

UNORGANIZED LABOR

WORKINGMEN DEAF, DUMB AND BLIND TO THEIR OWN BEST INTERESTS.

Agitation and Education the First, Last and Only Remedies for Non-Unionists.

The non-unionist is but an indirect enemy; in withholding his aid he by so much weakens the common line of defense. Though often his acts may directly, without conscious effort, aid the enemy, he need not be a traitor to his fellow toilers. Every great movement has some object of superlative loathing; its Judas Iscariots, its Benedict Arnolds, its Pigotts, its paid spies and informers, its Pinkerton thugs—men deaf to all honor, blind to mutual interest, dead to all but the miserable cravings of their shriveled souls. In the industrial conflict the instinct of workers has significantly termed its type of this species—"scab!" Loud have been the appeals for sympathy with the workman who falls out from the line to better his condition, or relieve the distress of a starving wife and family. But to prevent just such contingencies is the mission of the union. One who is forced to the necessity of wage-labor and refuses to share the common danger, but either openly or stealthily goes over to the enemy to accept his terms, is a deserter. By his acts he has sundered the social bonds of mutual interest which united him to us, has served notice that he asks no aid, expects no sympathy, seeks no quarter. At his acted word we take him.

The time has passed for circumlocution in handling this subject. If trade unionism has a logical ground for existence, if organized resistance is preferable to slavish submission, if the social ties which unite us in mutual alliance are of higher validity than the selfish cravings of an unsocial nature, the relation between the trade union and its sycophantic enemy—the "scab"—is that existing between the patriot and the paid informer. No sentimentalism will extenuate, no olive branch will be extended; no tears will be shed over whatever misfortune befalls him, nor ought but utter loathing be felt for him. He stands forth by his own act recreant to duty, bankrupt in honor, infidel to faith, destitute of social sympathy and a self-elected target. We here but express clearly what workingmen feel in every industrial crisis, and we deliberately express it, that at all times such men be regarded as possible "informers" and traitors.

But let us hear his defense. We are told that trade unionism is an encroachment upon individual right, that the toiler, whether union or non-union, has the privilege to sell his labor as best suits himself. To this we reply:

1. The toiler does not enter the market under equal conditions.

2. Monopoly over land, the source of wealth, and over exchange, its medium of distribution, gives to the capitalist an economic advantage in the struggle.

3. The legalization of private forces upon the unprivileged the necessity of combination in order to sustain themselves.

4. The logic of events has settled the line of action; it lies neither in the prayer meeting nor in the polling booth, but in mutual accord of action and determined self-help.

Industrial combination, under such circumstances, is as necessary for the exploited toiler, as military organization for an invaded people. We are in a state of industrial war. Every appeal to legislation to do aught but undo is as futile as sending a flag of truce to the enemy for munitions of war. The growth of solidarity evidenced in wider federation, in leading to broader views of the issue, and deeper sense of mutual interrelations, can but intensify this feeling toward the "scab."

Unions having already demonstrated their power to rise above the subsistence level, where otherwise they would be, it is our duty, not only to ourselves, but to our families, to enlarge the scope of union among our fellow crafts. Our task is to be true to the need of the hour, in order to be the better fitted for the unknown needs of the struggle to-morrow. The lines are being closer drawn, and the exigencies of the situation demand concert of action, both against the combined enemy and the traitor who would betray our cause by a shot from the rear. In such a struggle for a higher civilization—a struggle forced upon us—the industrial recreant is a social traitor.

Out of conflict all progress has come. The history of the labor movement, its increasing self-reliance, its growing indifference to "labor politicians," its development of sturdy independence and manhood, all alike indicate change in its accompanying wider sympathy and extension of mutual ties, the feeling of loathing toward the "scab" has intensified.

To sum up, to assert egoism against mutual interests is unsocial, and hence a denial of the mutual basis upon which equitable relations alone can exist. Thus the "scab" is not merely unsocial, but by his acted word virtually places himself with the industrial invaders and becomes an enemy. Equal freedom cannot be strained to mean a denial of mutual interests. Social evolution is not a mere theory, but a record of facts, and no fact is more strongly brought out than that progress has resulted, only in so far as mutual interests have been recognized. We do not institute them; they compel us.—*The Carpenter.*

WRIGHT ON REVOLUTION.

Carroll D. Wright, United States labor commissioner, in an address before the American at New York Thursday, took for his subject the A. R. U. strike of last summer. His paper is worthy of comment more for his failure to reach correct conclusions and a confusion of ideas than for any valuable lesson that it contains.

As in duty bound, he claims that the strike "demonstrated to the satisfaction of the public at large the right and the power of the federal government to send troops into a state for the protection of federal interests whether that protection was or was not asked." But he failed to add that the party that was guilty of this violation of the constitution was defeated at the recent election by the largest majority ever cast against a party in the United States.

Mr. Wright goes on to state the usurpations of the United States courts, but fails to qualify them in the manner they deserve. He seems to think that their actions have established new powers in them, as he calls their gross pervasions of law and justice "epoch making."

In a mild and philosophical manner he advances the belief that the strike and its peculiar attendant features are evidences of the fact that a revolution is taking place quietly in this country. Certainly many of the actions of the President and the United States judges were revolutionary, but to make this a successful revolution would require the consent or approval of the people, and this most emphatically has not and will not be given.

Mr. Wright seems to regard the passage of the interstate commerce law as the entering wedge of the social revolution which he has discovered. He believes that the exercise of the powers of the government in behalf of the railroads was a further drive of the wedge and that the pooling law sends it pretty close into the blunt end.

When this wedge mark has been accomplished he expects to see the government of the United States control the railroads of the country by request of the conservative element, including the railroad stockholders, who, by the way, are to be paid a dividend on their stocks by the government, according to Mr. Wright.

Surely Mr. Wright cannot but have seen that his revolution, as far as it has gone, has been in an opposite direction to this. Instead of the government approaching a control of the railroads, the latter appear very completely to control the government. If he has not seen it, it is reasonable to hope that his powers of discernment are less than those of a majority of the voters of the United States.

It is only justice to Mr. Wright to say that he does not relish the spectacle that his fancy has called up. He seems to have a notion that the government should hold its hands off and let the roads run themselves as they please.

It does not seem to have occurred to him that if the government controlled the railroads it would own them, as control is the essence of ownership. It is likely enough that the government will in time own the railroads of the country, but it is safe to say that when it does its ownership will not be acquired through an agreement on the part of the government to pay dividends on all of the watered stock of the companies, that is if the people are consulted in the matter.

It will be when the bondholders and the holders of stock that has any value are willing to accept government bonds to the amount of the actual capitalization that their earnings would justify. This time could be greatly hastened by the construction of a few government railroads throughout the country, which would do business on the basis of a fair return on the actual cost of construction.

This time will come when the people grow tired of electing the hungry agents of trusts and corporations to handle the affairs of their government, and take the rod of empire into their own hands.—*Milwaukee News, Dec. 29, '94.*

Gold, as soon as the last batch of gold bug bonds were issued, began again to go to Europe, and the taxpayers may look out for another \$50,000,000 issue.

OUR ORGANIZATION.

AN ARTICLE SHOWING IN WHAT ESTIMATION THE A. R. U. IS HELD

By One of the Oldest and Most Progressive of all the Reform Press.

Few, if any, industrial organizations have made a deeper or more lasting impression on the political and current events of this country than has the American Railway Union.

It is a fighting organization, and has been brought to public notice mainly through the hard hits it has made and which in turn it has received.

It is mentioned principally now in connection with what is generally known as the "Pullman Strike," though it first attracted public notice in connection with another railroad strike in which it was said to have been more successful.

Now that the Pullman strike has been settled, so far as federal bayonets and court injunctions and trials by judges can settle it, the following brief review of the main incidents and facts pertaining to it will be of interest.

First, let us have a little about Pullman.

Years ago, a poor genius out in Colorado invented a method whereby a man could go to bed in St. Louis, sleep comfortably all night and awake next morning in Chicago. The poor fellow died, and another poor fellow, with little faculty for creating or producing but a wonderful faculty for accumulating, "accumulated" the invention and got rich out of it.

This "accumulator" of other people's property built a "model town" called Pullman; established a plant for building sleeping-cars that must have cost nearly a million dollars; organized a stock company which is worth only enough to warrant a tax of \$12,000 when the assessor comes around but pays a quarterly dividend of 2 percent. on \$30,000,000; paid a European king \$75,000 for a snob title; buys a residence on the line between a monarchy and a republic so that he can live either side of the line, as circumstances require; then sells out the greater part of his "accumulations" to European capitalists, and settles down as the ostensible owner and manager (by proxy) of a great "American" enterprise, vainly imagining that he is fooling as well as fleecing the American public.

The bankers' panic struck Chicago and threatened reduction of the usual dividends to European capitalists. Those alien shysters called Pullman's attention to the fact that Pullman employees were being paid more than was absolutely required to keep body and soul together—a thing altogether unnecessary, as was proven by reference to the manner in which European workmen thrived on a diet of black bread and beer.

Then Pullman went on a strike—said in effect to his employees: "You must give me much more of your labor for a dollar, and take it out in store truck and rentals as heretofore."

Not having President Cleveland and Fort Sheridan to help them resist this strike in the interest of alien capitalists, the American workingmen at Pullman wanted to arbitrate.

But Pullman wouldn't recognize him; he didn't move in the Pullman "set"; besides, there was "nothing to arbitrate."

And so wages went down, while rents and cost of living kept up, until there were many sad hearts and hungry mouths at Pullman.

Of course, everybody knows this is "no paternal government," but a government which allows every man to look out for himself, which allows the strong to knock down and trample upon the weak, the rich to oppress and rob the poor, and affords protection to him who is able and willing to pay for it. This isn't the Fourth of July version, but the version that is borne out by cold, hard, every-day facts. So when poor people want protection they are obliged to band themselves together in a sort of brotherhood and endeavor to resist the tyranny inflicted by millions of money and with the united action of millions of men.

The Pullman employees belonged to such a brotherhood—the American Railway Union—to whom they appealed for help to resist the strike of alien shysters made through their figure-head, "Dook" Pullman.

The A. R. U. officers made a personal and thorough investigation of the case, became convinced of the justice of the demand of the Pullman employees for arbitration, and vainly sought an interview with the artificial "Dook" for that purpose.

But the counterfeit "Dook" was far more unapproachable than the European monarch who sold him the bogus title. Sitting upon the lofty pinnacle to which the genius of a dead inventor

had elevated him, he vouchsafed simply an impatient wave of the hand and the curt remark that there was "nothing to arbitrate."

Then the officers of the sympathetic and protective brotherhood laid the facts before the membership throughout the United States and by an overwhelming vote it was agreed that members of the American Railway Union would not work for Pullman nor for any railroad company hauling the Pullman sleepers until Pullman would at least give a respectful hearing to the objections made by his employees to the merciless demand for so much more of their labor for a dollar than was before deemed just.

The strike made by Pullman is still on—the wages of the employees have not been increased, but the usual dividends of the alien stockholders are kept up.

The strike made by the Pullman employees and their sympathizing brethren was put down by Cleveland and the federal troops, and the leaders were punished as promptly as the election would permit by a barbarous method which antedates the constitution of the United States by over two hundred years—it is called "contempt of court" or "government by injunction."

The strike of the American Railway Union differed in many respects from any other strike that ever occurred.

In other strikes the leaders were not always able men, competent to conduct the affairs of their fellows; they were not always honest men, but would compromise the situation for a consideration; they were not always courageous men, but would weaken or lose their heads in trying moments. The leaders of the A. R. U. strike were able, competent, brainy, born leaders of men; they were honest and could not be bought; they were brave almost to recklessness, and could not be scared or bulldozed. They believed in the justice of their cause and struggled manfully to maintain their rights.

Though we hear most about them, the A. R. U. does not consist of affective officers, alone. The men who compose the membership, who ordered the strike, and who now are paying for it without a murmur—paying the costs of trials, the fines of leaders, the assessments for the unemployed, enduring the stigma of the "black list," the loss of property, the privations of poverty, all of which are shared in most instances by wives and children—the members, the privates of this industrial army, are not one whit behind their leaders as regards courage and self-sacrifice for the rights of their fellows. The hand that holds the throttle or whirls the brake is not the hand to lie idle when human rights are assailed, and the spirit associated with the flight of the "iron horse" over mountain and plain is not the spirit of dependence and cowardice.

With such leaders of such men it was no wonder that the strike of the American Railway Union went right to the spot, that it hurt, that it was an unbounded success up to the point where Cleveland snubbed both governor and mayor and came to the relief of the alien shysters and their tools, called railroad managers, with the army of the United States.

But one thing Debs and his associates failed to realize: That the same influence which made Cleveland haul down the American flag at Hawaii was brought to bear upon him to cause federal interference in favor of the railroads. English capitalists stand behind Pullman and the railroads, and England stands behind her capitalists, in America as in Egypt. Debs started out to fight Pullman and brought on a general engagement with the money power of the world.

The A. R. U. sought to bring about arbitration; Pullman could have ended the strike at any time by consenting to arbitrate. But the A. R. U. brought about an investigation which proved the entire justice of their demands and the greatest provocation ever men had for going on a strike.

Debs and his associates are being punished without law as they were denied a trial by jury, a right guaranteed in every criminal prosecution by the constitution of the United States.

They were tried for leading a strike and are no doubt being punished for leading Populists.

The 6th of October Debs opened the Populist campaign in Chicago with three speeches in one evening to three immense audiences. The Populist street parade, the same evening, with the Debs meetings so paralyzed the old parties that they immediately declared "all bets off" owing to the "uncertain Populist vote," and every old party daily in Chicago neglected for ten days to advance their customary knock-down, stock-in-trade argument against Populism, namely: "Senator Peffer wears long whiskers and Senator Peffer is a Populist." Later, at Tattersall's arena, where fully 15,000 Populists were enthusiastically closing the campaign, the chairman

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SOUTHERN PACIFIC.

FILLMORE MAKES HIS EMPLOYEES A NEW YEAR'S PRESENT.

Another Object Lesson showing why all Railroad Men Should be Loyal to the Company.

On January 1st Mr. Fillmore made the employees of the Southern Pacific Company a New Year's present in the shape of a reduction of wages. It is needless to say that Fillmore's generosity is not at all appreciated by the employees, especially the engineers who have suffered the most. They imagined that because they remained loyal to the company during the strike their pay would not be reduced; but to their sorrow they will soon learn that the old saying "corporations are soulless," especially as regards the S. P. Co., is as true as gospel. A majority of the engineers were in favor of helping the A. R. U. men in the late strike, but unfortunately they allowed themselves to be handled by a few men who had axes to grind, with the result that to-day they stand alone, friendless, scorned on all sides by hungry men who are out of work and have families to support. Is it any wonder these persecuted blacklisted men are filled with a spirit of revenge? How secure must the railroad officials feel now as compared with the mortal fear they formerly felt for a grievance committee of the engineers. Hereafter the engineers and conductors will have to take their medicine just like the rest of the employees. We regret very much to see the wages of any workingman reduced, but the only way to teach a child to keep away from the fire is to let it burn its fingers. Just so with the engineers and conductors. They have played with the fire and burned their fingers and will now have to bear the pain. Had they acted the part of men and not allowed a few such traitors as Jordan, Taylor and Ambrose to lead them, they would not now have been, like Wolsey, left to the mercy of their enemy, the octopus. It is said the reduction will be followed shortly by another. Had the members of the old brotherhoods realized that in union there is strength, and united under the banner of the American Railway Union, they would have escaped these reductions and have had a far stronger organization to-day. It is never too late to mend. Will they acknowledge the wrong they have done to organized labor and make what reparation they can by uniting with the A. R. U., or stand stubbornly in the way of their own advancement, listening to the alluring sophistries of the false, traitorous enemies in their midst?—*Industry.*

The crazy emperor of Germany has got a fine army and proposes to use it to kill Germans should they at any time become over restive with regard to their rights. In the reichstag, recently, the president called for three cheers for the emperor, but a number of the members kept their seats and did not cheer, and being reprimanded for their independence one of them said: "We will never be compelled to cheer for one who recently told the recruits who were taking the service oath that should circumstances arise they would be ordered, against the will of the people, to shoot their own brothers, fathers and mothers; one who is now introducing an anti-revolutionary bill which is directed against us. To cheer him would be unreconcilable with our honor and dignity." There is hope for Germany. The crazy fellow who wears a crown will not completely Russianize the country immediately.

Every Saturday, in commenting upon the report of the commission to investigate the "Pullman Strike," among other well-timed remarks, says:

Another remarkable portion of the commission's report is the vindication of the charges of conspiracy, intimidation and violence made against Eugene V. Debs, president of the A. R. U., and the placing the fault of the great strike where it properly belongs—on the General Managers' Association. This conclusion, arrived at after a lengthy session and a most thorough and impartial review of the evidence submitted, will be a bitter pill for the subsidized press of this country to swallow.

Yes, the General Managers' Association was handled without gloves, and the cause of the strike and the destruction of property was sought for, found and exposed. If the General Managers' Association feel badly, what must be the feelings of those grand chiefs of labor (?) who leaned up to that concern, like sick kittens to a warm brick?

UNITED STATES JUDGE DALLAS has evidently been reading McLeod on Stealing and Corbin on Lying, both standard works on wrecking railroads. Dallas on Equity, Ricks on Fees and Jenkins on Receivers are works which stand deservedly high in the dampness of American jurisprudence.

When the tobacco workers of the United States organize, as they contemplate doing, the quid will take on special dignity, and the plug will symbolize independence—a good thing to chew.

JOHN BURNS.

As an English or London labor leader, we do not doubt that John Burns, of London, England, is a splendid success. He is intelligent, energetic, strategic and tactical. He is a successful manager of great strikes. He is fluent of speech and has a good voice. He is devoted to the welfare of wage workers, and they are equally devoted to him. He has toiled for them, and suffered for them, and has been imprisoned because of his efforts to mitigate the wrongs they have suffered, and as a testimonial of their loyalty, they have elected him a member of the British Parliament, where he is using his influence for the enactment of just laws for the welfare of labor. And while a member of the House of Commons working men contribute from their wages a sum sufficient to give him a respectable living, because England, unlike the United States, does not pay her legislators.

Mr. Burns came to the United States to observe the workings of our labor organizations, our industrial system, or systems, our wealth, our poverty and our progress, our civilization and our legislation and our social conditions. The writer hereof had the pleasure of listening to a public address delivered by Mr. Burns after he had been in the country about three weeks. He had traveled from New York to Denver and half way back again. He thinks ours is a wonderful country, wonderful in resources, and in possibilities. And yet he predicts great calamities for our great republic in a few years if radical remedies for present conditions are not speedily applied. We are receiving the surplus population of European nations, which Mr. Burns thinks is a great misfortune. He had heard that some people are demanding a large standing army for the United States, which he regards as vicious, standing armies being a curse wherever they exist. In this, Mr. Burns speaks whereof he knows, for he has visited every country in Europe. He talks politics, and refers to our two old standard parties, Democrat and Republican, as equally objectionable, and wonders why it is that a labor party has not been organized, forgetting that the Populist party is preeminently a labor party, and at our last election polled more than 2,000,000 votes.

While in Indianapolis, John Burns met P. M. Arthur. Peter put on immense style, indicative of great wealth, but the English labor leader was not cowed in the presence of Peter the Great. On the contrary, he took his measurement with a six inch rule, and weighed him in a druggist's scale, very much to the amusement of bystanders. In the brief interview which occurred, the American Railway Union was alluded to, as reported in the Sun, as follows:

Arthur's attitude during the recent strike troubles had something to do with Mr. Burns' coolness, but at any rate the frugality of their meeting changed to warmth when the subject of the A. R. U. came up for discussion.

"I don't have anything to do with those fellows," said Arthur rather haughtily, according to a person who heard the interview. "I don't approve of their actions and, as for me, I hardly think that any one will ever see me behind the bars of a cell."

"You may have to have something to do with them," retorted Burns, "and as for going to jail it might do you some good to go behind the bars. I think Debs' cause was a good one and I mean to stick by him."

As an exhibition of giant and midget, John Burns and P. M. Arthur excel anything Barnum ever achieved. Burns, towering, colossal, grand, all heart and soul, doing and daring all things for the welfare of the oppressed poor, wearing out his life, that he may brighten the homes of the oppressed, loved and venerated by millions of his countrymen, made an associate of Gladstone in the British House of Commons, by votes of workingmen, stands, confessedly, at the head of labor leaders in all English speaking lands, while P. M. Arthur, who resembles a clothes pin, in a washerwoman's back yard astride a clothes line, hobnobbing and bowing, content to hold on to the tails of millionaire's ruffled shirts, and pocket such gains as corporations choose to bestow, supplies a contrast, such as labor never before presented, on any continent or island, since the days when the mosquito, Arthur's progenitor, wore boots. It is easy to imagine with what supreme disgust and contempt John Burns regarded P. M. Arthur. The millionaire labor lickspittle, the fawning, subservient tool of corporations, a labor toad minus the jewel in his head. We are glad John Burns visited the United States.

The funeral of the dead despot of Russia was more attractive than Buffalo Bill's "Wild West" or Barnum's "Greatest of the Earth." The Russians enjoyed it hugely. The world has a right to rejoice when an autocrat "steps down and out."

GERMANY, having concluded to embargo American beef and pork, now contemplates buying what cotton she needs elsewhere. As a result, Uncle Sam, one of these days, will retaliate, and then away goes old Santa Claus.

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TERRE HAUTE, JANUARY 15, 1895.

WHY do workmen declaim against the arrogance of plutocratic employers while tolerating, in numerous instances, a contemptible aristocracy in the ranks of labor? Let them answer who can.

THE "party" dodge which requires Mr. Cleveland to sell gold bonds every few days to the gold bugs is rich fun for the millionaire, but death to labor, which has to pay principal and interest.

BERTHA S. BOOMER, in Plowshares and Pruning Hooks, says: "If the independent American citizen exists, he is among the things invisible and awaits manifestation." The criticism is scarcely just. We can show Miss or Mrs. Boomer 100,000 A. R. U. men who are independent American citizens.

The musicians of the United States are rapidly coming into line and resolving to play union music only, That's right. Let us unionize "Yankee Doodle," the "Star Spangled Banner" and every other national air. What is wanted is more and better union music.

The union forever. Hurrah, boys; hurrah!

WHEN will civilization be so far advanced that children of tender years will be taken from factories and shops, obtain an education and lay the foundation for mature mental and physical growth? This will be done when adult wage workers, in the strength of organization and unification demand that it shall be done, and not till then will the outrage cease.

SENATOR KEEFER, of Kansas, has prepared a bill in which "funeral jollifications," when a senator or a member of congress dies within the District of Columbia, will cease. The death of Honorable will be sent home in charge of one man and not a dozen, and the expenses usually attending a funeral spree will be omitted. The proposition is eminently wise.

REPORTS come from Washington that the white palace, King Grover's official residence, is now guarded as never before when occupied by presidents merely. Gates to the palace are closed permanently, and the palace is surrounded with sentry boxes. Since November 6th King Grover has been as dead, politically, as an antediluvian nit in the hair of Methuselah. His worst enemy is the gout.

THE American Railway Union is composed of men whose courage takes on more of the heroic as enemies and obstacles increase. Their battles have made them veterans. They no longer tremble in the presence of adversity. Troops and traitors, courts and cussedness, have done their worst. Their dark days are disappearing, and as a reward of their heroism, the future will have its compensation. The truth will triumph and justice will prevail. God wills it.

WHEN Czar Nicholas of all the Russias stepped from the dead despot's coffin to the throne all Russian subjects had to take the oath of allegiance to him, and in the city of New York a large number of Russian residents rushed to the office of the Consulate-general, and like so many dogs, were tagged, and among the number were scores of Russian Jews. Such degenerate Jews are scarcely worthy of a country. Breathing the air of freedom does them no good.

THE credit of the United States is pronounced superb. Within a few months Mr. Cleveland has placed upon the market \$100,000,000 of gold bonds which sold for \$117,381,644, or \$17,381,644 more than the face value of the bonds. Suppose the bonds run ten years at 5 per cent. interest, the account would stand as follows at the expiration of the time:

Table with 2 columns: Bond type and Value. Rows include Bonds \$100,000,000, Interest 5 per cent. ten years \$6,000,000, Total \$106,000,000, Cost of bonds \$117,381,644, Gold bugs' profit \$11,381,644.

This profit labor has to pay.

ONE of the greatest rascals in the northern penitentiary of Indiana is a bank wrecker, an old scoundrel who posed as an exceptionally religious, and who, at the time he was engaged in wrecking his bank, was the superintendent of a Sunday school. This old rascal, aside from being locked up, suffers no inconvenience whatever. He is not required to eat or associate with prisoners. He has charge of the hospital, and life flows on as pleasantly as summer hours, but a poor devil who steals a coat to keep him from freezing, has no favors shown him. Such things not only make law ridiculous, but justice (?) infamous.

WHAT ought to be done with a non-union man? Unionize him by all means.

ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

When President Debs and his seven colleagues first landed at Woodstock jail and while they were awaiting supper the President prepared the following address to the American people:

"In going to jail for participation in the late strike we have no apologies to make nor regrets to express. We go to jail, not like quarry slaves, but sustained by the consciousness that we have done our duty. No ignominy attaches to us on account of this sentence. I would not change places with Judge Woods, and if it is expected that six months or even six years in jail will purge me of contempt the punishment will fail of its purpose.

"Candor compels me to characterize the whole proceeding as infamous. It is not calculated to revive the rapidly failing confidence of the American people in the federal judiciary. There is not a scrap of testimony to show that one of us violated any law whatsoever. And if we are guilty of conspiracy why are we punished for contempt? This question will continue to be asked with ever-increasing emphasis.

"I would a thousand times rather be accountable for the strike than for the decision. "The ridicule of the press that we are 'posing as martyrs' will not deceive the people. We all have homes and loved ones, and none of us is here by choice. We simply abide by the arbitrary action of the courts. There is a higher power yet to be heard from. No corporation will influence its decision. Our cause is that of conscientious liberty, and we have an abiding faith in the American people. We accept our lot with becoming patience and composure.

"We can afford to wait. "So far as I am concerned I feel that when all the circumstances are considered it would only have been disgraceful if we had so acquitted ourselves as to keep out of jail. Our enemies are entitled to all the comfort they can extract from our imprisonment, and our friends need have no concern.

"Questions of great and grave import are up for decision. Great principles involving the liberty of the citizen are at stake. Out of all this good will come. There is one fundamental, bed-rock principle that the American people will never suffer to be sacrificed. It may be menaced, as it now is, but when the high court, 'We, the people,' have passed final judgment its enthronement will be fixed and secure for all time.

"We are by chance the mere instrumentalities in the evolutionary processes in operation through which industrial slavery is to be abolished and economic freedom established. Then our starry banner will symbolize, as it was designed to symbolize, social, political, religious and economic emancipation from the thrall of tyranny, oppression and degradation.

"EUGENE V. DEBS. "McHenry county jail, Woodstock, Ill., Jan. 8th, 1895."

THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

It is quite possible to be super-found, to introduce so much political economy, science and philosophy, that the average reader is lost in a labyrinth of pathways, though they may be illuminated by the light of genius of great candle-power.

The labor movement results from low wages and over work from those who can obtain work at all, and from the discontent of those who, though willing to work, are unable to obtain it, and are, therefore, forced into the army of idlers.

Of the millions who are employed, only a comparatively few obtain fair, honest wages. These few constitute the "aristocracy of labor." They care nothing for the great majority, whose wages are so low that, under the most favorable circumstances, they are able to barely live.

The labor movement has two supreme purposes in view: (1) The advance of wages all along the line. (2) The reduction of the hours constituting a day's work. These propositions are fundamental. Eliminate them, and the labor movement disappears and labor organizations wither and collapse.

We hear much about conditions; not too much, not even enough. It is a legitimate subject for agitation, and agitation will continue until better conditions are secured, though the stars fall. And this agitation results from low wages and exhaustive hours of labor. With fair wages and reasonable hours for a day's work, conditions would immediately change for the better.

We hear much for and against "labor in politics." Why so? Simply because laws have been enacted by which wages can be forced down, and men compelled to work more hours than is good for soul or body. Who made these unjust laws? The old parties, Democratic and Republican, are both culpable. Does labor desire to continue such a policy? The universal answer is "No." Then why not vote for a party honestly committed to a policy which would enact just laws, and honestly administer them? No rational reply can be made.

The labor movement is based upon a few simple propositions—more wages, and a less number of hours for a day's work, which would inevitably result in better conditions.

WHAT ought to be done with a non-union man? Unionize him by all means.

THE LEGAL DEFENSE FUND.

The labor world is aware of Judge Woods' confession that he was "entangled in doubt" regarding the law which ought to have influenced his decision. He ought to have given the innocent men he sent to prison the benefit of that doubt, but to have done that would have displeased his clients, the corporations. On one side was the right, on the other the wrong. Judge Woods deliberately chose the wrong and sentenced innocent men to prison.

To have the right prevail, to remedy the monstrous wrong done the officers of the American Railway Union, these officers must have a hearing before a higher court. To have their cases presented before such a court, to have the law analyzed and its intent laid bare, money must be had. How can it be obtained? The victims of Judge Woods' despotism, are poor and but for their poverty they would never have been sentenced to prison. Their case is the case of the organized workers of America, and if their vindication is to be secured organized labor can, if it will, strike the shackles from their limbs and secure emancipation. It were folly, ay, worse than folly, to ignore the condition of organized workingmen in the United States. If Autocracy, and plutocracy can influence by bribes, or other base means, the United States judiciary to perpetrate crimes against the liberties of workingmen, then our boasted liberty is a sham. Therefore, we appeal with confidence to organized labor to come to the rescue. This is done in no craven spirit. The officers of the American Railway Union Judge Woods sentenced to prison will bear their incarceration with becoming courage, but the fact that they are deprived of their liberty by an unjust judge, by a tool of corporations, stamps the proceeding with such alarming significance that organized workingmen may well realize the fate of the officers of the American Railway Union is their fate should they dare at any time to attempt their emancipation from slavish conditions.

The victims of Judge Woods degeneracy are poor men. Those who demanded their incarceration are rich, fabulously rich, but if the workingmen of America make such contributions as they can afford to the defense fund, it may be that the infamous decree of Judge Woods will be set aside; when organized labor, of a right, may participate in whatever satisfaction men may feel in knowing they are free and not slaves in the land of the free.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS CANNOT BE SUPPRESSED.

In a late issue of the Trades Unionist we find the following reference to trades unions in England:

England had scarcely begun to be a great manufacturing nation when the battle between capital and labor was begun, and strikes became of frequent occurrence. Parliament at first took the side of the capitalists, just as every legislature does to-day, and it is said that as many as thirty statutes were enacted against trades unions or combinations. These acts continued in existence until the year 1824, when they were all repealed. Legislation of this character was abandoned because its total failure had been conclusively proved. It was found that the trades unions could not be prevented or wiped out by oppression, but, on the contrary, they multiplied in all directions. Industrial operations were seriously interfered with, and it was found that not only the progress of the trades union movement could not be checked, but by confounding right and wrong, and treating trades unionists as felons, untold harm resulted. After the repeal of these statutes, and more especially during the reign of the present sovereign, the legislation of England has gravitated toward the laboring man, and trades unions, which were formerly indictable as conspiracies, are now recognized by law. Workingmen are left free to enter into legal combinations for the purpose of fixing the rate of wages, of regulating the hours of labor, of determining the quantity of work to be done and of inducing others to quit and return to work, provided no violence is used.

In the United States, the program for the suppression of labor organizations has not been through congress or state legislatures. The work has been left to corporations, courts and soldiers, but, even with such appliances, labor continues to organize in the United States. To the terrorism of courts and armies the blacklisting infamy has been added; but labor continues to organize and the work of education proceeds. To enslave millions of workingmen is a herculean task. Will it succeed? Hardly.

THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION.

We make the affirmation that no organization of workingmen in the world stands for more in zeal for the welfare of workingmen than does the American Railway Union. No organization stands for a higher, nobler, or more dauntless courage than the American Railway Union has displayed in carrying forward its purpose to emancipate oppressed toilers, and history recites no instance of a labor organization, in the brief period of two years, having accomplished so much for wronged and oppressed wage workers, or suffered so much for efforts in their behalf. Almost from the day of its birth the American Railway Union has been in battle or storm, fighting or pleading for redress of grievances. It has achieved the most notable victories for organized labor that stands to the credit of labor organizations. That on the Great Northern is monumental. Other victories in the interest of railway employes have been as mere foothills compared to the Great Northern Pike's Peak.

The prestige and prowess of the American Railway Union aroused the implacable hostility of every purse-proud robber corporation in the country, and at Chi-

cago, having brought into action the power of courts, corporations and the standing armies of the nation and the state, succeeded in defeating the organization which was fighting for the oppressed and starving victims of Geo. M. Pullman's rapacity. But the American Railway Union is not dead. It is not defunct. It has not disbanded. Suffered it has—and so did George Washington's Continental army suffer at Valley Forge—but there are multiplied thousands of American Railway Union men, who, though suffering, are undismayed. They say and sing— "Conquer we must, for our cause it is just!" And for the cause they will suffer if they must, and the bloodhound ferocity of their pursuers will not change their purpose to stand by their organization. The second war of independence is now on. Men, as in '76, "cry peace," but there is no peace, while millions of workingmen are subjected to conditions compared with which that of the southern plantation slave was a ceaseless benediction.

Men of the American Railway Union, your cause is just in the sight of God and man. Your sufferings demand compensation which are as certain to come as that the eternal years of God are pledged to the triumph of truth. You see the officers of your order imprisoned, but remember that not one of them is dismayed. Behind prison bars they will be neither idle nor silent, and when they emerge from the gloom of the bastille they will be better equipped than ever before to demand redress for the woes of American workingmen—

And thus be it ever when toilers shall stand Between their desolate homes and cruel starvation! Blest with victory and peace, when their enemies are damn'd, Praise the power that hath vouchsafed them salvation. Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just, And this be our motto: "In Union we trust;" And the banner of Union in triumph shall wave Over free men alive, or dead in the grave.

ARBITRATION.

A Washington correspondent is of the opinion that a national arbitration law will be enacted by Congress during the present session. The correspondent says: Briefly, the bill provides for the appointment of a permanent board of arbitration, consisting of three persons, one of whom may, in the discretion of the president, be the commissioner of labor for the time being. The term of their office is fixed at six years, and their salaries at \$5,000 a year, and their appointment shall be made by the president, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The arbitration is secured on the petition of one of the parties to a controversy, and when neither party asks for it there is no compulsory arbitration, but on the application of a state legislature the president may tender the offices of the national commission. The power of the commission to settle strikes is defined in the bill as follows:

"The said National Board of Arbitration shall have power, when in their discretion public interests are at stake, to investigate the causes of all controversies and disputes between employes and their employers in the United States, as they may occur, and the conditions accompanying them and the best means of their adjustment, whether such controversies in dispute are submitted for arbitration or not, and to report thereon to the president, who shall, from time to time, submit such reports to congress. Said board shall have power to settle and adjust by conciliation all such disputes and controversies so far as it may be possible to do so."

If the foregoing approximates a fair abstract of the proposed law, which is confessedly designed to settle controversies between railroad corporations and their employes, there need be little said about it. We are inclined to regard it as a harmless affair, giving three gentlemen a fat office for a term of six years, and as there is nothing compulsory about the arbitration proposed, the office will doubtless prove a sinecure, with nothing more serious to do than to sign vouchers for salaries.

The indications are that congress will authorize railroad pooling under special restrictions. The debates in congress disclose some startling facts relating to railroad managers and shippers who violate the anti-pooling law as it now stands. One member explained the "oppressiveness of illegal rate cutting for the benefit of large shippers, citing as an example the Armour Beef Packing Company, at Chicago. That combine, he said, handled in dollars more beef than the entire cotton crop of the United States amounted to. The rates made for this corporation practically drove small competitors from the field, and fixed the price of every bullock on every farm in the south and west. Under the present law, he said, it was impossible to secure convictions for violation of the anti-pooling section, because both parties to the cut rate were equally guilty before the law, and one could not be made to testify against the other. The pending bill would compel testimony. In a single year it was estimated that there were 173,000 fraudulent shippers on roads running between Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore and New York. Under the present law the shipper and railroad agent were not punishable. This bill aimed at the punishment, not of the clerk or agent, but of the railroad company itself." The point is, that the railroad managers and large shippers combine to violate the law, by which the people are robbed, and yet not an injunction has been issued, nor have the troops been called upon to suppress the rascals.

In southwestern Louisiana, a northern syndicate owns a farm one hundred miles long by twenty-five miles wide, 2,500 square miles, 1,600,000 acres. That's the way the land goes. The single tax is what land syndicates need, and is what they will eventually get.

OUR ORGANIZATION.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

and master of ceremonies was L. W. Rogers, director of the A. R. U. and editor of their recognized organ.

The American Railway Union stands out in bold relief as the only trades or organization who threw the whole weight of its influence in favor of a strike at the ballot box alongside and as a part of the People's Party. They were mainly instrumental in increasing the Populist vote in Chicago from 1,600 in 1892, to 35,000 in 1894. The returns show also that where the membership of the American Railway Union was strongest in other states, there the increase in the Populist vote was greatest.

No doubt the judge who tried and sentenced the A. R. U. leaders had these things constantly in mind. Who for an instant supposes that had Mr. Debs and other A. R. U. leaders labored as zealously for one of the old parties as they did for the Populists a single one of them would have been sent to prison for being a strike leader?

The strike has taught many a lesson. The workingmen have learned that strikes are not the best method to right the wrongs of labor; better do it at the ballot-box. The people have learned that the money power is ready to override the Constitution and employ the regular army to carry its point. English capitalists have learned that the American workman won't come down to a diet of black bread and beer; he'll fight first.

And Pullman has learned that if there was "nothing to arbitrate" there was a great deal to investigate. All these, and other lessons and, indirect benefits, were conferred through the strike of the American Railway Union.—Chicago Sentinel.

THE SENTENCE.

The conviction of Debs and his associate leaders in the Chicago railroad strike and their sentence to six months' imprisonment are to us unexpected and ominous events. A somewhat careful reading of Judge Woods' decision leaves us with the impression that what it amounts to is just this: It is henceforth a crime to conduct a strike, if disturbance and disorder grow out of it in any manner whatever. We are no apologists for disorder and violence. We preach no doctrine of that sort. The Voice was one of the first and most outspoken journals in the country in condemning as unwise and unjustified, not the strike against Pullman, but the sympathetic strike that grew out of it. We were emphatic in condemning the hostile attitude the strikers took against the coming of federal troops to repress disorder. But the question whether men have a right, by concerted arrangement, to quit work, is entirely different from the question whether they can rob, steal, burn, pillage, or assault. The men have the same right to quit work that their employer has to hire other men. If the employer exercises his right, it may result in violence; but the men guilty of the violence, and not the employer, are the ones to be punished. Just so of the right to quit work. It may result in disturbance; but the disturbers, and not those who quit work and who were in no doing clearly within their rights as free citizens, are the ones to be punished. Mr. Debs and his associates did not, so far as we can discern, commit or counsel violence. They were exercising their rights; and it was not their business, but the business of the constituted authorities, to see that their exercise of those rights should not be made by others the occasion for disorder. The decision, if not reversed by a higher court, marks an important change in the fundamental rights of American citizenship.—The Voice.

Few, even among those who regard it an outrage, are surprised at the outcome of the Debs trial in Chicago. Whatever the merits of the case on either side, it was to be expected, the only surprise being the lightness of the sentences.

The feature of greatest potentiality in this matter is the one likely to be overlooked by those immediately interested in the punishment of these men. What will the effect upon the popular temper be? That should give pause to those, who, in the absorbing love for self forget even the provocations to wrong of those who labor hard for little pay. Policy alone would dictate the tempering of justice with mercy. If the rich would prudently consider their own interests. But blindly they grab and grind and some day they must reap the harvest of their own sowing. It used to be said that the "ashes of the Martyrs are the seeds of the church," and undoubtedly the early church grew and flourished upon the persecutions of its enemies. In this way (even prosecutions assuming the character of persecutions in the inflated public mind) such decisions of our courts may portend future good for the cause of labor. Labor will certainly not lose thereby friends or sympathizers. But let us hope they will not be in the end provocative of evil-ultimate anarchy.—Railton Reporter.

The Cream City Typographical Union No. 25, of Milwaukee, sent President Debs and associates the following message soon after their arrival at Woodstock jail:

"Cream City Typographical Union No. 25, sends you greeting in your temporal abode. We admire your courage, honesty and fidelity to the cause, and trust that "Labor Day" is coming when all wrongs will be righted and justice and equality will reign supreme. "M. P. WALSH, President. FRED SHEDL, Secretary."

Though the Strike Commissioners have exonerated the Railway Union for any participation in the riot and bloodshed at Chicago, the railway magnates have their revenge in the sentencing of Debs to six months imprisonment, and the rest of the officers of the Railway Union to three months. Having their own tools on the bench, justice had no part in the sentencing of Debs and his companions, and the petty spite, which their sentencing gratifies, may be dearly sought.—Twenty-fifth Century.

Eugene V. Debs and his associates have been found guilty of contempt of court and sentenced to terms of imprisonment from six months downward. It is admitted that the destruction of property caused at Chicago during the strike was not encouraged or abetted by them and their only offense was in counselling others to quit work. The next judicial decision will probably deny a man the right to quit work without the permission of his employer.—Muscatine Populist.

Eugene V. Debs has been sentenced to six months imprisonment, for contempt of court, by Judge Woods. What we need most now, however, is a jury of voters numerous enough to sentence at the ballot box such plutocratic shysters as Woods,

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Jenkins, Ricks and others, who by their decisions have shown themselves the abject tools of corporations. There is no law to meet these cases; the people must be a law unto themselves, and "swipe 'em" at the ballot box.—Eric (Pa.) People.

Of course, Debs got only what was expected. He engineered a strike against the railroad corporations, and that is sufficient for a corporation judge. The only wonder is that he wasn't ordered drawn and quartered. Some of these judges are liable to issue an injunction to restrain workingmen from breathing the air that supplies the lungs of the elect of the earth, and then railroad them to prison on the ground of contempt if they don't immediately expire.—Every Saturday.

It has been decided that it is a boycott to refuse to haul trains with a Pullman car attached and that a boycott is a crime, and again it is decided that the management of a railroad has a right to discharge a man for being a member of the A. R. U., and that such discharge is not a boycott and not a crime. Such decisions show the venality of some of our courts, when the question to be decided is between capital and labor.—Brookfield (Mo.) Union.

It took Judge Woods, with Judge Jenkins beside him, and an essay of 27,000 words to explain why Debs and his associates should go to jail for contempt of court. If law and conscience dictated such sentence, why this ado? If Debs is guilty of conspiracy, why is he punished for contempt of court? But is he? It means that not law but judges rule this country.—International Railroader.

GOVERNOR ALTGELD'S MESSAGE.

The present is the season for harvesting the messages of Governors—and the supply is equal to the demand. The bulk of the crop is safely garnered, and embalmed in printer's ink, constitutes chapters in political, social, industrial, economical, criminal and judicial history, more or less important to the people. The news gatherers of the Associated Press have wired the country the more salient features of these annual and biennial-state documents, and, as a result, the people are advised of prevailing conditions, and of what Governors suggest as remedies and panaceas for the ills which corporation legislation has brought upon them. Of all the messages which have come under our notice that of

GOVERNOR ALTGELD, of the great state of Illinois, for grasp, cogency and logic, stands deservedly at the head of the list. It is a "state paper" in the best sense of the term, and though it contains 20,000 words, there is not one too many, nor one that is not the sign of an idea embodying statesmanship of the highest order. The smallest word weighs a pound, while a thousand "kick the beam," where the counterpoise marks a ton.

GOVERNOR ALTGELD, while possessed of a towering intellect, does not permit it to blindfold the eyes of his soul, hush the responsive throbbings of his heart, nor blunt his sympathies for his fellow man when in trouble. He is a Governor, but not a satrap, nor yet a caiffif to be ruled by corporations—clothed with power by the constitution of his state, he maintains his manhood and permits his convictions to govern his acts, and in every conflict, regardless of odds, his courage never wavers.

CRUSHING THE WEAK. During the period reviewed by Governor Altgeld in his message there were labor troubles in the state of Illinois and elsewhere, and these troubles he deals with like one who comprehends the situation. He points out changed conditions in industrial affairs, and the duty of the government. He says:

Our civilization makes us all independent. Government must keep pace with the progress of the age and meet the changed conditions, for it is the duty of government to protect all. Whenever any man is pursuing a course injurious to the rest of the community the government should deal with the question on the lines of justice and not simply join hands with the strong to crush the weak.

GOVERNOR ALTGELD believes in law, in order, and in the power of the government to maintain the one and preserve the other; but he does not believe in the government joining hands with corporations and plutocrats to "crush the weak," which is just what is being done, and just what was done during the Pullman strike.

GOVERNOR ALTGELD appreciates the difficulties that lie in the way of a satisfactory method of adjusting labor troubles. He says:

The question of dealing with these conditions is a most difficult one and no remedy has yet been devised. Many advocate compulsory arbitration, but no practical method of enforcing a decree or award in every case of this character has yet been found. There is, however, no difficulty in the way of making a compulsory investigation in every case, and this alone would be a great preventative as well as corrective. This method has been tried elsewhere and has worked well. Promptly ascertaining and making public the actual conditions in each case arouses a moral sentiment that often forces a settlement, and the fear of such an investigation will sometimes do this.

GOVERNOR ALTGELD discusses at some length the great coal strike. That it should have come upon the country is not surprising; indeed, it was entirely natural, and such troubles will continue to come until justice prevails or American laborers sink to the condition of helots to do the bidding of their masters. In giving the reasons for the strike the governor says:

In the spring of 1894 the now famous coal strike in the bituminous coal fields of America began, started for the purpose of establishing living prices for the mining of coal and more uniform rates for the sale of it. The mining population had found its condition getting steadily worse for a number of years, until those who had worked hard all their lives and had been sober men found their families in rags and often without bread. They vainly hoped to be able by means of a universal strike to bring about a change whereby they and their children might be able, by honest effort, to at least make a living.

Here we have it stated that the coal strike originated because the families of miners were reduced to rags and without bread. The Governor does not paint the picture in all of its horrid details, content with suggesting to the Legislature that rags and hunger were the rewards of years of honest toil by honest men.

THE RAILROAD STRIKE, otherwise known as the "Pullman strike," together with the introduction of Federal usurpations, occupies deserved prominence in Governor Altgeld's message. As a resume of the important facts and incidents of the strike, the Governor, in a masterful manner, has met the most exacting demand. It is an analytical and syncretical exposition of alarming conditions which ought to arrest public attention, before all safeguards of liberty are swept away, and corporations, under the protection of the United States courts and federal armies rule the land. Governor Altgeld states a fact of which the Federal judges are cognizant, that "the old employes, partly out of respect for the law, and partly because they believed that violence must

defeat their ends, not only abstained from violence but everywhere counseled against it. The national commission, which has investigated this strike, found that only a very small per cent. of railroad men were guilty of violating the law, but the conditions were such as to attract crowds of idle people, and soon the lawless element, always found in great centers of population, resorted to rioting and destruction of property."

In this is found a vindication of railroad employes, not only by the strike commission, but by the chief executive of the state of Illinois, and in direct conflict with the despotic acts of United States judges, who were simply the tools of the corporations, and accepted the perjured statements of thieves and thugs, United States deputy marshals, selected by the corporations to do their bidding, regardless of truth. Governor Altgeld tears into shreds every declaration relating to the stoppage of the mails, upon which the federal government rests its right to invade a state with troops, when the state is amply able and willing to protect its citizens, and shows that the scheme for such despotic action was the work of premeditation, and in defiance of the rights of states. To accomplish the purpose, we have a

GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION, to which Governor Altgeld alludes as follows:

During the last two or three years the usurpation of power on the part of the federal judiciary, which had been steadily going on for a long time, has assumed a form where it is destroying the very foundations of republican government. The constitution divides the powers of government into the legislative, judiciary and executive and contemplates that no two of these shall be lodged in the same person, but during the last two years the people of this country have repeatedly witnessed the operation of an entirely new form of government, which was never before heard of among men in either monarchy or republic, that is, government by injunction, whereby a federal judge, not content with deciding controversies brought into his court, not content with exercising the judicial functions of government, proceeds to legislate and then administer. He issues a ukase which he calls an injunction, forbidding whatever he pleases and what the law does not forbid, and thus legislates for himself without limitation, and makes things penal which the law does not make penal; makes other things punishable by imprisonment which at law are punishable only by fine, and he deprives men of the right of trial by jury when the law guarantees this right, and he then enforces this ukase in a summary and arbitrary manner by imprisonment, throwing men into prison, not for violating a law, but for being guilty of contempt of court in disregarding one of these injunctions. During the last two years some of these judges actually enjoined men from quitting the employment of a railroad. These injunctions are a very great convenience to corporations when they can be had for the asking by a corporation lawyer, and these were the processes of the court to enforce which the president sent federal troops to Chicago.

If there are those who desire to know to what extent the government has been Russianized they have only to read the foregoing review of Governor Altgeld's. It meets the requirement. It fills the bill and epitomizes the program of corporations and their caiffif judges, backed by the federal army to obliterate every vestige of individual liberty. In this connection, the governor points out the numerous acts of despotism practiced by United States judges in Illinois—so astounding, so cruel and autocratic that doubts would arise in the mind of any intelligent American, if names and dates were not given. But being given, doubts are dissipated and the fact, that we are living under as rank an autocracy as ever cursed the earth, is established. Again calling attention to the

USURPED POWERS OF U. S. COURTS. The governor refers to "government by injunction" to show how profoundly solicitious these courts are for the welfare of corporations, and how utterly regardless they are of the rights of working men. He says:

There was an act passed by Congress some years ago for the express purpose of protecting the public against unjust charges on the part of the railroads, and particularly of protecting the farmers and shippers of the country against ruinous discriminations. The railroads refused to obey this law and carried it into the federal courts, and these same federal judges proceeded to hold section after section of the law to be unconstitutional, until they had absolutely destroyed it for the purpose for which it was enacted and had made it as harmless as a dead rabbit. Then, after having thus nullified an act of congress intended for the protection of the people, they turned around and made of it a club with which to break the backs of the men who toil with their hands—men whom congress did not think of legislating against.

Another innovation is the operation of railroads by courts of chancery, whereby a court carries on a vast business enterprise, not simply for a short time, but frequently for years, and by an astounding fiction in the line of usurpation of power the dignity and the sacred presence of the court is supposed to extend over the whole line of the road, and the road is said to be not in the hands of the receivers, as other property is in the hands of the owner, but in the actual possession of the court, and anything done to the railroad is treated as a contempt of court. If you commit an offense against a railroad that is in the hands of its owners you will be prosecuted in the hands of the receivers, as other property is in the hands of the owner, but in the actual possession of the court, and anything done to the railroad is treated as a contempt of court. If you commit an offense against a railroad that is in the hands of its owners you will be prosecuted in the hands of the receivers, as other property is in the hands of the owner, but in the actual possession of the court, and anything done to the railroad is treated as a contempt of court. If you commit an offense against a railroad that is in the hands of its owners you will be prosecuted in the hands of the receivers, as other property is in the hands of the owner, but in the actual possession of the court, and anything done to the railroad is treated as a contempt of court.

No right minded American, none but those who have already reached the degradation of pariahs, peons and coolies, will be blind to the judicial process of the U. S. Courts to subjugate workingmen to the condition of machines for the purpose of enriching their masters. Such is the ludicrous side of the Government by injunction, but it becomes infinitely infamous and villainous when the judicial clown, the er-

mined ass, emits a bray to which bailiffs respond, and men, guilty of no offense against the law, are imprisoned.

VIOLATING THE CONSTITUTION. Governor Altgeld points out how the constitution is being violated by the authorities created by the constitution, by men who are sworn to support the constitution and not the corporation. It is shown by the governor that a precedent was wanted to invade the rights of states and to strike a blow at republican institutions, and that Cleveland and Olney were ready to take the "corporations under the protection of the federal government and kill innocent people if the sacrifice was demanded."

"Nobody for a moment," says the governor, "questions the supremacy of the union. But it does involve the question whether, in connection with the federal supremacy, there does not go hand in hand the principle of local self-government. These two principles—i. e., federal union and local self-government, have for a century been regarded as the foundation upon which the glory of our whole governmental fabric rests. One is just as sacred, just as inviolable, just as important as the other. Without federal union there must follow anarchy, and without local self-government there must follow despotism. Both are destructive, not only of the liberties, but of the higher aspirations and possibilities of a people."

We have heard much of late about ANARCHY from those who favor despotism, but precious little about the cause of anarchy. Governor Altgeld refers to the subject. He shows how the consolidation of wealth in trusts saps the foundation of liberty, and says:

The Scotch brigands never had more effective weapons. The amassing of millions under these conditions is an easy matter, and as they grow more powerful these trusts get beyond the control of the government. Prompted by the instinct of self-preservation, the laborers of the country are endeavoring to form combinations. They see that, standing alone as individuals in the presence of the mighty combinations of capital, they will be ground to atoms. That unless they can meet combination with combination they and their children must soon be reduced to abject poverty and hopeless slavery, differing from African slavery in this, that while the African had a master who had to feed and in the end to bury him, the white slave will have only a master to take his earnings. Now the men who formed the great combinations of capital are opposed to combinations among laborers, and the federal courts that have been the special guardians of corporations and combinations seem to be determined to crush labor organizations. Some of the judges, not being content with their decisions, drag their ermines over the land to preach against union action by toilers. In recent years the constitution seems to have become an insurmountable barrier to every measure intended for the protection of the public, while its most plainly expressed provisions for the protection of the liberty and the personal rights of the citizen are blown away with a mere breath. This subserviency on the part of the federal judiciary when dealing with powerful corporations, followed by usurpation of power and the assumption of an awful dignity when dealing with the men who have to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, is not calculated to create respect for either the law or its machinery and does tend to create unrest among our people, for it is the height of folly to imagine that the people do not understand the character of these acts.

GOVERNOR ALTGELD closes his masterful message by referring to

CAPITAL AND LABOR. He sees the events which existing conditions will inevitably produce, and maps out the line of their march with the vividness of lightning. He says:

"At present the status seems to be this: Combinations by capital against the public and against labor have succeeded, no matter by what means, and the men who accomplished it are now patriots, while combinations among laborers for self-protection have failed and the men who advocate it are enemies of society. If these conditions are to be continued then the fate of the American laborer is settled. He must be reduced to the lowest conditions of existence, and this must destroy that very capital which is now pushing him down, for with the destruction of the purchasing power of the American laborer will disappear our great American market, and whenever this happens—whenever the American laborer, like his brother in the poorer countries of the old world, can only buy a little coarse clothing and some poor food and cannot afford to travel, then many of our great manufacturing and railroad properties will not be worth 50 cents on the dollar. Further, this process must produce discontent, disturbance and hatred and will increase the expense of watching property and greatly increase the expense of government, and consequently the taxes. Russianizing a government is an expensive business and has never yet succeeded—not even in Russia. . . . Again, the government is interested in preserving the highest order of citizenship. This is impossible where the laborer is too poor to educate his children and is kept in the condition of a beast of burden. The spirit of self-preservation alone requires the government to take notice of these conditions. If the government is impotent in dealing with combinations of capital, then it should at least give the laboring men of the country a fair chance to protect themselves by peaceable means.

"It will be a sorry day for our country when we shall have only the very rich on the one hand, and a crushed and spiritless poor on the other. These conditions, if not arrested, will change the character of our government and give us in time a corrupt oligarchy, the worst form of government known to man. For several years there has come from certain classes a loud cry of anarchy intended to cover every man who protested against the destruction of American liberty with obloquy. It was a cry of 'stop thief' by a class that apparently wished to detract attention from what it was doing."

"Our danger," says the governor, "lies in another direction. It comes from that corruption, usurpation, insolence and oppression that go hand in hand with vast concentration of wealth, wielded by unscrupulous men; and it behooves every friend of republican institutions to give these things serious consideration." We felicitate the great state of Illinois upon having a governor of convictions and the courage of conviction, a man, who in the fierce conflict of opinions dare assert the truth, and, rising grandly with the occasion, hurls

his words of burning indignation at usurpers, regardless of what they are or who they are. Such bold declarations from the chief executive of Illinois are eminently opportune. They are as seed sown in good soil, and we have a right to believe it will give the country a harvest of good results. The usurpations of United States judges must cease. The devilish rapacity of corporations must be content with robbing labor of its wages, and prison doors must not close upon innocent men to gratify the malice of those who favor government by injunction.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S message is simply remarkable for length, but not breadth nor depth. Is it were a ship, "quarterless train" would suffice to float it, loaded to the danger line. In a storm of debate it would go down and the wreckage wouldn't be worth picking up. It is small talk all the way through. Instead of the roar of the lion it is the chatter of the chipmunk. The late "land slide" seems to have had the disastrous effect of greatly reducing his imperiousness, and from congress to a kindergarten the inquiry, "How big is Grover Cleveland pa?" is not heard. Manifestly the message is the production of some \$2.00 a day typewriter. But it is seen that he wants a larger standing army, and the republicans will meet him more than half way. The states, he says, have more than 117,000 enrolled soldiers, and with that the federal government may equip . . . indications are that the nation's standing army will be brought up to 200,000 men, at least. The plutocrats want more soldiers and more gold bonds, and anything the plutocrats ask for will be promptly accorded.

Mr. Cleveland refers to the "Pullman strike" as follows: By virtue of a statute of the United States, passed in 1888, I appointed, in July last, the Hon. John D. Kernan of the State of New York and the Hon. Nicholas E. Worthington of Illinois, to form, with the Hon. Carroll D. Wright, commissioner of labor, who was designated by said statute, a commission for the purpose of making careful inquiry into the causes of the controversies between certain railroads and their employes, which had resulted in extensive and destructive strikes, accompanied by much violence and dangerous disturbance, with considerable loss of life and great destruction of property.

The report of the commissioners has been submitted to me, and will be transmitted to the congress with the evidence taken upon their investigation. Their work has been well done, and their standing and intelligence give assurance that the report and suggestions they make are worthy of careful consideration. It will be interesting to note what action congress takes in the matter, if however, it takes no action at all, the good effects of the work of the commission will not suffer from the neglect of congress.

Mr. Cleveland informs congress that the public domain is reduced to 600,000,000 acres, excluding 360,000,000 acres in Alaska, of this 600,000,000, there is not, in all probability, 100,000,000 acres suited to the habitation of man. Practically the "public domain" is used up. A comparatively few grabbers have secured enough land for a half dozen average states, and will hold it against all comers until the populist party comes into power and the battle cry is, "Land for homes," "Land for the people," "Land, in the name of God and Eternal Justice, land for the poor."

Mr. Cleveland discusses currency matters in accord with the views of his secretary of the treasury, but since his exploit in having the Sherman bill repealed for the purpose of arresting the outflow of gold, no one has attached any importance to his financial views except the gold bugs. He has two years to serve as president from the 4th of March, 1895, when he will follow the democratic party into retirement, for which he is generally held responsible.

The eighth annual report of the interstate commerce commission is a lengthy document, but not specially interesting to the general reader. Referring to the Pullman strike, it is stated that the commission did not attempt an investigation, because the "controversy included matters outside of its jurisdiction," and because Congress had created by law a "strike commission."

On June 30, 1894, there were 156 roads in the hands of receivers, representing 39,000 miles of track and a capitalization of more than \$2,500,000,000 or nearly \$67,000 a mile. This authoritative statement shows that of the \$2,500,000,000 capitalization, fully \$1,220,000,000 was water—or fraud, upon which the managers of the roads had been trying, by downright robbery, to collect dividends. The commission puts it mildly when it says, "while the financial depression has been a factor in bringing about the embarrassment of railways, it is believed that many of the receiverships were the natural sequence of mismanagement, over capitalization, and ill-advised projections."

On June 30, 1893, there were 176,461 miles of railway line in the United States, with 1,800 corporations. The capitalization of the roads amounted to \$10,506,235,410, equivalent to \$83,421 per mile of line. The roads carried during the year 593,560,612 passengers and 745,119,482 tons of freight. The number of employes was 873,632, of whom 2,727 were killed—the number injured was 34,728. There were 290 passengers killed, and 3,529 injured.

JOHN BURNS asks: Why don't you have a labor party? Well, the Populist party answers the demand.

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MRS. LOFTY AND I.
 Mrs. Lofty keeps a carriage,
 So do I;
 She has dapple grays to draw it,
 None have I;
 She's no prouder with her coachman
 Than an I;
 With my blue-eyed, laughing baby,
 Trundling by;
 I hide his face, lest she should see
 The cherub boy and envy me,
 Her fine husband has white fingers,
 Mine has not;
 He could give his bride a palace,
 Mine a cot;
 Hers comes home beneath the starlight,
 Ne'er caresses she
 Mine comes home in the purple twilight,
 Kisses me!
 And prays that He who turns life's sands
 Will hold his loved ones in His hands.
 Mrs. Lofty has her jewels,
 So have I;
 She wears hers upon her bosom,
 Inside I;
 She will leave hers at death's portal,
 By and by;
 I shall bear my treasure with me
 When I die;
 For I have love and she has gold—
 She counts her wealth, mine can't be told.
 She has those who love her—station
 None have I;
 But I've one true heart beside me—
 Glad am I;
 I'd not change it for a kingdom,
 No, not I;
 God will weigh it in His balance
 By and by;
 And then the difference He'll define
 'Twixt Mrs. Lofty's wealth and mine.
 —Mrs. C. Gildersleeve.

ALL SORTS.

If you will study the money question you will see why your wages are being reduced.

Some one factiously remarks that a "labor commissioner should know just a little bit about labor."

The Pittsburg steelworkers have had their wages reduced 15 per cent, which will help to pay dividends on water.

The Lehigh Valley Railroad company wanted more money, probably to buy a judge, and reduced wages 20 per cent.

If all the Central Labor unions were as enterprising as that of Cleveland plutocracy and its special privileges would be annihilated in a short time.

Each week of the past six has shown a marked increase of the business in the general offices of the A. R. U. and generally increasing interest among our local unions.

Rev. J. Minot Savage, a Washington City divine, complains that few of his rich congregation appear to know anything about Christ. He should give them politics.

The populists will have sixty members in the national house of representatives in March 1897 if the workingmen in the close districts do anything like their duty in November 1896.

The Southern Pacific railroad, after reducing the pay of their employees from 20 to 33 per cent., says it has "nothing to arbitrate." Pullman natures do not appear to be confined to Chicago.

A workingman who is so thoughtless and careless as not to investigate the effect of the manipulation of the financial policy of our government is not worthy of anything better than he gets.

The state of New York contemplates introducing voting machines for the convenience of its sovereign citizens, and the Legislature has appointed a committee of seven to investigate the apparatus of the machine.

Every Saturday is of the opinion that Andrew Carnegie is the man the most heartily despised by the workingmen of the United States, and that Pullman is a good second. They should be yoked together, and lashed with whips of flames around the world.

Don't be discouraged. There was a time when black slavery was as popular as white slavery is now. White slavery will be abolished when the people come in power. They cast 167 votes the last election to every 100 cast two years ago. What is the matter with that?

Every progressive workingman should read Governor Altgeld's message to the Illinois legislature. The Times has made arrangements to secure a limited number of these in pamphlet form and will supply them to all who will ask for them the only charge being two cents postage.

The Populists of Chicago, under the leadership of Henry D. Lloyd, will soon have a daily organ in that city. Mr. Lloyd is no vagabond, and the enterprise must be promising of success, or he would not lend it his name or his money. The fact is, the Populist party has come to stay.

The shoemakers at Haverhill, Mass., about 6,000 in number, 90 per cent of whom receive less than 50 cents a day, are out on a strike. They can't after the severest trials get a meal down to Edward Atkinson's standard of 3 cents, and are experiencing the torture of hunger.

Of all the hazardous enterprises a man can engage in the highest risk is incurred in attempting to raise the oppression of plutocracy off your fellow man. A crusade for the protection of toads would not meet with opposition in comparison with a campaign for the protection of human life.

How can a merchant expect to make money when his customers among workingmen are all poor as Job's turkey? Hadn't you better join hands with us Mr. Merchant and help put the workingman on a decent standard of American living? You can't get something from us we haven't got.

In President Cleveland's late message he said the danger of Indian depredations was more and more remote every year. At the same time he heartily concurs in General Schofield's recommendation that the standing army be increased to over 117,000 men. It looks as though he wants workingmen's scalps.

"Competition is the life of trade" but the railroads are tired of it and after sending hundreds of lobbyists to Washington the house has passed the bill authorizing them to pool all their earnings. If the bill becomes a law it will make no difference by which route you travel, the railroads, like so many pirates, will simply "whack up."

The American Railway Union men of Wisconsin have taken initial steps to secure better railway service in that state. They want each freight train manned by three trainmen and one conductor, and each passenger train by two brakemen, a conductor and a baggage agent, and each switch engine by a crew of three men and one foreman. Their suggestions to the Governor are worthy of consideration.

Senator Stewart of Nevada, advises the Populist party to make free silver the central and all important issue in its coming campaigns and says: "Whatever may be the separate value of other measures, they are relatively of minor importance to the money question, and as they are certain to engender antagonisms and divide the friends of financial reform, it is the part of wisdom to subordinate them to the main issue, which must first be settled before any other reforms are possible."

The small merchants in Brooklyn and Chicago have commenced to hold meetings protesting against the big department stores. The small merchants would accomplish more for their benefit and the prosperity of their fellow citizens if they would study a little political economy and especially the money question, and do some voting for their own interests instead of submitting to the fleecing the banks on Lombard and Wall streets are giving them through the two old political parties. Its coming.

The new constitution of New York requires that all persons holding a public office shall pay railroad fare—no free passes for them. President Depew, of the New York Central is reported as saying:

As a consequence of the constitutional amendment relating to free passes, our passes given to people of whom we know very little will read in future to the effect that the holder is not a holder of public office. For instance, a man might be a notary public, which is a public office, and we might not know it. When he accepts a pass upon which he certifies that he is not a public officer there will be no liability on our side."

After the strike last summer General Manager Tucker, of the N. Y., P. & O. R. R., issued a circular thanking the B. of R. T. men for their loyalty to the company. On the 21st of December he issued another circular, renewing his fidelity to the B. of R. T. and rewarding the "loyal" men, but incidentally announced that on and after January 1st there would only be two brakemen on freight trains instead of three. This applies to five divisions of the road and throws 250 men out of employment.

The Central Labor Union of Cleveland is entitled to the banner prize for industry and progress in unearthing the alleged judicial corruption of the federal judge who started the injunction boom in this country. Judge Augustus J. Rieck is now on the rack before the judiciary committee of the house of representatives and by a vote of seven to six the committee has resolved to recommend impeachment proceedings against him. 'Gust will wish his injunctions had "died a bornin'" before the Cleveland boys are done with him.

In a letter from Los Angeles, the writer of which had occasion to look through the county records, and while doing so found a record of a mortgage for the security of a \$79,000 note given by Federal Judge Ross to the Farmers and Merchants Bank of Los Angeles. Of course the record does not show which of the interested parties has the best of the deal, but from the sentences A. R. U. strikers have been getting at the hands of this judge the welfare of the Southern Pacific Railroad Company does not appear to be suffering at all.

Lizzie M. Holmes writes of poor men, miners, who struck because they were starving, and whom the state with armed men suppressed, killing some and imprisoning others. All is quiet now. "No one is violent or turbulent or troublesome. But it is not because they are better off. Several hundred poor fellows are in prison, several thousand have joined the army of tramps, and the rest have gone back to that hardest, deadliest, poorest paid toil of civilization—digging coal from out of the depths of the earth." But no one is satisfied. From the depths of the earth there are mutterings of discontent. An earthquake is brewing. Plutocrats are making serious mistakes. If they see them in time, well. If not, what then? Even courageous men do not care to contemplate the shadows of coming events.

The Forum for January 1895, contains an article on "The Humiliating Report of the Strike Commission," from the pen of Tarantula Robinson, editor of the Railway Age. This flea, who riots in the hair of any corporation or plutocratic dog upon which it can hop, not

content with defiling the columns of his paper with malicious attacks upon the Strike Commission because they were loyal to their oaths and to their duty and told the truth, is permitted to empty his slop bucket into the Forum and make that publication a sewer to convey his fitted falsehoods to the public. Like a crazy dog, that bays the moon, Tarantula Robinson does not know that the Strike Commission is beyond the reach of his contaminating breath, or his subsidized fangs. He should be content to play yallah dog under the corporations wagon. That's his place.

TERRORS AHEAD.

The London Echo prints the following lurid picture of the overthrow of the great American republic, which we reproduce from the columns of the Twentieth Century:

"The signs of the times indicate that before the sun rises on January 1, 1900, the great American nation will groan and writhe in an agony of revolution, and the streets of all her great cities will be slippery with blood—a hundred drops of blood for each gem that flashes on the necks of the rich and pampered women, and ten drops for each tear that has washed the face of her millions of poor. Politics is so rotten that it stinks. Everybody knows it, and no one cares. America is no longer a Republic. It is a plutocracy. The President is merely the creation of bank directors, railroad kings and coal barons, and it is the same with the Governors of the States. The poor whine about their poverty and gnaw their crusts of bread, but can always be relied upon to vote for the rich; and nine-tenths of them would shoulder a musket and lay down their lives in defence of the rights of the rich to rob them. A nation such as this, in which one million plutocrats tyrannize over sixty-five million slaves, will be either overthrown by a foreign foe or die of gangrene. The various labor organization neither think together, vote together, nor work together, and they have no money to buy votes, lawyers and judges. Soldiers and police shoot down laboring people, and are cheered on their bloody work by monopolists and the clergy. But the day will soon come when there will be a horrible dance to death, lighted up by burning cities, and the music of cries and groans and dynamite and bombs! Rich idlers amuse themselves at Newport and Tuxedo; poor workers toil ceaselessly in the darkness of the mine and the din of the mill. Young men and women dawdle over iced champagne and oyster patties. Old men and women pick rotten food out of garbage cans. Lap-dogs are driven through Central Park to take the fresh air; children die of over work in filthy garrets. Pity in the White House enjoying the fruits of bribery—indefatigable in the tenement houses enduring the punishment of uprightness! These are the signs of the times in America to-day—signs that point to calamity too dreadful to imagine, but which nothing can avert."

The Times is ever so thoughtful that the Echo gives the Great American Republic six years to live before it is overwhelmed. Long before January 1, 1900, the American Railway Union will have achieved commanding influence in industrial and political affairs and the Populist party will be on deck, and a postponement of the fulfillment of the Echo's predictions will be ordered. The Echo should understand that we have our full quota of resident calamity howlers, like the poor, always with us, native and imported, but, that as a nation, we don't scare worth a cent. It may so happen, if the Echo's gloomy forebodings are believed, that European emigrants will go elsewhere and thousands of them who are with us will get out of the country, which would help industrial affairs immensely, but such echoes are treated, very properly, as vagaries, and therefore of no consequence.

Low Wages, Their Effects and Who is Responsible.

Low wages break down the self-respect of the laborer; they extinguish the fires of his hope and ambition, causing him to be indifferent to his mental, social and moral development, and reduce him to the low level of making merely a struggle to keep himself alive. Poverty is an insurmountable obstruction to progress. In this country, where the governing power is in the hands of the laboring classes, such compensation for labor as will cause the man with the ballot in his hands to realize the importance and responsibility of his position and enable him to qualify himself to meet its requirements is an absolute necessity. A blow struck at the wages of the laborer is a menace against the nation's life. Despots, with the aid of great standing armies, may maintain and keep solid their oppressive government, where poverty has extinguished the manhood of the oppressed. But here in our country the common man is the highest authority. He should be a manly, intelligent ruler. He must have a chance to earn and receive the wages that will bring him the necessary culture.—Exchange.

BRITISH LAND OWNERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Englishmen know to what extent land holding is production of slavery, having secured control of the land in England, Scotland and Ireland, and rapidly absorbing land in the United States. Carnegie and another fellow who have purchased farm lands in Scotland, and withdrawn it from cultivation that they may play "My Lord" are regarded with contempt by Englishmen, who threaten to enact "alien land laws," and drive Carnegie and Winans out. Considering what England proposes to do with Carnegie, it might be well for the United States to be equally aggressive towards British land holders in this country, who now hold more than 17,000,000 acres, three syndicates having secured 4,850,000 acres.

This alien land ownership is a colossal shame, but while either of the old parties are in power, will continue.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND has a national reputation in matters of shooting birds and issuing bonds.

THE CASE OF DEBS.

It may safely go without saying that the decision of Judge Woods has pleased the business men and the majority of the newspapers. We may safely say that it has pleased also Mr. Debs and the other men convicted. It is just sufficient to open the eyes of the working men (we hope so at least) without subjecting the victims to too great a hardship. That these men would be convicted by Judge Woods we never doubted for a moment. His decision is in line with the one he gave in the street railroad case. That a judge who can not see that the granting of a perpetual existence is one thing and the granting of the use of our streets is another, that a corporation may perpetually exist without having the perpetual right to the use of the streets of a city, would carefully guard the interests of railroad corporations in all matters that come before him, was to be expected.

It is a monstrous doctrine to hold that if a man advises one thing and those receiving the advice do another thing, the first should be held liable for the consequences. But may it be so! People have to learn certain things, and there is nothing better for this purpose than object lessons. Two things become more apparent every day to anyone who wants to learn.

1. That the federal courts are growing to be more and more the bulwark of the corporations and combines.
2. That the construction of laws will more and more depend on might instead of upon right. That is to say, it is the natural consequence of the course of development of our social affairs that right becomes the expression of might.

The humorous part of this whole proceeding is in this, that these men were convicted under a law which, to some extent, was hailed with joy by the working classes, because it was directed against trusts and combines, and this same law was to this day not enforced against trusts and combines, probably because, as Mr. Olney, our secretary of justice, said it could not be enforced, but that it is so construed that it can be and is enforced against workingmen.

We say humorous, but in fact it is serious. The United States Courts are gradually assuming a power which becomes amazing. If they can forbid anything and then, if it is nevertheless done, punish the doer for contempt, their power is far above that of any monarch. The big corporations will soon control our entire public machinery, legislation, administration and justice.

We are far from excusing any act of violence, and we have nothing to say whatever against the conviction and punishment of men who injure and destroy property or life. But it is quite a different thing to forbid men to do what they have a right to do, because it may happen that in consequence thereof others will do wrong, and then punish them for not obeying. If that can be done under our laws then it becomes questionable whether the citizens have any legal rights at all. If all rights end where their exercise causes inconvenience to others, ninety-nine out of one hundred rights may be considered as not existing.

But it seems to us that this theory holds only good in United States courts, and perhaps also in others, when the inconvenience is caused to some large corporate institution. May the citizens, may the business men look out. If they permit these things to go on they will soon feel the power of these corporations not less than the workingmen, in another form probably, but surely in some form. Here is only one little unimportant but significant instance. The writer of this received in January last a piece of machinery which had come over the Big Four Railroad in broken condition. It never left the freight depot, but it was sent back over the same road to the factory, was repaired and shipped here again. The railroad company was careful to collect the freight but the claim for the costs of repair and shipping to and fro is still unpaid, and apparently not nearer settlement than ever. Where is the business man who could dare to do business thus without risking the loss of credit and standing?

The power of these corporations and their influence upon courts and legislative bodies is becoming dangerous not only to the workingmen, but to all classes of men. Business men have no cause to rejoice over the conviction of Debs, it comes from a source which, in the end, will prove dangerous to themselves.

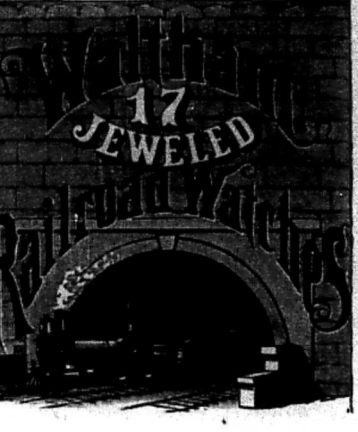
There is another great lesson for workingmen in this affair. They should see that the sphere of action of labor organizations is constantly narrowed, and that there is only one remedy for the working classes and one for the business men. The first is in the ballot, the latter in the government control of the means of transportation and communication.—Indianapolis Dispatch.

WICKES.

Begorra! how is this for low? Vice President Wickes, of the Pullman Car Company, who swore to so many lies during the investigation of the trouble, and who acted so cruelly with his men, is being sued for divorce by his wife on the charge of cruelty. Now he has established his claim as a brute. And he is such a kind Christian gentleman.—Journal of Labor.

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