

C. S. DARROW'S SPEECH

REASONS WHY THE DEFENDENTS WERE RIGHT.

A Strong Plea for Personal Liberty—Closing Remarks of Counsel for the Defense.

One of the greatest speeches ever heard in a court room was that of C. S. Darrow, counsel for the defense in the recent strike of the American Railway Union. Mr. Darrow spoke about five hours but we unfortunately have space this issue for only the latter part of his speech which was as follows:

In conclusion I wish to make this observation in answer to what was said about the true friends and the false friends of labor and whether this strike was justifiable or not. These men did what was right under their conscience, as I believe. They violated no law and no injunction of this court, and the attorneys for the government may have their theories of labor and of industry that are not in accordance with my clients, but that makes no difference in this case. They have commented upon the decision of Judge Jenkins. It seems to me that that decision is not the law. It seems to me that in making that decision he went beyond anything that has been before attempted by a federal judge and beyond the principle which should have guided a federal judge in determining cases like this. That every strike is unlawful and every boycott a conspiracy may sound well to those who like to hear it, but it is fraught with terrible consequences to thousands of men and to human liberty. I undertake to say that under the laws of this country, a man may work or not as he sees fit, and more than that, he may conspire with another man to work or not, as he may choose.

Following from this principle, that one man may work or not as he will, that he may join with another man to work or not as he will, then men engaged in the same line of business, or in widely divergent lines of business, who in their own philosophy or their own understanding of these intricate questions, which many able men do not understand and do not seek to understand, men whom from their own understanding believe in the solidarity of labor, believe its true interest can only be subserved by uniting in great federations of labor, and by working together—if it is the law that one man may strike, may cease his work, for good cause or bad, it must be the law, and it must be in keeping with personal liberty that all those men operating together, if they believe it to their own good, may cease to work. For the incidents that flow from it they are not liable. When riot and bloodshed and turbulence follow in the wake of a great strike, those men who have committed the riot and the bloodshed and violence are clearly guilty under the law. It is for the strong arm of the state to protect each individual in his private liberty to work or not, for whomsoever he will; to belong to an organization or not, to abandon the employment of an individual or a railroad company or not; to quit work, singly or collectively as they see fit. And then it is for the police power of the state to say that order shall be preserved. To say that men who simply ordered a strike may be guilty of the consequences that directly and indirectly may follow from the public agitation is monstrous. To say that men who do a perfectly legal act, like striking for higher wages, may in the turmoil that ensues, not coming from them alone, coming from others interested, coming from the public press, coming from the excited condition of the people, that they who act within the law in the first instance are guilty for the unlawful act of others which would not have happened except for their own acts, is a monstrous proposition. No man can tell the cause of any act. We can go back but a very little way. I may tell why I do this thing today, but I cannot tell the act that influenced me to do the thing which caused this act. Something beyond and above and outside may have caused it, and courts can only make people responsible for the direct consequences of their act.

To say that because bloodshed and turbulence frequently follow strikes, that a man who advises a strike, or embarks in a strike, shall be held guilty under the civil and criminal law for all the turbulence that results, would be to destroy freedom of action, and to confine and fetter man in his thoughts and acts.

Countless wars have resulted from the Christian religion; many murders come from every election held in the country, countless scenes of violence come whenever the public is aroused on every great question, moral or otherwise. To say that men who engage in a perfectly legal movement, whatever it may be,

shall be liable because some people commit violence which otherwise they would not have committed, would be to say that if the founders of the Christian religion were alive today, they could be prosecuted for all the religious wars that have followed from their teachings.

We cannot tell what occasion strikes. We may tell the immediate cause, but not the remote cause, and it is unnecessary for me to argue or speak of it. These men can only be held responsible for their own acts and for the acts in which they directly participated, and if any other rule was adopted freedom of action, as we have known it, could not live.

The gentlemen say, as Judge Jenkins said, that liberty is one thing and license another. That may be true and yet the man has never yet been born who could define the difference between liberty and license, and to cover up any attempt to interfere with individual freedom, with the free acts of free men, under a phrase like that is like introducing a dose of poison into the system beneath a sugar-coat.

Liberty may be one thing and license another, but the founders of our country believed strongly in individual freedom and most of the greatness, glory and prosperity has come from the fact that they laid the foundations of liberty deep and strong and that we in this country have enjoyed it more than in any other land. To say that because of a certain turbulence at a certain time this safeguard should be destroyed, that the old landmarks that preserved it should be thrown away, is reckless and extravagant beyond comprehension. If these men had a right to join in great organizations—and all business and all life is carried on that way today—then they had a right to promote that interest by stopping work.

These great organizations are the order of the day. The railroad companies are not responsible for it; the labor organizations are not responsible for it. In the march of industrial life, combination, co-operation, the union of capital and the union of labor seem to be the order of the day. The interests of the laboring man and his employer are opposed to each other. Men dream of ideal states but in the civilization of today we are confronted with the fact that the more money the employer pays in the shape of wages, the less he keeps for himself; and the less he pays in the shape of wages the more he has for himself. So it is the legal right of the employer to pay as little as he can and it is the right of the laborer to get as much as he can, and under the law they should both be left to carry out their purpose unhampered by courts or laws.

I know, your honor, that sometimes these matters are largely as we look at them. Courts, like other people, form their opinions from various sources and many of us are honestly tainted with taints toward this or that. We cannot escape them. We must simply guard against them as much as we can. I remember that Bancroft says in his history of the constitution that the real constitution is written in the hearts of the people and that when the spirit of liberty has flown, then substantial freedom is sacrificed under the forms of law. It is really as we view it. Really as the railroad companies and the citizens of this nation view it. Whether these principles, which in the past have brought so much good, the greatest individual liberty that we have enjoyed, whether these shall be sacrificed because, forsooth, during a great public excitement, something happened which may be traced, perhaps, to liberty! Mr. Milchrist has adverted to the action of the president in sending troops into Chicago. It has no place in this case, but all of us would not agree with Mr. Milchrist. It may have been wise or unwise; from my standpoint I believe it was as unwise as he believes it wise. It has no part in this case as it stands before this court, but I must protest against it as one person who does not believe in the doctrine that he laid down. To me the action of the president was a serious innovation upon the rights of the state, and may be sometimes fraught with serious harm. It seems to me that through this action of the executive some time some aspiring ruler may find a gate through which he may ride over the liberties of the people and over the ruins of the republic to a dictatorship or a throne. It is not wise, in the pressure of great public excitement, for the sake of the occasion and the time to do away with those safeguards and those principles which have stood the scrutiny of ages, and which have so helped the world.

Liberty has been guilty of its excesses. It always will be. But the excesses and the crimes of liberty are sacraments when compared with the crimes of tyranny, and I would say to you gentlemen, who represent the railroad companies, that your prosperity, together with the prosperity of the whole country, has come from the great freedom and individual liberty given by the constitution

under which we live, and that if in a fit of madness you should seek to destroy it, you sometime may find that your possessions will shrink and vanish, for those who labor cannot produce when the inspiration of freedom is dead; in that day you will call out with Iago, who lamented over the body of the dead bride that he had murdered: "Alas! in my madness I have cast away a gem richer than all the Indies." I know of the excesses of liberty. I have read the history of the French revolution, which might be called a paroxysm of liberty and frenzy following upon a long night of tyranny, and I remember that one of the greatest men of France, a representative of the aristocracy, who joined the cause of the people and one of the friends of America when she was just struggling against England and forming her organization, was made a victim to the liberty he loved, and just as he went to the guillotine he took his son in his arms and said: "My son, they will seek to wean you from liberty by telling you that it took the life of your father; do not believe them, but remain true to her sacred cause."

This case involves the right of individual action. The right of men to work for whom they please, when they please, and where they please; to combine together for mutual assistance and for mutual defense.

I believe that this case from all its bearings is very important. That it may determine more than seems on the surface. That liberty is on trial in this court. That whether this court has the right and the power under the federal constitution to enjoin an act like this ought to be clearly settled, so that the rights of every individual should be known. But I do believe that it will be a sad day for us all, whatever the direct facts might be now, to abate one jot or one tittle of that individual liberty which has been so jealously protected in the past, and which has been our pride since the nation was born.

Pullman Must Pay.

Gov. Altgeld yesterday addressed a communication to the state board of equalization bearing upon a question which lies next to the material welfare of this city—being no less the initiative in a movement toward making the giant corporations which have their home here pay their fair proportion of taxes. The *Times* for more than a year has been devoting its editorial energies to this end and gladly welcomes such potential aid as is now guaranteed. The governor deals specifically with the case of the Pullman Palace Car company. He quoted the testimony of the head of the corporation, George M. Pullman, given before the strike commission, and based his conclusions and suggestions on the statistics furnished by Mr. Pullman. Taking these figures, which place the capital stock at \$36,000,000, upon which an annual dividend of less than 8 per cent never fails to issue, and an undivided surplus of \$25,000,000, Gov. Altgeld concludes the Pullman company to be worth \$51,000,000.

Outside of the state of Illinois this company pays in the aggregate \$40,751. In this state taxes are collected on a valuation of \$1,635,500, representing under the beautiful responsibility-dodging, public-defrauding system so popular with Chicago assessors a property valuation of a little more than \$7,500,000. At the outside figures the corporation pays taxes on no more than \$20,000,000 worth of property in America. In his message the governor suggests that the cars of the company, being personal property, should all be assessed in this state, where the company has its parent plant and general offices. From the total assessment should be deducted the amounts scheduled in other states and taxes collected here on the balance. This in effect is Governor Altgeld's argument. It requires no statistician, no expert accountant to see that he is right. The Pullman monopoly has grown rich and threatening; its wealth has been added to, and its dividends swelled and its power enhanced by the money of which it has defrauded the public treasury. It should be made to pay up, and at once. But let not the work begin and end with the Pullman concern. It is but one of many. It is prominent just now not only as a robber but as an oppressor as well. There are others equally as strong in arm. The *Times* has given specific attention to tax robbers, whereof the list would fill this column. The Pullman company is not the only robber. It may be the greatest, and is, certainly, a good subject for righteous punishment, but it should not suffer alone. Get after all the thieves, corporate and private, great and small—*Chicago Times*.

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt from the Omaha Printing Company of a copy of the record in the case of the adjustment of wage scales between the employes of the Union Pacific and the receivers. It is an indexed volume of nearly 800 pages, and is the complete court record.

Co-Operation.

[Written for THE RAILWAY TIMES.]
BY MILES MENANDER DAWSON.

Alone, man is a savage;
To murder, maim and ravage
And prey upon his fellow-man is his delight.
He is not civilized
Till he has recognized
That men are only strong when men with men unite.

Yet do ye dullards smite
With rage each luckless wight
Who, striving to get on, may happen in our way.
We smite with ruthless hand
Until perchance we stand
Above the vulgar herd, far bigger brutes than they.

There is a way to rise,
A passage to the skies,
Not on our fellows' backs but with them side by side.

Heed not that musty fable
About the tower of Babel:
Co-operate and God will not our ranks divide!

He wills each man to be
The very highest, he
By putting forth his utmost powers can attain.
When each does this, we place
By doing so the race
Which now in darkness gropes, upon a higher plane.

He is not truly great
Who does not elevate
As he toils on and upward, all his fellow-men.
Rise, then, by raising others;
Co-operate, my brothers:
You speed your own and all men's evolution then.

Morgan on Gambling.

The Civic Federation, which has suddenly burst out in a mighty crusade that promises to make it hot for the gamblers for some time to come, held a meeting in Central Music Hall last Sunday. Among others they invited Thos. J. Morgan to speak and he took advantage of the occasion to point out that our whole industrial system is a gambling affair. Mr. Morgan said in part:

I have no fight to make against the mayor, but I do want to participate in the fight against gambling. I join most heartily in the statements made by Mr. Dillon that neither party, with the emphasis on the party, is particularly to blame. What do I know about gambling? Why, I learned gambling as soon as I cut my teeth; while I made mud pies in the gutter boys of an older growth were learning the shell game and three-card monte on the pavement alongside of me. I commenced to gamble at the earliest possible age. First with buttons. The first pair of pants I ever had was the orthodox corduroy that used to be in vogue when I was a boy. I had a suit of corduroy, a jacket and pants that all buttoned together with brass buttons, and I was so enthusiastic a gambler at that early age that I lost all my buttons [laughter.] and I went home holding my pants [laughter] and had an interesting interview with my mother. [Laughter.] And when I went to work and got a few pennies for my labor I told my mother a lie. I told her I got less than I really did and I gambled with the other pennies. I played pitch and toss, and then when I got a little bigger my boss made me run to the gambling houses and saloons to find out what horses were going to run in the races, and when I got older he made me go down in the saloon and play cards with him so he might get back part of my wages. [Laughter.] Then I became what is known as a goody-goody boy and went to Sunday school; went to the church fair festivals, and I took a chance for the biggest bible that was up for a raffle. [Loud applause and laughter.] Now, that is a plain simple story of a boy's life that is common everywhere, bred and born in the very atmosphere of chances of speculation, and I want to ask you, no matter in what station in life you have been born, whether you are not at all times completely surrounded with the atmosphere of chance. Are you not all of you striving more or less, and mostly more, to get something for nothing? [Applause.] Isn't that the spirit of the age? Mr. Ela says he chased those commercial gentlemen into their holes. Do you notice the word "commercial"? That is the spirit of the age, and it is gambling. [Applause.] The poor devil working in the shop for a dollar a day waits with his nerve strung for the agent of the lottery when he comes around so that he can put another dollar in, hoping some time that dollar will bring a thousand. [Applause.] The banker's clerk, earning a hundred dollars a month, lives and moves with men who have more and strives to keep up with the procession. Out of his hundred dollars he takes a few and runs into the gambling hell and out to the race track and tries to make more, loses it, and then takes a few dollars from his banker's pile and loses that.

I don't wish to take the worst view of this tremendous outbreak of popular sentiment here, but I do think sometimes it is a matter of self-protection that animates a good many of our friends who want to suppress gambling. [Applause.] That is no idle talk. That is an awful state to be in. Are we opposed to gambling—public gambling? Aye, here is a little book, a pamphlet issued by the socialists against gambling, and if I don't trespass on your time I would like to

read just a few sentences which show what position we take—we socialists—in reference to this tremendous evil:

"The progressive labor movement has far-reaching aspirations. It teaches the lesson of the wrong of unearned gain and the advantage of all to work in common, instead of stealing in severity; to enrich the community instead of robbing it; to share with each other in, instead of shaving each other of, nature's bounties to humanity, each to participate in the enjoyments of the good things which this world offers in abundance, instead of monopolizing for a few lucky chosen ones that trade on and tread on the stupefied masses, to live with instead of on each other, to establish a co-operative community instead of corporative immunity, to do away with competitive deals as surreptitious steals, to make every one busy, but the business for common profit; to produce by united forces and to accumulate for the benefit of all, instead of outwitting and outfreezing each other—the first as to the individual share of labor, the second as to the individual share of the product."

Aye, there is one shade of difference on this platform only. One emphatic declaration has been made this day, and that is: public gambling shall cease. This edict is published not against your public gambling hells, but the implements and devices of gambling that are brought into every saloon and every cigar store where the workingmen congregate, where, by putting a nickel in the slot, he is invited and tempted by the promise of \$5 or \$10. In St. Louis a crusade has been started such as is now being made against the authorities of this city for the suppression of gambling that comes right to the workshop door, and in addition to that we make a crusade that has as yet been suggested only vaguely here—we make a crusade against the cause of gambling as well as its public hells. [Applause.] I had the pleasure a few months ago to stand on this platform and join with the Municipal Order League in an attempt to clean the city. The Municipal Order League has gone out of existence, and the city is not cleaned. [Laughter.]

In my brief life in this city I have seen a number of gatherings like this, protesting against public evils that exist in the same original form as here to-day, and I ask myself here, with the utmost sincerity and enthusiasm, is this only a passing throb of public morality? [Cries of "No, no."] Is this a gathering not only to close the public gambling hells, but to do what it can with our poor workingmen, remove the cause of gambling, take out of our daily life the temptations, to make it the easiest thing for a man to get a dollar honestly instead of tempting him to get it dishonestly? I stood on the platform of the First Methodist Church, which I am informed is filled with an overflow from this meeting this afternoon, with temperance men and ministers of national fame, discussing the temperance question like we are here the gambling question—that is, in the sense I told you—and I, being a temperance man, wanted to see temperance established also. And one of the ministers told us of the great work that had been accomplished by that man of historical fame, Father Mathews, God bless him, who brought such a tremendous influence to bear on the people in behalf of temperance, and the remark was made that around the monument in one of the cities of Ireland, erected to the memory of Father Mathews, the entire block surrounding the structure was made up of saloons. And I called the attention of the reverend gentlemen and the advocates of temperance in that meeting to the fact that they simply illustrated that with the tremendous power and influence of Father Mathews to suppress the evil he could not remove the cause. And I ask myself today as modestly as I can whether, when the Civic Federation has accomplished its work and shut up every public gambling house in this city, and the people have drifted back to their normal lines of inactivity, and the Civic Federation lives no more—whether the monument erected to its memory will not be surrounded with gambling hells. [Cries of "No, no!" and applause.]

Now there is a difference of opinion; that simply leads to that, and that is what I am after, that is just exactly what I want to accomplish in this meeting—to turn this tremendous enthusiasm that will for a time, that may compel John P. Hopkins to do more than he has done in the past. We may compel his successor to keep them closed, and try to weed out the fundamental cause and help the socialists in their work of education.

The Pullman Strike, by Carwardine, 25cts.; Cæsars' Column, by Donnelly, 50cts.; The Coming Climax, by Hubbard, 50cts. Sent prepaid for a club of five yearly subscribers.

"Chuca Choo."

French's ingenious song of the above title has a chorus imitation of a locomotive. Song with music for 10 cents in stamps.

FOUND THEIR WAY OUT

PULLMAN STRIKERS START THEIR OWN CAR SHOPS.

Co-operation Solves the Strike Problem—Kansas the Land of Promise—the Work Begun.

About half of the Pullman strikers refused to go back to work although many of the local officers had agreed to call the strike off. These plucky fellows have now started in upon a co-operative scheme that not only furnishes them employment but sets up an opposition business to George M. Pullman. This is nothing less than the building of car shops in Kansas. That populist state willingly took hold of the scheme of establishing a co-operative car manufactory and the raising of the necessary capital was promptly begun. Speaking of the matter the *Times* says:

"The co-operative scheme which is to provide homes and employment for the Pullman strikers and incidentally start a strong competitor to George M. Pullman's car building corporation will bear fruit this week in the departure for Kansas of fifty Pullman and Kensington families, the first installment toward establishing the new colony."

"The plan promises bravely; the committee, Lew Myers, C. O. Allen and W. Wellman, which went out as an advance guard, has examined the ground and reported favorably. Tomorrow, probably, the colonists will move. All are strikers and mostly carpenters, who will find immediate work in erecting the buildings of the proposed factory. The remainder will follow as there is an opportunity for them to do something at the new settlement. Those about to depart have been preparing for several days for the journey. The traveling expenses are defrayed out of the funds advanced by Mrs. Lease, Gov. Lewelling, Percy Daniels and others who are interested in the scheme. The site of the colony has been decided on and the ground is ready for enterprise. That much was previously arranged by the committee of the strikers and the promoters of the project."

"The factory will be near Lawrence, Kan. The enterprise will be carried out on purely co-operative lines, the parties interested, whether as backer or employes, sharing in the profits equally. The employes will at first receive their pay chiefly in stock of the new concern and in that way acquire their interest in it. Though car building might naturally be expected to be the chief if not the only product of this factory, such will not be the case. The Pullman workmen have among their number men skilled in many varieties of work, from cabinet-making to plain carpenter work, gasfitting, and blacksmithing. All will find something to do at the new works, and, at least at the start, car building will not monopolize their efforts. The plan has for several months been freely discussed at Pullman. It has been enthusiastically indorsed by the strikers, and now the first body from their number will proceed to the new homes."

A Second Arthur.

Organized workingmen of the country are to be congratulated upon the fact that leaders of Sargent's stripe are a few and far between. His argument, that strikes at a time like the present are criminal and that they are assaults upon the public will not hold water. Now, to be candid, if a strike at this time is criminal why is it not as great a crime a year or ten years hence? Would it not be as great a crime to strike under the condition he specifies as it was two months ago? There is a lack of consistency in his advice to the wage earners, the motive for which we are unable to comprehend unless it be that he desires to succeed that eminent marshal and conservative leader (?) Chief Arthur, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.—*Every Saturday*.

Difference Between Dogs and Men.

When a hungry dog digs up a bone he goes off and enjoys it. But when that apex of the animal kingdom, man, digs up a crop after hard labor he takes a part of it to the landlord, part of it to the taxlord, part of it to the usurer, part of it to the elevator lord, part to the railroad lord, and divides up with a thousand lords and goes on half rations and half clothing and poor schooling for his brain. Pity the dog is not wise enough to divide up its bone with a lot of other dogs too lazy to hunt bones for themselves, isn't it? The dog don't know much, anyway.—*Coming Nation*.

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Railroad Wrecking and Receivers.

Railroading reduced to a science in numerous instances is first to build the road by methods of finance as disreputable as astute chicanery can formulate.

As a general proposition, the receivers having been the wreckers and having been appointed by the court to carry on the business, at once proceed to reduce the wages of employes, that money may be secured to pay dividends upon the most stupendous frauds that ever disgraced any land or nation under heaven.

Swing's Idiotic Sermon.

In another column we print the recent sermon of Rev. David Swing. As proof of the position the church holds on the labor question, it is exceedingly interesting and should have a careful reading.

Mr. Swing begins his discourse by complaining that the July strike has "taken away the charm of our season of leisure."

Mr. Swing clearly defines his position when he says that when wages were \$2.00 a day and wheat 50 cents a bushel the strike was "not only unreasonable but malicious."

and leave the impression that whoever was so well supplied had no cause to strike. The proposition is as misleading to the reader as Swing's heart is false to humanity.

Mr. Swing's reference to free men following the dictates of a self-appointed despot proves either the pitiful ignorance or the wilful mendacity of the reverend snob.

The Rev. Mr. Swing is hardly the man to wail about "Christian charity" humiliated to the point of feeding strikers. Paupers, however aristocratic, should avoid such delicate subjects.

Labor has received no charity; it has sometimes got back a little conscience-money. But Mr. Swing should be one of the last to refer to it.

An A. R. U. Nomination. Since the convention of the American Railway Union held in Chicago last June declared for political action, and the strike following it proved the absolute wisdom of such a course, the American Railway Union has been getting into the political arena in dead earnest.

Amid great cheering Chairman William Ralph again called for the vote of the delegates on the name of L. W. Rogers, and he was a second time nominated by acclamation, the convention rising as one to give its vote.

It is gratifying to have such proof of the place the American Railway Union holds in the hearts of the laboring people. The cheers were not for the nominee but for the principle which his organization represents.

Dividends Notwithstanding.

Hard times and expensive strikes may come and go but the poverty stricken railways yield rich dividends just the same. The September announcements of satisfactory returns from this source notwithstanding a "\$100,000,000 strike," include the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis, the Georgia Railroad, the New York, New Haven & Hartford, and others of equal prominence.

Will the plutocratic press kindly stop howling about "paternalism" long enough to explain by what possibility the railways could get more complete and willing assistance from the government than they do now?

If anything were needed to complete the utter damnation of George M. Pullman it may be found in the fact that the Railway Age has a good word to say for him.

Railway Cost and Earnings.

From advance sheets of the introduction to "Poor's Manual" for 1894, it appears the length of track in the United States for the fiscal year ending in 1893 amounted to 177,753.36 miles.

The assets were as follows: Cost railroads and equipment, \$9,661,713,736; real estate, stocks, bonds and other investments, \$1,698,306,963; other assets, \$248,945,157; current accounts, \$247,002,310; total assets, \$11,855,968,166; excess of assets over liabilities, \$586,535,623.

Earnings for the fiscal year 1893 were as follows: Passenger, \$311,978,242; Freight, 808,494,688; Other, 88,168,488; Elevated railroads, 13,976,792.

Total available revenue, \$475,880,041. Taking stock and bonds, it will be seen by the foregoing, that the roads are capitalized at \$10,650,325,517, or at the rate of \$60,706 per mile—when, in fact, \$30,000 per mile rate represents every dollar actually invested, leaving the amount of \$5,387,095,517 to represent the most stupendous fraud ever perpetrated upon any people in any land or age since time began.

It will be observed that the roads had for the fiscal year ending in 1893 net earnings of \$475,880,041, a net profit upon \$10,650,325,517 of 4.46 per cent. It requires an effort of the mind to comprehend the fact that the railroads of the country are collecting dividends of 4.46 per cent on \$5,387,095,517 of water, and that the laws and the courts permit the infamy to proceed unchecked and unbuked, and what is worse still, those who are commissioned to deal justly by the people in matters of assessment for taxation, have their pockets stuffed full of railroad passes, and at the behest of the corporations reduce values to less than one-half the amount upon which the railroads collect tribute from an over-taxed people.

Out of His Line.

When Prof. Swing gets outside of the well beaten paths of the theology he seems to get lost in the labyrinth of his reasoning. He may be all right on figuring out how Jonah performed that fish feat, or how Jonah knocked out the law of gravity, but when he tackles the question of wages and prices he talketh stuff and nonsense.

While wages are \$2 a day and wheat 50 cents a bushel there is no grievance, says the learned divine. But he leaves the flour trust out of the calculation. The man who estimates the sufficiency of wages from the prices of raw material talks rot. The farmers get about 3 cents a pound for the beef they sell; but when this same beef reaches the table of the Chicago mechanic it costs him just 18 cents a pound. Mr. Armour or Mr. Swift, who listen to Prof. Swing with smiling approval, might throw a little light on the question of why the consumer pays six times as much as the producer receives and where that six times as much goes to. But until they get their well paid pulpit pounders should steer clear of such embarrassing questions.

Robbers, Great and Small.

The "train robbery" on the Santa Fe at Gorin, Mo., recently, was a most remarkable affair. Careful readers of the accounts of this sensational hold-up will easily reach the conclusion that it was deliberately planned and executed by the officials of the company.

Train robbery is certainly a heinous crime and deserves severe punishment; but it is a saint's act when compared to the devilish work of the company detective who deliberately draws ignorant farm hands into a scheme of his own concocting in order that he may prove his efficiency and make a capture. This, without a doubt, was just what happened in the Gorin affair.

The company knew the attack was to be made—just when and where it would be made, and in what houses to find the robbers afterwards should either of them escape death. One of the farmers on his death bed says that McDaniels, of the secret service, planned the whole project and urged them into it. The fuller atrocity of the deliberation with which the company set about deluding and then butchering the two farm hands will be better understood when it is stated that that blood-thirsty sheet, the Chicago Tribune, had a reporter and a telegraph operator aboard the train to send in a full account of the intended murder.

The grand tableau of assassination did not come off according to the program laid down by the plotters. It was supposed the robbers would go to the express car where four detectives were concealed, who would shoot them dead. If this failed four others on the smoker were to kill them. But with all this careful preparation for instant death, one of the farmers escaped untouched and the other had his shoulder shattered by a bullet. There was no effort to

capture the men. Instant death was the program. Dead men tell no tales, but these lived, and the secret of the infamous plot is out.

The average detective is an average scoundrel. As a rule there is no principle of decency he will not violate and no promise too sacred for him to break. He is a sneak, a snake, a liar and a hypocrite. A few exceptions there may be, but they are seldom met. But the average detective, even, is a gentleman compared to the one who procures men to enter upon a criminal career that he may rise in favor; and this brute, even, is infinitely better than the officers of a company who sanctioned and paid for the work and had two men led up to the slaughter that their awful fate should be a warning to any others who might be contemplating train robbery.

Of course nobody will be punished, excepting the farmers who lived. The express company and the railroad company are themselves great robbers, but too great to be caught. When smaller and less important robbers attempt to steal some of the spoils of the great robbers the latter become murderers also, in order that their future operations may be safe. And nothing will be done about it. The corporations run this country, including its courts, and there is no crime they can not safely commit.

Observations.

BY ONLOOKER.

The wily politician is once more abroad in the land, and as usual he is fishing for the workman's vote by setting forth in eloquent terms how greatly his particular party loves the workman, and how anxious he is to be given a chance to legislate prosperity and affluence upon him. I had some curiosity to know what the legislators in the fifty-third congress had done for the workmen of the country, and I secured printed copies of every bill that had been introduced into both houses of that congress, so far, in the interest of the workmen; all that may be properly called "labor bills." The bills number 26; the joint resolutions 5; and out of the entire lot but one bill, H. R. 28, was enacted into law. And what is that? It is a bill making labor day a legal holiday! Great God! Workmen have been surfeited with holidays lately, and isn't it a grand thing to know that our lawmakers have consented to invest one of these with the character of legality? It is a pleasant thing to know, a thing for which workmen cannot be too deeply grateful to our lawmakers, that hereafter, all over this broad and glorious land, they may march, and parade, and carry banners, and picnic, and speechify, and have a good time generally throughout the entire day on the first Monday of each September month, and the law will uphold them in it.

The committee report recommending the passage of this bill says: "Workingmen should have one day in the year peculiarly their own. Nor will their employers lose anything by it. Workingmen are benefitted by a reasonable amount of rest and recreation. Whatever makes a workman more of a man makes him more useful as a craftsman." Just so. Manifestly the one thing needful to make the workman "more of a man," and thus "more useful as a craftsman," was a legal holiday, and now that he has got it he may go on his way rejoicing at the noble work of his representatives in congress. But I imagine that did not the declaration "Nor will employers lose anything by it" state a fact, the workmen of the country would have been unable to get even a legal holiday from the fifty-third congress.

Some of these bills are excellent, and would be of immense benefit to workingmen if enacted into law. H. R. 3479, introduced by representative Davis, "to establish a commission to compel the use of safety appliances on all railroads engaged in inter-state commerce, and protect railway employes from ever work and underpay, and for other purposes," is a bill which would be of vast benefit to railway employes. Section 6 of this bill establishes eight hours as the "reasonable basis of a day's work," and empowers the commission to "ascertain the rate of compensation of employes and require that they shall not be distressed or driven to over-work through inadequate payment for reasonable work." This section also provides that "In the arrangement of labor and the payment of employes the rights of the men and the safety of persons shall be deemed paramount and the profits of railroad companies but secondary, on the ground that 'labor is superior to capital and deserves the higher consideration,' and in the general ground that railroad capitalization is largely fraudulent, mainly designed for purposes of extortion and oppression." Of course, it would never do the workmen of the country any good to recognize a principle of that sort in our laws, and, of course, the passage of a bill containing a provision like the above would not tend to make the workman "more of a man," so the bill was "Referred to the committee on inter-state and foreign commerce and ordered to be printed."

Other bills were "To provide funds for the immediate use in relieving want and destitution throughout the country;" "To provide for the improvement of public roads, and for other purposes;" "To promote the safety of employes and travelers upon railroads;" "To regulate the sale and transportation of prison made goods;" "For the protection of honest industries from unjust and ruinous competition of convict-made goods transported from one state or territory into another;" "To prevent the manufacture of clothing in unhealthy places and sale of clothing so manufactured;" "Relating to the limitation of the hours of daily service of laborers and mechanics employed upon the public works of the United States and the District of Columbia;" "Authorizing the appointment of a non-partisan commission to collate information and to consider and recommend legislation to meet the problems presented by labor, agriculture and capital." The titles here presented will indicate the general tenor of all the bills presented. Their provisions are all in the interest and for the benefit of the workman. Why is it that none of these bills were enacted into law? We had a party at the helm of the ship of state that has been wont to express great love for the workmen; this party had full control of legislation, ample

majority to enable it to pass any laws it saw fit to pass, and it gave workingmen a legal holiday!

Of course, this party will attempt to cajole workingmen into giving it one more chance, and I have no doubt there are many workmen who will continue to be fooled into voting the democratic ticket. Others will seessaw back into the republican party, thus exchanging the devil for the deep sea, but there is good indication that the workmen are becoming sufficiently awake to their own interests to emancipate themselves from the domination of the old parties in sufficient numbers to enable them to put a populist majority in our national legislature in the near future, and that is, at present, their only hope of salvation. It would be well for workmen who have any leanings towards republicanism to remember that the republican party is directly responsible for every vicious law that has been placed on our national statute books for the past thirty years, and that under their policy of "protection to American industry" debts, public and private, have been fastened upon the American people to the amount of nearly forty billions of dollars since 1864. This is a load of debt that there is no possible hope of ever paying as long as present laws remain in force; it is as impossible as for one to live without eating; and the democratic party is only to be blamed for not repealing the damnable laws under which this mountain of debt was contracted. The People's party is committed to some radical propositions which will sweep into oblivion many of our iniquitous laws and enable the American workman to once more stand upon his feet; it is the party for the workman to place in power at the earliest opportunity, and while they are yet sure of their franchises, as from very recent indications they will not have the chance to do much good with their votes unless they "get a move on themselves" quick.

Rev. David Swing, who does a good business every Sunday at Central Music Hall preaching to the pincrats, spoke as follows: "Events recently have taken away the charm from our season of leisure, and we have other things to think and talk about. The trees and the waters where we have been have been sighing over the present condition of our country. Many of you hear people say they are afraid President Cleveland exceeded his authority when he sent troops to quell the disturbances in Chicago, but it must be remembered July felt that it must deal leniently with criminals who vote in November. The sky over our beloved country was never darker than it is today. Two black passions have grown up until they fill the horizon, and they are born of the two thoughts that money is the only thing worth living for and labor must hate capital. There is an army of orators employed to preach the doctrine that the laborer in the vineyard must hate the man who pays him at night for the labor of the day. The first thing we know our vineyards will become battlefields and our battlefields graveyards.

"When the autocrat came and commanded silence along the rails the great masses of humanity began to think, and the silence was so intense the only noise to be heard was that made by the autocrat himself. Railway unions are all right, but they should be formed that men may be helpful; not that they may be desperadoes and beggars. I say when wages were \$2 a day and wheat fifty cents a bushel the strike of last July was not only unreasonable but malicious.

"Laborers should organize not as bandits but as country-loving and God-fearing men. The scenes of last July were due solely to despotic ignorance and despotic ill-will. The disgrace of the hour was seen in the willingness of free men to follow the dictates of a self-appointed despot. I am told the labor organizations employed men to do their fighting for them—to pound and beat other men who would not join them in their folly. O, that Christian charity should be humiliated to the point of feeding men who wantonly engage in breaking the heads of their fellowmen. Despotisms may be sustained by Catholics and Protestants, but republics are sustained by men.

"In early days our young men were taught a trade. After years of apprenticeship when the young man became a master workman and earned his first wages it was an event in the family life. His parents fitted him out with a suit of new clothes and he went forth to earn what he could. To secure steady work was his one object. But that was in the 'dark ages.' In these christianized days when the youth starts out to earn his daily bread some dictator calls a halt and advises him to 'save his money and buy a gun.' The exigencies of religion demand assemblage and so do the exigencies of the trades. To see men band together in a union is commendable, but to see them sign away their inalienable rights as free American citizens as they do in some of the labor unions is pitiable. To form unions that lead to the destruction of property and the jeopardy of life is a crime. If men out of work all winter get work in the spring and then strike in the early summer their grievance ought to be so great all the world would instantly recognize it. In these days of civilization it is different. The unions order a strike and then they get together a big committee and give it a microscope and tell it to see if it cannot find a grievance. And, strange to relate, our prominent men and politicians often discover the grievance in advance, before it can be located by the committee and its microscope. Thousands of men last summer went out on a strike in sympathy with men who were earning \$600 a year. All that was needed to hamper the commerce of a continent was a dictator with a handful of telegraphic blanks. O, that labor had a Franklin for a walking delegate. Then congress would take cognizance of complaints and the people would meet and peaceably confer. What is needed is the awakening of a great moral force, and yet we all know in many labor unions all talk of moral power is treated as so much nonsense.

"Labor is all right in its theories, but wrong in its present attempts to enforce them. Men get together and resolve when they pay a fare they are entitled to a seat in a street car. The theory is a good one in the resolution, but when the men who resolve get on a street car they find their theory is defective unless they club the ones who are occupying all of the seats. What makes the theory defective? Nothing except the rights of the men who are seated. Any force in a labor union means anarchy.

"The great army of anarchists and disloyal and discontented citizens has been charged to our immigrants. No doubt the gates should be closed against many who flock to our shores, but we are growing a crop of anarchists on our own soil. All the great cities seem to be uniting to make all law ridiculous. The foreigner who sells his vote is not as bad as the native American who buys it. The churches, Catholic and Protestant, should abandon theological discussions and work for a higher order of intelligence. The new aim of the pulpits should be to make and reveal man the brother, man the Christlike."

Sermon Against Labor.

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A guild without violence may be imperfect, but with violence it is infamous. It was the great moral force incited by the press, pulpit, and schools that finally restored peace and quiet last July. The quiet, law-abiding action of the workmen at Pullman gave promise, too, of worthy citizenship.

"Labor needs leaders worthy to carry its banners—leaders that will not preach the lie that capital is an enemy of labor. Labor is the fertile field of civilization; capital is the seasons, sunshine and seed. Anarchy, crime, and folly should be commanded to stand back, and give labor intelligent leadership. The hostility of capital to labor is a lie. Labor does not love labor any more than capital does. The whole truth in a nutshell lies in the fact that people who have money are not anxious to spend it. Did you ever know a blacksmith anxious to pay a big plumber's bill for the benefit of his fellow-laborer? Are the carpenters anxious to pay the tailors' prices for their clothing? Labor is just as great an enemy of labor as capital is. Any other assertion is the cry of a dreamer.

"Labor is the language of money. Some walking delegate of christianity should make this truth plain to the toilers. The church must stamp the falsity of enmity between capital and labor into the dust and wave the flag of liberty above all men. Laws have recently been enacted in England extending financial help to labor. The families of those who die in the harness are to be provided for. One hundred and thirty-five men lost their lives in the construction of the Manchester canal. For every 1,000 men employed in railroad service fourteen are killed and eighty seriously injured. The laws of the country are now providing for those who are left dependent, but formerly no notice was taken of them.

"The great army of anarchists and disloyal and discontented citizens has been charged to our immigrants. No doubt the gates should be closed against many who flock to our shores, but we are growing a crop of anarchists on our own soil. All the great cities seem to be uniting to make all law ridiculous. The foreigner who sells his vote is not as bad as the native American who buys it. The churches, Catholic and Protestant, should abandon theological discussions and work for a higher order of intelligence. The new aim of the pulpits should be to make and reveal man the brother, man the Christlike."

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THE RIGHTS OF STATES

THE GOVERNMENT AGAINST WORKING PEOPLE.

Continuation of Gov. Waite's Article—Cleveland Had No Right to Act—People's Party the Only Hope.

In the last number of this paper appeared the first part of Gov. Waite's strong article to the Chicago Times on the recent strike. Following is the remainder:

The action of the general government in protecting the railway monopolists against the working people cannot be defended. The government right to carry the mails does not require the presence of Pullman cars. Inter-state commerce was not interfered with, for the passenger, freight, and mail service could have been carried on without sleeping cars.

The inter-state commerce act was not framed with reference to strikers; it was intended to prevent unjust and illegal discrimination in freights. The principle that "there must be no interruption of commerce," if adopted, forbids strikes on railways within a state and strikes in manufacturing. Every form of strike will therefore soon be declared illegal, for they may all be said to interrupt trade or commerce.

The act of President Cleveland in sending United States troops to Chicago without any failure or refusal of the state executive to protect the people from domestic violence was a tyrannical invasion of the state rights of Illinois and a flagrant violation of the constitution of the United States and of section 5,399, United States statutes.

Article 1, constitution United States amendments: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for the redress of grievances."

Section 9, clause 43: "The privileges of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it."

Article 6, clause 80: This constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

When does the federal court of equity derive its powers and jurisdiction? Let the court itself answer the question.

The courts of the United States cannot exercise any equity powers except those conferred by acts of congress and those judicial powers which the high court of chancery in England, acting under its judicial capacity as a court of equity, possessed and exercised at the time of the formation of the constitution of the United States, and which do not contravene article 6, constitution of United States, clause 80.

The rules of the high court of chancery in England have been adopted by the courts of the United States.

The usages of the high court of chancery in England, whenever the jurisdiction is exercised, govern the proceedings. This may be said to be the common law of chancery, and since the organization of the government it has been observed.

The equity jurisdiction conferred on the federal courts is the same that the high court of chancery possesses.

was probably issued in accordance with this section of the United States statutes, but section 5,400 must be construed with section 5,399, and that section only gives such powers to the president when the constituted authorities of the state are unable to protect or from any cause fail in or refuse to protect the people.

No such state of affairs existed in Chicago. The state executive was willing to protect the rights of the people and had been and was engaged in that very business with the military arm of the state when, without any call from the state legislature or executive, Illinois was invaded by United States troops.

The manifest meaning of the United States statute is that the domestic violence shall be brought to the notice of the governor of the state, and he shall refuse or be unable to suppress it before the president of the United States can act. The law must be so construed to bring it in harmony with section 4, article 4, constitution of the United States, which gives the power to the national government to suppress violence only upon application of the legislatures of the states, or where the legislature cannot be convened then upon call of the governor.

Section 5,399 is in entire harmony with the constitution. It simply provides what we must assume the United States constitution designed that the people of no state should not be deprived of protection from domestic violence by the treason of any state executive who might be in sympathy with rebellion.

The act of President Cleveland in sending United States troops to Chicago without any failure or refusal of the state executive to protect the people from domestic violence was a tyrannical invasion of the state rights of Illinois and a flagrant violation of the constitution of the United States and of section 5,399, United States statutes.

Gov. Altgeld wired the president a long statement of the facts and the law in the case, which neither the president nor any one else has attempted to answer.

The distinguished Judge Cooley of Michigan wired his congratulations to President Cleveland and his approval of this action of the president as rightful, and ex-President Harrison has also stated his approval of the action of the president.

Judge Cooley is one of the most learned judges in the United States, and is perhaps the most capable man in the nation to make a constitutional argument and prove that upon principal and authority the president had a right to suppress domestic violence in Illinois without that application from the legislature or of the state executive when the legislature cannot be convened, which the constitution requires.

Ex-President Harrison has held the highest office in the gift of the American people, but neither Judge Cooley nor ex-President Harrison has any right to expect that upon a question involving the rights of the states and the freedom of the people their ipse dixit is to be taken for law, and most especially when in direct opposition to the constitution of the United States.

More than a century ago the fathers adopted a declaration of independence and a constitution for our guidance in legislation. There were then no railroads, no factories, not even a steam engine, and no corporations, trusts, or millionaires.

The English high court of chancery can and does appoint receivers, or managers of railroads. That act of parliament is not of force in the United States, and the federal court of equity cannot invoke its authority.

Under "The Railway Companies Act," the English high court of chancery can and does appoint receivers, or managers of railroads. That act of parliament is not of force in the United States, and the federal court of equity cannot invoke its authority.

by us at the conclusion of the arguments in the case, because we were not clearly of the opinion that the orders were, in this respect, beyond the authority and at variance with the practice of this court. * * * But in addition to the general principle that the court of chancery will not in any case assume the permanent management of a business or undertaking there is that peculiarity in the undertaking which would make it improper for the court of chancery to assume the management of it at all.

"When parliament, acting for the public interest, authorizes the construction and maintenance of a railway, both as a highway for the public and as a road on which the company may themselves become carriers of passengers and goods, it confers powers and imposes duties and responsibilities of the largest and most important kind, and it confers and imposes them upon the company which parliament has before it and upon no other body of persons. These powers must be executed and these duties discharged by the company. They cannot be delegated or transferred. The company will of course act by its own servants, for a corporation cannot act otherwise, but the responsibility will be that of the company. The company could not by agreement hand over the management of the railway to debenture holders. It is impossible to suppose that the court of chancery can make itself, or its officer, without parliamentary authority, the hand to execute these powers, and all the more impossible when it is obvious that there can be no real co-relative responsibility for the consequences of any imperfect management.

It is said that the company did not object to the order for a manager (i. e., a receiver). This may well be so. But in the view I take of the case, the order would be improper, even if made on the express agreement and request of the company.

The soundness of the doctrine here clearly laid down by Lord Cairns has never been questioned—namely, that the court of chancery has in itself the power to appoint a receiver of a railroad; that the jurisdiction invoked can be vested in the court only by legislative authority.

Lord Cairns' decision in Gardner's case was handed down in January, 1867. Before the end of that year the power and jurisdiction so emphatically denied were conferred upon the high court of chancery by "the railway companies act," and by that act the power and jurisdiction thus for the first time conferred are denied and limited.

It is thus made manifest that if the federal court of equity has in chancery only the powers and jurisdiction of the English high court of chancery, unless it can derive from the constitution or from some act of congress the powers and jurisdiction it has so long exercised in appointing receivers of railroads, then it has no right to exercise such powers and has no jurisdiction over railroads, and its appointment of railroad receivers and its management of railroads is a usurpation of power and an assumption of jurisdiction—the most dangerous exercise of bench-made law that has ever been attempted.

No matter though the power usurped and the jurisdiction assumed have been exercised in countless cases during the last forty years. No number of precedents, however great, can confer power or jurisdiction upon a court. Precedents may establish and strengthen a principle; they cannot create or confer a power. Unless the federal court of equity had jurisdiction when for the first time it appointed a railroad receiver, the appointment of a thousand receivers of railroads cannot clothe it with that jurisdiction.

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constitution of the United States, to the end that our national government shall protect civil right, "promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our prosperity." The People's party is the last bulwark of civil rights and state rights.

Give Us Men. "God give us men; a time like this demands Strong arms, true faith and ready hands; Men whom the lusts of office cannot kill, Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy,

Men who possess opinions and a will, Men who have honor and who will not lie, Men who can stand and face a demagogue And damn his treacherous Flat-ries without winking; Tall men, sun crowned, who live above the fog In public duty and in private thinking. For while old parties with their thumb worn creeds, Their large professions and their little deeds Mingle in selfish strife, lo! freedom weeps, Wrong rules the land and waiting justice sleeps."

—J. G. Holland.

Dreamers Are Proper Pioneers. It is not enough to win rights from a king, and write them down in a book. New men, new lights, and the code of the fathers the sons may never brook.

What is liberty now were license then; their freedom our yoke would be, And each new decade must have new men to determine its liberty. Mankind is a marching army with a broadening front the while; Shall it crowd its bulk on the worn paths or clear to the outward file? Its pioneers are those dreamers who heed neither tongue nor pen, Not the human spiders whose silk is wove from the lives of toiling men.

—John Boyle O'Reilly on Wendell Phillips.

The Single Tax and the Railroads.

BY JOHN RUBENS.

Having settled the two preliminary points, that the government should own and control the railroads, and that the ballot box and not the strike is the means by which this must be accomplished, it is next in order for the American Railway Union men to determine by what method they will proceed. The socialists clamor loudly for government ownership of railroads, and so do many other reform organizations, but they give no definite program of how this is to be done. Not so the single taxers, they know in this, as in other propositions put forth by them, just how they will proceed to accomplish their purpose.

While it is true that the sentiment favoring the government ownership of railroads has increased enormously within the past six months, it must be recognized that the larger part of the people still believe in the present status. Not only that, but the press, and all those instruments which are used to mould public opinion are in the hands of those who are against us. Hence it is necessary that the plan adopted for carrying out this proposition should incur the least possible resistance from these powers. Nothing should be attempted at the start involving amendments to the constitution, either of the several states or of the nation.

We propose, therefore, to begin operations by levying a tax upon the franchises or rights of way of the railroads. This we can do simply by electing officials who will do it. This is a tax which cannot be shifted to the consumer. It is a well recognized fact among economists that a tax upon monopoly cannot be shifted. Hence if the tax is put on the road in such a way that it cannot be added to its charges for public service, it will decrease its revenue to that extent. That is, when the railroad is compelled to pay the annual rental value of the continuous strip of land which it occupies, and which is of enormous value because it is a continuous strip, there will be less left to pay dividends on the watered stock. There will in fact be nothing at all left for the watered stock, the earnings of the road will barely pay legitimate interest on the real stock.

When this is done the water will be rapidly and effectually squeezed out of all the railroad stocks, and when that is done it will be a simple matter for the government to issue bonds based on the real value of the roads and buy them in. Were the government to attempt to buy in the roads at their present inflated values it might be swamped; but we have already in our hands a simple and effective means of reducing them to an honest valuation. Not only that, but all those roads which have been built on various pretexts and for which there has never been any real need, would have to be abandoned, and the people who have been driven so far from the centers of civilization would come back to the vacant lands about our cities which the single tax would open up for their use.

The question is often asked what will prevent strikes on government roads? The answer to this is obvious. The government service pays comparatively small salaries to the officials and large wages to the men; the railroads pay large salaries to the officials and small wages to the men. Leaving out the president of the United States, who receives a smaller salary than the presidents of several railroads, we have cabinet officers, \$8,000, the highest officer in the army \$7,500, in the navy \$6,000, and of congressmen \$5,000. The principal officers of the great trunk lines would take it as an insult if offered such a salary. On the other hand the clerks and others employed by the government, and a comparison of the postal department with that of the railroads is legitimate, receive from fifty to one hundred per cent more than the same work commands in the railroads. When an officer of the government wishes to travel he does so in a common car like any one else; when the high milklines of the railroad wish to go anywhere they have a private car. If the railroads are operated on the same plan as the postal department there would soon be an end to the railroad question.

Here again comes the question of whom we are to select to carry out this program. See that your candidate is pledged to carry out this proposition, and see that he is a man whom you have every reason to believe can be depended upon. Choose men who are as well versed in the science of government as chemists or astronomers are in their sciences. An honest farmer would be of little use as pilot of a ship in a storm. We must have men who not only believe in our doctrine, but who have intelligence and an understanding of the principles of government necessary to carry out our ideas.

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