

The Railway Times.

Vol. 1.

CHICAGO, JANUARY 15, 1894.

STARTED GRANDLY.

TERRE HAUTE SWINGS INTO LINE.

Big Local Union Formed at the Headquarters City of the B. L. F.—Debs and Howard Address the Audience—Over 200 Charter Members.

Two hundred charter members in the headquarters city of one of the old brotherhoods is not half bad. Such success must have been very gratifying to Messrs. Debs and Howard, who instituted the local union at Terre Haute on the evening of January 10. In giving an abbreviated account of the meeting the Terre Haute Express speaks as follows:

President Debs and Vice-President Howard of the American Railway Union addressed a large and enthusiastic audience of railroad men at Hirzel's Hall on North Ninth street last night.

Seven hundred chairs had been placed in the hall, most of which were filled. A handsome crayon portrait of President Debs hung on the wall at the west end of the room. It was the largest gathering of railroad men ever assembled in Terre Haute, and beyond all doubt the most enthusiastic. The meeting was indeed a big success, as the charter list contains the names of 201 railroad men, and more will be added from day to day.

Mr. George W. Howard was introduced to the audience, and he talked very entertainingly, everybody being much pleased with his speech. After speaking of the old orders, their grand chiefs, the way the conventions were conducted, he said that he knew everybody wanted to hear their fellow-townsmen speak, and he would give way to Mr. Debs. In an introduction speech, Mr. Howard spoke of the career of the president of the Railway Union in glowing terms, going back twenty-five years ago.

Mr. Debs then came forward, and in the smooth, easy tone everybody loves to hear, spoke of the American Railway Union, its purposes and benefits. In substance the president said in part:

"There is no desire or intention on my part to say anything of the old organizations to belittle or injure them. All have been organized for a purpose, which has been the benefit of their members. This they have tried hard to do. But from the time they were first organized there has been no material change in their manner of seeking to benefit their members.

"The conditions of the railway service have materially changed in the past ten years. No further back than ten years there were hundreds of small railroads from 100 to 300 miles in length, which were operated independently of any corporation or system of roads. With a few exceptions, no such state of affairs now exists. The big lines are branching out, absorbing the smaller lines until they are now in position to successfully cope with the united strength of the six federated railroad orders. The brotherhoods remain the same as when first organized, having taken no steps to meet the onslaughts a united capital can wage. If I may refer to the past history of the orders now organized in the railway service when engaged in strikes, I can recall nothing but a succession of defeats.

"The strike on the Ann Arbor was a failure; the strike at the C. B. & Q. was a failure; the Lehigh Valley strike was a failure; in fact, every strike which has been declared by the grand chiefs of the old brotherhoods has been a failure. And why? Simply because there has been a lack of unity; a feeling of enmity and jealousy; a desire to build up one organization at the expense of another. This hatred and jealousy has existed in the brotherhoods for years. The opinion has prevailed that the man who makes \$5 a day has nothing in common with the man making \$1.10 a day; there has been a kind of aristocracy, the \$5 man holding himself aloof from the \$1 man. There is contention between the switchmen and the trainmen, and so long as the present system of organization exists there always will be. History of strikes has shown that trainmen have taken the positions of switchmen at critical moments in time of trouble. There is that lack of confidence and unity which can exist only when all branches of the service are united under one banner, each striving to uphold and help along the other.

"It requires a good deal of money to maintain membership in the old organizations; their laws require members to take out insurance, and other minor expenses foot up quite a small sum. These fees must be paid, and any member failing to do so is summarily expelled from the order. There are times when these sums cannot be had by the member, and no matter how industriously he may seek work in an effort to secure the necessary amount, the failure to do so brings the dreaded result. This state of affairs happens not only occasionally, but many just such happen daily. The result can plainly be seen. With the stigma of being a scab upon him, he is exiled from his former associates and brothers, berated at and the epithet of scab constantly hurled at him. There are thousands upon thousands of these men in the country, and the united strength of organized railroad employees embraces but 20 per cent of the service.

"A strike is declared. The organized men will work, but the road officials have no trouble in getting their places. The issue is not

but to look around them to find the man who was jeered at, called a scab—an ex-brotherhood man. He is seeking revenge and gets it. I might refer to dozens of strikes, all of which have been failures. On the Lehigh Valley alone, where five organizations went out at once, they were whipped, and today out of the 1,800 men who went out but 600 again secured places at its termination. The C. B. & Q. had to spend \$10,000,000 to defeat organized labor, but they did it. And why were the men defeated? Simply because there was a lack of harmony; no thorough organization.

"The railroads have constantly prepared and fortified themselves to fight organized labor. At Chicago an association of managers was organized, the purpose of which, as published, is to assist each other in combating organized labor; to listen to no protests of their employees. They are bound, should one of the roads in their organization get into trouble, to help them out of it. With such an existing state of affairs, how can railway labor, organized into different branches, all of which are more or less antagonistic to each other, expect to successfully cope with them? The situation requires that a closer union be effected, less jealousy, no antagonism, an organization where stands the \$5 a day man and the \$1 man both on an equal footing, one not striving to be aristocratic over the other, but with friendship existing so that the poorly paid member may say to his more fortunate brother, 'Your cause is my cause; your grievance mine; what is beneficial to you is likewise beneficial to me.' When this is brought about, when the \$5 man can look upon the \$1 man as a brother who has interests in common with his own, then will strikes cease, or if one is declared, it will win, and win quick.

"There is hardly one in this audience but remembers the E. & T. H. strike. Captain Grammer ordered a 10 per cent reduction in wages. The engineers were willing to accept it, but the trainmen, switchmen, trackmen, in fact every branch of service said 'No,' and when it was known that the protest came from both organized and unorganized the president of the E. & T. H. the next day sent out notices that no reduction would be made.

"Aristocracy in this case was banished from the ranks of labor where it did not belong. The engineers are possibly able to stand a 10 per cent reduction, but the man earning but \$1.10 was not. By making the cause of one the cause of all, the road officials wisely withdrew the order. Within five years, I firmly believe, at least within ten years, there will be just two railroad corporations east of the Mississippi river. These two systems will be those of the Vanderbilts and the Pennsylvania Company. I would say a few words to those of you that are employed on the Vandalia Line. It is only a matter of a short time, I believe, when it will pass entirely to the Pennsylvania. Before the recent change you had every assurance you would always receive a fair and impartial hearing on all subjects and otherwise be fairly dealt with. Both Mr. McKeen, the president, and also its general manager, I think, are two of the 'whites' and 'squarest' men in the railroad business today.

"You will be long, however, be in the employ of the great Pennsylvania Company with its insurance attachment, which, whether you desire it or not, you must take out. You who have heretofore had your interests looked after will be called upon to help yourself and you should be prepared. For years organized and unorganized labor has been blinded. It has allowed others to think and act for it. The American Railway Union will endeavor to bring its members to a fuller realization of this fact, and will impress upon their minds the importance of studying and thinking for themselves. The union is founded on broad lines. It proposes to, so far as possible, bring about a kind of reform in legislative matters—not as republicans or democrats, but as a united body of railroad employees, comprising every branch—as will insure them the same justice as that accorded the corporation.

"Corporations have and are today scanning the field of railway labor. They know just when to attack. They know the weak spots. The courts are becoming a great feature in settling and preventing strikes. Numerous plans have been practiced by railroad corporations to gain in a contest with organized labor. In many instances they provoke the strike purposely to gain their ends. The Northern Pacific has introduced the latest scheme. Before ordering a reduction, which would be sure to end in a strike, the corporation very cunningly places the road in the hands of receivers who act subject to the order of the court. The reduction was then ordered, and at the same time the road asked for an order restraining the men from striking; restraining the engineers from refusing to handle their cars. Is there any justice in a court that restrains men from quitting? Should the same men ask the court to restrain the corporation from discharging a man or from cutting their wages, they would be laughed at.

"The Union Pacific has been pretty thoroughly organized, and the American Railway Union is in a flourishing condition. Nearly every other western road has made deep cuts in wages, but on the Union Pacific none has been asked. And why? Simply because there was an organization on the system that was a perfect one, and it was not antagonized." During the speeches of both Mr. Howard and Mr. Debs reference was frequently made to little incidents in the life of every railroad that were much enjoyed. Mr. Debs' story about the switchmen, who were always the loyal friends of every railroad man, and who are generally a little too anxious to engage in trouble, was very true and not a little amusing. Both speakers were frequently interrupted by applause.

At the conclusion of Mr. Debs' speech the local union was organized and the following officers elected:

LABOR IN BOHEMIA.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS DESCRIBED.

Organization Just Beginning—Closely Watched by the Government—Church and State Unite to Enslave the People—Distressing Poverty.

Last Tuesday evening Mme. Josefa Humpal-Zeman, of Bohemia, lectured before the Social Science Club, at Hull House, and gave her hearers some exceedingly interesting information about the condition of the people of that little country whose history is so vivid with dramatic vicissitudes. Mme. Zeman speaks English almost without an accent and talked rapidly and fluently for an hour.

There are about the same divisions of the people into classes there, she said, as in this country—the aristocracy, the middle class and the laboring people. There is no particular difference except that the aristocracy is titled and the laboring people are kept in closer subjection. Of the last-named class the men and women are upon an exact equality. Both work at all outdoor occupations, plowing, harvesting or hod carrying, and neither have the right to vote. Wages are very low and the price of provisions very high. A peasant who earns 35 cents a day must pay \$1.25 cents a pound for coffee and 20 cents a pound for meat, if they ever get it. Flour is 11 cents a pound. Potatoes are the staff of life. The most rigid economy is necessary to existence and this is why our immigrants from there find it possible to soon reach comfortable circumstances in this country.

Organization among the laboring people is just beginning and is moving at a snail's pace. The great impediment in the way, said the lecturer, is the fact that the schools are in the hands of the Church and State, and slavish submission is so thoroughly ground into the children from infancy that it is nearly impossible to arouse them to independent thought and action. Education is compulsory, but it is the cast-iron, made-to-order, brand-of-authority kind that has retarded the world for centuries. The unfettered truth is not permitted to enter the schoolroom.

Social and industrial progress is systematically retarded by the government. Its spies swarmed everywhere. While the espionage of suspected persons is not so autocratic as in Russia the system is the same. The speaker related the misfortunes of a young woman of noble intellect whose desire to better the condition of the people provoked the displeasure of the government. She was a teacher in the public schools. Her first offense was to gather small children up in the beer gardens and entertain them in the play grounds away from their boisterous parents. This looked as though she might be quietly teaching them forbidden doctrines! Then a certain socialist was sent to jail and this young woman went to his house and remained with his dying wife. That settled it in the acute mind of the government inspector and she was expelled from her school for the crime of "sympathizing with socialists." She is now watched by the government as a rattlesnake gloats over a crippled dove, and every letter and paper addressed to her is opened and read by the inspectors.

The difficulty of doing much in the way of labor organization may be easily understood from the fact that no public meeting can be held without one of these inspectors being present. If the least shade of criticism is apparent the speakers are promptly squelched. They have the right to speak only so long as they exhibit the utmost respect for the powers that be. There is also a strict censorship over the press, and any paragraph, line or word which does not meet with the censor's approval is stricken from the proofsheet and must appear in blank when the paper is printed.

In accounting for the reason that Germany is so very far ahead of Bohemia in point of social development and personal liberty, Mme. Zeman said she thought it was to be charged in a large measure to the hold the Church had upon the people of Bohemia and the reverse of that condition in Germany. This declaration raised an animated discussion. Questions were asked the lecturer from the various points of view of the inquirers, many of whom evidently did not relish the idea, but they only served to emphasize the original point. Finally, the direct question, "Are we to understand that in the forward and upward movement of the people of Bohemia the Church and State are allies to prevent it?" was answered by an unqualified "Yes," and the subject was abandoned.

The general condition of the common people was described as anything but desirable. A servant girl might receive about \$20 a year from which she must clothe herself. Other wages are in proportion, but prices are excessive. A coat or dress is often handed down from one generation to another. A foreign nobility, like a swarm of parasites, lives in luxury on the labor of the unfortunate country, and is likely to continue the vampire act until there is a closer union of labor's forces throughout the world.

Sure to be Seen.

Merchant—I wish this dry goods advertisement put in some part of the paper where the women will be sure to see it.
Editor—Why get another man? When you want to print anything where the women will be sure to see it, we put it elsewhere of a

THE FELLOW IN GREASY JEANS

CHAR. F. LUMIS IN Frank Leslie's.

When! How the drivers hammer!
We are late by an hour or more;
We sway and swerve on the ringing curve,
And the bridges reel and roar.

Look how the engine lurches—
And out of its window cranes,
With gray eyes wed to the track ahead,
A fellow in greasy jeans.

Scarcely looks like the fellow
To trust with so grave a care—
In that grimy face 'twere hard to trace
The metal that should be there.

Faster we roar and faster—
The hand at the throttle shows
Steady enough, if the face is rough—
And the landscape melts and flows.

Into the cut—and horror!
There death has the right of way!
The whistle wakes to a shriek for brakes;
And what does his swift brain say?

Jump, for Moll and the babies,
And for dear life's love supreme!
Jump from the doom of a crumpling tomb
And the hell of the howling steam!

Stay, for the hero's duty,
The trust of a hundred lives!
Stay, for the sake of the hearts would break,
And for others' babes and wives!

He stays! with white teeth gritting,
And with hands that snatch again,
The monster reels on reversing wheels,
And the air-brake chokes the train.

We are safe with our scratches—
There's only the engine wrecked.
And the engineer! Oh, well, I fear
That's only what all expect.

And in the torn steel's chaos
I read what our life ordains,
And shivering pause—for you cinder was
The fellow in greasy jeans!

DON'T BE PIGGISH.

When the labor world is demanding the eight-hour day in order that a few shall not work long hours while others remain idle, it is in order for the individual toilers to practice what they preach.

One objection to the capitalists is that they are piggish. They are not satisfied with plenty—with all they can use—but wish to live in wasteful luxury while others starve. According to a writer in a recent number of the Chicago Record, labor is not wholly free from this inclination to gross selfishness. Writing from Corwith, Illinois, under the nom de plume of "Live and Let Live," he says:

"During the present hard times the question is often asked: 'Are the different labor unions trying to divide up the work among their members, so that all may live until the wheels of commerce commence to turn again?'" We find that a great many of the different organizations are trying to keep their members from starvation by dividing up the work. Other labor unions have a large majority of their members earning large monthly salaries, while scores of men belonging to the same organizations (equally as competent as their more fortunate brothers), employed by the same corporation, in the same capacity, are waiting for the necessities of life, they not being allowed to earn enough to keep the wolf from the door. Such a state of affairs exists in the ranks of one of the most prominent labor unions of the present day, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. On the largest railway system in the world, the Santa Fe, there are a large majority of the regular engineers who are making enough money to provide for three or four families. Some are drawing larger salaries than the officials, while the poor unfortunate extra men are kept scratching to make both ends meet. Some people may wonder how it is that the corporation allows a certain part of its employees to be so treated. Some years ago, when engineers were scarce, and when the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was in the zenith of its power, a contract was signed, which compelled the extra engineers to depend upon the regular men for a living. That contract still remains in force, and woe be to the poor extra man who dares to offend his generous brothers—the regular engineers—by asserting that as an American citizen he is entitled to some rights. Henceforth he is a marked man, until, starved out, he quits the service in disgust. The writer knows such to be the truth, because with his own eyes he has seen it.

The men who first caused the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers to exist believed in the principle "Live and let live." They conceded to their fellow-workmen the same rights which they were striving to obtain, but the majority of these men are now numbered with the clogs of the valley, their places have been filled with men of a different stamp. Railroad corporations cannot do business without extra men in all branches of the service. These men should not be thrown upon the generosity of their fellow-employees for a livelihood, but the heads of the different departments ought to have the authority to regulate the time made by their men so that all can live.

AN IMPORTANT DECISION.

A decision of great importance to the older brotherhoods has been made in the District Court at Keokuk. The verdict is referred to as follows in the press dispatches:

In the District Court today James F. Shields obtained judgment for \$1,000 against the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association of North America. Shields was a member of that order who held an accident policy. The association claimed he was not entitled to benefit on account of injuries sustained because he was behind in his dues. He contested the claim and the court decided in his favor, establishing a precedent.

The case will doubtless go to the Supreme Court, and if the decision stands, as able lawyers believe it will, it will open up endless litigation. Every claim of each of the organizations which has been rejected on the same grounds (and their name is legion) will come up for settlement. Some of these organizations which are already staggering under the financial burden and are being promptly

AUSTIN'S OPINION.

WHY THE A. R. U. IS SUCCESSFUL.

W. F. Austin Talks of the Union—Advantages Over the Old Brotherhoods—Some of Its Common-Sense Principles—No Boot Licking.

Never before has a labor organization received the recognition at the hands of journalists that is being accorded the AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION. From ocean's edge to land's end it is being ceaselessly talked about, and universally praised even in papers not exclusively devoted to the interests of labor, but which wish to present all the news of the labor world.

W. F. Austin, a special writer on the Fort Wayne Times, whose bright chat and shrewd analysis of industrial topics has made him exceedingly popular with readers of labor literature, recently made the UNION the subject of his weekly letter. This "Gath" of labor world discourses as follows in the Monday morning Times:

THE RAILWAY TIMES, the organ of the American Railway Union, has been lauded on the journalistic stream in Chicago. It is edited by L. W. Rogers, who is a cream of reform journalists, and will prosper, a prophecy that cannot truthfully be made about the average reform newspaper.

The future of the paper is assured, the organization for which it speaks is destined to take a place in union labor of importance and greater weight than has preceded it. It has been dominated by master hands. Its originators understand long experience the wants of the numeration to the calculi. They have declined office and good salaries for the sake, and headed by Eugene who fills my idea of the leader of this country, are fighters for the up.

The inherent weakness of the union is in believing that the bulldog will avail against the lion, which union labor is but a lion, which union labor not at all, many organizations bite and tear while the wielder laughs and goes on the each-for-itself out to battle with a whole division of other organizations gratulating themselves on a row, look placidly on the fellows. Further, the union is not equipped in the matter of brains to cope with the capitalist, often strikes at the wrong time and fails to strike at the right time.

A body including all or a large proportion of men in the same line, can be so generated as to not need to strike at all. Power carries with it respect, prudent people know who is a safe man to hit. Our own beloved country, for instance, under like circumstances in the Hawaii case, would not have landed mariners to "protect" American citizens in London or Paris. In that case we would advise arbitration.

The fundamental principle of A. R. U. is to "get together." There is no aristocracy, the trackman and truck handler stand on the same footing as the engineer. There are no expensive dues, no compulsory insurance. But there is an employment committee, and when a member is out of work the whole organization uses its efforts to get him employment. Every A. R. U. man can hold up his head. Strike one in Maine and it is felt clear to California. Beat one in Michigan and an army whose ranks run to Texas is bound to take it up for him. It is protection at first cost: on the ground floor.

The A. R. U. is democratic. The members need not lick boots. The president does not expect applause every time he opens his mouth; there is no boss rule. Few railroad brotherhoods, if any, can truthfully say this.

The A. R. U. does not interfere with membership in other brotherhoods. A B. L. E. or other order man can be loyal to both. A good Methodist or Catholic can—God forgive him—vote the democratic or republican ticket without being "churched." So it is with railroads and the A. R. U.

The growth of the latest addition to union labor has been phenomenal. One cannot keep track of its progress. In the West and South it has spread like wildfire, and its organizers are weeks behind. It has piled up lodges by the hundred and taken into its fold members by the thousand.

At this time it is the most refreshing incident in labor's struggle, for in its principles it will stand side by side with the Federation and the K. of L. It will educate. Banish ignorance and there will be no strikes, no labor trouble. The good will respect it, the greedy plutocrat will be forced to. No member of the A. R. U. wishes it more success in its career than the "boys" of the K. of L. and Federation.

Fort Wayne has a flourishing union, but wants everybody in. To further this laudable and much desired end, as soon as they can reach it, President Debs, Vice-President Howard and others will come to Fort Wayne to hold a joint love feast and boom meeting. Look in the Times for exact date, and come.

Bagley—How much would you charge to get me up a little cinder to send to my mother?
Debs—That depends on how many

President criticized stood of laboring patches "Y England traded of l acts are E ye h

when the Revolutionary war is also equal to three times the way employees of all classes States, Canada and Mexico, who their best. And Broadstreet's do whole truth either.

CHINESE ORGANIZATIONS
A story is going the rounds of press which is important, if true follows:

Lee Merriweather, of the bureau, says the Chinese workers in San Francisco are organized into unions to be found in this country, they seldom, if ever, lose a strike. He says that the Chinese are successful in their on account of the influence of the high who mercilessly enforce the regulations unions. If a Chinaman should re work before the strike was off, he would be blacklisted and would very soon He might go to the East or he might be deterred. Californians care so little Chinese that no inquiries are made.

Mr. Merriweather gives an instance shoe factory in which both whites and are employed. The proprietor issued that the laborers must stand while Both whites and Chinese struck for two weeks the white workers came back. The Chinese, who out until the employer saw that the Chinamen sat at work while laborers stood.

NECESSARY TO CO
Under this caption the Carnegie for December calls attention to the ness of the Lehigh Valley strike, and combination among the employees that the system federation scheme and frankly says so. It says:

It is desirable on the part of men that their just demands be met by their employers. Will it ever be long as the different branches do not roughly harmonize?
We fear not. We believe that efforts of all must be directed toward nation of some plan not only of federation employed upon some system of railway plan combining the workingmen of West, North and South—a combination of the laboring classes that is as broad country.

The plan is already in existence. Haven't you heard of the AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION?

A GREAT "VICTORY"
That is what the Railroad Times says of the Lehigh Valley strike. We give for which you were commended in the Telegrapher, and you will be commended in the Times. Look in the Times for exact date, and come.

Bagley—How much would you charge to get me up a little cinder to send to my mother?
Debs—That depends on how many

four hours a day, or a sum total, in a year of 300 working days, equal to 120 days, or 4 months of 30 days each.

To accomplish this great and substantial reform, strikes were numerous, sacrifices were great and courage of the highest order was demanded. The men who fought to redeem a few hours from toil for their physical and mental benefit were denounced as agitators, the enemies of capital, of themselves and of society. They did not reap for themselves a harvest of benefits. They did reap maledictions, idleness and want, but future generations have garnered the fruits of their patience and fortitude.

We hear it announced from all quarters that men are better paid now than they were fifty years ago. Where? Why? In lands where there have been strikes for honest wages, and only in such lands. What has been the advance in wages? Suppose we average it at 25 cents a day for all working-men, or \$75 a year; 10,000,000 workers would therefore gain \$2,500,000 a day, or for a year of 300 days \$750,000,000, and for 50 years the enormous sum total of \$37,500,000,000.

We hold, and history confirms the declaration that, as a general proposition, wages have advanced by virtue of strikes, or because demands were backed by a purpose to strike if not conceded. There may have been instances when capitalistic employers came forward and made an advance in the wages of their employes; but, if so, they have been few and far between, and in no wise affect the truth that strikes and the striking machinery of labor have won every advance in labor recorded in the past fifty years.

In this warfare for honest wages strikes have not always been successful, but taking into consideration all of the strikes, and it can be conceded that they have secured an advance of wages, and have maintained the same.

We are not an advocate of strikes under all circumstances, nor for every demand that may be made, nor are we discussing conditions, but we assert and challenge for the two redeeming facts of benefit to labor, the reduction of constituting a day's work and the credit is chiefly, if not entirely, to strikes. Nor are we unmindful of the noble men made who constitute a powerful foe. Thousands of men in the battle. But they fought for right and justice, and won. Today are the beneficiaries and their sacrifices, and unborn, as they learn the wisdom of their ancestors, will be blessed.

PROGRESS.

THE RAILWAY UNION expects a share of misrepresentation and organs of the great *Railway Age* has set the pace and begins the pleasant work as follows:

The American Railway Union, the new labor organization that desires to supplant the existing brotherhoods and orders, has issued a directory of its local unions, which it appears now number 116 in the United States, Canada and Mexico. This is a very small number of local societies for a national organization, and indicates that the new movement is making slow progress.

The *Railway Age* must feel that there is urgent need of doing what little it can in the interests of its patrons, the corporations, to discredit the new organization, when it ventures an assertion that makes it the laughing-stock of everybody acquainted with the history of railway labor organizations. Let us take a look at the past and see about this "slow progress" charged against us.

Infancy is the trying period of life for every thing. All labor organizations have struggled for recognition in the beginning and have grown exactly in the proportion that they demonstrated their worth. Not one of them obtained a respectable foothold in its first year. It took the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers not one year, but ten, to reach the point attained by the AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION in six months. The Order of Railway Conductors did not do it in the first ten years of its existence. The same is true of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.

So much for the older organizations. Let us now look at the later ones. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen had generous help from the firemen and others in its infancy, but it succeeded in organizing only thirty-seven lodges the first year. The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen closed its first year with but twenty-five lodges. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen instituted but twelve lodges in the first year of its career. The Brotherhood of Railway Conductors made an admittedly excellent record in the face of strong opposition, but established only thirty-two lodges during the first year in the field. In the first four months of its existence the American Railway Union organized more lodges than all four of them together got in a year. The first local union was established August 17, less than five months ago, and yet the order has a larger membership than the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, or Order of Railway Conductors could claim at ten years of age.

More than this, its aggregate membership for the first six months is greater than the aggregate number of members initiated the first year by all of the old organizations put together. Moreover, it is at present not only maintaining, but is increasing, this advantageous showing of comparative speed. Its growth, both by new unions and additions to the unions already organized, is daily adding practical proof of its remarkable success. In the presence of these facts the *Railway Age* has the effrontery to assert that "the new movement is making slow progress!" The *Age* has evidently been too busy licking corporation noses to know or care what is going on in the

MISSION OF THE CHURCH.

"Has God any business in this world, and if so, what? Has the Christian Church anything to do save worship? If it has, what is the province and sphere? One thing is certain, in great centers and cities like Chicago, where today stone, brick and marble, and iron temples and palaces throw their cold shadows over the dingy lanes and byways of poverty and wretchedness—from these centers the Church, as an institution, is fast retreating. Chicago has over 7,000 lodges, multitudinous clubs, and nearly 7,000 saloons, to about 350 churches. This shows with sickening and tremendous emphasis that the social life is not ranging itself around those centers where doctrines are discussed and men are instructed chiefly about another life."

The above is an extract from a sermon recently delivered by Rev. H. A. Delano, of the First Baptist church at Evanston, Illinois, on the subject: "Burning Questions Before the Churches of America."

Considering the attitude of the most of the churches today, and the indifference of the great majority of the ministers to the anomalous conditions of the country, and their own environments, the first three questions propounded in the above are strikingly pertinent.

Looking at the situation from the standpoint of Christianity, how can any thoughtful minister expect his labors to be blessed or the church work effective in the presence of the fact that ninety per cent of the ministry and church members seem wholly oblivious to conditions that are impoverishing the masses, and thereby degrading them?

All history—ancient and modern—proves that the inevitable result of the impoverishment of the people is their degradation—the increase of crime and immorality.

That this effect is plainly apparent in this country no one who is a close observer of the trend of affairs will deny, and yet these conditions are absolutely ignored by ninety per cent of the ministers and churches—the very element that should be first and foremost in correcting these great crying evils.

How long will church people shut their eyes to these things? It is not enough to relieve the distress of the poor. Charity is all right in its place, but it will not remove the cause. The root of the disease must be reached before any permanent cure can be effected.—*Commoner's Commoner.*

Such articles as the foregoing are of the sort to set men to thinking—that is to say, they ought to set men to thinking. Do they have that effect? Possibly to a limited extent. But as things go right along in the same old rut, we conclude that, generally, people are quite willing to have matters proceed in the old way; that they do not want a change. Indeed, if any change is required, what is it? The Rev. H. A. Delano does not specify what changes he would like to see. He does not want to arrest the building of "temples and palaces" of "stone, brick and marble." He does not say that he wants the number of saloons reduced, nor does he indicate what he wants the 350 churches to do.

We give the comments of the *Commoner*, to which we add some reflections of our own:

The Rev. Delano asks: "Has God any business in this world, and if so, what?"

How much more appropriate it would have been to have inquired, "Has the Church any business in this world, if so, what?" It would have been immensely pertinent to have asked, "Has the Church accomplished any good in the world, if so, what?" Rev. Delano belongs to the Church and has a right to speak of the Church. The fact is, Rev. Delano sees distinctly that the Church is a dismal failure in Chicago. There are a great number of "centers" in Chicago around which "the social life" is ranging itself. What are they? He says, "one thousand lodges, multitudinous clubs and three hundred and eighty churches." But the social life is not ranging itself around those centers "where doctrines are discussed and men are instructed chiefly about another life." Why? Simply because the instructors know nothing about another life, and are totally incapable of teaching any valuable lessons relating to the present life.

The Church starts out assuming that its mission is to save souls. With this mission in full view, what is the condition of Christendom? The Church is everywhere—it is "called" instructors are everywhere; and poverty, degradation are everywhere, and everywhere increasing. To shield the Church, to save it from righteous criticism, the Rev. Delano covertly throws the responsibility upon God, and asks: "Has God any business in this world? If so, what?" Manifestly, God has precious little business with the Church. He is not running the Church, nor the manufacturing establishments where divines are made to order—ground out by hundreds every year, to await *calamity* and fat salaries, to instruct men "chiefly about another life," not about this life. We do not particularly blame the divines. They are men who must make a living. They like large pay, they enjoy luxuries, good clothes, good houses and excellent food. To obtain these good things, they must pander to the rich, because the rich can pay; and the church is their club; if it is not run to suit them, the divines are turned out to grass.

The Rev. Delano inquires: "Has the Christian Church anything to do save worship?" He does not answer the question. He does not say what he means by worship. He evidently means instruct men "about another life"—tell the people the purposes of an inscrutable God—preach sermons made up of old, threadbare, moss-grown platitudes, say the same old prayers made up of all sorts of unreasonable requests, buy a grand organ, hire a few singers, and call it "worship." Around such a custom the great mass of the people do not, and will not range themselves. Are the divines to blame? Not altogether. They have been educated to do such things. The system is defective. The pomp and circumstance and parade indulged in by the churches drive from them the poor men who are wrestling with the serious problems of this life, about which the Church knows little or nothing at all. Hence, Rev. Delano asks: "Has the Christian Church any mission save worship?" We do not know of any, and if Rev. Delano is better informed he fails to state what other mission the Christian Church has on its hands. We conclude it will never get out of the old ruts. It will never get to the people. It will never learn the difference between worship and wages, prayer and potatoes. If the Church has some other mission besides "worship," Rev. Delano is wrong. What is its province and sphere? If it has, what is it? It could, if it would, do more for the poor than it does for the rich.

NOT THE PROPER REMEDY.

Not long since, that brilliant Briton, Mr. W. T. Stead, lectured before the Social Science Club at Hull House. The subject under discussion was the rottenness of Chicago's city government and the object sought seemed to be the means of establishing a condition of affairs more consistent with honesty and common justice.

Mr. Stead broadened into a criticism of our general political life and handled our boasts of being a "government of the people" with keen satire. "Since I left Russia," said the lecturer, "I have seen no country where the will of the people is held in greater contempt. In Russia they do not worry about what the people want. In America the powers that be first ask the people what they want, and then see to it that they don't get it! You denounce the principles of George III every Fourth of July, but the rest of the year you submit to just such tyranny."

When the programme reached the point where the audience had a chance at the question Mr. Stead was asked what he proposed as a remedy. He replied that good men must be elected to office. This did not satisfy the radicals and a lively discussion followed, but Mr. Stead held his original ground and declared that whether the object was to secure the enforcement of a street cleaning ordinance or to change the industrial system the way to the reform was simply to elect good men to office.

On this proposition THE RAILWAY TIMES wishes to record a dissenting opinion. The simple expedient of electing honest men to office has been tried these fifty years, and we are still where we were, unless it be that the rottenness of political life is becoming more appalling with our growth. Every city has its periodical "political revivals," when a "citizens' ticket" is put in the field. While the excitement lasts a little improvement is seen; then the same old conditions return.

The thing that is wrong is not the men who fill the offices, but the offices they fill. If we want to enforce a "street cleaning ordinance" the election of sturdy, moral men to office will do. But if we intend to "change the system" which tolerates the "tyranny of George III," it will not. Our whole system is wrong from beginning to end. It permits the strong to prey upon the weak. It allows a class to grow enormously rich by impoverishing the masses. It is responsible for the useless wealth of the few and the destitution of the many. It gives us the extremes of luxury and misery by preventing general prosperity.

When we have a system which is admittedly wrong as a whole, of what use is it to elect "good men" to conduct it? If a man were condemned to death it would be of small moment to him whether the sheriff were an honest man or a rascal; and for the same reason those of our citizens who, by the operation of our present system, are condemned to a living death will not find their misery lessened by a change of officeholders.

It may be urged that since laws can change systems the first step is to elect "good men" for that purpose. But "good men," as the phrase was used by Mr. Stead, means honest men, clean men—thousands of whom believe that our system of production and division is right. When men are elected to office it is for the express purpose of carrying out the ideas of those who elect them. Therefore, if there is to be a change in the system the first step must be to convince the voters of that fact and induce them not to select a miscellaneous lot of "good men," but men pledged to produce the necessary change.

Of course, if the question is restricted to the conduct of our municipal affairs with the understanding that we must make the best of our present system, then certainly honest men in office would be better than boodlers. But when we remember that Chicago is a legitimate part of our political system and calculate the real difference in the prosperity of its citizens which can come through an improvement in the morals of the officeholders, the question seems scarcely worth arguing. The proposed remedy is out of all proportion to the necessities of the case. It is almost like expecting a glass of cold water to cure a raging fever.

What is needed is not good men to conduct the present system, but a system which no man can conduct badly. If you live in a house that is crumbling to ruin, with the windows shattered and the doors warped and the roof leaking, and the rain driving through every joint, a house whose only warm corner has been seized by Lord Special Privilege, that has comfort for one and misery for the rest, that is trembling and swaying in every gust of discontent that blows, that threatens to collapse and crush all, what you want is not a different set of carpenters to put on patches, but a new house.

OUR CHARITY BALL.

THE RAILWAY TIMES wishes to extend sincere thanks to our many millionaire citizens who contributed to the success of the recent charity ball. We seize the opportunity also, to remind our readers that if we did not have these millionaires to raise money by "charity balls" the "worthy poor" might starve to death, even in these prosperous times. The poor must be taken care of somehow. They are a necessity. Without them we could not have any millionaires at all, and that would destroy most of the "prosperity" we brag about.

It is customary to praise all who dare and do and suffer for the welfare of mankind. We eulogize those who, on fields bathed in blood, face the iron hail of death for dear liberty's sake. Why not, then, fling rhetorical roses at the feet of our gallant millionaires, who, with unparalleled heroism fearlessly faced the snow-flakes on Michigan avenue—who fought their way through the frosty air, and sweeping with resistless force through the swinging doors, captured the Auditorium for sweet charity's sake? Urged on by the wild music they bought tickets at a high price and utterly regardless of the results danced three hours in the fierce glare of the electric lights.

In order to raise 6 cents apiece for the poor they poured into the great dining room and without a single murmur sat down to a dinner that cost \$7 a plate! All honor to these unselfish heroes! Wages may fall, rent may rise, interest may multiply, rags may clothe us, but may shelter us, starvation may stalk through the land and despair enwrap the nation, but while these noble men of nature remain our defenders we will suffer and smile on. Without them general prosperity would seize us and "charity balls" would vanish from the land!

PRESIDENT WILBUR ON THE LEHIGH VALLEY STRIKE.

In a special report to the directors of the Lehigh Valley Company, President Wilbur says:

"I beg to report for the information of the board that the strike, extending over the whole of our system, beginning Saturday, November 18, at 10 P.M., ended Wednesday morning, December 6, at 2:45 A.M. I append approximate estimates from the general traffic manager and superintendent of motive power of losses of freight and equipment. These losses, as well as the general loss of traffic and increase of expenses through the strike will be reflected in the monthly statement of earnings for November and December:

Damage to locomotives	\$4,000
Damage to cars	1,000
Damage to freight and wrecks	9,450
Damage to perishable freight by delay	2,550
Total	\$77,000

"It has been assumed by many that the strike grew out of a refusal on the part of the officials of this company to discuss grievances with its employes or to carry out the rules adopted by Mr. Voorhees and posted August 7 last. To correct this misapprehension I submit a copy of a report issued August 15 last, by the chairman and secretary of the "general grievance committee," so-called, of the Lehigh Valley system, which report clearly foreshadows the action of the brotherhood committee, calling themselves a committee of employes, which demanded recognition, failing which they would "be obliged to call the entire federated board, with their grand officers, to Bethlehem." It will be seen by this and the circular addressed to all members of the Order of Railway Telegraphers, copy of which is herewith submitted, as well as by statements made by Mr. Arthur, quoted in the Philadelphia morning papers of December 4, and which, I assume, are correctly reported, that for the first time in the history of railroads the federated unions have united with the local organizations in an attempt to force recognition of and submission to demands which, if accepted to, would, in the opinion of the officers of your company, take the management of your property out of the hands of its stockholders and their representatives."

The strike, as finally settled, left Mr. Wilbur and his associate officers masters of the situation—they yielded practically nothing—at least nothing essential to the position they at first assumed; but the strike is said to have cost the Lehigh Valley corporation, including the items as above given, \$1,000,000—so much that the company will pass its January dividend, amounting to \$600,000. The strike lasted seventeen days, costing the company about \$60,000 a day. If it could have been kept up one hundred days, it would have cost the company about \$6,000,000. Long before that amount of loss had accrued the corporation would have yielded to the demands of labor.

Under the protection furnished employes by the old style brotherhoods the man who stays with the company and scabs gets a reward and the man who strikes and fights

THE NORTHERN PACIFIC INJUNCTION.

When Jefferson predicted that our judicial system would finally destroy our liberties, he uttered a prophecy which the close of the nineteenth century is fulfilling to the letter. Within the past two years the courts have been used against the liberty of the people with greater force than the plutocratic press or the plutocrats' armies ever have been. Within the short space of a few months these courts have moved swiftly from the point of remonstrance against the act of employes quitting the service of a corporation while the trip or work immediately in hand was but partially finished, to the point where they automatically order a man living a thousand miles from the scene of a threatened strike to desist from even expressing an opinion to his fellow laborers.

This is practically what occurred on the Northern Pacific. When the company was getting ready to raise wages it was also preparing to cover its tracks.

It cost the brotherhoods \$105,000 for the privilege of being whipped in the Lehigh Valley strike.

WHAT shall it profit a man to gain membership in a dozen small brotherhoods and lose his own job?

It is pretty safe to say that nobody will get out an injunction preventing the Northern Pacific receivers drawing their salary of \$16,300 apiece.

ROCKFELLER has given another half million dollars of his plunder to the Chicago University. According to present day morality endowing a college covers a multitude of robberies.

The engineers are paying an assessment of \$7 apiece for the late lamented Lehigh unpleasantness. It's pretty hard to get the life whipped out of you and then have to settle the bill.

SOME of our esteemed citizens who received Christmas trinkets worth a small fortune, and then sat down to a dinner fit for the gods, will be glad to know that the poor little orphans over at 2228 Michigan avenue were treated to a sermon and a red tin horn.

THE great charity ball at the Auditorium was a resplendent affair. The daily press published three columns of names of the very generous people who made merry to raise money for charity. They came by the thousands. They wore gowns and diamonds that would have aroused the envy of the royal aristocracy. And they raised \$13,000—nearly as much as one of their finger rings cost!

WHILE Mr. Andrew Carnegie is being much praised for offering to give several thousand dollars daily toward the relief of the poor of Pittsburg, it is in order to read the press dispatches stating that his 3,000 employes at Homestead have been forced to accept a cut in wages varying from twenty to fifty per cent. How much praise should a man receive for taking a certain sum from one part of humanity and giving it to another?

THE last straw seems to have been added to the back of hope for the poor ex-strikers on the Lehigh Valley by this press dispatch:

EASTON, Pa., December 30.—An order was issued by the Lehigh Valley Railroad this afternoon that no more of the old employes should be re-employed. It was looked upon as a joke at first, but it proved to be otherwise. The old men, of whom there are over 200 on the two divisions centering here, are up in arms.

THE RAILWAY TIMES has it upon the authority of the strikers themselves that of the 1,800 men who struck less than 600 were taken back. About 1,200, they state, are still out on the entire system, and not a single one of them is being taken back into the service.

POWDERLY AT HOME.

When ex-General Master Workman T. V. Powderly returned to his home at Scranton, Pennsylvania, after having retired from the official position he had so long and so faithfully held in the Knights of Labor, his fellow-citizens gave him a splendid reception, turning out to the number of 3,000 and escorting him to a hotel where a banquet was tendered him. Such an expression of confidence and good will by Mr. Powderly's neighbors settles beyond all controversy the status of the ex-general master workman. When a man stands high at home, has the friendship and esteem of those who know him best, the shafts of envy and malice aimed at him never reach their mark, but fall harmless at his feet. Nor is this all, but the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor, accepting Mr. Powderly's resignation, did him the honor of unanimously passing the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, T. V. Powderly, for fourteen years the general master workman of the Order of the Knights of Labor, is about to retire to private life, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this general assembly on behalf of the order at large, which he has represented so long, tender him our heartfelt thanks for his efforts in behalf of humanity, and hope to long have him in the ranks as an earnest worker and supporter of the principles he has so long enunciated.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions, properly engrossed, under direction of the general master workman, general worthy foreman, general secretary-treasurer, be presented to Brother Powderly, properly framed, with such additions or alterations as may be deemed proper.

THE RAILWAY TIMES bears willing testimony of its high estimate of Mr. Powderly's services as the foremost figure in American labor, and hopes that in whatever direction his talents may be directed he may meet with the largest measure of success.

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TALKING ABOUT "THE RAILWAY TIMES."

Typographically Handsome.

The first number of THE RAILWAY TIMES, the official organ of the American Railway Union, has just been issued in Chicago. It is handsome typographically, ably edited and in every way a credit to the organization. Among other interesting matter, the first number contains a letter from W. T. Stead, the keynote of which is "Attempt Great Things; by Faith Ye Are Saved."—Chicago Inter-Ocean.

Broad and Spicy.

Short as has been the time since the organization has been in existence, it has already forth with the new year a broad, spicy well edited paper, which will do credit to the railway men.

THINGS TO LAUGH AT.

A Coming Financier.

Pa—Bobby, the school teacher informs me that you are well up in division.

Bobby—Yes, sir.

Pa—Well, Bobby, suppose I told you to divide this apple equally between your little sister and yourself—How much would she get?

Bobby—The core.—E.x.

Charlie Mitchell.

A thing don't always come out just as you confidently expect it to, and here is the proof of the assertion. A Buffalo paper relates the conversation as its reporter heard it.

"I hear that Charlie Mitchell's in town," said a short, fat man to a broad-shouldered, smooth-faced young fellow who was sitting in the reading-room of an up-town hotel.

"So I hear," replied the broad-shouldered young man.

"Sure thing he's going to fight Corbett?"

"Yes; I guess so."

The fat man grew confidential.

"I tell you it's a cinch that Corbett will lick that Englishman. Why, he'll put him out with a couple of punches. Just the minute they come together in a ring the man who whipped Sullivan will knock the plum duff out of that English scrapper and don't you forget it. It will be a walkaway."

"Oh, I'm not so sure of that," said the broad-shouldered young man.

The fat man grew excited. He raised his voice and pranced around. Several people were attracted by his actions, and walked over to see what was going on.

"I tell you it's a cinch!" shouted the fat man. "I know a thing or two about fighters, and when I say that Corbett will wipe the face of the earth with that man Mitchell I say what is the truth, and after the fight is over you will see that I am right. I guess you don't know much about Corbett or you wouldn't sit there and make any such cracks as that about him. He's a hurricane, he is, and he's going against an easy mark when he tackles Mitchell."

"Not necessarily so," said the broad-shouldered young man, quietly.

The fat man was wildly excited by this time. He jumped about like a lunatic. More people came over to see what was going on, and the two men were surrounded by a crowd of interested listeners.

"Why?" spluttered the fat man, "I guess you don't know anything about Corbett, do you? Maybe you haven't try very long."

"I came over a while ago," said the broad-shouldered young man.

"English, too, I presume?" and there was a world of contempt in the fat man's voice.

"Yes, I'm an Englishman," admitted the other.

"That accounts for it. You blooming Englishmen never did know a good thing when you see it. Corbett will do it in a punch."

"I'll tell you what I'll do," said the broad-shouldered young man, "I'll take your name and give you mine; when the time comes, I'll bet you a few hundred that Corbett will not win that fight. Here's my card."

The fat man took the card and looked at it. His jaw dropped and he jumped back. The broad-shouldered young man rose to his feet. Some one in the crowd of onlookers caught a glimpse of the card, and said in an awestricken voice: "Holy Moses, that's Mitchell he's been talking to."

Everybody pressed forward to see the slaughter that it was supposed was about to begin. The fat man trembled in every limb. He tried to speak and the words seemed to stick in his throat. The broad-shouldered young man took off his overcoat. It looked as if he were making ready to exterminate the fat man.

"Gentlemen," he said, "you have all heard what this man has been saying to me. Now, as one of your number has rightly guessed, my name is Mitchell. I propose to—here he doubled up his hands suggestively. Everybody thought that the fat man's time had come. "I propose to," continued the broad-shouldered young man, "to tell you that while my name is Mitchell, I am not Charles Mitchell, the fighter, and as you are all here now, I will undertake to show you a little article which I have here for removing grease, dirt and all sorts of stains from your clothes. My friend will pass among you and instantly eradicate any spot you may have on your raiment."

Van Arndt—And do you really think you could support us in the style to which I have been accustomed?

Her Father—I really think so.

Van A.—Then you may become my father-in-law.—Kate Field's Washington.

Rowne de Bout—What did your wife say when you got home last night, Cross?

Chris Cross—First tell me how much time you have to spare.

Rowne de Bout—About ten minutes.

Chris Cross—Then I can't tell you.—Puck.

Would be Out a Long Time.

Jim—Say, Fred, old boy, I'm looking for some friend who will loan me ten dollars. Come, now—can't you be of assistance?

Fred—Certainly.

"Thank you ever so much."

"Yes, it's going to rain, and if you'll step over to my office I'll lend you one of my umbrellas so you won't get wet while you're looking."—E.x.

Past Recognition.

The Louisville Courier-Journal says that two young men of that city, salesmen in a dry goods store, hired bicycles and took a spin into the country. When they were perhaps ten miles out, they decided to have a race.

One of them got far ahead of the other, and in dashing round a turn ran into a pile of stones. The wheel was demolished and the rider found himself lying among the spokes.

An aged woman who happened to be passing was met by the second rider.

"My good woman," said he, "have you seen a young man riding a bicycle on ahead?"

"No," said the woman; "but I saw a young man up the road a spell ago who was sittin' on the ground mendin' umbrellas."

More to Follow.

For two hours the fashionable lady kept the draper exhibiting his goods, and at the end of that period she sweetly asked:

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HAIL TO THE UNION.

BY GEO. C. WARD.

It is with emotions of lively satisfaction that I contribute my quota to the make-up of the representative organ of an organization which is destined in the near future to become an important factor in the solution of many important phases of existing socio-political problems. The American Railway Union, more than any other organization of kindred aims and character, must inevitably leave its impress and mark upon the history of these times of radical thought and startling epoch making evolution.

These assertions are supported by self-evident facts. First: The American Railway Union abolishes and brushes aside as useless hindrances, all caste distinctions and divisions in labor's ranks. Discarding as perniciously false, the assumption that labor can have an aristocratic class, the American Railway Union recognizes the solidarity of labor and its interests, and insistently proclaiming the universal brotherhood of man, it will march to triumphatory victory under a banner emblazoned with the legend, "An injury to one, is the concern of all." Believing in the organic unity of the universal *genus homo*—the body—man—humanity; the American Railway Union will guard and protect with jealous and fraternal care the least comely and most insignificant members of the body, ever remembering that "as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office: So we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another."

Second: The conceptions, aims and objects of the American Railway Union are lofty, grand and noble. I quote from its Declaration of Principles: "A high sense of honor must be the animating spirit and even-handed justice the end sought to be obtained." God is infinite and eternal justice, and he who strives to promote and establish justice upon the earth, is a co-worker with God. When honor and justice combine and march forth, hand in hand, conquering and to conquer, those who proclaim themselves aggrieved in final adjustment, brand themselves as dishonorable and unjust and alienate the sympathy of both God and man. "Right wrongs no man," and in the present mighty and irresistible evolutionary progress of righteous thought, those who refuse to voluntarily do right will be crushed into submission to God's will by the rapidly evolving God-man—the *genus homo* vivified by the eternal truths and energizing principles of the gospel of Christ.

Third: The American Railway Union is eminently fortunate and happy in its leadership. Bright, indeed, are the prospects of a movement led by so valiant a soldier of the Cross, as Eugene V. Debs. I use the term "soldier of the Cross," advisedly. He loves God the best who does the most for man. He, who is not a humanitarian, in the broadest sense of the term, can in no wise claim to be a lover of God. John, the beloved Apostle, says: "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" The church member who does not sympathize with distressed and oppressed labor, in its efforts to ameliorate its condition, is a living lie. Labor asks not for charity, but for justice, but if charity were the demand, the final conclusion is: "And now abideth faith, hope, charity; these three; but the greatest of these is charity." The Fatherhood of God implies the universal brotherhood of man. Applied Christianity must result in a perfect form of human government and the uplifting of labor on to the plane of justice, equality and fraternity. It follows, then, that so-called "labor agitators," who are such, not for love of money, but for love of humanity, are true followers of Christ and are striving to establish upon the earth the kingdom of God, for which disciples are taught to pray. Those who know of Brother Debs' life—of the years of unremitting and arduous toil—the self-abnegation and self-denial—the steady refusal to accept more than a nominal remuneration for services—those, I say, who know of the man's past, cannot fail to be inspired with enthusiasm by his promise of good things to come, and must march forward with accelerated step under such leadership as his.

All hail, then, to the American Railway Union. May it grow and wax great, until all railway employes may be embraced in its ramifications, so that those who really operate the railroads may be able, in a measure, to dictate the manner of their operation.

LAND SPECULATION.

BY B. C. STICKNEY.

It would not require many thousands of men to fully develop all of the natural resources of the state of Rhode Island. If sixty million people were crowded into that state and cut off from intercourse with people outside the state, and obliged to obtain their subsistence exclusively from the soil of that state, there would be a tremendous army of unemployed men. The scramble for chances to work would be fierce, and every working-man would starve or else be obliged to surrender the greater part of the product of his toil for the bare privilege of toiling. The toilers would thus be controlled by the few who happened to be above the necessity of competing for chances to work; the energies of the toilers would be directed to ministering to the whims and desires of the few, and only enough energy would be directed to the production of things for consumption by the toilers as would enable them to continue to exist.

This hard condition of affairs would continue so long as there was a dearth of land upon which the energies of the population might be employed. The above is no fancy picture, for such a condition of affairs does exist in this and other countries, in greater or less degree, according to the extent to which the population is artificially barred from applying its energies to the development of nature's resources. The unfortunate fact is, that the profits to be realized by speculating in land lead to the withholding of large areas of valuable land from use. Energy is thus unnaturally cramped. Enterprise is artificially discouraged, so that the demand for all kinds of labor falls far below normal. In consequence, at the present time scores and even hundreds of thousands of men are idle in this country, as all readers of THE RAILWAY TIMES are aware; and the idle men have to choose between starving and underbidding those who are so fortunate as to be employed. This makes it difficult for the employed men, even by the aid of organization, to maintain the existing rates of wages, and makes it in many cases out of the question to attempt to secure better wages.

Land speculation is an evil. Its profits should be abolished. The temptation to withhold land from use should be destroyed. When artificial restraint upon enterprise is removed, the development of our unlimited natural resources will proceed in a manner that will do credit to our native energy. The objection has been urged to the suppression of land speculation, that if a mechanic invests his savings in land purchases, he would suffer the loss of his savings in consequence of the depression which is called

the "single tax." In answer to this objection it may be said that it is perfectly right and proper at any time for the community to abolish any unjust privilege or custom, without regard to the wealth or poverty of the beneficiaries of that injustice. Mechanics once bought slaves with their savings, but that fact had no weight in the eye of the community when it decided to abolish slavery. So when the community decides to destroy land speculation, to abolish the dog-in-the-manger system of land holding, it will do so regardless alike of rich and poor speculators.

Another objection has been made, that the securing of the equal right of all men to free access to land would do no good to the poor workingman, as even with free access to land he could not hope to compete with the capitalist farmer.

To this queer objection it may be answered that nobody expects to place poor workingmen in position to compete with capitalist farmers, or with capitalist manufacturers, or with any great capitalists. The restoration of equitable relations between men as regards the right to use of the earth would not put a poor workingman in position to compete with any such capitalist; but it would positively abolish the fatal competition between workingmen for chances to work, as anybody can see who is disposed to investigate.

The destruction of land speculation would not involve the destruction of any wealth which has been created and stored up by human energy; no real capital would be destroyed. But the possessors of such stored up wealth or capital could get no profit from it without employing it in some productive enterprise, thus creating a demand for labor. To be sure, capitalists are now engaged in productive enterprises, calling for the employment of labor; but such enterprises are unnaturally cramped. Those who desire to engage in the erection of houses find the desirable locations practically inaccessible; that is, they are obliged to pay large bonuses to the holders of desirable vacant lots, or else to build where few people care to live. The men who would embark in production of copper, iron or coal finds the forestaller in the way, and that practically prohibitive figures are placed upon the privilege of access to nature's wealth. Thus, times are dull and the labor market is glutted. But with the forestaller out of the way, the held for industrial enterprises would be unlimited; our vast territory, replete with nature's untouched wealth, would invite men of enterprise on every hand; great tracts of land that now goes to waste and immediately about our cities would tempt men to undertake business ventures, with promises of good and sure profits. And the development of even a part of our natural resources would necessitate the employment of all the men whom present conditions force into idleness. Every man can see for himself what his pay would be if there were no one in enforced idleness, and therefore no one glad to have his situation at less wages. Every reader knows of valuable vacant land where capital could be profitably employed, and knows that capitalists have been forced to forego these desirable locations and carry on industrial ventures in less desirable localities. Everybody knows that the forestallers of nature's riches, such as coal fields, mineral resources and forest lands, bar out other men from engaging in the development of those resources, in order that they themselves may be benefited by limiting the supply of those things; that is, in order that they may artificially maintain the abnormally high price of coal, iron, lumber, etc., and so realize undue profits from the labor of comparatively few workmen.

Consider our vast wealth-producing power, our modern machinery, our extensive knowledge of improved processes of production, our marvelous skill in all branches of endeavor. What inconceivable abundance of good things for all might we produce if we would but establish the equal right of all to access to our vast areas of untouched natural wealth! While past generations have suffered from epidemics of disease which could have been averted by the observation of nature's laws that are now understood and respected, this generation is suffering the plague of poverty in consequence of its neglect to establish equitable relations between men in respect to the common source of wealth—the land.

LABOR PRESS OPINION.

Should be Explicit.

The Western Laborer: A Chicago clergyman at a union Thanksgiving meeting devoted the bulk of his remarks to the explanation of how the Lord intends the people to spend Thanksgiving day. It is now in order for him to explain which Lord he referred to—the Lord of the rich or the Lord of the poor.

When the Stars Fall.

Firemen's Magazine: The New York Herald proclaims a labor jubilee, when "any grievances which workingmen may have will be easily redressed and every wrong easily righted." Why not predict a time when rattlesnakes will hunt a dentist to have their fangs extracted?

Would Welcome Slavery.

Twentieth Century: An advertisement in any leading daily paper for 1,000 able-bodied slaves, to work without compensation, but board and clothes, the period of slavery to last one year with privilege of renewal, would receive more than ten thousand applicants for the position. White persons at that. To such a state has our boasted freedom brought us that slavery would be a welcome escape for a million or more of our citizens.

Reduced to Soup Diet.

Cleveland Citizen: The "pauper laborer of Europe" is a great deal better off than the starving laborer of America. With all the spoliation of the laborer of England, France and Germany by capital, he has not been reduced to a soup diet dispensed by public charity.

Heads They Win—Tails We Lose.

Labor Advocate: Corporations control the law-making powers of the various states and the nation. Whichever party, republican or democrat, succeeds at the polls, plutocracy organizes the legislatures. A change of parties, therefore, is not a change of administration. Think about it.

The Nobility of Labor.

U. P. Emplo. Magazine: Let the ambition of the young be to become industrial peers—to know that to be first-class in any vocation is the highest honorary position any man can obtain, which means that a first-class workman at any industry is higher than to be a second-class lawyer, preacher or doctor. Show the truth of this by practice. Make yourselves, in whatever occupation you are in, first-class, and then demand and command the respect due you. We will soon cease to see or hear of consumers of labor.

WE DIVIDE UP?

BY W. P. BORDLAND.

Every little while some shining star in the firmament of capitalism consents to diffuse a halo of light over the social and economic questions now agitating the civilized world, by pointing out the folly and impracticability of dividing equally the wealth of the world; and the fun of the thing is that these demonstrations are offered as decisive arguments against socialism. One of these rudimentary economists, over in England, has just succeeded in demonstrating that if the annual wealth of Great Britain were to be distributed equally, it would just suffice to give each person an income of 13s. per week, and another one, in this country, in a labored argument which appeared in the *Railway Age* on December 15, shows that if the property of the United States—calling its assessed value \$50,000,000,000—were distributed equally it would only leave to each family of four persons \$2,800.

About the only thing which these pseudo-economists succeed in doing is to admirably display their ignorance of the doctrines they assume to refute; socialists laugh at such people. I am quite sure that no person can accuse me of socialism; I believe the socialistic propositions to be economically vicious, and I would indeed consider it cause for congratulation if they could be disposed of so easily as these gentlemen assume to be the case. But, unfortunately, when the impracticability of making an equal distribution of existing wealth is demonstrated, the propositions of socialism are not only not refuted, they are not even touched, and, instead of employing this line of argument, the opponents of socialism who are really honest in their convictions would better employ some time in study so as to avoid the necessity of making the elves appear ridiculous.

It is important for workers, above all of us, to obtain clear ideas on economic questions, so as not to be misled by the ignorant criticisms which so frequently occur, and be in a position to judge fairly of the merits of the different theories, as it is quite certain that these theories shall ere long take their place in the arena of practical politics; and workmen will be called upon to decide by their vote whether or not they shall become a part of the economic policy of our government. When that time comes, exact knowledge will be the only certain protection against the wiles of the demagogue, and workmen will need to be fortified at all points. He who would pass judgment upon the actual merits of any theory must first begin by understanding that theory.

The socialistic theories are taking an increasingly prominent place in the arena of discussion in this country, and the question for workingmen to ask themselves when they meet with criticism like that I have indicated, is: Do socialists really seek to divide the wealth of the country equally? When they have sought and found a proper answer to this question they will be able to say, No, socialists propose to do nothing of the kind. With respect to that portion of wealth called "capital," the difference between the actual theory of socialism and the criticism directed against it, is just the difference between addition and division. Instead of an equal distribution of capital, they propose no distribution at all; instead of diffusion, they propose concentration, a massing of all capital under one central control. How puerile, then, must appear those criticisms which condemn socialism from the standpoint of the equal distribution of capital? Socialists can well afford to ignore such criticisms. The ignorance of this criticism will be sufficiently apparent when it is considered that the present concentration of capital in private hands, which is so apparent to all, is regarded by the socialists as a necessary process of development, a leading up to their theories, instead of away from them; and a diffusion of wealth, a condition of affairs such as prevailed a century ago, would be considered a great misfortune, a step backward toward the economy of the dark ages. Indeed, that which gives the socialistic theories their peculiar fascination for some minds, is their apparent harmony with the actual course of industrial development during the last century.

The whole theory of socialism is summed up in the following paragraph from Marx's "Capital": "The capitalist mode of appropriation, the result of the capitalist mode of production, produces capitalist private property. This is the first negation of individual private property, as founded on the labor of the proprietor. But capitalist production begets, with the inexorability of a law of nature, its own negation. It is the negation of negation. This does not re-establish private property for the producer, but gives him individual property based on the acquisitions of the capitalist era; i. e., on co-operation and the possession in common of the land and of the means of production." Let us get that idea firmly fixed in the mind: the socialists do not propose a distribution of capital, but, on the contrary, they propose a concentration, a centralization, of capital; precisely such as is all the time taking place.

The socialist criticism of capital refers, not to its concentration, but to its administration. The socialists would concentrate all capital under public control, and administer it in the interests of the whole people instead of allowing it to be administered, as now, in the interests of but a small part of the people. Socialism does not deny private property in the means of enjoyment, nor does it enforce equality of possession; it only denies the right of private property in the means of production, and denies the right of the individual to use his property as a means of income. It seeks to suppress rent, interest, and profit, and would make the enjoyment of wealth of each individual consequent upon his own personal exertion. As to that portion of wealth not now used as capital, it would be left intact.

Socialists would even compensate the great property owners for their wealth at its full value; but such compensation would only be in the means of enjoyment. The great property owners could only use their wealth, or give it away, they would not be permitted to use it as a source of income; and when they had need of more wealth they would have to do some useful work in exchange for it. There is, really, no excuse for persons who discuss socialism, to do so from an ignorant standpoint, as the literature of the subject is well diffused and within the reach of all. I have often wondered why it was that workingmen, especially those in the cities, are not better informed on economic questions than they appear to be. Our public libraries, to be found in nearly all cities, are mines of wealth to the student of social and economic questions, and the workingman who wishes to educate himself in such matters, can easily find the opportunity. Workingmen must work out their own salvation on economic lines, and they should be anxious to secure, at least, such knowledge as will place them beyond the power of the demagogues.

The American Railway Union marks a new departure in organization; it is destined for great things in the field of labor. Let us not waste the fact by attending to the trifles.

A Chicago Union No. 50, Los Angeles, Cal. 1000 west

THE RIGHT PLAN.

ONE GREAT AMERICAN UNION.

Buchanan Points Out Past Follies and Suggests a Plan—Why the Knights Lost Ground—What Leaders Should Do.

In his December contribution to the labor press, Joseph R. Buchanan presents an excellent paper on the situation and the necessity of the reorganization of American labor on a plan that shall avoid the follies of the past. The paper is so timely that we reproduce it: Never before was organized labor confronted with a situation so serious as the present. There is a crisis in what is known as the labor movement. Three important factors in creating and magnifying the present unhappy and threatening condition are the business depression and consequent enforced idleness of thousands upon thousands who were at work a few months ago, the rapid encroachment of machinery in the fields of craftsmen, and the unorganized or disorganized state of 90 per cent of the wageworkers. As the facts relating to the first two causes named are well known to all those who are likely to read this letter, and as any effort to apply by labor itself remedies for the effects of those causes is dependent upon a correct diagnosis of the third, it is my purpose at this time to discuss the subject of labor organization, past, present and future. Only through organization can labor obtain its rights. I know that expression has become a "chestnut," but it is a truth which only a fool will quarrel with.

First, let it be understood that I fully realize the extent and power of the existing trade union movement. I know that until "hard times" struck us a few months ago it was making steady advances, and that it has held its own remarkably well during the depression. I know that if it had not been for the trades unions labor in this country would today be in a position horrible to think of, but I also know that the conditions under which industry is carried on are rapidly changing, and that during the next year of depression there will be innovations and realignments in methods of production—and distribution, too—which will, when "the business revival" comes, present a system in which the old methods of organization will not be competent to protect the wageworkers except in rare and unimportant instances where special skill will still be required and the demand for craftsmen is equal to the supply. From what I have written you will understand that I believe that the future of labor depends upon the rapid organization of all wageworkers, whether mechanics, machine tenders or laborers, and I think they should be compactly united.

Every influence at the command of the American Federation of Labor should be exerted to increase the membership and power of the organizations within its fold, and I believe that will be done; but, as I have already said, that is not all—nor half. To get right down to business: Either the Knights of Labor must be thoroughly and quickly reorganized, or another organization upon the lines they followed up to, say, January, 1886, must be started and pushed throughout the length and breadth of this country. The principles upon which the Knights of Labor were organized and extended until they reached the proud position of the greatest labor organization the world ever knew are broad enough, deep enough and high enough to serve as the foundation of an impregnable fortress of labor and an everlasting temple of justice. Hundreds of thousands of earnest, intelligent workingmen who are not now members of the order will, I know, say "Amen!" to those words. But will they not do more than say "Amen!" if they are asked?

Past difficulties can be avoided in the future, and must be if the labor forces are to cope successfully with the conditions which confront them. It is not my purpose, nor is it my business, to set down here in elaborate detail a form of organization. That can be attended to at the proper time by the authorized and qualified representatives of labor. But this much I will say: The Knights of Labor should at once amalgamate all their trade assemblies with the unions of the same trade, where such exist, and confine their work hereafter to organizing mixed assemblies, to building up their districts which are the exclusive organizations of their several callings, and to assisting the trades unions in bringing within their folds every craftsman who is not associated with his fellow-workmen. This last suggestion may make some thoughtful or prejudiced Knight smile, but I remember when that was one of the cardinal principles of Knighthood, and it did as much as any other one thing to make the order popular and strong. A great many bitter contests will have to be closed, but they must be closed if labor is to accomplish anything for itself, and no true friend of the toiler will stand in the way.

The trades unionists on their part must join hands with the organizers of the unidentified workers, and, as they did eight years ago, give of their experience and means to the organization of all kinds of laborers. The men with trades do not, with rare exceptions, occupy the independent positions they held a few years ago, and no matter how solidly they may be organized, the time has come, hastened by labor-saving machinery, when they must stand or fall with the unskilled workers. Intelligent trades unionists know this, and given something to work upon, they are ready to act. Finally all the forces of labor must be united by some form of federation into one great American union. It can be done, and it will be done. If the men who are at the front now are not willing to take the necessary steps, others must lead off. It is in the air. Come, ye captains of the scattered army of industry, wipe out all grudges and grievances and assemble to counsel as comrades and patriots for the marshaling of labor's hosts into the grand army of the American union!

HOW TO ORGANIZE.

Applications for charters are becoming so numerous, many of them at distances far removed from headquarters, that our organizing directors are unable to promptly respond to the calls, and in such cases applicants for a charter are given authority to organize themselves into a local union without the presence of an officer of the general union. Such authority is obtained by applying to the secretary of the general union, who furnishes the required blanks and reports, on receipt of which a meeting is called and the prospective members have their names enrolled by a temporary secretary. The list of names is then read, one at a time, for objections. If any objections are made to any applicant, the temporary chairman at once puts it to a vote, and a majority vote decides whether the applicant shall be accepted or rejected. The union must consist of not less than ten members.

to act as a committee of three to secure a hall and arrange for meetings, which should be held as often as possible for a time until every available applicant has been secured to membership.

The secretary should at once examine the list of "Printing and Supplies" and order such forms, supplies and stationery as the union may require.

Blank forms are furnished the secretary upon which to report to the general union the names of members admitted, which must include the names of the three officers, as their names are placed on the charter, and a reticence equal to \$1 for each member must accompany the report, on receipt of which the charter and cards of membership, one to each member, are issued by the secretary of the general union and forwarded to the local secretary with a receipt for the amount of money remitted.

A blank form giving the names and addresses of officers, date of organization, name of instituting officer (the temporary chairman), etc., is also furnished.

These blank reports should be accurately and plainly filled out in every detail, and promptly forwarded to the general secretary. The number of the local union is left blank in making out the report, as this is filled in by the general secretary who assigns the number next following the number of the local union last instituted.

A canvass of the members should at once be made for subscriptions to THE RAILWAY TIMES, the official paper of the order, and one or more agents should be appointed on each line of road represented.

For further information, address THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION, 421 Ashland block, Chicago, Illinois.

HOW WE ARE GROWING.

It will interest more people than our members to know the rate of speed with which THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION is acquiring new members. Here is a tabulated statement of one day's mail—January 6, 1894—so far as it related to new members taken in by local unions:

Local Union No. 124, Havre, Mont.	22
" " " No. 123, Troy, Mont.	44
" " " No. 49, Argentine, Kan.	14
" " " No. 110, Slater, Mo.	10
" " " No. 48, Trinidad, Colo.	21
" " " No. 90, Springfield, Mo.	3
" " " No. 44, Trenton, Mo.	4
" " " No. 80, Los Angeles, Cal.	5
" " " No. 103, Tacoma, Wash.	12
" " " No. 45, Alma, Mont.	4
Total	139

If any other railway labor organization can make a better showing—giving numbers and locations—it ought to be published in the interests of general encouragement.

NEWS ABOUT THE A. R. U.

Meeting at Richmond.

A mass meeting of railway employes will be held in the Y. M. C. A. hall at Richmond, Virginia, at 7:30 P. M., Saturday, February 10. Eugene V. Debs, president, and George W. Howard, vice-president of the American Railway Union, will address the meeting, and will organize a local union immediately after the meeting.

Harmonious and Enthusiastic.

At a meeting of the American Railway Union, held in Dugan's hall, Sunday afternoon, considerable business was disposed of. The *Union* now has its by-laws completed and printed. A press committee, composed of the president, vice-president, recording-secretary and one member elected from the audience, which resulted in the election of Otto Kaiser, was formed.

The meeting was very interesting and harmonious, and much enthusiasm was manifested. The next meeting will be held at Edison next Sunday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock.—*Tacoma Unionist*.

Open Meeting of No. 115.

The local branch of the American Railway Union which was organized recently, held an open meeting on Saturday evening. Several new members were added to the roll. The new order now numbers over 100.—*Teledo Blade*.

Officers at Indianapolis.

George W. Howard, vice-president of the American Railway Union, addressed a large and enthusiastic body of railroad men at West Indianapolis, Sunday afternoon. After the address a local union was installed, with the following officers, who were unanimously elected: President, Harry Bolster; vice-president, B. F. Mullen; secretary, Charles W. Shaw. There were 125 names signed to the charter list. There will no doubt be several more local unions established in the city in the near future, as the union is meeting with great favor among the rank and file.—*The Gazette*.

The Coming Debate.

Eugene V. Debs, the founder of the new American Railway Union, will debate the question of independent political action by organized labor at Minneapolis, on January 21, with J. C. Nolan, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Mr. Debs will advocate political action, while Mr. Nolan will represent the old pure and simple trade unionism.—*America*.

Stopped Reduction on the U. P.

Eugene V. Debs, president of the American Railway Union, is home in Terre Haute for the holidays, and, beginning the first of the year, will devote the whole month of January to organizing lodges throughout the Eastern States. President Debs says that the paper representative of the Railway Union will begin publication in Chicago, January 1, starting as a semi-monthly. It will be continued in this form until July 1, when it will be issued weekly, and on January 1, 1895, it will be made a daily. L. W. Rogers, formerly editor of the *Age of Labor*, will be managing editor, and S. Keliher, formerly of the *Carman's Journal*, will be business manager.

Mr. Debs feels highly elated with the progress of the work on the new organization, and points to the fact that of all the railway systems on which an arbitrary reduction of wages has been undertaken the men on the Union Pacific alone were able to come out of the contest with credit to themselves. This President Debs attributes to the fact that the organization of the American Railway Union is more perfect and complete on that system than on any other in the country.—*Associated Press*.

Recipe for Riddance.

Hojack—Callowill is always trying to borrow money from me. I wish I knew how to get rid of him. —*Radik*—The

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