

# The Railway Times

Vol. I.

CHICAGO, JANUARY 1, 1897.

1894 to June 1897.

## TOLEDO IN LINE.

### A GOOD UNION FORMED THERE.

#### President Howard Talks to Eager Listeners—Aims and Objects of the A. R. U. Explained—Officers Elected.

The railroad men attended a meeting last night in Clark's Hall, says the Toledo Bee, for the purpose of hearing general officers of the American Railway Union explain its aims and objects, with a view to starting a national organization here. The general president, Eugene V. Debs, of Terre Haute, Indiana, was unable to come, owing to sickness in his family, but Vice-President George Howard, of Chicago, was on hand and spoke at considerable length, being introduced by Mr. J. L. Dumar.

Mr. Howard, after paying a tribute to the principle of brotherhood, declared that railroad men have not thought enough in the past, allowed themselves to be led by the nose, allowing some one to think for them. The purpose of the new organization was on educational lines, and to make leaders of the rank and file. Each being a part of the great industrial system, should do his share. A standing challenge to any opponent of this organization to meet us has never yet been accepted. As a railroad man for more than thirty years, from handling the pick and shovel to general superintendent, he could say something of the old organizations. While he had nothing but a spirit of kindness for them, as a member of the O. R. C. he could say there was too much mutual animosity in them.

In the United States, Canada and Mexico there were nearly a million railroad employees, but little more than 102,000 organized. Seven-tenths of the general managers were their best friends, but (scarcely more than employees) had no protection from them against the orders of the board of directors. If a general manager remonstrated against a proposed reduction, he would be fired. The only way to protect him was for all the men to get together. In the C. B. & Q. strike the engineers, firemen and switchmen's organizations were beaten.

The latest Interstate Commerce reports showed that 176 railroad companies had been taken up by other corporations, while the Vanderbilt fought among themselves. The Vanderbilts had taken the Lackawanna, and were to get their hooks on the Ann Arbor.

A man must have run an engine a year to get into the B. L. E. Promotions were mostly from the firemen, and new engineers were kept out of the B. L. E. for a year. From this and other causes a great many did not go in at all. In the B. L. F. today there were more than 10,000 engineers, and there was antagonism between the two organizations. He gave instances, and declared that the railroad officials knew the circumstances. The same antagonism existed between the conductors and brakemen.

He next explained the absurdity of the Cedar Rapids plan of federation, and declared the best possible thing for the officials, then showed some of the absurdities in the brotherhoods of making the insurance feature the great thing. Instancing the case of a fireman who had been for years prominent in the brotherhood at Denver, forced to tramp, he was interrupted by a gentleman in the hall, who declared the organization was in duty bound to keep up every member. Mr. Howard then declared he was ready to give the names of members of twenty-six lodges suspended for non-payment of dues on October 15, and that they were being expelled right and long. The figures were from the grand treasurer's office. From thirteen to fifteen a month never went back. There must be something wrong when only 102,000 were organized out of a million. The A. R. U. did not ask railroad men to leave their old organizations. He did not blame men for trying to stop the holes in an old ship, but it was foolishness to choose to go down in her. They had been following the elephant, and forgetting the skunk they should have kept their eyes upon. He instanced the way in which things were run in brotherhood conventions at the wish of the grand chief, and the making of the insurance feature, for which members paid, to the exclusion of profit to anybody. In the new organization they would elect all of their own com-

mittees must be followed, but were not about the physical. With both all must be rectified. It was necessary to have men and measures, no matter of it was first necessary to get to determine what was best for their in every man, from the trackmen and engineers, each branch in technical matters, but to one the concern of all. He proper place on pro- away with contentions engineers and firemen, the car inspec- the different classes systems of the Cal. Mont. R. G.

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much a railroader must save every day of his average life to keep him in the critical stage, and showed the folly of depending on going into some other business. Last year 2,600 railroad men were killed and 22,000 wounded. In twenty-five years the brakemen, from being less thought of than the beasts killed on the track, were now recognized by the general managers through organization. The trackmen and wipers could do the same.

The new organization would be conglomerate only as in the past, in mass meeting, and where one branch prayed the others to come to its help, only that now there would be no begging. The framers of the plan had been more than two years working on it, in the light of experience, and had eliminated all possibility of contention. Each branch could get a separate charter, but all worked under one general head. Federation to be effective must be established on every road in the country.

The union did not believe in strikes; yet the only power labor had was in strikes and boycotts. No strike had ever occurred unless the officials of the road knew they could whip the men. The only way to meet organized capital was by organized labor, and if organized labor was formidable enough there never would be a strike, and everything would be arbitrated. The army and navy were not kept up to fight, but to command the respect of other nations. In all the railway strikes of thirty years, down to that on the Ann Arbor road, the men had been licked. The decisions of Judges Ricks and Taft could be repeated all over the country. Yet railroad corporations had been boycotting each other right along, and all the southwestern lines threatened to boycott the M. K. & T. for proposing a farmers' rate. The same law applied, but laws could not be enforced against communities. So it was in the Paris burning and the Decatur lynching. These great corporations would only laugh at an injunction. The employees wanted to get in the same position to subvert their interests. So soon as they did no more injunctions would be served, as the court would never compromise its dignity.

Reference was made to the Lehigh strike, incidentally to the troubles at Buffalo, and to the action of chief officers of the brotherhoods in other troubles. Then Mr. Howard told his hearers that it cost \$1 for each man to join the union, that being for the charter, membership card and all expenses to the end of the fiscal year, as far as the grand lodge was concerned. The expenses of the local lodges were to be paid by the members. Every railroad employe and ex-railroad employe was eligible. He collected no money, that being sent by the local officers when elected. The local lodge would send a delegate to the next convention at Chicago in June. After speaking in favor of the eight-hour system he invited all who wished to enroll their names, urging all to do so in self-defense.

About forty signed the application blanks and were organized into a local lodge of the American Railway Union.

The following officers were elected to serve till April:

President—E. J. Jarrett, 808 Stickney avenue.

Vice-President—F. E. Wires, 806 Buckeye street.

Secretary and Treasurer—C. W. Otis, 805 Cherry street.

The choice of a representative, assistant officers and board of mediation was left until the Toledo Union gets into working order.

Mr. Howard used to live in Toledo. He was then chief of the B. R. C., and conducted the *Railway Service Gazette*. In a talk with a Bee reporter he stated that the A. R. U. was organized first in Chicago on June 20 last, but organization of lodges did not start till August 15, at Fort Madison, Iowa. The first general circular issued showed 34 unions on September 5; the second 47, on October 15; the third 87, on November 15, and the December circular will show a proportionate increase, there being four organizers in the field. The general offices are at 421 Ashland Block, Chicago, Illinois, but no local has been organized there yet, though there are 1,200 men waiting, as the desire is to organize by systems, and it is necessary to have separate meetings for each road. There are three unions in St. Louis, one exclusively of engineers. Forty-two places await an organizer. An immense mass meeting is called at Indianapolis on the 15th, to organize there. The unions nearest to Toledo are at Cleveland and Fort Wayne and Evansville, Indiana.

## DROPPING OUT.

Railway associations have been great sufferers from the hard times, and if reports are true their membership has dropped off to a remarkable extent. In this city the loss of membership has not been so great as in some other cities, but it has been too large for comfort. In some localities the membership has dropped off fully one-half, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen probably suffering the most. This is of course largely attributed to the depressed condition of the times. Trainmen have been out of work and could not pay their dues, and accordingly have been dropped from the rolls.—*Columbus Dispatch*.

## Your Own Business.

Mr. Biddle: "That woman we just passed in the street—her neighbor I ever had."

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## AWFUL HUNGER.

### A MAD RUSH TO OBTAIN WORK.

#### The Mere Chance of Getting It Causes a Panic—Doors Swept Down by the Starving Mob—Arrested for Stealing Bread.

The press dispatches from Pittsburg, telling of the frantic rush to get work at two cents an hour, describe scenes that speak more eloquently than words can of the terrible destitution abroad in the land. It had been announced in the daily papers of that city that all who applied for work at the city hall would be furnished employment in the parks. Over 2,000 had responded before the city was fairly astir for the morning. At daybreak, says the report, they began to gather. At 6 o'clock 700 men had taken possession of the building, and an hour later the crowd was estimated at 2,000. The police inspector, taking compassion on the shivering men, ordered the police to open the doors and let them inside, where they could keep warm.

The moment the doors were opened there was a rush for the hallway. In the scramble the big storm doors were broken from their hinges. A few who were near the doors, fearing the glass would break and injure them in falling, tried to edge away, but the crowd in the rear pushed them into the building. The first man who got through the door ran to the broad stairway leading to the second story, and, jumping two or three steps at a time, led the pace to Superintendent Paisley's office. In a few minutes the stairway was jammed. On the fourth floor the men were packed in so closely that those nearest the iron railing were crushed against it until they cried out with pain. Two men fainted. The crowd pressed them against the railing so tightly it was feared the iron guard would give way and they would be forced over it to the stone floor of the rotunda, sixty feet below.

The strong-limbed men in front fought their way into Superintendent Paisley's office and confronted that official. The room soon became suffocating, and many tried to get out, but could not, owing to the crowd pushing in. The police inspector told the men arrangements had been made to receive their applications for work at the police stations. Then another wild rush ensued to get out. The mass of humanity in Superintendent Paisley's office was so wedged in that several men were hurt reaching the doors. The police inspector ordered the men to get out from the top of the elevator. As the men passed the two city officials they made frantic appeals for work, some presenting army discharges, some naturalization papers, others letters of introduction, indorsements from aldermen, constables, business men, etc.; in fact, everything imaginable was done to influence the officials in question to favor them. But all were told to go to the police stations for their orders.

At the meeting of the Citizens' Relief Committee today the Employment Committee reported 800 men at work in the parks at two cents an hour. By tomorrow night 2,000 will be working. Six thousand families need help. Today's contributions footed up \$4,340. Nearly \$20,000 has been contributed so far. Andrew Carnegie is said to have made himself responsible for the payment of the men in the parks if the relief fund does not cover it.

Richard Jones, machinist, and Daniel Davis, plumber, both of Chicago, were arrested last night while trying to enter Race & Porchman's grocery at Alleghany to steal something to eat. They said they had left Chicago thinking they could get work here. Magistrate McKelvey will hear their cases tomorrow.

This appalling state of affairs is not peculiar to Pittsburg. That city has simply given an opportunity for a demonstration of the facts which exist everywhere. In New York, in Chicago, in San Francisco, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it is the same. This awful suffering, this abject misery is silently borne everywhere. It does not parade the streets. It is not natural for mankind to make public its misfortunes. It is prosperity that seeks display. Fine raiment courts attention, but the starving ragmuffin hides in the cellars and garrets and it is only when something like the Pittsburg demonstration occurs that the public obtains a fair idea of the awful destitution that everywhere abounds.

## GREAT ECONOMIC WORK.

A book which is expected to reach 100,000 readers in the labor and reform world, has been issued by Charles H. Kerr & Co., of Chicago. It bears the title of "Money Found," and is from the pen of Thomas E. Hill, author of *The Hill Banking System*.

Few people understand the money question as they should, and this work should become popular. Besides the body of the book, the work contains a "Glossary of Financial Terms," "Banks and Causes of Failure," "Weights of Coins," "Money of All Nations," "Financial History of the United States," "Money Borrowed by the United States," "Financial Legislation," "How National Banks Are Organized," "Important Events in the History of Money," "Paper Money in Different Countries," "The Silver Question Explained," "Sources of Government Revenue," "Tables showing where gold and silver comes from, the total of precious metals used, and many other things which every well posted man wants to know but isn't able to find. It is in the hands of everyone interested in the money question, and the writer would believe

## He Looked Pale.

"Yer look bad, Jim. Been under the weather?"

"Sorter. Today's the first time I've been out-of-doors in three months."

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## THE SUNSET CLUB.

One of Chicago's most interesting institutions is the Sunset Club. Among its members are millionaires and workmen. It represents every imaginable occupation and profession. Some of its members earn a living in dingy shops and others are "gentlemen of leisure." They are all studying social and economic questions together and everyone has his say. The sessions are generally lively and very instructive. THE RAILWAY TIMES will keep its readers posted about what this remarkable club is doing. Of its latest meeting a local paper says:

The Sunset Club never had a livelier meeting than that of last night. It was ladies' night and 350 women, with that number more of members, crowded the big dining-room of the Grand Pacific, and the overflow of tables extended into the adjacent corridor. After dinner Secretary Underwood introduced Arthur T. Eddy as chairman of the evening, who announced the topic: "What Shall We Do With Our Unemployed?" He said the problem was impossible of solution until society has reached that condition where it can answer the question of what to do for its unemployed. At the present time giving them work was a temporary solution.

Prof. Charles R. Henderson advocated a civic federation as the complete method of dealing with the subject.

Editor W. T. Stead described Chicago as having the features of an old man on the body of a child. Many of its evils Europe was unacquainted with, a sentiment that was rebuked by a chorus of "nos."

"I am glad you have so good an opinion of yourself," retorted Mr. Stead. "I ask you to point to a European city that was ever humiliated and degraded by being compelled to turn its city hall into a common lodging-house." He answered the question of the evening by saying "give them work." "You need a new postoffice and police stations, and clubhouses in every ward where your people can go without being sent into the 7,000 saloons in the city. Here was work for the unemployed." He declared that hungry men would commit crime, for it was natural for them to do so, and he hoped that Chicago would be spared the torch and the assassin's bullet, for such acts would destroy its credit and proud standing in the commerce of the world.

Harry Skull excitedly rose to his feet and insisted that Mr. Stead sit down. Chairman Eddy declared that the speaker must be treated with tolerance and ordered Mr. Skull to take his seat, which he did amid a storm of disapproving hisses. Someone then moved to extend Mr. Stead's time, but he replied that he would comply with the rules when his time was up and thus set the example of law and order. His concluding words brought strong and long continued applause: "If you were to put on the clothes of the poor of Chicago, go down into their tenement houses, live as they live during this Christmas time, feel the pangs of hunger as they feel them, and despairingly search the future for a single word of hope, you would raise all the money that is needed for the unemployed."

Chairman Eddy, in the name of the club, apologized to Mr. Stead for the intolerance exhibited by some of its members.

Joseph E. David declared there was no one who would give employment to a discharged criminal. Half a dozen people shouted "No" to him, and Mr. David retorted by asking the address of anyone who would furnish such people with employment, and volunteered to send a half-dozen around to them in the morning.

W. R. Sterling denounced the chattel mortgage sharks who were taking advantage of the present time, and advocated street cleaning with the funds of the relief committee.

Austin W. Wright said the unemployed did not want aid, but wanted society to take its hands off them. Repeat the legal fetters that limited the individual and everybody would become self-supporting.

Mrs. J. C. Sterling discouraged insulting the needy with cold charity, and insisted that sympathy and love with personal contact would solve the problem.

Florence Kelly, factory inspector, said: "I would only say to you what some tried to say, but you wouldn't hear them, because you don't want to hear the plain truths about these things." In response to continued applause, she responded by giving a portrayal of the sweat-shops.

Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson spoke of the work that women were doing in helping the unemployed of their own sex, and made a plea to women present to give their personal efforts to the alleviation of the suffering in their own vicinity.

Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, was the last speaker. She reviewed the work being done by that institution, and in describing the condition of the poor, said that the most touching thing was the mental suffering of the honest men and women who were compelled to enforced idleness and to receive the charity of the public. She, too, emphasized the necessity of distributing the relief funds by putting the men to work on public improvements.

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## ABOUT THE UNION.

### DEBS ON THE ORGANIZATION.

#### Chat With a Reporter—Rapid Work in the Field—Getting the West Solidly Organized—Clerks Joining.

In a December copy of the *Terre Haute Express* we find the following interview with the President of the American Railway Union, touching on some interesting points:

Mr. Eugene Debs, President of the American Railway Union, has returned home from an extended tour of the western country, where, in company with Mr. Howard of the new union, he has been organizing lodges in the principal western cities. Mr. Debs is in excellent health, notwithstanding his hard work in the interests of railway employes during the past few months, and his keen, flashing eye and pleasant smile were evidence that he is in excellent spirits, too.

Though always busy, he found time to say a few words concerning his work during his absence from home, and the success with which he had met in launching the gigantic movement to consolidate under one banner all branches of railway service. "The sentiment in favor of the new order," said Mr. Debs, "is widespread, growing so rapidly we cannot attend to the work of organization as promptly as we would like. Since I have been away from home it has been a constant jumping from one city to another, organizing lodges, two nights seldom finding us in the same city. The West is by no means yet organized, but sufficient work has been done to assure an exceedingly rapid growth. The success with which the American Railway Union has thus far met is very gratifying, and many months will not pass by before the country west of the Mississippi will be thoroughly organized."

"For some two or three years I have foreseen that nothing short of a federation, in which all branches of the service were consolidated, could eventually expect to retain a firm footing, that which would insure it a continuous existence. Conditions in the railway world have changed wonderfully within the past few years, changed to such magnitude that organized railway labor must necessarily change to be in a position to meet this change. At the present time," continued Mr. Debs, "the big railroads of the country number only about twenty, that is, of course, the big systems and other roads controlled by them. Organized railway labor in its present condition has shown that it is unable to cope successfully with such large organizations."

Mr. Debs referred to the number of men annually being dropped from the various lodges of the old orders for non-payment of dues. "There is no such thing as suspension or expulsion for this cause in the new union. When men are suspended or expelled for non-payment of dues, when possibly they cannot pay, it engenders an ill-feeling, and when strikes are declared these men quite naturally are the ones to take the places of the strikers. Such conditions will not exist in the American Railway Union, for no member can be expelled on account of not paying dues."

One branch of the railway service, never before organized and one which Mr. Debs believes will add great strength to the new order is the clerks. Here a rather laughable incident was referred to. "It was while I was out West that an employe of the auditing department asked to have the auditing clerks of the system organized. A number of the clerks said that the company had informed them that in case an organization was attempted they would be discharged. There is a good deal of difference between a clerk and a switchman, but a party of these switchmen simply walked in and said to the clerks to organize and that should the axe fall the headman would be invited to come on to the switchyards and finish up the job." The clerks, as a general rule, are about the poorest paid class of employes on a railroad, and at the same time about as important, and their coming into the new organization will, Mr. Debs says, add strength to the order.

## HOGAN AT ST. PAUL.

There was a good attendance of railway employes at Labor Hall last night, says the Minneapolis Tribune, to hear an address made by James Hogan, one of the five general organizers of the American Railway Union. Mr. Hogan lives at Ogden, Utah, and travels in the interest of organizing all classes of railway men into one organization, to be known as the American Railway Union. It is the purpose to organize the million of employes of the railroads under one general union. Mr. Hogan spoke for an hour and a half last night explaining the purposes and advantages of such an organization. There were present a number of railroad men from the near-by towns.

Mr. Hogan leaves the city today, but will return on January 15, on which date another meeting will be held at Labor Hall to form an organization in this city, or, in other words, to perfect the temporary organization formed last night. At the next meeting President Debs and Vice-President Howard, of the board of directors of the general union, will be present.

There have been formed in different parts of the country already 115 local unions. An approximate membership of 100,000 is estimated.

secretary shows that the rate of

A local union was formed a week ago with eighteen members. The secretary of which attending increased to 145. It is organization will take bring in the conductors, trainmen, as well as shop minor employes of the extent. The American decided to begin on the monthly paper, which will Chicago and be called the R

## THE NEW MASTER.

Sovereign, the new master Knights of Labor, seems to be forcible and progressive ideas, characterized his illustrious predecessor. Here is a sample:

A great struggle is being waged between the two great forces—organized monopoly struggling to make slaves out of men, organized labor struggling to make men out of slaves. Oppulence is fast becoming a monarch. A merciless money power is subjugating laboring industry, and destroying the liberties of the common people. With the menacing influences and the monopolizing of national bounties I appeal to you to rally to the rescue under the shield of our noble organization. The money power in the middle of a demand for the free coinage of gold and silver as to one, and such other additional of money as the exigency of without the intervention of nations. Elect all legislative, judiciary officers of the general the direct vote of the people; veto power of the President, and avocation of corrupting jobs and referendum. Thus we world an industrial system tramp at one end and no other.

## REV. DR. GRAY ON

Once in a while a mind endowed with splendid com the exact truth about the disapproval of the congress much credit to the three preachers who composed Dr. Gray

He told the the very pl makes better minds of the Dr. Gray exclaimed: "duty toward be fewer poor things of inter If the Chris Christ Church would have supreme folly to make a distinction crease so marked in the minds of have been credit of the conference that a given planned in the inter the poor did not away. The rector of in Brooklyn reports ing among its mem large Congregational one carpenter in our single servingman or servant.

Investigation touching facturing cities of the that church neglect of rapidly increasing. The number than the well-to-do are in the wealthier and churches. If they were they other, and a desire to work opportunity. We fear that wealthier churches have release to the devil of all of the community. If the its duty toward the working would be fewer poor in the working classes were converted, played as a class would cease. It may, we may say probable, if the poorer classes as to save classes, the problem of the need no solution. It is said to \$65,000,000 spent for liquor large proportion came from the of the poor. Whatever the flow of wealth out of the would certainly relieve much that is upon us. There is a law not permitting a mile of a church. have revealed the need to plan working classes, the of the

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and affairs, of economics in all their relations to human welfare, and then, at a critical time, discarding all the knowledge gained and resorting to old-time methods when ignorance reigned supreme.

To the American Railway Union the launching of a new paper upon the troubled seas of labor, whatever it may be to others, is a matter of large import to the order, and present utterances are designed to indicate the future line of march. For the present THE RAILWAY TIMES will be issued semi-monthly; on the first day of July, 1894, the publication will be issued weekly, and on the first day of January, 1895, THE RAILWAY TIMES expects to take its place among the daily papers of the country.

Recognizing the great value of comradeship and fraternity, THE RAILWAY TIMES enters the journalistic field with sentiments of profound regard for the labor press of the country with which it hopes to work in the most harmonious relations, believing that with a long pull, a strong pull and a pull altogether, victory will at last perch upon the standards of organized labor.

THE LEHIGH VALLEY STRIKE.

Strikes may be classified as follows: the wise and the unwise, the successful and the unsuccessful; but in such a classification we encounter this difficulty—the successful strike is always declared wise, while the unsuccessful strike is as a general proposition accounted unwise, and sometimes a harsher term is applied.

What is to be said of wise and unwise strikes regardless of results? Much we think can be said in the line of prudence. Strikes by wage-earners should be engaged in only in defense of some vital principle, nor then hastily or under the influence of passion. A strike is a serious matter, far more weighty and momentous than is generally conceded by those who engage in them, and the time has arrived when the more salient facts relating to strikes should be presented and considered.

It is not the purpose of this article to epitomize the history of strikes, nor to discuss the varying results that have followed in their wake. The Lehigh Valley strike, which began November 18 and ended December 7, is the subject under discussion. It is the latest strike of railroad employes, and all the incidents connected with it are fresh in the minds of those who take any interest in such matters.

It is not to be gainsaid that the members of the various organizations on the Lehigh Valley had just cause for striking. The officials of the road demonstrated by their acts and policy a purpose to degrade their employes because they were members of organizations, with the purpose in view of effectually striking down the organizations on the road as they deemed them.

As man-eating tigers, they barked upon a zero temperature and a zero financial condition of hundreds of their employes, and Wilbur, when the strike was declared off, gave expression to his gratification, but declared in the future as in the past, he would tolerate no "outside interference in the management" of his road, a notice to grand executive officials that in so far as the Lehigh Valley railroad was concerned their occupation was gone. Press dispatches have it that immediately upon the termination of the strike, Grand Chief P. M. Arthur was seen at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, "in a very pleasant frame of mind." In response to an inquiry, he is reported to have said, "Mediation is a great thing." When asked "if the terms of the settlement were entirely satisfactory," his reply, as reported in the Philadelphia Record, was, "That remains for the men to say; as for me, yes. If you can't get what you want you must take what you can get." Cruel-hearted as they are Wilbur and Voorhees, careless as they are of the rights and interests of employes, they have said nothing in publication so clearly indicative of indifference as are the words credited to P. M. Arthur. Being satisfied with the termination of the strike, he is also satisfied to see hundreds of the men who struggle to maintain his dignity as grand chief cloven down and exiled to idleness as a penalty for their manly devotion.

The indications are that in railway affairs, at least, the strikes of the future will be profoundly considered before they are declared. There may be, as in the Lehigh Valley strike, a vital principle at stake, but men will be apt to investigate with the utmost caution the resources at their command to vindicate a principle, however important, before they declare war, remembering that delay is preferable to defeat, and that ample resources are prime essentials to success. And furthermore it is doubtful if the striking statutes of organizations are permitted to remain as at present. The strike of the future will not be for the vindication of wrongs in any sense visionary—petty infelicities expanded to balloon proportions to collapse the moment they come in contact with common sense; and thus it is likely to happen in the very near future, that men before they voluntarily stop their wages will inquire more seriously than has hitherto distinguished their deliberations as to the probability of results. Had this been done on the Lehigh Valley the disastrous strike would not have occurred, and men now out of employment and not knowing when or where they will find work, would be in a position to face the problems that winter always imposes instead of being compelled to accept what they can get, which in their cases is idleness and destitution. There are to be new strike programmes; there is to be less display of the pride and pomp and spectacular order, and far more attention paid to the economic side of the question. If boards of arbitration are to be employed, they will be requested to put in an appearance before and not after all the damage has been wrought.

DEAR SIR.—The State Boards of Arbitration of New York and New Jersey desire to know whether, if the existing strike is declared off, the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company will agree to take back as many of their old employes as they have places for without any prejudice on account of the fact that they are struck or that they are members of any labor organization; that in re-employing men formerly in its service, the available time shall be so divided among the men so re-employed that they may feel they are again in the service of the company and self-supporting; that in making promotions hereafter the company will make no distinction between men now in its employ and those so re-employed on account of seniority in service or otherwise; that when in the employ of the road, committees from the various classes of employes will be received from the branch of service in which the aggrieved party is employed and their grievances considered and justly treated; and that in employing men in the future the company will give the preference to former ones employed when the strike is declared off. We further think that in future negotiations the Lehigh Valley should be represented by a committee of men who have been employed.

suggestions are reasonable, and that if they are accepted by your company the present strike will at once be terminated.

As has been said, accepting the recognition of the representatives of organizations by railroad officers as a vital and a fundamental principle, it is seen that the Arbitration Boards of New York and New Jersey treated it with the contempt of silence. It was the principle for the vindication of which the strike was declared, and since neither the Arbitration Boards nor the officials of the Lehigh Valley railroad "recognized it, but treated it with disdain, the verdict is that no railroad strike ever met with a more humiliating defeat.

In pursuing the subject, other questions arise; in fact they come in rapid succession. In selecting those of special importance the inquiry is forced upon the attention of railroad employes everywhere, what benefits accrued to the Lehigh Valley employes as a result of the strike? It is only necessary to read the settlement as prepared by the Boards of Arbitration to be convinced that vast injury and no benefit whatever came to the employes. The propositions of the Boards of Arbitration to President Wilbur were of the most abject character. Everything was asked and nothing demanded. There is not a word in the settlement, as proposed by the Boards, indicative of independence, self-respect, defiance or courage. President Wilbur is asked if he will do this and so, provided the strike is declared off. Wilbur grants (?) the requests and the strike terminates. Are the men all taken back into the service of the road? By no means, and the estimate is that not less than seven hundred of them are out of a job. The mere statement of the fact demonstrates how unutterably cruel was the settlement to the men who staked all and lost all.

Was the strike dictated by either wisdom or prudence? Was the time propitious for going to war with a powerful corporation? What should have been the dispassionate advice of the officials of the various organizations? In the first place, the season of the year and industrial surroundings should have suggested to the officials the inauspiciousness of the time for a strike. They should have been capable of estimating conditions and should have had the courage to dissuade men from all rashness. It does not appear that this was done, but it does appear in the light of results that they had little, if any, comprehension of conditions. They could have suggested a postponement until the Ice King had been driven away by the coming of the vernal season. They could have advocated delay until the industry of the country revived and the unemployed had found work. But it does not appear that they thought of such things. They had been snubbed by the railroad officials and were ambitious of asserting their prerogatives; their pride got the better of their prudence, but unlike the unfortunate victims of the strike, they did not lose their jobs. Wilbur and Voorhees understood the situation—

as man-eating tigers, they barked upon a zero temperature and a zero financial condition of hundreds of their employes, and Wilbur, when the strike was declared off, gave expression to his gratification, but declared in the future as in the past, he would tolerate no "outside interference in the management" of his road, a notice to grand executive officials that in so far as the Lehigh Valley railroad was concerned their occupation was gone. Press dispatches have it that immediately upon the termination of the strike, Grand Chief P. M. Arthur was seen at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, "in a very pleasant frame of mind." In response to an inquiry, he is reported to have said, "Mediation is a great thing." When asked "if the terms of the settlement were entirely satisfactory," his reply, as reported in the Philadelphia Record, was, "That remains for the men to say; as for me, yes. If you can't get what you want you must take what you can get." Cruel-hearted as they are Wilbur and Voorhees, careless as they are of the rights and interests of employes, they have said nothing in publication so clearly indicative of indifference as are the words credited to P. M. Arthur. Being satisfied with the termination of the strike, he is also satisfied to see hundreds of the men who struggle to maintain his dignity as grand chief cloven down and exiled to idleness as a penalty for their manly devotion.

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worth several tons of cure"; in a sentence, common sense is to play a conspicuous part as a prevention and a panacea.

THE RAILWAY TIMES, unlike P. M. Arthur, is not satisfied with the outcome of the Lehigh Valley strike. The TIMES deploras the result of a strike which subjects manly men to the acceptance of "what they can get," especially when they get only defeat and all the ills and sacrifices which defeat entails. For the men the TIMES has only words of profound sympathy. They were deserving of a better fate. The Lehigh Valley officials, as full of duplicity as tarantulas are of venom, have begun cutting down the wages of those of their employes who struck, and the work of spoliation will doubtless continue until the employes have paid every farthing of the real or estimated cost of the strike to the Lehigh Valley Company. Thus ends a most disastrous strike to the employes who engaged in it, and those who were foremost in the strike, who had the courage of their convictions and were accounted leaders in a noble cause, are the men the company has selected to pay the severest penalties. Unlike P. M. Arthur, they are not in a smiting mood, nor are they satisfied with what they get, which is the undeserved penalty of idleness. Again the TIMES tenders the employes on the Lehigh Valley, who dared to strike, its sympathies, and expresses the hope that for them the outlook may soon be brighter.

PENALTIES FOR PRINCIPLE.

The Railway Conductor for December, in summing up his review of the Lehigh Valley strike, concludes that the strike was settled "in a manner that must be highly satisfactory to all true friends of organized labor." We regret that the facts in the case, as they come under our observation, are such as to prompt us to dissent from the verdict of the Conductor. We have it upon the authority of the strikers themselves that at this writing about seven hundred, or more than one third of them, are out of a job, left out in the cold, and viewed in this light the strike can hardly be claimed as an overwhelming success. But this is not all, nor the worst of all. In taking back the old employes, the officials were careful to see it that those who were active in the strike were not reemployed; they were told that their places were filled and thus the penalty of having the courage of their convictions was visited upon them with cruel severity. Nor is this all. Soon after the strike was settled a sweeping reduction of wages was ordered to affect only the scabs and the striking employes—they were put upon the same level—those who remained at work, preferring the odium of scabbing to a manly defense of a principle, not being included in the reduction, the officials declaring that they must be rewarded for their fidelity to the company.

We profess to be "true friends of organized labor," but we cannot admit that such a settlement is "highly satisfactory" to us.

A dispatch from Wilkesbarre says that "immediately after the strike was declared off, the strikers made a rush for Superintendent Esser's office. The latter said: 'Gentlemen, you deserted the road voluntarily. We had to run our trains and we got other men. They are now doing their work faithfully. There are some vacancies and these I will fill with the first men who return and report for duty.' When Esser finished talking a number of men called out, 'Please put my name down at once.' One man who had been active in the strike asked that his name be put down. Esser said: 'Your place is filled.' Some of the strikers claimed that the grand chiefs had sold them out."

At Jersey City the men, when they reported for duty, were told that when they were wanted they would be sent for.

In his first official circular to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, as it appeared in the Firemen's Magazine, Grand Master Sargent says the strike is one of life and death, that "we cannot afford to be beaten," that it means "the annihilation of organized labor" on the Lehigh Valley, that "everything depends on the result."

In his official circular declaring the strike off, Mr. Sargent said: "Each day demonstrated to the satisfaction of the grand officers that the company was gaining ground, more trains were being run, and the business handled to better advantage." \* \* \* "Every train from the West brought in additional recruits for the company's service, and each day the number of trains sent over the divisions increased in like proportions, there being but one division where there seemed to be anything like victory for the strikers." \* \* \*

"It was the unanimous expression of the general chairman that the strike should be ended; that every day the company were gaining ground, more trains were being run and with better success, while they were constantly adding to the list of their employes." \* \* \*

"There is to be considered," the grand master continues, "the conditions which may present themselves if the strike continues until the time comes when the places of all the old employes have been filled, and there is nothing left to be done but to declare the strike off and send out over the country the hundreds of men who have for years been employed by the Lehigh Valley Company."

Doubtless Grand Master Sargent and his colleagues did the very best that could be done under the circumstances, and that was to declare the strike off on the best terms the company was willing to offer, and get as many of the men back as there were still vacancies for.

assurance that it would be lived up to any more in the future than it had been in the past. The officials also conceded that they would take back as many of the strikers as they had any use for, reserving and exercising the right to have no use for those who had been active, that is to say, for those of courage, manliness and self-sacrifice. Another concession was that the officials would permit grievances of employes to be presented in precisely the same manner as they were presented before the strike occurred. Nowhere is there the slightest reference to the recognition of organization or the representatives of organization, and as this was the vital principle upon which the "life and death" struggle was made, it is clear that the organizations were compelled to concede this principle, for the sake of which hundreds of manly men, supporters of organized labor, now find themselves out of a situation.

Oh, no, the settlement is not "highly satisfactory" to the "true friends of organized labor," nor indeed satisfactory at all to any friend of organized labor.

It was a fight between the Federation and the Lehigh Valley. The issue was squarely made. The Federation lost. Had the Federation won, the declaration would at once have gone forth that this contest demonstrated the invulnerability of the Federation, and triumphantly vindicated its unconquerable power.

Grand Chief Clark is credited with having said, "If we can only get the shop men out we can win," and with suggesting the expediency of making the effort. It would have been a fruitless undertaking. The shop men, like the switchmen, were not pulling chestnuts out of the fire. Just at that particular juncture they wanted none of P. M. Arthur's "entangling alliances."

But the disaster will not be without its good results, notwithstanding the utter demoralization of the organizations on the Lehigh Valley system. Having faith in the future, we predict that the defeat of the men will yet be turned to victory for organized labor. The one lesson taught is Unification. As long as there is division there will be defeat and disaster. Unity alone insures success, and had such unity prevailed in the Lehigh Valley, not merely in the train service, but in the office, shop, yard and track service, all combined, from end to end and from center to circumference, the strike would have been won—better still, it would not have occurred.

WHY THE "WORTHY" POOR?

If there is anything connected with these unfortunate times better calculated than all others to arouse a feeling of indignation, it is the talk about helping the "worthy poor." To read the newspaper accounts of charity balls and the formation of relief societies, one would think that there were two distinct classes in need; that one class is poor because they can't help it, and the other by choice.

As a matter of course, there are a few professional tramps in the country, but compared to the army of the idle they are an infinitesimal number. The percentage of the human family that will voluntarily live on the crusts begged from back doors, when work can be had, is so exceedingly small that it has no more to do with this question than a snowflake has with increasing the depth of the ocean. In times of commercial prosperity the tramp lives principally in the fertile brains of plutocratic editors who write excuses for their masters, and in the comic publications hard pushed for childish jokes.

Among those in destitute circumstances today there will be found a smaller percentage of impostors than in any other class of people. Why? Simply because rascals can easily take care of themselves and do not need to eat from the hand of charity. Scoundrels and impostors seek better quarters than the relief barracks. They infest every good and bad institution. You may find them in the very work of raising money for the poor. You may find them in the church or the gambling den. You may find them in political life by the thousands, using their places for personal gain, living at the public crib and prating about the "worthy poor."

There would be no poor, "worthy" or otherwise, if it were not for the unworthy rich.

THE OBJECTORS.

There is a class of the human family that always objects to progress. It has enough of the parrot to talk and enough of the mule to kick. It makes no stir in the world except when some invention attracts public attention. It has never failed to ridicule the best ideas ever produced and never will. To its moss-covered eyes the greatest inventors and discoverers appear to be clowns. It laughed at Harvey, it made merry at the expense of Watt, it roared over the "folly" of Fulton. It chuckled at the "insanity" of Franklin, pooh-poohed the "nonsense" of Morse, talked of mobbing Whitney, treated Howe with contempt, said Field was a lunatic and grew hilarious over the work of Edison.

But the world moved right along. Steam lifted the burden from labor, lightning was harnessed, the cotton gin added untold wealth to the country, the sewing machine abolished household slavery, the continents were united with a chain of intelligence, the telephone added a thousand miles to the range of the human voice and the arc light turned night into day.

So while the objectors scoff, while the thoughtless ridicule, the world moves. The old must forever give way to the new.

ONE of the amusing things to the Lehigh officials must have been the press dispatches recently from two cities. They appeared in the same column. One was a statement that the strike had been settled, and the other that it had never been mentioned.

WEAPON OF THE BALLOT.

Education is one of the watchwords of a new movement. Organization is merely the first step—a marshaling of the inquirers. The ballot is the weapon with which future battles must be won, and thorough drilling in its use can begin none too soon. So far, organization of labor in the United States has been little more than a disconcerted protest—blind resistance of vaguely comprehended evils. The pain of existing conditions is less and tangible enough, but on the question of the cause and remedy there is wide difference of opinion. This is because we look at the problem from different levels of knowledge regarding the intricate whole. When all countless groups of conflicting thinkers are given the same time to investigation, they reach the same general conclusions; at they will agree sufficiently to move forward together along the line of common interest.

Education, then, is a prime object of organization. As its light spreads, the power of the ballot will be recognized and put to practical use. Those who believe in peaceful revolution have nothing else to hang a hope upon.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS.

A glance at the opposite page gives an idea of the excellent character of the contributions our readers may expect. W. T. S. is the brilliant journalist and reformer, also famous in the United States as in Europe. Points out a truth of vital consequence. Joseph R. Buchanan, the well-known labor editor of the American Press Association, contributes a timely article on the situation. The popular writer Marie Louise and James Middleton talk entertainingly, and in the next number others will be introduced.

If labor had less charity and more justice fewer people would be hungry.

SOME people seem to think that dropping a dollar in the charity fund covers a multitude of sins.

THE Lehigh men did some good striking. It was one of the finest armies ever left leaderless on the field.

THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION is founded upon the principle that the man who oils an axle is as good as the one who pulls a throat.

THE average church attendance in Chicago has recently increased wonderfully—on account of the doors being thrown open to the homeless at night.

NOBODY is starving because there has been a famine. The harvests are bountiful. Reason some of us are hungry is because we have more than they can eat.

In the shadow of the grandest palace found the most wretched hut. The millionaire is productive of tramps. To reach the happy medium extremes must be abolished.

IT is a significant fact that the grand chief who says the four-dollar-a-day man has no interests in common with the two-dollar-a-day man, never fails to shriek for two-dollar-a-day help when he gets into a strike.

IT is not a strange coincidence that immediately after the close of the Lehigh Valley strike, there was a spontaneous demand for the American Railway Union. A federation, however perfect, if only a small percentage of the employes, will not answer the demand. The complete unification of the whole service is required—and is inevitable. THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION is marching across the continent with majestic stride.

MR. JOHN C. NOLAN, who can write after his name "Chairman of the General Grievance Committee of the Great Northern Railway," has earned a little inexpensive notoriety by contributing a paragraph a column long to the Minneapolis Tribune, in which he explains what a set of fools the projectors of the AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION are. He pronounces the declaration of principles "rot."

If you have the courage of your convictions, Mr. John C. Nolan, you are cordially invited to meet one of these simpletons before an audience at any place of your own choosing and let the public be the judge of results. Minneapolis would be an excellent place for the debate.

WHEN the Lehigh Valley strike was about to be ordered, Grand Chief Arthur, who was at Cleveland, quite near the scene of action headed for the West, and when the strike broke, was found at St. Louis, trying, so said, to settle some grievances for the strikers employed by the St. Louis Bridge Company. He deputized an assistant to the Lehigh Valley battle. What would he have thought of the Duke of Wellington, military captain if on the eve of Waterloo had commissioned a corporal to lead British forces in the impending battle of Bonaparte while he was miles to quell a riot in a kind of comparison is not an unfair one. Negotiations now pending. In even the remotest prospect, Grand Chief Young front to assume the responsibility and receive the censure.

The grand chief is constantly drawing the party alliance and "union" policies reap their bitter harvest in the hands of Ricks and Tamm. Best Hans's



FAITH.

History tells us of these dreadful encounters and the repeated routing of labor's forces. In 1358, the insurrection of the Jacquerie swept over France like a hurricane. Political authority was annihilated, and the tillers of the soil were butchered as if they had been snakes or tigers, the king presiding over the butchery. In 1380, the exasperated voice of Wat Tyler called his fellow rustic serfs to arms against an authority whose despotism and rapacity had become unbearable. But the awful tragedy of the French Jacquerie was repeated. The king of England led the expedition against the starving peasants. With his royal eye he ordered a general massacre of the rebels, and with his own royal eyes he feasted on the heaps of hacked human flesh, quivering in rivers of blood.

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past, the toilers have tried to liberate him by political action only. They failed. Later on, they tried to liberate him with economic weapons only. They failed. Now they see the necessity of using both political and economic means—success is theirs.

THE NEW MOVEMENT.

I have long believed that the hope of the labor movement must rest in an improved form of organization; that the old forms and methods are inadequate to protect the workers under the new systems of industry. I believe that we will fail to accomplish anything of lasting benefit until we thoroughly realize that "an injury to one is the concern of all," and have adopted practicable means to exercise the power of all when any are in need of support. I fully agree with my friends of the old school of trades-unionism that each trade must be allowed to control the regulations of its distinctive calling; but the labor movement should have a aim higher than the mere making of wage scales and shop rules. We have shown that we recognized this truth by our efforts in the past to secure the co-operation of the different branches of labor to support the claims of one branch, or to enforce some generally accepted proposition. This principle must be extended, and the forms of existing organizations so changed as to make it of national application.

the affairs of the bank "the thirty-five millions of capital was all gone, to the last dollar. The seventy-six millions of assets sworn to the month before she suspended for the last time either could not be discovered or were worthless."

WHAT THE PRESS SAYS OF THE UNION.

This is a new organization but recently launched forth, its objects and aims being that which will pertain most to the welfare of all railroad employees, and is noble, grand and broad. It includes in its organization every class of railroad men, and so broad and grand are its motives that its growth has been almost phenomenal, and exceeding that of any organization of the same order. The headquarters of the General Union are in Chicago, and are presided over by E. V. Debs, whose work for the purpose of bettering the condition of railroad men is well known.

is the only feasible and practical method of federation can be brought about. The American Railway Union has found a way of bringing the old idea that a mass who meet per month is better than the mass that meet per month. It claims that all American workers by nature are equally endowed, and men who act honorably are entitled to the same consideration without question of vocation (if it be honorable). The American Railway Union wants to see every man, woman, and child, who is eligible, come in. In the lodgerooms, after the regular order of business is through, we take up questions that are of interest to all, and appoint the most intelligent members to speak for the instructions of all. We expect later on to have a public library, gymnasium, reading-rooms, etc., etc.

The World's Opinion.

Commenting on the new movement, the New York World, the leading middle-class journal of the United States, says: A labor organization formed to better their condition through independent political action is that recently started at Chicago, called the American Railway Union. It promises to be one of the most powerful labor organizations in the West. It admits all classes of railway employees to membership. The men at the head of the organization are of undoubted prestige and popularity with railroad employees. Its President, Eugene V. Debs, is a business man of no small merit, the editor of the Locomotive Fireman's Magazine, acknowledged to be one of the best labor periodicals in the country.

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A Foothold in Milwaukee.

A mass meeting of railroad men, to organize a lodge of the American Railway Union, will be held in Germania Hall, Public Library Building, Grand avenue, on Sunday, January 14, at 7 o'clock P. M. Eugene V. Debs, President of the Railway Union, one of the best known men in railway circles in the United States, will address the meeting. The American Railway Union is a mutually protective organization whose members include all the grades of railway workers from sectionmen to locomotive engineers. It was organized in June last, in Chicago, and now has 125 lodges in different states, and is rapidly extending to every section of the country.—Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin.

American Railway Union.

A new department was inaugurated November 25, at the A. O. U. W. hall in this city, the organization of railway employees by organizing local union No. 29, of the American Railway Union. Chief among the promoters of the new organization is Eugene V. Debs, long connected with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, and a man of large influence in labor movements. His name is a sufficient guarantee of the integrity of the new order. Existing organizations have accomplished much toward bettering the fare of railway employees, but the past has shown defects that have led to thinking men of the necessity of a new Chief among existing evils is the expense of maintaining present organizations. The result of delinquent membership, thus rendering a spirit of bitterness which eventually works to the detriment of the order and swelling the ranks of the unorganized with the worst element.—Fl. Madison Plaindealer.

Twenty-five at Once.

The Denver News, speaking of Howland's second visit to that city in November, says: Twenty-five new members were added to the local lodge of the American Railway Union at the meeting, Thirty-third Market street, last night. W. Howard delivered an address which was frequently interrupted by applause. He spoke of the power of the railroad corporations. They have begun to learn that a well-trained phalanx of experienced business men as a vanguard to a united battalion of brother workers is many times better than struggling factions trying to enforce their demands by mere independent effort.

Growing Rapidly.

The American Railway Union held a very enthusiastic meeting on Sunday, December 10, at 55 South Fourth street, and several stirring speeches were made by members of other railway organizations, and while it was conceded that those organizations had done a great deal of good, still conditions were changing and it was necessary for the organizations to change to meet new conditions. About seventy-five joined the American Railway Union at the close of the meeting. The next meeting will be held at 55 South Fourth street, on Sunday evening, December 24.—Minneapolis Union.

Flourishing at Spokane.

The members of the new American Railway Union are showing great enthusiasm in their work. Last Friday evening fifteen new members were received. About twenty more are promised this week and by the time the charter arrives, about the middle of this month, they predict the rolls will show more than 100 names. All the other orders are already represented in the Spokane lodge, even the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, in spite of the old rule that its members must join no other labor society. "We will have 250 members in Spokane before spring," said one of the enthusiasts. "The order has already taken in about every railroad man at Sprague, and the outcome in this city will in the end be the same."—Spokane Chronicle.

Increasing at Memphis.

Local Union No. 38, of the A. R. U., at a good meeting last Friday night, still increased her already large and growing membership by the addition of a goodly number of new applicants. The news from all sections is very favorable to this now rapidly growing organization, and the more it is agitated and its merits promulgated, the more do the railway employees see and realize its great necessity, and that under its united and harmonious workings they will be the better able to secure their just and proper protection and independence. The union was very ably entertained by W. H. Sebring, who made some very interesting remarks, giving some particulars as to the rapid growth of this young giant among railroad organizations. Regular meeting next Friday night at 209 Main street, where some matters of importance will be transacted.—Memphis Commercial.

The Yoakum Union.

A clipping sent in from a Yoakum local paper shows that the members of that union are alert and progressive. Among the interesting things the author of the article says: Our object is to make the lodgerooms a library and literary studio for the workmen, a place where he can look forward to with eagerness and hail with delight. He can go to spend a pleasant hour, and forget the toils of the day, and go to his family with a happy and encouraged face. The members of labor societies are to be encouraged to do this.

WHERE GENERALS BELONG.

Under such circumstances the selfish instinct has dominated the man, and he has been blind to the world outside his immediate field, and has failed to see that the good of all would ultimately be conserved by the defense of the one at that time the especial object of attack. If I understand the American Railway Union, it has overcome these tendencies natural under the brotherhood system. The new organization, while it recognizes the right of each calling to autonomy in the regulation of its own affairs in its central or general union, knows only a homogeneous collection of men engaged in railroading, and its general officers are not firemen, engineers or telegraphers, but railroad men. It is an easy matter to see how a grievance of one branch of the service would appeal to such officers in an altogether different manner from what it would plead to a man who is always guard against "my organization."

THE PANIC.

The panic through which we are now passing will take its place in history with the great panics of 1837, 1857 and 1873. As yet, sad as are its ill effects, it is doubtful if it has yet become as severe as those. If Congress should fail to make any provision for an increasing currency to take the place of the silver and coin treasury notes of the act of 1890, the distress that we have already passed through may be but a zephyr to what is coming. The panics of 1837 and 1873 were panics under protectionist tariffs, that of 1857 under a revenue tariff, while the present is under the most logical protectionist tariff we have ever had. It really started before Harrison's defeat, and was one of the causes that led to his defeat. The panic of 1837, when all the banks of the country suspended, was preceded by various forms of speculation, and phenomenal increase in land values. It was the culmination of the fight led by Andrew Jackson against the Second United States Bank. This bank was chartered in 1816 by Congress with a capital of \$35,000,000, and with authority to establish branches in the different states. Its notes were to be receivable for all dues against the United States, and the government funds were to be deposited in it so long as the secretary of the treasury should direct. The corruption which the bank wrought in public and private morals has probably never been equaled in this country. Its charter was to expire in 1836, but it was to be allowed two years longer to wind up its affairs.

ANN ARBOR CASE.

As all newspaper readers know, the case of James Lennon, the Lake Shore engineer who refused to obey the mandates issued by Judge Ricks to work during the strike and was fined \$50 for contempt, has gone to the supreme court and been denied a hearing on technical grounds. Commenting on the fact American Industries says: We cannot but feel that the spirit of the constitution has been violated, whether the letter has or not. To be sure, Counselman James C. Carter at a \$10,000 fee, to represent him, while Lennon were overalls and carried a dinner pail; the constitution, however, makes no distinction in classes. If the law is to stand in the shape of this last decision, workmen need to organize as they never needed to before.

ONE FATAL MISTAKE.

One fatal mistake in the construction of the "Cedar Rapids" federation is that it offers protection to but five classes of employees out of the whole vast army clamoring for it. What we need is something that covers the whole ground. To succeed in these days a labor organization must have a hearty and cordial cooperation of all the workers. The debt will be paid.

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WORKERS' ADVANCE.

disturbances in the realm of political and social economists, and misadjustment of the relations between labor and capital. The desirability of establishing a condition of peace between these two industrial factors have been by the workers themselves. The held on the part of the workers was not so much to work for their bread as they were opposed to work for providing food and security to their employers and rulers. Their industrial condition was looked upon by the upper class as one similar to that of the horse or any other useful domestic animal. That preconceived idea deterred people from paying any attention to the phenomenon we call at the present day labor, save to confine it within restrained and narrow limits and to deal severe chastisement to those toilers who, like a horse that kicks and balks, makes his insubordination ostensible to the masters and the rulers. The right of capitalists to exploit labor and use the laborers as they do beasts of burden, was based on the alleged decree of God whose pleasure it was to consign the large majority of his creatures to misery, hardship, hunger, servitude and degradation, in order that a small minority may live on the fat of the land, lead in luxury and sports, and laughably dictate their wills to their poor, debilitated fellow-creatures out of whose labor they lived. The pretensions of the political rulers and of the industrial masters were sustained and strengthened by the similar pretensions of the spiritual rulers, they who assume to represent God on earth. The legislature invariably catered to the interests and safety of the spiritual and the temporal masters of the masses. The only care bestowed on laborers was to lay taxes on them as heavy as the utmost capacity of their earnings would permit. These taxes were levied to fill the pockets of the legislators who backed up the claims of capitalism, also to provide rods to flog the workman, prisons to confine him, gallows to hang him, soldiers to shoot him when he rebelled against his servile condition. (This condition of things, I beg to remark, existed way back in past centuries in Europe, previous to the time of Adam Smith and the new gospel of political economy he ushered in. In the present day, of course, the toiler's condition is improved, for the American constitution emphatically declares that "all men are born free and equal," and what the constitution says ought to be true.) Unfortunately for the repose of the upper strata of society, the toiler of the past—although occupying a place in the industrial world identical with that of the horse and being also inclined to balk and kick when ill-used—possessed a faculty for reasoning superior to that of his equine companion. As the yoke on his shoulders grew heavier and tighter, he was impelled to inquire into the causes that so disjoined the industrial machinery and to set out the force that propelled it regardless of the jarring of the wheels. Before Adam Smith spoke, the toiler had scientific acumen to take cognizance of the different and various factors which constituted the industrial body. The division of labor, machinery, cost, price, profit, loss, demand and supply, relation of production to consumption; proportion of price of commodities to wages—these and the rest of economic science analyzed and classified by Adam Smith, Ricardo, J. B. Say, Louis Blanc, P. J. Proudhon, J. S. Mills, and Karl Marx and others—were unknown to the average intelligent workman. The toiler of the beginning of this century diagnosed the morbid symptoms that convulsed the realm of production, and careful investigations, he became convinced that the motive power propelling the jarring and creaking machinery was the toiler. Thus placed face to face with the cause of his subjection, he appealed to political authority for redress of their wrongs. To his appeal the political authority replied with the most unscrupulous and unfeeling attitude. Then the toiler, in his despair, measured his physical strength, and he tried to liberate him by political action only. They failed. Later on, they tried to liberate him with economic weapons only. They failed. Now they see the necessity of using both political and economic means—success is theirs.

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