln, and are represented
by Debs.

Let no admirer of Abraham Lincoln—
I do not mean the apotheosized emanci-
pator, but the Lincoln of 1860—offer
objection to aught that has been here
said. At the time I have spoken of,
Lincoln was regarded by millions of peo-
ple as a cross between a crank and a
monster. In hundreds of papers and by
hundreds of speakers he was called the
"Illinois baboon." Every epithet that
hate could invent was applied to him;
every base purpose that malice could
conceive was imputed to him. To the
"Satanic press" of New York he was
an object of loathing and derision, a
"nigger lover," a clown, a subverter of
the constitution and the laws; and,

above all, he was a blatant fool who
would destroy that indestructible "sys-
tem of labor" which had existed of old,
which was upheld by the supreme court
and the lynch-law court, the church, the
army, the press and the capitalists, as
also by congress—both houses. Why,
the Debs whom we have with us in our
country to-day is a harmless citizen com-
pared with the Lincoln of 1860, as he
had been described before he came to
New York. It looks to me as though
the newspaper slubberdegallions and
plutocracy in our time had lost that
power of cantankerous invective which
was possessed by their contemporaries
of 1860, now mostly dead and forgotten.
I have read some assaults upon Debs, but
all of them were poorly done.

Lincoln's name was less familiar to the
New York masses at the opening of 1860
than Debs' was in 1894. Lincoln had
campaigns in the west, but the west
was much farther away then than it is
now, and western men were less known
in the east than they now are. Lincoln
drew a crowd to Cooper Union, but not
as large a crowd as Debs drew.

Well, when I heard Debs' speech here
I had half a notion that it might be the
prelude to an incident like that which
followed Lincoln's speech. There were
few people, at least in New York, who
could have believed that within three
months from the day of Lincoln's speech
here, Lincoln would be a candidate for
the office of president of the United
States. "Some say," he said, while in
New York then, "some say they may
make me vice president with Seward."

It was always the opinion of my old
friend, Raymond, the founder of the
New York Times, whom I long served as
chief of its editorial staff, that it was the
Cooper Union speech of Lincoln that
made it possible for him to be a candi-
date for the presidency, and that was
most potent in making him acceptable
to the Republican party in the east. It
certainly was a factor of influence in the
nomination at Chicago the following
May.

No matter about that now. When, in
Cooper Union, a year ago, I heard the
speech of Eugene V. Debs, which in so
many ways reminded me of that of Abra-
ham Lincoln long ago, I felt sure that no-
body could deny that here again, in this
new western leader in the struggle for
labor's emancipation, there might be the
stuff for a presidential candidate.

And this suggestion would have been
made by me at the New York meeting
but for the jam of perversity on the
platform.

Debs in Cooper Union reminded me of
Lincoln there. As Lincoln, of Illinois,
became an efficient agent for freedom,
so, perchance, might Debs, of Illinois,
become in the impending conflict for
the liberation of labor. Let us never
forget Lincoln's great words: "Liberty
before property; the man before the
dollar."

Labor Day.

BY J. A. WAYLAND.

You ask me to write something for
your Labor Day edition. Looking at the
miserably dependent condition of those
who toil, either in useful or useless voca-
tions, I see nothing that inspires me to
write anything to please their ears. For
thousands of years the men and women
of the world who have produced its
food have eaten of its meanest quality;
who have woven its finest fabrics have
attired themselves in shoddy; who have
reared its castles and palaces have lived
in hovels, and forsooth to-day they have
advanced far enough in thought to cele-
brate their condition! There were no
labor day demonstrations years ago be-
fore returning despotism began to be
felt. The election returns in this coun-
try show that labor has yet to learn a
lesson. It has not yet asked itself
seriously why men who never labor can
afford to live in luxury. Why can it
not look about it and see others enjoy-
ing the fruits of its toil? Because these
"others" hire or cajole it into a belief
that no other system except "working
for those able to hire it" can be estab-
lished. Labor has been educated on
the stuff prepared for it by those who
dress well and live in fine houses. I see
nothing to-day to cause labor to cele-
brate. Its condition is menial. Until
labor is wise enough to vote all the in-
dustries into its own hands, making
idleness of any impossible, except at risk
of starving, then Labor Day will have a
meaning. If Labor Day means that it
intends to do this, well and good. If
not, it is only the hollow mockery of a
holiday to slaves. Labor can be free
when it has mind, not before, though it
outnumbers its oppressors millions to
one. So long as any nation has a class
of men who consider themselves above
useful labor, it shows that those who do
labor are unfit to be other than they
are. By its ballots labor can level every
monopoly to the ground. By its ballots
it maintains every millionaire in his po-
sition and power. There will be no ad-
vance in the condition of labor in these
United States of Monopoly until it learns
this one lesson.

Says the Oregon Forum: Earth, air,
sunshine and water, combined and util-
ized by labor, constitute the wealth of
the world. Labor, the force that made
these elements useful to man, has the
least share. Those who never added a
single thing to the world's wealth, have
the most worldly goods, and claim the
best seats before the heavenly throne.
Have you ever thought out why this is
thus?

THE BALLOT.

I.
What do you think a vote is for?
Something to cast for a dollar or more?
Something to sell as you're told to do?
Something to give to the wealthy few,
Who are only one to ten of you?

Don't rail at the rich, let your whining cease.
The crimes of our times lie at Labor's door;
For the rich have only a vote apiece,
Till the poor man sells them more.

II.
Who sells his vote is both fool and knave:
More, he is coward and thief and slave
(Content as a slave to live and die),
Deserted, traitor and thrice-damned spy.
Fool, since he sells his right to think
For a harem's wage or the price of a drink;
Whereas, had he cast his vote aright,
He and his were victors in the fight.
Knaves, since he's false to the Nation's trust,
Coward, because he's afraid to thrust
With the ballot's knife for Labor's cause,
But helps with his vote to make the laws
That bind his fellows in closer thrall.
Thief, since he steals from the arsenal
Of Labor its best and keenest steel,
Deserts the ranks of the common-weal,
And fawns—the cur—at the dellar's heel.
Traitor to duty and honor's call;
Spy of the spoiler in Labor's hall;
Brand him with shame till he's under ground,
Black-hearted dastard and craven hound.

III.
What do you think a vote is for?
To demand, to command, not to implore.
Something to use in your manhood's right!
Something to handle with strong, clean hands
Something to win back your stolen lands!
Something to emphasize your demands!

Don't rail at the rich, let your whinnings cease.
The crimes of our times lie at Labor's door;
For the rich have only a vote apiece,
Till the poor man sells them more!

IV.
Then use the ballot and end your woes;
Vote for your friends and not for your foes;
Grapple your birthright not to your souls;
Victory's yours when you guard the polls
To see that the count be fairly made;
To see that the law shall be obeyed;
Victory's yours when you're not afraid
To stand by Justice,
To grasp the right,
To change the proverb,
To—Right makes might.
Victory's yours when you learn at last,
For what and for whom your vote to cast;
You know when the lesson you've mastered well
That a ballot's to use and not to sell;
You know when you finally understand
That "Divided, we fall; united, stand!"
Then stand together—why longer wait?
And make the WILL OF THE PEOPLE FAIR!

W. E. P. French.

"What Will He Do With It?"

BY W. H. VAN ORNUM.

This is the title to one of Bulwer Lytton's novels; and a most entertaining and instructive work it is too. The thought running all through it is, that a man's success in life does not depend so much upon what he has as upon what he does with it.

What are workmen going to do with their "Labor Day" now that they are permitted to call it their own and spend it as they please? Is it only to be an occasion for merrymaking and jollity; a time for eating and drinking and for the gratification of the grosser appetites and passions; or shall it be devoted to an earnest search for the cause of their troubles and to preparation for a more intelligent effort to overcome them in the future?

Organization is of little benefit unless it is used effectively. To organize men merely for the sake of the organization is like herding a flock of sheep. It may even become a source of weakness. Like sheep they may be crowded together until each hinders the other and renders the escape of any impossible. Hitherto labor organizations have been used almost exclusively for defensive purposes when used at all. In a few cases this has been temporarily effective; but often it has failed. Now, however, the new weapons, the trust combinations on one side and the law on the other, which are brought to bear against workmen; or rather, the old weapons used in new ways, have rendered the old defensive tactics obsolete and new ones must be devised. Labor Day is a good time to consider the best means for preparing for the contest which is inevitable. Let me suggest a few facts which it will be well to remember.

First, Capital is greedy, always unsatisfied and aggressive. It has both the law and its administration on its side; and it will not hesitate to use them to the utmost, as we have repeatedly seen in the past. It will not permit us to rest even if we want to. The fight is an irrepressible one. It must go on until capitalism is destroyed or until every vestige of the freedom of the working-men is destroyed.

Second, The most effective defense is a vigorous campaign wherein the "war is carried into Africa." Labor organizations must assume the offensive, not against employers personally, but against capitalism as a principle. The only way to do this is to substitute co-operation for capitalism. Against that both the law and the trust are powerless. Co-operative production and distribution can be organized right in the centers of industry on a basis which will destroy the best organized trust in the world and give to labor its entire earnings; and that too, in spite of all the laws on the statute books relating to money, to land tenures, to transportation and to the subjection of workmen.

When workmen understand this we may expect to see a new form of strike wherein every one will be successful. The masters may well be reminded of the proverb: "Pride goeth before destruction; and a haughty spirit before a fall." Their triumph will be of short duration when men find out the possibilities of co-operation.

The National Trend.

BY THOMAS BURKE GRANT.

I am invited to contribute something to the Labor Day edition of the RAILWAY TIMES, and gladly do so because the editor is immured in a felon's cell for the heinous crime of loving his fellow men not unwisely but too well.

In other years and under different circumstances felicitations would be in order, but under existing conditions the anniversary is not one for congratulation but rather for despair—despair as regards the country, congratulation so far as labor interests are concerned; for although confronted by a more formidable combination of foes to-day than ever before, it seems better organized and equipped to accept the gage of battle. Though the editor in suggesting the paper has not also selected the subject to be discussed, I fancy that upon such an occasion the question uppermost in importance is the violation of the elementary principles of justice involved in the case of Mr. Debs and his confederates, in a land that boasts of its freedom, and which once fired the hearts of mankind by originating a new decalogue of human rights. This departure from the paths of justice and the consequent invasion of liberties that are guaranteed to the vilest criminal, is not so remarkable, however, as the distressing and pervading indifference which exists over so radical and sweeping an innovation in our laws as is involved in their conviction.

Trial by jury has long been the palladium of liberty in all Anglo-Saxon countries. It was wrung from kings and tyrants at the point of the sword in those days when the people were less respected and when popular rights were far more restricted than they are to-day. In order to save guard the concession thrones were overturned, kings were committed to the block, and the plains were freely watered by the blood of patriots. The silence and indifference with which its loss falls upon this generation of Americans indicated that if they lived in the days of Russell, or Sidney, or Hampden, the power of kings would still be absolute, and every sovereign right now vested in the people would be forgotten or despised. Such a feeling is so transparent that one may well ask the question whether the Declaration of Independence is anything but a sham, and whether the concession so dear to our fathers is now destined to find its coffin in the land of the free and the home of the brave? If this be the triumphant democracy then the American people of to-day are either ignorant of what the term implies, or they have resolved to betray America and everything which the name stands for.

When a nation becomes indifferent to wrong doing, when it is silent in the presence of danger or is unwilling to make fitting sacrifice for the just resistance of illegal authority or official usurpation, it is dry-rotting at the core and slowly crumbling to inevitable destruction. Lowell was alike a prophet and a sentinel when, anticipating this stage of national decomposition, he warned Americans that

"Never yet land long lease of empire won
Whose sons sat silent while base deeds were done."

It makes no difference how many stars are added to the flag, nor what magnificent schemes of annexation we devise, if we allow the spirit of the laws to be strained the constitution becomes lost; and when trial by jury is superseded by judicial injunction and no adequate protest comes from any quarter of the land, it may be safely assumed that we are not only far removed from the days of national glory, but have deeply entered into the era of national disgrace. These reflections are eminently appropriate to an anniversary of labor which sees labor leaders convicted by the grossest invasion of personal liberty and the most shameful manipulation of the laws.

Allright minded men are imbued with a reverence for law which is the very sheet anchor of society, but the man who tolerates an unjust law, who is afraid to raise his voice against it, or is too busily engaged in making money to give attention to its redress, is a shrimp amongst his fellows and a traitor to the state. But the man who takes advantage of an unjust law that through negligence or oversight escapes repeal or becomes obsolete in the practice of our courts in order to humble a foe or to advance his own interest, belongs to that predatory species of mankind which includes the highwayman and the midnight assassin. In a highly organized and sensitive community such as existed, for example, in Sparta or Athens, such a man would be bent to about the same consideration as a wild boar who had broken into a vineyard and whom it was the duty of every loyal citizen to at once despatch. These reflections are equally appropriate and pertinent to the motives of those who instituted the prosecution of Debs and his friends; and while it is not perhaps advisable to carry out the Athenian practice in these peaceful days, the fact that such would have been the fate of his persecutors in other ages and other commonwealths is a very suitable sentiment to be known and recurred on a national labor holiday, and is far a more healthy practice than drinking beer.

But the law under which Debs was convicted deserves more extended notice. Like a rusty weapon laid by an

armory, it seems to be one of those obsolete statutes that are only discovered by lawyers when they have special clients or special circumstances to deal with. These laws are sure to be enforced as long and as often as the people will stand them on the one hand, or the clients in question will handsomely pay for their enforcement on the other; and in the latter case there is always some Scroggs, or Jeffreys, or Norbury ready at hand to solemnly add the weight of his judicial authority to what otherwise would be a wanton roaring farce. The conviction of Mr. Debs raises many important questions. One of the most important pressed upon our minds, however, is the painful fact that one of the curses of this nation, and indeed one of the most significant symptoms of its impending dissolution, is the contempt for and the distrust of law. Throughout a considerable area of the country lynch law is so prevalent that if we were to read of those barbarities in Persia, or China, or Afghanistan, good Americans would hold up their hands in holy horror and exclaim: "Oh, what barbarians these people are!"

Yet lynch law is caused by an extensive belief prevailing in this country that the courts are crooked, and that the criminal lawyers can for the consideration of fees enable the criminals to cheat the law. To such an extent are the lawyers our masters that our liberties seem to be irrevocably committed to their hands; thus the divorce lawyer threatens to overthrow the sacred ties of marriage, while the corporation attorney dominates the atmosphere of the supreme court or the senate, and has long made the lobby of congress his stamping ground. When it is remembered that the single state of New York, with a population of 5,000,000, has almost as many lawyers as England and France together with a population of 70,000,000, one can estimate the aggressive character of this rooted evil. When it is also remembered that our laws are chiefly made by ignorant or corrupt men, few of whom could draft a bill themselves in the legislatures to which they are elected, and that the framing of laws therefore devolves upon lawyers who are constantly adding to the string of enactments upon the statute book in the hope of multiplying fees or perpetuating employment, it is not strange that the masses of the people marvel when one of these old laws is trotted out to suppress liberty or to catch a big fee. And when it is also borne in mind that the number of lawyers admitted to practice is largely in excess of the requirements, and that most of these are half educated men who could not practice their profession in England or France, the extent to which all classes of Americans are subjected to the power of the lawyers is one of the most distressing features of our civilization. In short the law trust is the greatest of all the trusts that now threaten our future, and without the aid of a crafty lawyer to guide them the other huge trusts of which the people complain could not hope to hold together.

The very head of the law trust and the handmaid of all other trusts is the United States supreme court. This august tribunal, which has its headquarters at Washington, is chiefly composed of poor men with extensive demands and with extraordinary powers. They are not elected by the people. They are appointed chiefly at the instance of great corporations whose directors sometimes chip in to a common fund in order to enable a trusted legal advisor to exchange a practice of say \$40,000 a year for a salary of \$10,000 a year, where he may still be useful when cases tried before him below go up for appeal, the balance of loss to the lawyer being made up, of course, from other sources. Hence such decisions as have come down to us from the United States supreme court in connection with the Debs injunction, the interstate commerce bill, and the late unfortunate but equitable income tax bill, which created a split in the court and almost precipitated a scandal that gave the whole snap away. The United States as the richest country in the world pays to the chief justice of its supreme court \$10,000 a year. The lord chancellor of Ireland, which is perhaps the poorest country in the world, is paid \$40,000. Let the labor leader note the fact that there is no purse ever made up by his friends for the Irish chancellor, and that they themselves or their labor organizations are never asked for a contribution to the American supreme court justices, and then all right thinking people may the better sympathize with Mr. Debs in his struggle with the law trust as the latest victim sacrificed to its insatiable sense of power and greed. We will thus have a third very interesting and very pertinent reflection for the present anniversary of labor, and it will be plainly seen that it is an advantage to the rich litigant to keep our supreme court justices' salaries low for a very different purpose than to be able to have the newspapers contrast the economy of a republican with the monarchical form of government, such as exists in Ireland. Then also it will be seen why criticism of a United States supreme justice amounts to a scandalum magnatum, while a United States senator or the president himself are sometimes unmercifully and not infrequently personally lampooned by the

pressing paragraphs of the daily papers. Viewing it purely as a domestic event there never was a case in the history of the United States which involved more sacred rights, more portentous consequences, or which attracted more attention in other countries of the world than the struggle connected with the name of Debs.

I have touched in the foregoing upon the methods of his conviction and I shall now throw some light upon the tactics which precipitated that struggle, and which was largely caused by an attempt to interfere and control the right of suffrage in Pullman, quite as effectually and by the same merciless processes as Irish landlords in the days of the rotten boroughs rack rented or evicted those tenants who refused to vote for their candidates at the polls.

The Grand Duke of Pullman, by virtue of a contribution of \$50,000 to the Republican campaign fund of 1880, had controlled the whole federal patronage of Chicago and of a portion of Illinois. He was able to name his candidates for office or to veto the claims of other candidates, quite as much as if for the special region he represented, he were the duly elected president of the United States. He had promised another \$50,000, to my knowledge, to General Harrison's campaign fund in 1892, "and more if needed," and we all know now that money was badly needed. As a matter of fact the sum of \$100,000 was sent into Indiana three days before the election of 1892 in order to carry that state, in which case the Grand Duke would have been a second time for Chicago the *defacto* president of the United States. When Indiana was lost he was dumbfounded, but when the people of his own grand duchy failed to elect the Republican candidate the Grand Duke was almost paralyzed, and like the typical Irish landlord, he determined to squeeze the whole lot of Pullman voters, and hence the famous strike. Now, in defending the workers the American Railway Union was not only seeking their just rights, but it was also in reality defending the sacred right of suffrage which was attempted to be violated. Yet in the face of these facts, in the face of the gross violation of the rights of citizenship and of the spirit of the laws, in the face of a bare faced attempt to resurrect an old statute and to set aside a trial by jury as the treasured heirloom of Anglo-Saxon liberty, in the face of an attempt to "bull and bear" the Pullman labor vote in favor of one political party in the state, the exponents of the nation, and of the press, and of the pulpit were for the most part all suspiciously silent. The silence still reigns supreme in all departments outside the influence of labor.

American pens have been dipped in ink, American platforms have re-echoed words of burning eloquence; through American veins have rushed a redder blood as new resolutions to higher and better things have been enunciated, but at this sad story of expiring liberty no voice has been raised, and no pen has been inspired to instill the lesson of duty into the ears and the convictions of the people. We have yearned for the spirit of liberty in every foreign land. We have loudly denounced Spaniards in Cuba, the Turk in Armenia, and coercion in Ireland. We have talked in high praises about the Monroe Doctrine; we have wept over the fall of a princess in the Sandwich Islands, and have gone struggling up and down this hemisphere looking anxiously for a foe, but here at our doors and within the range of our domestic lives lies the most dangerous and most insidious of enemies in the presence of which our hearts sink within us, our tongues are silent, and our arms palsied. What wonder that gazing on this indifference—cowardice might be a better word—a distinguished stranger within our gates should turn aside in despair to say, "I have seen the rapid evolution of wealth in the Social Democracy in England. I have studied autocracy in Russia and theocracy in Rome; but I must say that nowhere, not even in Russia in the first years of the reaction occasioned by the death of the late czar, have I struck a more abject submission to a more soulless despotism than that which prevails amidst the masses of so-called free Americans when face to face with the omnipresent power of large corporations." Is not this a suitable reflection and sentiment for Labor Day? Is not this condition of things something of which we all ought to be ashamed?

But why all this trucking to large corporations? Why endure all these violations of human rights? What is the purpose of this to make a mockery of the ballot—this stab at the popular government in the back? For what are all these monopolies reared upon our shoulders and why all this straining of the constitution; all this torturing of justice in the midst of which the republic seems fast running to seed and Americans actually stand confronted with one or other of two courses—either to struggle for the restoration of the Republic or follow the example of other nations and create a dictatorship which shall curb the aggressions of plutocracy? To what do all these abnormal conditions tend? The reason as well as the gain of all these are summed up as the fact that a few great pythons gorge themselves by eating up the wage earners and the poor; that a bevy of Plutons, like the Duke of Pullman should control the patronage and the law power of the nation;

that they may accumulate fortunes which would shame the most extravagant courts of Europe; that their wives might be arrayed in pearls when presented at foreign courts; that dairy maids should be converted into dowagers; that their daughters may become the consorts of pauper princelings; that former Wall street messengers and clerks should become the presidents of great railroad systems and the arbiters of American commerce. Such is the sum total of our national gain. It is for these reasons that such things are done; that one class of men should control the price of sugar, and another the price of meat, and another that of oil, and another the price of bread, and another the patronage of the nation, and still another the price of law, and the tendencies of our courts of justice. It is for these, I repeat, and for similar purposes, on to the end of the long and dismal chapter which painfully reminds us that every citizen outside of these combinations is not a sovereign but a serf; and that each of these commercial man-eaters may be a king within his own sphere; that politics are corrupted, and our legislatures bought, and our public offices knocked down to the highest bidder as was formerly the case in Florence and in Rome, that we patiently lie like slaves, and are content to endure whatever our taskmasters decree. Oh! America. Oh! liberty.

All these sentiments are called up to us by the struggle and trial and incarceration of Debs and all are suitable sentiments for the day and for the occasion; and under these circumstances few, I fancy, will fail to permit them to sink deep into their minds or to re-echo the immortal prayer of John Hampden, when with a yearning soul he fervently prayed, "May the Lord level in the dust those institutions under which such things are possible."

Labor Day Aftermath.

BY O. F. WEGENER.

When, on the morning after Labor Day, I read of the hundreds of thousands of workmen who have, throughout the country, celebrated together, all united for the one purpose of honoring honest labor, I cannot help thinking of the beneficent changes in their economical condition which those weary workers could produce, as voters, if equally well united on election day for the one purpose of helping themselves.

Why can they not do so? What enemy prevents them, the many, from conquering at the ballot box their oppressors, the few, and making this vast and wealthy country the paradise for the people which nature has created it to be? As no tyrant king nor mighty aristocracy rules over us, but our own votes shape our destinies, the enemy must be within us. And so it is. We feel, since decade, our economical misery painfully, but know not how to get relief. On the one great, practical, and radical means of redress needed the ignorant have not yet united. That ignorance is our enemy, our curse.

And yet the knowledge lies so near. An embarrassed business man's friends learn the cause of his trouble from his account books. So does a people learn the state and cause of its condition from the national statistics. They tell no demagogue lies about more protection, more free trade, more temperance, more economy being needed; but relate in plain facts and figures the following tragedy and satire:

Excessive machine work makes many workmen idle. Idle, starving men, ready to work cheap, cheaper, cheapest, reduce the wages all around. Small wages paid to the workmen give small income to farmers and tradesmen. A small income of the masses makes the national consumption insufficient to use up the machine-made national product. Until it has been consumed, work is slack; thus the fuller the warehouses the poorer the people. Capitalistic corporations make big profits by paying low wages to the workers, extorting high freight rates from the farmers, and plundering the public by excessive prices. The accumulated profits are used to bankrupt small business men through ruinous competition, thus changing the middle class into wage workers. A few thousands acquire the national wealth and the toiling millions become starving politicians. This is the prevailing system of capitalistic production; an industrial war of all against all; the survival of the most greedy at the cost of the starving multitude.

Reverse the system to obtain the remedy. Reduced working time for men and machine gives employment to more workers. Employment of the idle raises the wages. Corporation profits must cease and go to the workers, farmers and the public. The increased income of the masses raises the national consumption. The national product is consumed, and steady work, good wages and prosperity follow. To realize this change, the producers, organized in national co-operative unions, must buy out the corporations. Uncle Sam furnishes, without interest, the cash—paper money, *No fiat money*; but every dollar is backed by mortgage upon the industrial plants, mines, railroads, equal to the high priced government bonds on the subsidized Pacific railroads.

If the workmen will adopt this, the national outcome of trades unionism will unite upon it for being a practical, and the only peaceable radical solution, and vote accordingly, a happy future will soon crown their efforts.

A LABOR DAY IS COMING.

A Labor Day is coming, when a workman shall stand
As free, as independent as any in the land.
When he shall be rewarded for his work of brain and hand—
The right is marching on.

A Labor Day is coming don't you hear the grand refrain,
Sweeping round the country, from the Golden Gate to Maine,
That workmen are free, and have sundered every chain—
The right is marching on.

A Labor Day is coming, when Truth shall have full sway;
When Justice, full enthroned, like the noontide god of day,
Shall set no more, forever—for its coming, let us pray—
The right is marching on.

A Labor Day is coming, when our starry flag shall wave
Above a land whose famine no longer digs a grave;
When money is not master, and a workman a slave—
The right is marching on.

J. B. Maynard.

Silver Points.

BY CLINTON COLLINS.

The country has been listening to the recent Horr-Harvey debate. At long range, when Mr. Horr talked, it sounded like a mere indistinct murmur. When Harvey spoke the listener could distinctly hear and understand every word that was said.

I am no hero worshipper, and in fact never have gushed about the doings of any great man, but if Mr. Harvey wants to shoulder his musket to-morrow and march out against the goldbugs, alone and unattended, I will be the first to follow him. I will get my old squirrel rifle, a baseball bat, or the first thing I can get, and march out and join him. He talks like he knew what he was talking about and in earnest, and from this time on I am against the goldbugs.

I am for the independence of the people and this movement against the lever of the money power has the right ring to it.

It was comical to watch the course of the gold bug cuckoos in regard to this debate. One of them told me just before it started: "Horr will demolish him. His book is a bundle of lies and fallacies. The debate when it is printed in full will make a valuable pamphlet for the sound currency clubs of the country to use. It will educate the people about it."

After the debate had run on a day or two my friend had nothing to say about it. He didn't want to talk. After four or five days he pretended that he did not know anything about it. That the whole affair was a bore and he had become tired of reading and hearing about it.

The papers that pharisaically style themselves "sound money" papers announced with great gusto the coming debate. They had been told that Harvey's book was a pack of lies and they thought of course Horr would demonstrate it. Horr did nothing of the kind. Instead of that, figures showed that all Harvey's statements were exact and that it was the so-called sound money parasites who had been lying about it. Then these same papers began suppressing reports about the debate, ridiculing the whole affair, and informing their readers that it had "petered out."

Every man was picked up, thrown down, mauled and overhauled, knocked up against the wall, struck by lightning and generally shown incompetent, Horr in this debate received that treatment.

I do not want to go into a discussion of this issue, but will simply say that nine men out of every ten in this country feel in some indescribable way and to some certain extent that something somewhere is wrong; that we are all dominated by the money power more or less; that money is a master that drives, rules and coerces us, although our spirit and better nature—our manhood—cries out against it. This is true. Few will dispute it. What Harvey and so many others suggest and see the wisdom of may not be the cure of all the ills that afflict humanity; may not be the total solution of the labor problem; but I believe that if put into practical force it will go a long way towards freeing the hands of labor.

I am against the dude who simply enjoys the usufruct of the labor of others. I am against the plutocrat, the blood sucking office-holder, the money-masters and the money-lenders. I am not against any good man, but I believe that many men have been born and reared to the contemplation of unjust rights and undue privileges and that they have set up in the world false standards. I am against all false standards. I believe that the gold supply can be manipulated and cornered—not can be, but has been for twenty years or more—until it has become a false standard. It is no longer a true measure of values, but a dictator and maker of values, a tyrant and usurper of wrong functions and privileges. Therefore I am against the gold standard. I am in favor of making our money out of a metal the supply of which cannot be so easily influenced and the value of which cannot so easily be manipulated.

Everything is a measure of value for everything else. Shoes for clothes, clothes for wheat, wheat for cotton, cotton for silver, etc. We have no infallible standard. When gold takes unto itself powers and prerogatives which it does not possess—attempts to dictate and dominate supreme upon the question of values—I am for the wiping out of the tyrannical and arbitrary false standard.

PER ORDER OF MILLIONAIRE.

Thews of steel, but a workman's cap and a ragged coat to wear.
And a splendid chance, without the cash, to breathe the Lord's fresh air;
For times are dull, and cash is short. "Per order of Millionaire."

"The earth is the Lord's, and all therein," was said when the world was young.
But a greater table never dropped from the tip of a prophet's tongue.
Or else the Lord was overreached by a gang who should be hung.

I want to stand as my neighbor stands,—free, both in fact and name;
I want a part of the heritage won by the sword and flame.

To meet my brother as man meets man, with eyes not drooped in shame.

I want a place to call my own apart from east or west,
Where I may see the ones I love of all the world the best.

Well housed and fed—where I at night may take a workman's rest.

And yet I may want till my children starve, and the wolves of hunger stare
As they press their faces against the panes and look in the room so bare.
For times are dull, and cash is short. "Per order of Millionaire."

PULFINGER, WISCONSIN.

H. J. Hughes.

Bread Winners of the Future.

BY IDA A. HARPER.

The day for the success of the uneducated man is rapidly passing away. In the pioneer age when men had literally to blaze a way through pathless forests and to convert them into meadows and fields of grain, brawn and muscle were a man's best gifts and through them alone he might hope for a full measure of prosperity. Most men started in on the same level and opportunities were fairly equal. There was very little time and money to acquire an education and very few places where it could be obtained. Many of us can remember when it was of no particular advantage to a young man in search of a situation, to say that he was a graduate of some institution of learning. There has been, however, a rapid and unmistakable evolution in this respect, during the last twenty-five or thirty years. Free public schools, the finest in the world, have been established in most parts of the union. State universities have been put on a firm and permanent foundation, the large colleges have received magnificent endowments. An education is now within reach of all children. The hardest and roughest of the pioneer days are over; we are giving more attention to the refinements of life; the complicated details of modern existence are demanding mental rather than physical powers.

It is through education that we must hope for the final solution of the labor question, or, perhaps we should say, for an intelligent comprehension of the situation. The question never will be permanently settled any more than will the other great ethical problems that have baffled mankind since people began to think. As people become more intelligent, they will demand better modes of living, higher rewards for labor, juster recognition of rights. The discontent of the present day does not mean so much a worse condition of the wage-earners as it does a higher standard of living. They are roused to ambition, and it is only when men are ambitious that they improve. Business men are beginning to understand that they get the best service from men and women who have had the discipline of an education. Henceforth the high school or college graduates will have a better chance of securing all positions except those of the lowest forms of unskilled labor.

When we have educated men in the ranks of labor, we shall have men who are prepared to study its perplexing problems in a clear, logical and thoroughly intelligent manner, without the prejudice and bigotry and narrowness that are inseparable from ignorance. They will be able, then, to face the issues with their employers, free from the serious disadvantage which an uneducated man must always suffer when coming in contact with one who is educated.

But this is only one side of the case. Employers often have to meet employers whom chance has placed in a high position. The latter are totally ignorant of economic conditions, they know nothing beyond the small horizon that bounds their own individual business; they have no conception of the ethics that should govern human relations. Employees have most to dread and least to expect from an ignorant employer.

There was a time when it was believed that the church might bring together capital and labor and adjust the differences on the basis of the brotherhood of man, but that idea has been abandoned. I place great hope in the colleges of our country. I write this in the shadow of a large university, where, for two years, I have attended the regular lectures in the departments of economics, ethics, evolution, constitutional history, etc. I have been profoundly impressed with the breadth of view, the wide research, the minute study displayed in the treatment of the social questions of the day. The discussion has been thoroughly practical; distinguished lecturers have been brought here to present every phase of these vital subjects. Every man and woman goes out from these classes full of enthusiasm and interest, and, whether occupying in the future the position of employer or employee, competent to meet the issues honestly and intelligently.

More than this: they go into hundreds of different communities, with the leaven of their knowledge and inspiration, to do missionary work of the highest and most necessary character. Many of the universities in the country are conducting similar departments, and the years to come cannot fail to show excellent results.

Let parents not make the serious mistake of neglecting to educate their children. Consider no sacrifice too great to accomplish this. It will be of infinitely more assistance to them in the future than any legacy of material things. Do not think that because you have succeeded without an education your children can do so. We are living under a new dispensation, and the educated man or woman has an immense advantage in every direction. If you want their condition to be an improvement upon yours, if you desire that they shall have a fair chance in life, do this most just and righteous thing for them—give them an education.

The Signs of the Times.

BY ELLIS B. HARRIS.

The signs of the times point to a coming crisis in the affairs of this government and many predict a bloody ending of the oppression of the poor by the rich. True it is that the condition of the toilers in this country has never reached such a degree of poverty and degradation as exists to-day, nor has the world ever seen such concentrations of wealth into the hands of the few or felt its powerful and degrading influences as at present, since the beginning of time. Mammon has the throne; he is king and a ruler to whom all other kings are as mere subjects. Our halls of state, courts, churches, great newspapers, and even our national government look up to and bow down to this great monarch. Dazzled and blinded by the brilliancy of his gorgeous robes and golden crown, Christ, honor, manhood, womanhood and childhood are forgotten, as men and women move under the hypnotic influences of the magic sceptre of King Money. Principles are lost sight of and left behind, when these selfish ones kneel at the foot of the throne in subjection and ready to do the bidding of the money power, whether it be oppression, robbery or murder.

These worshippers of Mammon are always hungry, always thirsty, and their cry is "Give! give!" They take the bread from the mouths of our babes, they squeeze the tears and heart's blood from our wives, mothers and sisters, yet they are not satisfied; still their cry is "Give! give!" and our little ones are forced into the mines and factories, and our women compelled to sell themselves in the open market places that they and those dear to them may not die of starvation.

What is the remedy?

Can labor win emancipation by the ballot, or must it be won by the bullet and the bayonet?

If the toilers fall through the former method, will they adopt the latter way of wiping out the monstrous wrongs that now oppress them, wrongs that are daily growing worse and only give the choice of slavery or starvation? I do not doubt it. Men in a position to see and hear these things, know that relief must come and come quickly if we would escape the danger that threatens our people.

Starving labor stands with her children to-day in sight of the abundance that they have gathered and of which idlers have robbed them. Between her and the necessities of life stand the few thousand thieves that claim it all for their own, while behind her stand her millions of men, women and children, in their rags, with gaunt and hollow faces. Before her are the mansions of splendor, erected by her toiling sons, that speak of luxuries, warmth and comfort. All around her are the hovels of the workers, made barren by the extravagance of the drones, who consume the honey and leave the empty comb, places that speak of humiliation, hopeless poverty and mad despair.

In full view are the white sails of her ships, builded by her children, laden with the cargoes produced by their calloused hands, that would, if in their possession, bring relief from cold and hunger, that would brighten the poor pale faces, make full the emaciated bodies, bring the glad light of happiness to the eye, sunshine to the heart and merry laughter to the hard drawn lips. Just a little way ahead are the meadows with their golden sheaves of wheat, the vineyards with their purple grapes, the orchards with their rich and luscious fruits—just a few steps to plenty, health and happiness, while now they linger on amidst poverty, disease and death.

Now and then is heard the crack of a revolver as some poor brother gives up in despair. Now and then the dripping form of some poor sister is taken from the waters where her tired soul had sought release.

For years Labor has tried to lead her children o'er stony paths, but peaceful ways from bondage. For years she has tried to teach them to think and vote right. She has chosen her champions and pointed the way, but many of the chosen ones have proven faithless, for they fell and worshipped at the feet of Mammon. Labor and her starving children were forgotten as soon as those traitors had tasted of the pleasures held

out to them by her enemies, while those who doubtless would have proven true, if given the votes of the people, are, because of their very honesty and freedom from guile, turned down by the men whom they seek to liberate. Labor through suffering, patience, and perseverance educates a thousand to vote right while a hundred thousand move in from distant shores to do the bidding of her foes. Is it any wonder that there is revolutionary talk? Would it surprise you if at last patience should cease to be a virtue and Labor with flashing eye and drawn sword should turn to her suffering millions and command them to move forward? Would you blame her? Would you still plead for mercy for the few thousands that confront them, the soulless, heartless and heedless, that drive the millions to hunger, rags, degradation and death, that they, the few, may live in luxury, idleness and debauchery? Are the luxuries and pleasures of these drones always to be considered and the necessities and hardships of these toilers to be disregarded. Do you think these conditions are exaggerated? If you do, then you are blind and deaf, or too wrapped up in self to know, or care to know the circumstances in which your neighbors exist.

There is suffering, poverty and death all over this liberty-loving country and the quicker the blind see and the deaf hear the better it will be for all, and especially for themselves.

Christ has said: "Those that are not with me are against me." Take this lesson to heart and heed it well, for in order to be with Him you must be with His people and they are not the rich. Unfortunately we are not told these truths by our so-called teachers of religion to-day, at least but by a very few of them, and in this they conform with the methods of their predecessors of whom Matthew says, chap. ix—35, 36, 37, 38: "And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues and preaching the gospel of the kingdom and healing every sickness and every disease among the people."

"But when he saw the multitudes, he was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd."

"Then saith he unto his disciples, the harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few."

"Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth laborers into his harvest."

Now, as then, the harvest is truly plenteous, but the laborers are few. The church has not been loyal to the cause of labor, for there as elsewhere money has become an object of worship instead of Christ, and our priests and ministers, with but few exceptions, stand ever ready to uphold the cruelties of the master and condemn the protest of the slave. Lincoln, also met with this opposition of the church, until it was compelled by the irresistible sweep of public sentiment to fall in line of battle, and go forward with the mighty tide. Instead of being a leader of men in all that is right and just as Christ intended it should be, it is a very slow follower and like a giant elephant it takes a great many prods to compel it to do even that.

Just before Mr. Lincoln's election, November, 1860, Mr. Bateman was state superintendent of public schools, and occupied an office near the apartment surrendered to Lincoln during the campaign. The Republican committee had made a careful canvass of the city of Springfield showing how nearly every man was to vote at the presidential election. Lincoln scanned the list of Springfield clergymen and with a sad face said, that of the twenty, all but three were against him, and that very many of the members of the churches of these clergymen were also arrayed on that side.

"I am not a Christian," he said. "God knows I would be one, but I have carefully read the Bible and do not so understand this book," and here he drew a New Testament from his bosom.

"These men well know," he continued, "that I am for freedom in the territories, freedom everywhere, as far as the constitution and the laws will permit, and that my opponents are for slavery. They know this, and yet with this book in their hands, in the light of which human knowledge can not live for a moment, they are going to vote against me. I do not understand it at all."

Here his voice was choked with emotion, and he rose and walked about the room until he regained his self-possession. Then, with his face wet with tears, he said:

"I know that there is a God, and that He hates injustice and slavery. I see the storm coming and I know His hand is in it. If He has a place and work for me, and I think he has, I am ready. I am nothing, but truth is everything. I know that I am right because I know that liberty is right, for Christ teaches it, and Christ is God. I have told them that a house divided against itself can not stand, and Christ and reason say the same thing, and they will find it so. Douglas doesn't care whether slavery is voted up or down, but God cares, and humanity cares, and I care, and with God's help I shall not fail. I may not see the end, but it will come, and I shall be vindicated, and these men will find that they have not read their Bibles aright."

Then after a little thought he said:

"Doesn't it appear strange that men can ignore the moral aspects of this contest? A revelation could not make it plainer to me that slavery or this government must be destroyed. The future would be something awful, as I take it, but for this rock on which I stand (alluding to the testament which he held in his hand), especially with the knowledge of how these ministers are going to vote. It seems as if God had borne with this thing until the very teachers of religion have come to defend it from the Bible and to claim for it a divine sanction, and now the cup of iniquity is full and the vials of wrath will be poured out."

So Abraham Lincoln said then. We know now that he spoke the truth. Now as then we have those so-called disciples of Christ who fail to read their Bibles aright. How long will it take for the cup of iniquity to fill again and for the vials of wrath to be poured out?

Let us hope that before that time comes the cup will be broken by a unification of God's toiling millions into a brotherhood that will by its votes bring about a peaceful revolution. Let us hope that the ministers will soon read their Bibles aright, and throw their influence on the side of the poor, for whom the gentle Nazarene gave His life on the cross. In this way let us work for a bloodless finale to the oppression that now crushes the spirit of manhood and womanhood, that robs our little ones of their childhood, and makes of earth a hades. If we do not, then God will surely take the work from our hands, and bitter retribution will follow.

"O, friends, be men; so act that none may feel ashamed to meet the eyes of other men; Think each one of his children and his wife, His home, his parents, living yet or dead. For them the absent ones I supplicate And bid you rally here and soon to fly."

Thoughts on Current Topics.

BY J. R. ARMSTRONG.

Poverty is the direct result of oppression no matter what point of view we may take. Clerical gabblers, apologists and old hen wives, who uplift their ten digits in spectacled horror declare that poverty is the result of personal extravagance, incontinence or business indiscretion. By a systematic course of physical, intellectual and moral starvation, these semi-animated automatons have accumulated a little bank account, which they worship with the frenzy of Mahometan fanatics, and because they have managed to survive their self-inflicted crucifixion, they think others ought to go and do likewise. Life to these wrinkled and perverted freaks that doze away their spare moments in moonshine and maledictions, is really not self-conscious but a sort of mental hybernation that crumbles to an end and many of these creatures die long before they cease to breathe. Extravagance forsooth! What is the matter with Mr. Vanderbilt's \$200,000 house and Mrs. Vanderbilt's \$500,000 crown? This is extravagance, notorious, inexcusable, cold-blooded, murderous extravagance, because every dollar of this money has been wrung from the life's blood of the nation. To live respectably it has been shown by one who is informed, that no less a salary than \$250,000 a year is necessary to keep up appearances and meet the pressing demands of a high and classical civilization like ours.

When we compare \$25,000 per annum with the "widow's mite" of a mechanic's income, amounting to seldom more than 92 cents a day, we are forcibly impressed with the low degree of industrialists, as compared with the aristocratic high-born class. Pushed like sardines into a box, the mechanic's "brats" and wife occupy their time, while he is wrestling years of his life from himself and the ones he holds dear, in his awful efforts to keep his responsibilities alive. Entering, every day of his working capacity, an arena where every fiber of his body is strained to its utmost tension, in the production of luxuries and necessities, not for himself, but for those who loll on velvet cushioned chairs and whose life dreams are peopled with every conceivable kind of bliss. Yet, this hunch-backed creature, whose magic touch transforms the shapeless ore into the magnificent and pulsing locomotive and the sublime corliss, is slandered because he cannot keep up a sanctimonious appearance, pay his debts and be happy on less than what it costs to feed Mrs. Aster's pig. Ah! ye haggard and soulless cripples that hobble down life's pathway, your ideas of life and justice could be recorded on the surface of a pea. Extravagance! for men to utilize only one per cent. of what they earn and give the other ninety-nine per cent. simply for the privilege of earning the one per cent. The long-fingered miser, that takes short breaths to save his heart beats, and lives on bone food to save the jingle, is the most extravagant of men, because he absolutely destroys the only real wealth in the world—human progression. Likewise the doll, glittering with gems, who pouts at common things, she and her lord little realize what an awful amount of human suffering their frivolous extravagance costs, and care less perhaps, than the miser.

"Give it but size, and the worst of lies May float about the world forever."

We are feeding on falsehoods from the soles of our feet to the crowns of our heads. Invited into the world and

cursed for staying, if perchance our minds become imbued with justice, but, if otherwise, our presence is desired. How shall we get rid of reformers? Is the cry of every swaggering buccaneer that carries more nerves of pleasures at the pit of his stomach than would circle the globe. How shall we stifle the cry of the exploited, without arousing the inquisitorial eye of the thinker? Our safety is in ignorance and falsehoods and woe betide us, if our supplies give out. The newspaper must keep up the cry of sectionalism, individualism or anything that will effectually divert the attention of the voting cattle while we wring the life and soul out of them. Our property must be protected—it is more sacred than the dinner-pail brigade. We can duplicate the latter but not the former, the working people are too intelligent to permit us to steal any more railroads, town-sites, and water-rights. Valuable franchises are not begging for takers these degenerate times. We must secretly centralize our forces, and not hesitate to do anything that will preserve our estates intact and make our lives tolerable. More lies must be invented and our best liars must be encouraged in their work by increase of salary. Spies and traitors must be hired to break up the infernal spirit of socialism by causing internal dissensions, bickerings and division.

We must demand a strong central government, with a standing army of one-half million of men, well equipped, drilled and ready at a moment's notice to wipe out of existence the proletariat, especially those who have become aware of our fraudulence and trickery. That is about the fac simile of a plutocrat's wish. After drawing the very industrial marrow out of the working people by a systematic and barefaced scheme of plunder, these cruel eyed and flint hearted conspirators want to make their possessions safe by murdering the original and rightful owners. One glimpse at the United States census report will show how wealth is centralizing from the producers to the non-producers.

	The Wealth of the Nation netted.	Workers' Share, Per cent.	Non-producers' Share, Per cent.
1850 . . .	\$8,000,000,000	62½	37½
1860 . . .	16,000,000,000	43	56½
1870 . . .	30,000,000,000	32	67½
1880 . . .	48,000,000,000	24	76
1890 . . .	61,000,000,000	17	83

During the last four years the process of confiscation has been more rapid than at any previous time, owing largely to the consolidations of capital in the monopoly of public necessities, such as money, iron, coal, sugar, lumber, flour, petroleum, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, land, etc., and particularly the government.

Perhaps nowhere on this planet is the power of plutocracy so wide spread and gigantic as in this great republic. The wealthiest man in England, the Duke of Westminster, is only worth about \$35,000,000, and his wealth is an entailed estate hundreds of years old. Yet our Carnegies, Huntingtons, Goulds and Flaglers numbering several hundred, have within one or two decades surpassed even the great Duke of England in amassing unearned wealth.

How will this centralization end? Is the great question of the hour. In a recent copy of the *New York Herald* we find in an editorial these words: "Our people please themselves (with the fancy that they are free, because they have a right to meddle a little with politics now and then. In conventions they chatter like crows and jays over the eternal principle of freedom. Meanwhile, the great economic facts of life—the facts which are, and always were, the really shaping and controlling forces in the political destinies of a people, sweep rapidly and certainly forward on lines that indicate the will and movement of a despotic spirit. In that movement a great collision with the popular will is in preparation." What are those economic facts? They can be epitomized in two words: Corporate exactions. The restriction of money by a private interest, to only ten per cent. of a reasonable and necessary volume, has practically confiscated ninety per cent. per annum of the aggregate wealth of the nation, for at least the last decade, into the hands and coffers of a few individuals. And as the editorial states: "This process is sweeping rapidly forward, indicating the will and movement of a despotic spirit." No one can doubt what the end will be, if this terrific and outrageous plundering continues, and we have every reason to believe it will, until a collision with the popular will transpires. Then what? In the sublime interrogation of Carlyle I will say: "Hast thou considered how each man's heart is tremulously responsive to the hearts of all men; hast thou noted how omnipotent is the very sound of many men? how their shriek of indignation palsies the very soul, their howl of contumely withers with unfelt pang?"

When the human mud-sills cease to bear this great crushing superstructure of imposition, their shriek of indignation may perhaps pale the soul of plutocracy and it is to be hoped, by that time, the common herd will have learned how to establish a co-operative commonwealth that the race may not be plunged

again into social and political retrogression. Many bright minded men believe in the present struggle for ascendancy, in the acquisition of wealth, and twist their faces awry at the mention of any other process. Yet however well they may stifle their convictions and believe what is right, or the law of the strong was never yet wrong, the trend of mankind cannot possibly be swayed from the inevitable collision between them and man made law which authorizes private property in public necessities. Fancy! the earth parcelled up between a few high-titled upstarts whose only claim of ownership is based on a piece of moth-eaten paper and the balance of mankind disinherited! Nothing can justify wrong! no matter what source of legalizing is used. Nothing can establish perpetual land tenure but oppression and ignorance. The present evils of monopoly are only tolerated because the people are not aware of their existence.

Knowledge is a wondrous power and mightier than the wind;
And thrones shall fall and robbers bow before the might of mind.

Universal knowledge of right and wrong will be the resurrection and the life of the human race from the dark and sepulchral shadows of the present deep and damning outrages whose only foundation is paper, ink and bayonets.

The True Interest of Labor.

BY HENRY WOOD.

In responding to the kind invitation to contribute a brief paper for the Labor Day edition of the *Times* we may hint at a phase of the "labor problem" which is a little unusual to a majority of its readers. When side-lights and varying aspects of any question are presented, they often aid in the evolution of the underlying truth. Specific events upon the surface of affairs are mainly valuable only as pointers to inherent universal principles. However much any one may differ from the following suggestions, they are prompted by a sincere interest in the welfare and progress of manual workmen.

Let us first note that dissension rather prevents than hastens the equitable settlement of any question. Although it may superficially seem otherwise, the great majority of people want to find the truth, and for this end an appeal to their calm judgment is far more powerful than active antagonism. Space will only permit the presentation of a single general principle. This may be called the law of oneness. No class, trade or section can receive its highest good except it be enclosed within the general good. This law has no exception. Human society is a greater unit, and when the attempt is made to split it up into warring factions, all suffer.

There may be differences between personalities, but capital and labor are impersonal. They are always both good and interdependent. They form two sides of one whole, and each is weak and incomplete without the co-operation of its counterpart. In an evolution towards higher conditions, frictions are educational. They include a process of self-refinement which always tends towards higher adjustment.

Wrongs, wherever located, bring their penalties after them, and they tend to self-destruction whether in employer or employee. Strikes, even when the point at issue is gained, usually bring losses to the general community in which all factions directly or indirectly share. No law in nature is surer. Wages are a self-adjusting relation in the long run. Any arbitrary regulation would do away with all freedom.

Were it possible, by universal combination, to advance wages 50 per cent. every thing needed would cost 50 per cent. more, so that the workman would have no larger surplus at the end of the year than before. Everything is tied together and cannot be dismembered.

Quality of product and attracted demand, in the long run, must make prices. If regulated arbitrarily or coercively, reaction follows as sure as the tides. "Good times," or prosperity and good wages are the natural sequence of law, order and peaceful conditions, and disturbance always has the reverse tendency.

The aim of every workman—even viewed solely from the standpoint of self-interest—should be to increase the quality and quantity of his production. He should develop himself as a man, so that he may respect himself. He has all the elements of advancement within him and he cannot afford to be leveled down to the standard of his inferiors. Labor organizations are good, provided they can steer clear of abuses.

It may be claimed that opportunities are not equal, but opportunities are made, and do not grow. As a rule the most successful men start with the smallest stock of them. The road to something better is the present work well done.

Some will doubtless think that the above suggestions are old worn-out platitudes, but the fact is that they are eternally true.

Jno. D. Rockefeller recently lost \$1,000,000, if he could lose 150 millions he would have some sort of a chance of getting into heaven.

The question is still unanswered, how much of Choate \$2,000,000 did Shivas receive for his change of front?

DON'T YOU FORGET IT.

Our order, boys, has come to stay,
And don't you forget it.
It's coming grandly every day,
And don't you forget it.
Fling your banners high,
Victory's goal is nigh,
We'll reach it if we try,
And don't you forget it.
Our lodge fires are blazing high,
And don't you forget it.
They burn like stars in Labor's sky,
And don't you forget it.
Marching by their light,
For our homes we fight,
For God and the right,
And don't you forget it.
We confront a cruel foe,
And don't you forget it.
We will give them blow for blow,
And don't you forget it.
Our comrades slain,
Bleeding on the plain,
We'll fight and fight again,
And don't you forget it.
To our aid labor is coming,
And don't you forget it.
Even now our foes are running,
And don't you forget it.
Hear the ringing call,
"Bastille walls shall fall,
Liberty's the right of all,"
And don't you forget it.

Tom Templeton.

A New Declaration.

BY JOHN M'BRIDE.

The declaration of independence on the part of the United States defined the intention of those who drafted and those who signed it, just as the constitution, afterward adopted, reflected their hopes and aspirations. Both of these documents were worded in a manner well calculated to inspire confidence and create enthusiasm among a people the great majority of whom had felt the weight of oppression's heavy hand in their European homes and sought disenthralment and freedom in the new country.

The founders of this government intended, through the instrumentality of a national constitution, to form a more perfect union among themselves, to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure to themselves and to posterity the blessings of government which would yield the greatest individual liberty consistent with public good.

The founders of our government recognized that labor produced all wealth, and upon its liberty and prosperity must rest the government's structure. They started right, but soon went wrong. They apparently forgot that, in accordance with their own declarations, the right of the individual should have ceased whenever and wherever the collective interests of the people began or demanded it.

Collective interests have suffered and individual interests have been advanced by reason of the perversion of government.

There is not a perfect union of our people; justice has not been established; domestic tranquility is unknown in the sense intended; there is no government defense of the poor against centralized wealth and corporate greed, while governmental interest in the general welfare is measured by its results in producing millionaires and paupers, misery and crime.

We know that existing conditions injure labor. Then why specify? It is enough to know that labor has been and is being wronged not so much by the superior mental calibre and brilliant generalship of capitalists as it has by reason of its own criminal neglect and suicidal indifference.

If neglect and indifference have allowed capital to place its halter around labor's neck, we must not expect to remove it by hissing whining, nor by sitting down and waiting "Micawber like" for a supposedly kind providence to interfere and prevent ultimate ruin and disaster.

Knowing as do the working people that our social, industrial and governmental systems are "out of joint," and possessed as they are with the power to mend them, why have they suffered the evil to continue? There can be but one answer. It is because of the malevolence and bull dog tenacity which characterizes the leaders of labor's forces in holding to the belief that each of them know better than does the other fellow the kind and character of a remedy to apply to labor's wrongs, and so change conditions that the land will soon be turned into an earthly paradise and the people live on milk and honey.

Unfortunately, our labor leaders in the past and present have either been satisfied to continue tramping along the old worn-out lines of their fathers, or preferred chasing theoretical shadows to catching hold of a substantial substance, if in doing the latter they were required to allow some pet hobby to escape them.

Labor will continue being robbed and wronged until its leaders get together and map out a political economic line of campaign, and this can only be done by discarding individual theories of government and crystallizing into a platform such things as are not only needed, but practicable and within the reach of the present generation.

Officers and members of labor organizations may not agree upon the merits of populism, individualism, socialism or any other ism, but all men of sense in the labor movement understand that it would be an easy matter to agree upon a plan of action, at once co-operative and political, to take from the federal and other courts powers which they have arrogated but which were never delegated to them; to agree upon a method

for shortening the hours of labor to eight per day or less and thus afford a more equitable distribution of work and wages, thus enhancing the value of both. These and many other things upon which we do not differ should be the basis of organized labor's work in the near future, and to time and its educational evolutionary process should be left the deeper and more complex theoretical questions of government.

Upon such a basis labor's forces could be speedily organized and beneficial results early obtained, and success along this line would educate members as to the power and influence possessed, encourage and spur them on to greater tasks in ameliorating labor's conditions.

We need a new declaration of rights and independence, and we need a closer compact between our organized forces before our national and state constitutions can be made that bulwark of protection and safety to all our people, as originally intended by the founders of our government.

One Year After—Some Reflections.

BY REV. W. H. CAWARDINE.

Who will ever forget the great Pullman strike of 1894? Some will soon forget it. Indeed, in my travels this summer I have met some who have already almost forgotten it. As for me, I will never forget it. It proved to be the event of my life. How glad I am that I was pastor of the Methodist church in Pullman at that time. And how glad I am that I "spoke out"—gave vent to the convictions that were in my soul concerning the injustice of that corporation's unmerciful dealings with its employees. Like Byron, "I awoke one morning to find myself famous." Circumstances sometimes bring opportunities to men which in their quieter moments they scarcely dream of. The happenings of years are compressed into days. The experiences that come to us in a lifetime were crowded into a few short weeks. Ideas that were crude, facts half digested, principles partially advocated, became by a practical contact with real life, in the very center of a great conflict, clear, comprehensible and indelibly wrought into the very fabric of your being. Thus it was with me.

And now as I look back over last summer, with all its excitement, its daily discussions, its appeals to one's sympathy, its indignation at the unjust criticisms, innuendoes, slurs and terrific denunciations from a partisan press, the utter indifference displayed by many men of my own calling to the needs of the hour, and many of the terrible events connected with the conflict, I am fairly amazed at it all.

But what did the great strike accomplish?

Among other things, it taught the Pullman company and its non-arbitrating president a lesson that they and he will never forget. Never again will the conditions be quite as hard in Pullman as before the strike. Already the rents have been reduced in a portion of the town; some of the objectionable foremen have been removed; the employees are not now compelled as heretofore to live in the company's houses; and while the force has been reduced, still the aggregate hours of employment have increased, and the men are generally treated with a little more respect than preceding the strike.

Another object accomplished is that the Pullman system has been shown up to the country at large in its true colors. Its deficiencies as well as its beauties have been well defined. The world sees the Pullman picture as it really is, and not as it was imagined to be. Instead of being a veritable workingman's paradise—a haven of refuge to the mechanic, a Garden of Eden to the laborer—a quasi-philanthropic institution, founded upon "the basis of 'mutual recognition' between employer and employee"—the world knows it to day in its true light—a cold-blooded, hard-pain financial scheme, beautiful and charming as an iceberg.

Another object accomplished is that organized capital and great corporations will in the future hesitate before arbitrarily refusing to consider the claims of their employees. No great corporation can afford to endure the strain through which the Pullman company and the railroads passed last summer. And furthermore, organized labor will hesitate long before resorting to the ultimatum of a "sympathetic strike" and "boycott" of the inter-commercial system of the country.

Another end gained is the intense and widespread interest manifested in the industrial, economic and social questions of the day. Never was the condition of the workingman and the relation between labor and capital discussed as at present. It has even come to pass that in our theological seminaries and colleges chairs of sociology and kindred topics are being established, and our preachers are studying the living issues of the day, and the wants of humanity for this world, as well as the life beyond.

Furthermore, I believe that legislation in favor of labor's best interests will receive greater recognition than in the past. It is true, as indicated in a remarkable letter given to the public by Governor Altgeld, of Illinois, that the legislation and court decisions of the past have been apparently against the

laborer and in favor of the capitalist; but along that line the future is bright with promise.

The greatest curse to the laboring man of this country is the drink habit. Intemperance and improvidence are his greatest foes. Next to that is his lack of political independence. How long will the workingman be the tool of selfish politicians? When will the workingman learn to vote in his own interests? Votes, not bullets, are what count in this country. Let the labor organizations of this country cease their strifes and bickerings; let the workmen of America cease their jealousies, choose from among their number honest and conservative men as leaders, stand by those leaders to the end; let them guard with eternal vigilance against violence and mob rule in their contest with corporate greed, and above all let them be thoroughly American and loyal to American ideas and interests, and all will yet be well. I believe in the laboring man; I wish he would believe in himself.

Boomerang Law.

BY HENRY D. LLOYD.

It is now universally admitted by students of history and politics that if England had been victorious in the war of independence she would have lost her liberties in keeping her colonies. Geo. III. did not know much, but he knew that the principles of no taxation without representation and of local self-government would have to be yielded in England if yielded in America, and he fought with the desperation of a giant who felt that the very foundations of his throne were in danger. The reform bill of 1832 and all the reform bills that have followed were the victories the English people gathered from their defeat at Yorktown. In that particular and to that extent the English people escaped the greatest peril that can threaten the prosperity or the liberties of a nation. History proves nothing if not that no people can safely hold another people in subjection.

The longer the denial of the rights of the negroes continued the more arbitrary grew the repression of the rights of blacks and whites, north and south. Had slavery not been abolished, the reign of terror which it brought to the south would have become chronic in the north, as well, and the slave market quotations would have become a regular accompaniment of the stock and produce market report. The southern master was emancipated by the same proclamation that set free his slaves, and not the southern master alone, but his northern brother, too.

But as if so simple a lesson could not be learned by the people except by ceaseless iteration and reiteration as children learn, we of America are again entering upon this fatal policy of holding another people in subjection. In every nation, says Plato, there are two nations—the rich and the poor—the line of divergence between these two nations can no longer be blinked at as invisible in this country. Our forefathers had as their deepest hope and purpose to found a state which should always continue free from social inequality. But that hope has already gone. Inequality (as the almost immeasurable inequality between the syndicate millionaire and the unemployed and the strikers) has become an established institution, and, as in the spirit of institutions, demands the help of all other institutions, the church, army and navy, the schools and colleges to maintain it. The subjection of the poor to the rich, which is to say of the wage-worker to the capitalist, of the farmer to all the monopolies, can be maintained only as subjection always has been maintained; that is by taking away the equal rights of the subject class. This process of subjugation is already far along. Already we have two clearly distinct administrations of law in America. One for the rich, one for the poor. Debs and his associates are in jail on the unsupported, because untrue, charge that they did certain acts. For merely being accused of these acts they have been deprived of property and liberty, and are each day shut out from the free sun, deprived of an irrecoverable part of life itself, and yet such acts are the daily routine of the capitalist class. The strike, the boycott, obstruction of interstate commerce, violation of the law, even violence, all these before our eyes are indulged in as a matter of course by the big heads of our industrial puddle.

This or that trust can "strike" against the public by raising the price of a necessary of life, or "strike" against its employees by reducing their wages or increasing their hours; the trusts can stop work en masse by "shutting down" to create scarcity; the railroads can boycott each other, and boycott workmen who have dared join a union; they can obstruct interstate commerce by refusing to operate their lines in order to goad the public into coercing their employees, by military force, into doing compulsory labor; they can violate the interstate commerce law; they can give passes, and rebates, and defy the decisions of the interstate commerce commission; they can burn down and blow up their competitor—and the law has no arm to lift against them. The law puts its sheltering arms around them, and the property they have acquired by these means, holds them safe, and transmits it unimpaired to their successors. In the same spirit in which the juris-

prudence of slavery forbade the slaves to read or assemble, or travel, or defend themselves, the jurisprudence of capitalism is busy contriving doctrines to take away the rights of the poor—the working people—to free speech, free assembly, trial by jury, the presumption of innocence until proved guilty; freedom to work or not to work, and the other safeguards of civic and social liberty. The new tyranny is not so stupid or clumsy as to pass laws against free speech or trial by jury, or the right of meeting. But it sends its police to break up meetings of workmen; and its judges kill free speech by deciding that a speaker is responsible for the bad use a fool or a knave may make of his utterances, and that violence is a necessary consequence of a strike, so that he who advises a strike advises any violence that may come with it. Trial by jury can be taken away by judges' injunctions without any help from the lobby and the legislature.

Our administration of law, in parallel columns, forbids the combination of workmen and permits the combination of employers. This awkward contradiction does not need to appear in our statute books. It is created by the subtler and more irresistible legislation of judges and attorney generals. All this is boomerang law. The middle classes of America, who are helping a few thousand plutocrats to take away the working people's rights are establishing the mischievous precedent by which, when the time comes, their own rights will be forfeited.

It is the labor orator, to-day, who is jailed or hanged. It will be the magazine writer or middle class author who will feel, to-morrow, the lariat of the law of constructive responsibility. The farmer and middle classes of the cities are cheering on the lawyer and prosecuting attorney, who are tying down the struggling Samsons of labor. They will find themselves, later, caught in the same noose. No people ever held another in subjection without losing its own rights. This is as true of the relations of classes as of nations. Our middle class have joined hands with the railway kings to make a subject class of the railway operatives. By so doing, the merchants, manufacturers, and farmers, have been building up these masters of transportation into the power to take away, as they are doing, every common law right of the people on the highways. The loss of their rights on the highways is only the beginning of the blows they will receive from the recoil of the boomerangs they are now throwing at the working people.

Education in the Labor Movement.

BY EVA M'DONALD-VALESKI.

Even though every town and city has its system of public schools, there is plenty of ignorance abroad in the land. The members of our labor organizations are constantly seeking for more knowledge. Many of them went into the shop or the factory so young that they obtained only a small portion of what the schools have to offer.

Even if they had the school training they would still be lacking in industrial education. For I often meet college graduates—nay, professors, who are highly cultured but know absolutely nothing about the labor question. Discussions, as well as books, are needed. The labor question is in such an unsettled condition that its progress is indicated rather than fully recited by contemporary history.

The real education must be obtained among the workers themselves. I have in mind several clubs that have been organized in various parts of the country in the past two years. They admit members of labor organizations and those in sympathy with the movement. The members hold discussions among themselves, read standard authors and also current labor literature. They invite noted people to read papers before them. If a labor leader of national reputation visits their city they hold a reception in his honor, thus enabling him to meet the brightest local people and themselves profiting by his account of the movement elsewhere. Last and not least they pay special attention to organizing new unions and elevating the standard of those already in existence.

Although the conditions of membership are easy, yet this is not a vital point, because the club is purely educational in character. It does not interfere with the practical business of the union. I find that it always includes the brightest and most progressive minds of the local labor movement and a few outsiders, whose sympathy is so genuine that they are willing to attend regular meetings and do their share of the routine work.

The clubs are somewhat on the order of the English Fabians, but the complex conditions of the movement in this country necessitates a greater variety of work and on somewhat different lines. The clubs I mention select their own topics for educational work but in the course of a year manage to cover the most important. Clubs of this sort have advantages which I wish to summarize briefly.

1. They educate union men and practically send them back to the unions as teachers.
2. They furnish good organizers to aid those who know nothing about the movement.
3. They encourage an acquaintance between the theoretical and practical reformers to the advantage of both.
4. They promote fraternal relations between local leaders.
5. They give the student an opportunity to know the movement as it actually exists.
6. Our unions are so taken up with the practical details of daily life that they have little leisure for educational work. Let them try the sort of club I have briefly described. It is so democratic that it has not even a general name, although the plan of work is similar in the different localities.

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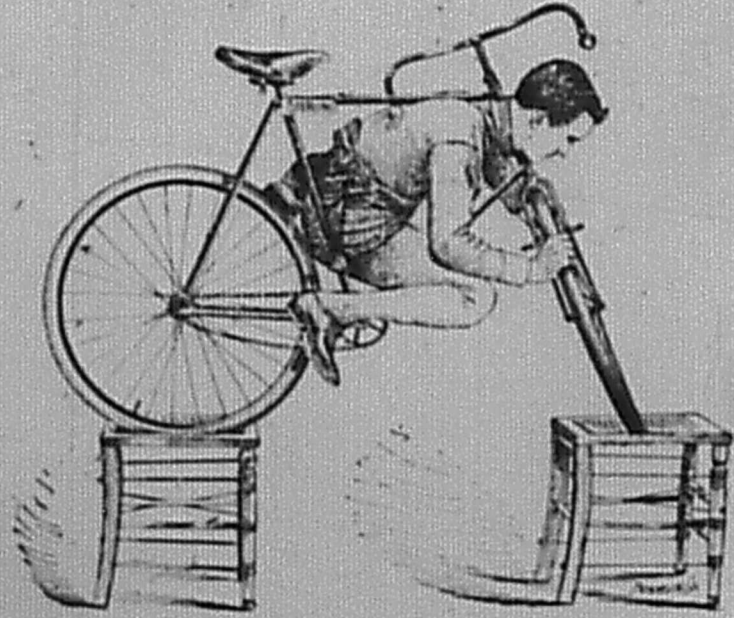
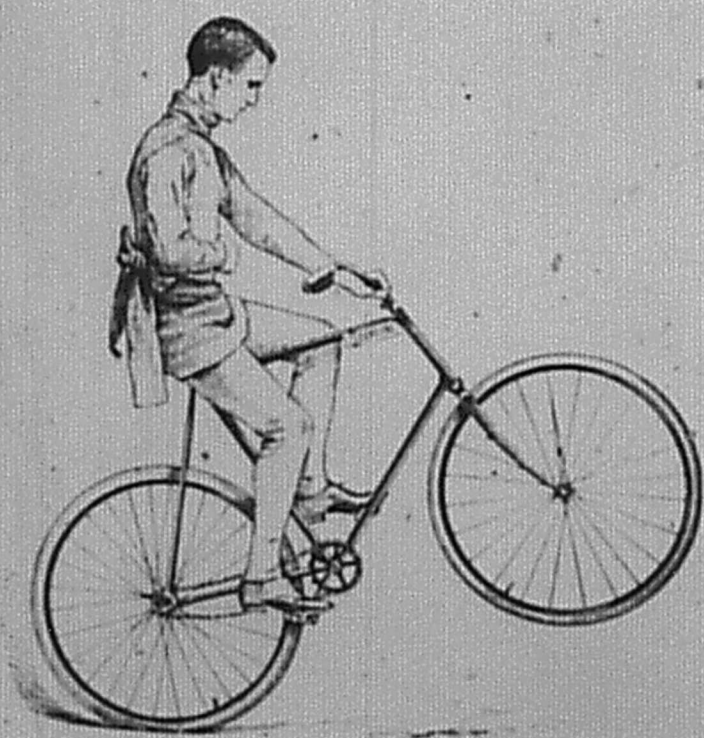
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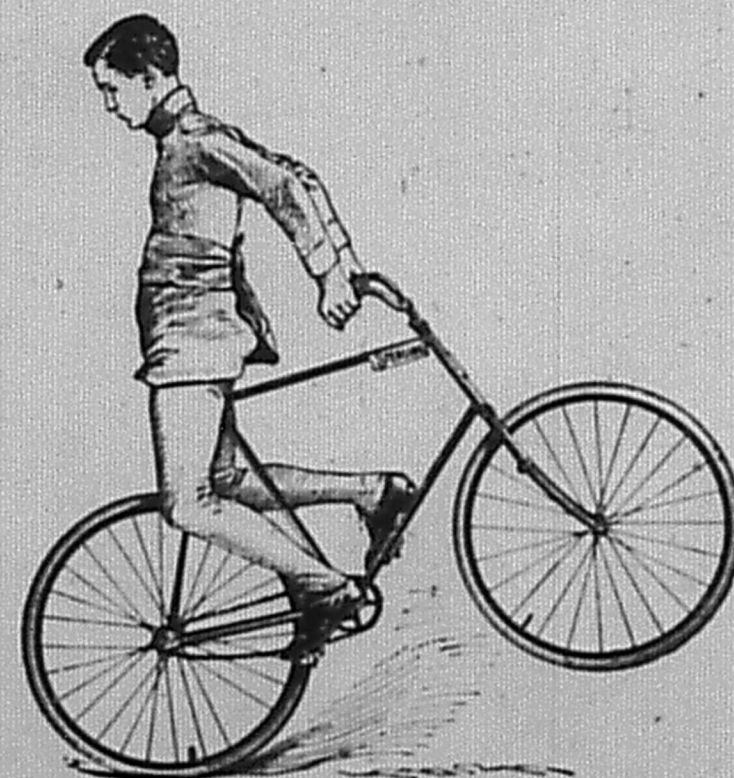
Chicago, Aug. 15th, 1894.

To the Public:

We, the undersigned, take pleasure in making the following statement:

The Sterling Cycle Co., of Chicago, gave free of charge the use of Cycle to be used by messenger during the great A. R. U. strike at Chicago, and the offer was accepted and the Sterling wheel was used from June 28th, 1894, to August 15th, 1894. This is but one of the many favors the Sterling Cycle Co. has shown Local Union No. 443, A. R. U.

Fraternally,
C. O. SHERMAN, Pres't.
CHAS. WATTS, Sec'y.



Some of the Tricks performed by ED KINGSBURY, Champion Trick Rider of the South, on a STERLING.

STERLING CYCLE WORKS,

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THE READING R. R.

THE EMPLOYEES OF THE ROAD REDUCED TO THE MOST ABJECT SLAVERY.

The Superintendents More Cruel and Domineering Than Wuerz of Andersonville.

The processes of enslavement of the employees of the Philadelphia & Reading R. R. have been in operation for years, and the lowest depths of degradation seems to have been reached at last. A correspondent of the *Reading Kick*, a paper that has the courage of conviction, tells a sad story of the utter debasement of the employees of the corporation. There is no organization, and men dare not publish over their proper names the outrages of which they are the victims. The correspondent says:

Any one who knows anything about the state of affairs in the above shops will tell you that to unlearn the wrongs to the public existing there and work for the P. & R. would simply be impossible. But since the people who work there are too cowardly to organize for protection, I adopt this as bringing their grievances to the attention of the public. Quite frequently, during dinner hour, you can see men congregating in little groups discussing the situation, some maintaining that the present superintendent's administration is worse and more tyrannical than that of a former superintendent some years ago, while others claim vice versa. I think the present most unjust of the two. One old soldier remarked the other day that our superintendent compared pretty favorably to the famous Wuerz of Andersonville prison fame. I think he was very near the mark. Just think of it—the other evening quite a lot of men were at work in the machine shop with the thermometer crawling over one hundred, when he ordered the doors closed, so that the men were penned in from 7 to 11 o'clock, while the watchman went the superintendent one better—he locked the doors and sat outside enjoying what little breeze there was. The idea! Is there any sense or feeling towards humanity in that? As to the shops on the lower side of Chestnut street, and out near the river—this latter one is locked during the day—while the foreman of the iron foundry carries the key in his pocket, while the windows are all barred like a prison.

The correspondent remarks that the public, in reading what he says of conditions is likely to inquire, "Why do these workmen allow this?" and says: This is very easily answered. You could not find a more cowardly set of people anywhere than right in the Reading shops, including bosses and all. Some of the foremen actually quake in their boots when they see the superintendent coming into their department. The bosses all day long bound and drive their men shamefully, whether they do so to carry favor or for fear of losing their jobs, I am unable to say. This goes to show how unprincipled men will become, men who are even church officials, when one man wields the lash over them and whips them into submission.

In this condition of affairs the correspondent says, the demand is for organization, and thinks no time should be lost in commencing the work. If all the employees of the P. & R. could be organized upon the principles of the American Railway Union, some hope for a redress of the wrongs complained of could be indulged, but it would be folly to hope for a betterment of conditions under any of the old systems of organization. Absolute unification of all the employees of the P. & R. would solve the problem: anything less would prove a failure and make matters worse.

INSIDE HISTORY.

A well known New Yorker told me a few days ago that it cost the New York syndicate organized for that purpose \$2,000,000 to beat the income tax law in the supreme court of the United States. This was the sum appropriated by a number of very wealthy men who were bitterly opposed to the law and desired to test its constitutionality and fight it to the end. Joseph H. Choate was selected as the general and allowed to choose his own staff and assistants.

Mr. Choate took \$250,000 as his own fee and divided up the rest of the money among about 20 eminent lawyers. Some of these lawyers were not heard of in the case at all. They merely contributed advice or briefs to the legal general. Every movement while the case was in preparation was submitted to, thoroughly discussed and passed upon by a galaxy of lawyers, whose names were not of record, and who are not known to the public as interested in the case. My informant told me that three state judges received large fees, two of New York and one of Massachusetts. They were among the most valued of Mr. Choate's eminent and costly staff.—*Washington Cor. St. Louis Republic.*

FACT AND FICTION.

Rabbi Lazarus delivered an address at Toronto before the religious congress, which includes all religions. The Rabbi charged that the church of to-day sided with the rich against the poor; with the oppressor against the oppressed; that instead of practically helping humanity it indulged in platitudes about eternal damnation and original sin. In this the Rabbi voiced a very general belief. But when the courageous Jew said that workingmen were being driven by the church into anarchy he made a maligning mistake. Anarchists disregard law and civil government while workingmen are the staunch advocates of law and are the firmest supporters of civil government in the country, and any intimation to the contrary is libelous. Nor are workingmen communists in any obnoxious sense of the term. The church is doubtless all that the Rabbi charged, but the workingmen of the United States are the hope of civil government. If it is the purpose of anarchists to overthrow the government the supreme court constitutes the alarming anarchical curse of the period.

THEM FLOWERS.

TO MY GOOD FRIEND EUGENE V. DEES.
Take a feller 'ats sick, and laid up on the shelf,
All shabby, and gaited and pore,
And all so knocked out he can't handle himself
With a stiff upper-lip any more:
Shet him up all alone in the gloom of a room,
As dark as the tomb, and as grim,
And then take and send him some roses in bloom,
And you kin have fun out o' him!

You've seed him, 'fore now, when his liver was sound,
And his appetite notched like a saw,
A chaffin' you, mebbey, for romancin' round
With a big posey bunch in yer paw.
But you ketch him, say, when his health is away,
And he's flat of his back in distress,
And then you can trot out yer little bobby
And not be insulted, I guess!

You see, its like this, what his weakness is,
Them flowers makes him think of the days
Of his innocent youth, and that mother o' his,
And the roses that she ust to raise:
So here, all alone with the roses you send,
Behn' sick and all trimbly and faint,
My eyes is—my eyes is—my eyes is—old friend,
Is a—lookin'—I'm blamed if they ain't!

James Whitcomb Riley.

A. R. U. ISMS.

How do you like our Labor Day edition?

Let A. R. U. and Victory be the watchword.

They are pouring into our ranks at Buffalo.

Send your telegrams to Woodstock jail on Labor Day.

Men may be locked up but their principles march triumphantly on.

The Pacific coast is lining up admirably. We will soon have it solid.

The rapid increase in our membership bespeaks a glorious future for our order.

The A. R. U. is spreading in the New England states. No use trying to resist it.

The A. R. U. sends out a cordial Labor Day greeting to all the hosts of organized labor.

No true member will rest until he has secured at least one subscriber for the RAILWAY TIMES.

"Bill" Irwin is now an honorary member of the A. R. U., and all the boys are proud of him.

The day of the injunction will soon end. The American people, "By the Eternal," will not stand it.

The labor exchanges are entitled to our profound gratitude. They are standing by us with unswerving fidelity.

All the signs are cleering and the hosts of the A. R. U. are keeping step to the stirring drum-beats of progress.

Putting our directors in jail has done more for the order than a hundred organizers could have done in twenty years.

On January 1st the RAILWAY TIMES will be published weekly, and twelve months later it will be a daily. We're coming.

The letters written by the grand chiefs of the old brotherhoods to the general managers' association during the great strike, and printed in their "proceedings," will make interesting reading some of these days.

Andrew Carnegie and Chauncey M. Depew sent letters of regret to the recent anniversary gathering of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers held at Pittsburg. Eminently appropriate. These prize plutocrats know who their friends are. What an eye opener for employees!

Hon. Wm. W. Erwin, the famous St. Paul lawyer who so valiantly defended the Homestead strikers and the officers of the A. R. U., has, by a unanimous vote of the Board of Directors, been made an honorary member of the American Railway Union. Bro. Erwin is for labor from crown to sole, and has fought many a battle against plutocracy. The American Railway Union is honored by his membership and welcome him to the ranks with hearty unanimity.

A special edition of one hundred thousand copies of this issue of the RAILWAY TIMES has been required to meet the demand. A single Omaha firm ordered 4,000 copies for labor day souvenirs to its patrons, and our Minneapolis union disposed of 5,000 copies. The Trade and Labor Assembly of Buffalo ordered 1,000 copies, and many other orders of from 100 to 500 copies have been received from all classes of people and from all parts of the country.

On August 22d the sentences of Directors S. Keliher, L. W. Rogers, M. J. Elliott, R. M. Goodwin, James Hogan and Wm. E. Burns for contempt of court expired, and these brothers are again in the field doing valiant service for the order. Their zeal has been whetted and their determination strengthened by their imprisonment. They are not of the stuff that crumbles when the crucial test is applied. They have staying qualities of the first order and will all be heard from.

Senator Peffer and Governor Waite speak at Tiffin, Ohio, to-day, under the auspices of the Independent Order K. of L.

EASE AND COMFORT.

The J. P. has given up going to the shore for the season. Stannard and White, of Appleton, Wis., sent him one of their swinging seats, that automatically changes to a hammock when he stretches his legs, and wakes him up for dinner when the bell rings, and he came to the conclusion that he could take more comfort at home. Stannard & White make the best cab seat extant, and sell lots of them, but they are anxious to introduce this new easy chair, for out door and in, and knowing that railroad men and their families need and



appreciate comfort as much or more than any one else, they offer in their advertisement this month to give one of these five-dollar chairs with every order for a cab seat received between July 10th and August 10th.

From personal use the J. P. declares that the saving of and prolonging of life is at least 15 per cent. by the use of the chair.

There is only one objection to the chair, and that is the necessity of buying a second one for your wife, or resorting to all kinds of underhanded tricks to get her out of it so that you can get in.—*Locomotive Engineering.*

We cordially endorse the foregoing testimonial of *Locomotive Engineering*. By the courtesy of Bro. Stannard we have one of the above described swinging seats in Woodstock jail and it has given us solid comfort during our days of confinement. Our only complaint is that we have not had more leisure to cultivate this inviting companion. For invalids this chair must be a great boon and for well persons in these days of enervating heat, it is scarcely less a benediction. For the very moderate price charged for the chair it is a great luxury and thousands will no doubt find their way to the cottage homes of workingmen. The manufacturers, Messrs. Stannard & White are both old railway employees, the former a locomotive fireman and the latter an engineer and they richly deserve the great success they are achieving in their new field of enterprise.

TO ORGANIZED LABOR WHEREVER FOUND.

OFFICE OF WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.

BUTTE, MONT., AUG. 1ST, 1895.
In the interest of the suffering miners of the Cour d'Alenes and organized labor, we deem it our duty to appeal to you in the name of suffering humanity.

Knowing as we do, the true condition of affairs between the miners and the Standard Oil Trust at Wardner, we appeal to your intelligence and duty as laboring men for assistance. The struggle for justice upon the part of the miners of the Cour d'Alenes deserves the assistance of every honest man and woman in the world.

In January, 1892, through a combination of mine owners all the mines of the district closed down throwing hundreds of men out of employment, offering to resume operation the following April at reduced wages, which the miners refused to accept.

The strike of 1892 then began which resulted in the death of three union men, the arrest of 600 of Idaho's best people and the imprisonment of 18 union men for from four to eight months, until discharged by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In 1891 an amicable settlement was effected between a majority of the mine owners and Miners' Union resulting satisfactorily to all parties concerned. The Bunker Hill and Sullivan Mining Company, at Wardner, which is controlled by the Standard Oil Trust, still held out—refusing to employ union men and "blacklisting" every man who was an active member of organized labor. They have gone still further in their dastardly attempt to crush the miners by a further reduction of their wages, \$1 per day, boasting that organized labor would never be recognized. They have the assistance of Governor McConnell in their onslaught upon the Miners' Union; he has furnished them with 200 rifles and 2,000 rounds of ammunition, arming every thug in the country to shoot down the miners upon the slightest pretext.

If men are kept away from the Cour d'Alenes the Standard Oil Trust cannot operate their mines with the detective and Pinkerton thugs that now infest the country. We appeal to you not alone for the unfortunate miners and those dear little ones that do not yet know the terrible chain of slavery that is being forged around their helpless forms; we appeal to you for the sake of organized labor and the unfortunate people of the United States who have been robbed by this viper of monopoly; it has control of President Cleveland, dominates our courts, dictates the action of Congress and buys state legislatures, thus holding the people in abject slavery. Governor McConnell is their servant, ready and willing to perform any nefarious act at their behest, in Idaho.

If every labor organization will immediately take hold of this fight and warn every man to stay away from the Cour d'Alenes, as Wardner is entirely a "scab" town working under the guard of paid assassins. Publish it to the world through your local newspapers and otherwise that the fight between the Federation of Miners and the Standard Oil Trust in the Cour d'Alenes is still on and will continue until organized labor is recognized; victory will be perched upon our banner and our rights as laboring men defended from the vicious attacks of this viper, with its hoard of tyrants such as Idaho's Governor who is stooped to barbarity by the appeals of suffering people to be relieved from the cruel oppression of those soulless corporations that are degrading the virtue and manhood of the American people to a condition unequalled in the annals of history.

Do not place this appeal on file but set to work at once and exert every effort to keep men away from the Cour d'Alenes; by so doing you will elevate labor to that grand position of placing her on an equal footing with capital, which, through the united efforts of the toiling masses she is destined to obtain.

By order of the Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners.

W. H. EDDY, Secretary. S. M. ROBERTS, President.

If reports are true, specials from Geo. M. Pullman will soon be coming over the wires from hell.

In the bench show Woods' tag reads: Sire, Coyote; dam, Skunk.

THE A. R. U.

Is in the saddle again.

It has the right of way.

The goal of success is in sight.

The A. R. U. never surrenders.

Defiance of despots is the battle cry.

We are getting there at a thundering gait.

The future is full of promise for the A. R. U.

Every labor organization cheers us to the echo.

We are not courting favors from the supreme court.

The black list and prison do no intimidate the A. R. U.

The world admires the speed and courage of the A. R. U.

The grand march of the A. R. U. is the grand march of ideas.

Look at a picture of the banyan tree. It symbolizes the A. R. U.

One hundred thousand members is the demand, and they are coming.

The A. R. U. officials are in prison cells because they wouldn't sell out.

The A. R. U. protests against killing workingmen to please plutocrats.

What right have plutocrats to make this earth a hell for workingmen?

Jesus Christ was the friend of the poor. Reverently, that's true of the A. R. U.

Woodstock prison means that the A. R. U. is an organization of dauntless courage.

The mission of the A. R. U. is to place truth on the throne and error on the scaffold.

Devils and despots are not God's chosen instruments to rule the United States of America.

"True to God, to duty, to our country and to our fellow workingmen,"—that's our motto.

The A. R. U. accepts the decree of fate, the storm and the battle, and its flag is still there.

The A. R. U. has been required to kill a million of lies. Some other power will kill the liars.

Heaven and its artillery—the voice of workingmen—are coming to the rescue of the A. R. U.

In looking for the A. R. U., you need not go to a cemetery. It's not buried out of sight, by a d—d sight.

The A. R. U. has principle, convictions and courage. Such things don't trouble the old railway organizations.

Where there is a will there is a way. The A. R. U. has got the will, and the way to victory is luminous with hope.

If workingmen are sent to prison, then by all the gods in a pile, it must be by an impartial jury and due process of law.

The more an A. R. U. man suffers, the stronger he becomes. That is what bothers cowards—they can't understand courage.

It takes the storm to make a sailor, and old Neptune must admire the tars of the A. R. U., as he sees the ship outside the billows.

It is the battle that makes the veteran, and old Mars just dances the highland fling as he sees the veterans of the A. R. U. coming into line.

"Growing" is hardly the word to express the increase in lodges and membership of the A. R. U. It is expanding, chimbing, advancing phenomenally.

Christ said, with faith as a mustard seed, men could remove mountains. The A. R. U. has got the faith, and the mountains in its pathway are moving. We got a hill out of the way on the Great Northern.

An A. R. U. man—
Loves honor.
Hates a sneak.
He has convictions.
He has courage.
He detests despots.
He would rather die than desert.
Workingmen love him.
They honor him.
They will stand by him.
An A. R. U. man is not a scab.
He is not a flea in the hair of a corporation dog.
He is not a body louse of a general manager.
He is not a dog under the corporation garbage carts.
He is a man.

A few more decisions by the supreme court in favor of the non-tax-paying wealthy classes, a few more booms and slumps in the oil trust, a few more turns at the crank by the meat trust, with no effort on the part of the government to control them, and the French revolution will seem as a skirnish beside what will happen in this country.—*Nonconformist.*

About Railroad Watches

The AMERICAN WALTHAM WATCH COMPANY

was the first and for many years the only watch manufacturing concern in the world that constructed a movement specially adapted to railroad service. All railroad watch movements of other makes are comparatively recent efforts in this direction. The inception and development are due alone to the American Waltham Watch Company.

Foremost among railroad watches is the 21-Jeweled Vanguard, placed on the market in April, 1894. This watch has become the synonym for accuracy and strength. In model and finish the Vanguard possesses a combination of advantages over all 18 size railroad movements of any other make. It has Double Roller; Safety Barrel; Compensation Balance in Recess; Raised Gold Settings; Embossed Gold Micrometric Regulator, and is Adjusted to Temperature, Isochronism and position. The Vanguard expresses the best results in modern watch making.

The first Crescent Street, a Gilt 15-Jeweled Key-Winding, was made more than a quarter of a century ago, being then the highest grade of Waltham 18 size. As the announcements of that time stated, the Crescent Street was "For Engineers, Conductors and Travelers; with Micrometric Regulator: a Great Improvement. The only full plate watch made in this country with hand setting on the back." Automatic machinery and mechanical experience have since responded to each additional requirement by those for whose purposes this movement was first constructed. The present Crescent Street is Nickel, Stem-Winding, 17-Jeweled; is officially adopted by railroad watch inspectors throughout the United States, and until the advent of the Vanguard, stood pre-eminent among railroad watches.

No other trademark is better known in any part of the world than that of Appleton, Tracy & Co. 500,000 of these watches are in daily use. This grade, which is also officially adopted as a railroad watch, contains every requisite for the most exacting service. Appleton, Tracy & Co. movements are made in both Nickel and Gilt, 17-Jeweled. At the Sydney, N. S. W., Exhibition in 1879, the Appleton, Tracy & Co. Watch received the highest awards on all points, over all competitors.

No. 35 and No. 25, first issued in 1886, are the highest grades of Waltham 18 size Nameless movements. They are 17-Jeweled and embody the features that have won for Waltham watches their distinctive leadership. The No. 35 and No. 25 movements sell upon their merits, which are more evident and acceptable to watchmakers than the fictitious value often claimed for goods of less established repute.

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