

ERWIN FOR DEFENSE.

DRAMATIC SPEECH BY THE
A. R. U. CHIEF COUNSEL.

Makes Prosecution Uncomfortable—
Enquires Who Set Fires—Con-
science Higher Than Law.

Below is presented the complete speech of Wm. Wallace M. Erwin, chief counsel for the defense in the Debs et al. contempt trial. It is a waste of time to point out its commanding qualities; they announce themselves. The punctuation is by Mr. Erwin, and while departing wholly from all set rules is intended to somewhat assist the reader in the impossible task of realizing the manner of delivery without leaving him it:

If your honor please, on account of the feeling which this strike, the causes of this strike—the vibrations along the lines of the labor organizations, as well as the fears of the people of this republic—I feel moved to say right here something uncommon in court, and unusual, and not ordinarily permitted by judges. In a certain sense I represent the labor line. I have done it before—not often—but long enough to have their confidence where I am known; and I want to say what I am about to say, for their benefit, and not for your honor's enconium. I want to say in plain words, before a plain people, that, whatever may be the result in this case, you have been fair—an extraordinary thing in a court of justice, arising upon an extraordinary occasion;—and, patriotically and honestly; it is the sentiment of our inmost souls; and we dare to speak it at this last effort in our case; and we sincerely hope that, whatever may be the outcome of this case, that the American republic will regard this as having been tried in the brain of an intellectual athlete who had no feeling here; for you have shown that, thanks be to God, and thanks be to the splendor of our country.

I have listened to the arguments of counsel upon both sides of this case. I agree with the counsel on the part of the defense, thoroughly, that this court has no jurisdiction whatever to entertain this bill. I do not intend to discuss that matter at length before your honor. I could but go over and repeat and read from the same decisions as have been read to you.

My associate Mr. Gregory struck the key note of this inquiry, when he said, that this act of strike, was one of the forces, entering upon the development of civil and religious liberty. It was a bold blow by a fine wedge. It has begun its entry into an old, old—long old tyrant, the tyrant which has ever throttled the people.

There was a time, if we believe the books—and I believe the books; I love freedom; for freedom came from the books inspired, and I believe them—and there was a time when He, who made this world, and marshaled all these stars;—He who made man's soul; and then made man's mind, to be a slave of the soul; and then made man's body, to be a slave of the mind—a body which He made—a body which toils each instant, each moment, that the man, the "ego" may live—toils with no possible check by the will of man, except his acts of death. There was a time when this august God talked with man, inspired his judges and his leaders. They, communicated to all the people, the inspired truth of heaven. That was "an Arcadia" compared to today. In the presence of that code no monopoly could rise, stretching from sea to sea, from ocean to ocean, putting its hand over whole tribes of men, and compelling them for their daily bread, to walk other than He, had commanded them, to walk.

But this, was confined to, a few people. The great balance of the world, the larger portion of the world, served a god which satisfied their mind, and not their soul. And this mind, made the accumulation, this mind,—made self effort, to plan against disaster; this mind, saw no beyond,—after, the death line was reached by the individual; this mind, builded up earthly power, to transmit it to its children, influenced by sentiments of love that were flowing in its mortal veins. And by far the largest part of the world, were of that character; until their example, and their luxuries, and their pleasures, weaned, the children of God;—from what? From liberty. God, had taught men that life was labor, and that labor was life. Man, had come in between the curse, and said, "no; in order to obviate this, which I call a curse, I will compel my fellow-men to labor; and I will enjoy the fruits of it;"—and they had erected in their savagery, these men who were outside of a God-instructed people, kingdoms; and finally when the last of the just judges was in his seat, in the days of Samuel, the people of Israel clamored for an earthly king. They clamored for an earthly government; for

a government which only protected them in this life; which had no foundation whatever in any higher aspiration or inspiration than simply the utilities of life. And it vexed Samuel. But the Lord said unto Samuel: "Listen to the people, for they have not yet forsaken you, but they have forsaken Me. Nevertheless, tell them what sort of a king they shall have." And Samuel went out and told the people that this king would take the best of their men servants and maid servants to be his bakers, and his young men to run before his chariots; take the best of his vineyards, the best of his cattle, a tithe of each for himself; and they should labor; and at the last they would cry out against the king which they had chosen and seek again the king which they now discarded.

From that time to the present man has suffered; from the time of the divine ambassador to the present, the evolution-of-return, has been on. Return to what? Return to governments of lofty God-given soul, in preference to the rules of men as rules of men—a soul which follows the law of God, and which stands, and dies, rather than follow the iniquitous law of man.

The iniquitous laws and exactions of our mother country upon our fathers, the colonists, led them in this splendid evolution, to raise aloft the banner of the free. What, led them? The soul; the soul which appealed to the God of battles. The action, was illegal. The declarations, were all illegal, in accordance with the precedents; who, who believes in liberty, who believes in the father of liberty—God himself, who alone has perfect liberty—who, will condemn this illegal attitude of the colonists, illegal in fact but absolutely necessary, from the soul's standpoint.

And how, was that done? Was that done, from the orderly talk, of the colonial governors? Was it, the officers, of the people, that led to this resistance? No, oh, no! The resistance sprang, from the body of the people. The appeal to God, sprang, from the poor. It rose, in exaltation of their sacrifice; for they, who defended us during the seven years of our struggle; for the poor, who put this banner aloft.

The God-given sentiment of the soul of man;—a soul given us by God—which under His inspired law moves in accordance with His commands and not otherwise—that, is the keystone of the public peace; that, is the government of these states. To protect that, is the reason of the states, and the federation; as well, as to protect the lesser, and not less sacred rights of property.

Why was the rebellion of the colonists defensible? Because it was sustained by the conscience. What is the difference between a protest by the colonists against Great Britain, and a protest by the suffering people against a corporation independent of principle.

Well, now, there are several things there. First, the principle is the same, resistance to tyranny. It is urged that in the case of the colonists there was no redress, but war. It is urged in this case that there was a redress. I say there was no redress. If there was redress here, from the Pullman horror, the parties who held the weapons to commence it, slept! slept! slept! While the drum beat struck the intelligence of the world. Press and pulpit lifted aloft their flags. If there was anything here, that the people might go to or lean upon, it slept. What, should the people, do, when, either they had no remedy,—adequate remedy, or those, to whom was intrusted adequate remedy, slept? Declare war? No. Break the public peace? No. Do anything unchristian? No. Well, what may, they do? They, may do anything, which the God-given conscience, guided by His infinite law, permits them, to do. Not you,—they! That, is the liberty of this flag.

Isn't it the most melancholy commentary upon the iniquities of these times! Isn't the existence of these iniquities of Pullman, the most profound and burning contempt of court! That where the poor cried, that where the public press investigating cried, where the pulpit rang, out against the atrocities of Pullman—no purse, came forward for these poor—absolutely without, a champion in the lands of this republic. Great God! Within the large range of this city people starve, working for starvation wages—the crime exposed, investigated, acknowledged, and not a flag raised, a picket sent out or a drum beaten by any officer of this government or of the state.

Is starvation, murder? Is the sword of avarice, justified by christian thought, or by these christian people?—will that sword, red with man's God-given blood, awake, the souls of honest men? Who, can control his soul? Who, can control his honest sympathy, if he is an honest man? That man can be said to control his soul who has no soul,—but simply has an accented mind,—a man who never cultivated his soul; but did, what the age is doing—cultivate the mind, in place of the soul, and put mathematics,

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A SPLENDID SPEECH.

HENRY D. LLOYD ON POLITICAL REFORM MOVEMENT.

He Goes to the Heart of the Trouble—
Declares This is the Revolution—
Great Enthusiasm.

The best speech yet heard on the political upheaval was undoubtedly that by Henry D. Lloyd at Central Music hall. The occasion was the second big gathering of the people in the campaign of the People's party of Chicago. The great building was crowded to its utmost capacity. The stage was full, and hundreds upon hundreds stood up and listened from the aisles and stairways. The speakers were Henry D. Lloyd, one of the ablest expounders of the new party movement in America, and Lyman Trumbull, for some time on the supreme court bench, and for twelve years United States senator during the stirring times of the civil war. Judge Trumbull's great age and public services give peculiar force to his advocacy of People's party principles. His speech, nearly in full, will be found in another column. Mr. Lloyd spoke but forty minutes, but he said more than is generally heard in a good speech of two hours. Every sentence of his discourse was full of vitality. He went straight to the heart of the subjects he handled, and set a pace for campaign speeches that will lead on to success. It is to be greatly regretted that we can reproduce only a very incomplete report. Mr. Lloyd followed Judge Trumbull and said in part:

All our parties are reform parties. The democracy has been lowering the tariff ever since the government was established. They have done so well that their rates are higher in 1894 than they were in 1842. The republicans have been "saving the union" for thirty years, and the tramp, tramp, tramp, of a million men on the march still sounds through the country—the tramp of the tramp. The appearance at the polls of a new party which was not known in 1888, and in 1892 in its first presidential campaign cast over a million votes is a hint that a new conception of reform is shaping itself in the minds of our fellow citizens. They want reform that will reform, and they want it now. Reform that is reform, and reform in our time, not in our great-grandchildren's, is what the people need and what they mean to have.

Lafayette said in 1791 that it would take twenty years to bring freedom to France; in two years feudalism was dead. Our great Emerson said in 1859—within four years of the emancipation proclamation—"We shall not live to see slavery abolished." Jefferson, the young delegate in the house of burgesses of Virginia, in one year abolished entail, and primogeniture, and the whole fabric of aristocracy in that colony. The patriots pleaded for delay, for compromise. "Let our oldest sons inherit by law at least a double portion." "Not unless they can do twice as much work and eat twice as much as their younger brothers," was the reply of this first great social democrat, and he finished his reform at the same session at which he began it.

No great idea is ever lost. The greatest of human ideas is democracy. It has often disappeared, but it has never been lost. We have democratized religion, and the humblest men have equal rights with all others to find the Almighty within themselves without the intervention of a privileged class. We have nearly finished democratizing kings, and we are now about to democratize the millionaire. Under absoluteisms the people mend their fortunes by insurrection. Under popular government they start a new party. All over the world, wherever popular government exists with its provisions for peaceful revolution instead of violent revolution, the people are forming new parties—in England, France, Germany, Australia, as well as this country. This is the great political fact of our times. Some of these, like the distinctively workingmen's parties, are class movements. They are the natural and inevitable reaction from class movements against the workingmen. These parties all have practically the same object—to democratize the millionaire, and, as Jefferson did when he democratized the provincial patriars of Virginia, to do it as nearly as possible at one sitting.

A broad view of the reforms demanded by the new parties rising in Europe and America and Australia shows the substance of them all to be the same. There is nothing, Lowell says, that men prize so much as some kind of privilege, even though it be only the place of chief mourner at a funeral. In all the great industries a few men are building themselves up into the chief places, not as mourners themselves, but to make their fellow citizens mourners. The millions produce wealth; only the tens have it. There is the root of the whole matter.

The first and last political issue of our time is with its concentrated wealth. Not with wealth, but with its concentration. "Far-seeing men," says James Russell Lowell, "count the increasing power of wealth and its combinations as one of the chief dangers with which the institutions of the United States are threatened in the not distant future." This concentration of wealth is but another name for the contraction of currency, the twin miseries of monopoly and pauperism, the tyranny of corporations, the corruption of the government, the depopulation of the country, the congestion of the cities, and the host of ills which now form the staple theme of our novelists and magicians, and the speeches of the new party orators.

Those faithful watchers who are sounding these alarms are ridiculed as calamity howlers. When strong, shrewd, grasping, covetous men devote themselves to creating calamities, fortunate are the people who are awakened by faithful calamity howlers. Noah was a calamity howler, and the bones of the men who laughed at him have helped to make the phosphate beds out of which fertilizers are now dug for the market. It was a calamity howler who said "Sweet are the uses of adversity," and another averred that "Man was born to trouble as the sparks fly upward." There are thirty-two paragraphs in the declaration of independence; twenty-nine of the thirty-two are calamity howls about the wrongs and miseries of America under British rule.

The contraction of the currency is a terrible thing, but there is another as terrible—the contraction of commodities and work by stoppage of production, lockout, the dismantling of competitive works, the suppression of patents, and other games of business. The institutions of America were founded to rest on the love of the people for their country; we have a new cement now to hold society together—injunctions and contempt of court.

And we see materializing out of the shadows of our great counting-rooms a new system of government—government by campaign contribution. The people maintain their national, state, city, and local governments at a cost of \$1,000,000,000 a year, but the trusts and armaments contractors, and the whisky ring, and the subsidized steamship companies, and the street railways and railroads buy the privilege of running these governments to enrich themselves, to send troublesome leaders of the people to jail, to keep themselves out of jail. By campaign contributions of a few millions is thus bought away from the people the government which cost the people \$1,000,000,000 a year. There are many marvels of cheapness in the market, but the greatest counter bargains in modern business are such as the sugar trust got when, by contributing a few hundred thousand dollars to both parties, it bought the right to tax the people untold millions a year.

We talk about the coming revolution and hope it will be peaceful. The revolution has come. This use of the government of all for the enrichment and aggrandizement of a few is a revolution. It is a revolution which has created the railroad millionaires of this country. To maintain the highways is one of the sacred functions of a government. Railroads are possible only by the exercise of the still more sacred governmental power of eminent domain, which, when citizens will not sell the right of way takes their property through the forms of law by force—none the less by force because the money value is paid. These sovereign powers of the highway and of eminent domain have been given by you and me, all of us, to our government to be used only for the common and equal benefit of all. Given by all to be used for all, it is a revolution to have made them the perquisite of a few. Only a revolution could have made possible in the speech of a free people such a phrase as a railroad king.

It is a revolution which has given the best parts of the streets that belong to all the people to street railway syndicates, and gas companies, and telephone companies, and power companies. It is a revolution which has created national bank millionaires and bond millionaires, and tariff millionaires, and land-grant millionaires out of the powers you and I delegated to the government of the United States for the equal good of every citizen. The inter-state commerce act was passed to put into prison the railroad managers who used their high-way power to rob the people, to ruin the merchants and manufacturers whose business they wanted to give to favored shippers. The anti-trust law was passed to put into prison the men who make commerce a conspiracy, to compel the people every day to pay a ransom for their lives. It is a revolution which is using these inter-state commerce and anti-trust laws to prosecute the employees of the railways for exercising their inalienable rights as free men to

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Otium Cum Dignitate.

[Written for THE RAILWAY TIMES.]

BY MILES MENANDER DAWSON.

It was a grand conception of the Greeks That gods sat, solitary, on the peaks Of lofty mountains and their peers addressed With dignified reserve as seemed them best. No petty gossiping their lips unsealed But only that which needs must be revealed Because important, furnished an occasion To make upon the silence an invasion.

They had respect unto each other; each Sat on his mountain and reserved his speech. In silent contemplation thus retired, They found that what is most to be desired Is that the man be given room to grow, Be freed from trivial annoyance. Oh, Why have we not remembered this and bent Our powers to hasten that development!

The gods sat on their mountain-tops at ease: They had no need to sue upon their knees For opportunity to earn their bread. They for their noble services were fed With rich ambrosia. Otherwise with men. Although the generous earth now more than then Responds unto their toil an hundred fold With grains and fruits, more precious than red gold.

A few are lifted up by trampling down Their fellows; they, like heads which wear the crown, Are never easy, are disturbed by fears That in the course of all-consuming years Their brutal sway o'er others will decline And they in turn be trampled. Not benign And placid like the gods in upper air, These mighty sit, but chafed with anxious care. Give man the certainty the gods possessed And he will vie with them in all the rest. That certainty is this: that one will be Justly rewarded for his industry. That neither man nor fortune shall despoil The toiler of the product of his toil. 'Tis not impossible that this be done; But it must render all men gods—or none.

Going for Swing.

The following comment on Rev. David Swing's labor sermon was made just after its delivery and was crowded out of our last issue:

Prof. Swing has been enlightening his congregation on the condition and needs of labor, and, naturally enough, his discourse took the form of grave and threadbare advice to the workmen, few if any of whom were present, and amiable flattery for the employing classes who were largely represented in the brilliant hall. The opportunity which confronted him he deliberately ignored. The work appointed for him he left undone, turning aside to another task which others can better perform than he. How much better it would have been had he—facing a congregation made up almost wholly of other than the distinctively working classes—discoursed of the present conditions, needs and duties of employers. Why counsel the workingman when he is not there to hear? Why not sow the seed for which the ground is fitted?

Doubtless today employers and capitalists suffer from some injustices and encounter often saddening losses. Why did not the good professor exhort them as he exhorted workers to bear all meekly and abandon the practice of violating or evading the law in their efforts to swell their dividends or to save their property? The labor unions are not the only organizations which ought to have a Benjamin Franklin or a John Stuart Mill for a leader as he urges. The capitalists have their unions too. They call them corporations. There are few Franklins or Mills engaged in their guidance. The refined and wealthy gentlemen who plundered the trusting miners of Spring Valley, the Rockefeller, who built up the Standard Oil trust, with its countless criminal infamies; Gould and his associates, who wrecked railroads as mad-dened and starving strikers sometimes wreck trains; Havemeyer, who confesses that he attempts to influence legislation for the profit of his corporation; the men who steal streets, bribe aldermen, swindle investors on false "tips," parallel railroads for purposes of pure blackmail—you can look in vain in Prof. Swing's sermon for reference to them. Their offenses against the law are a hundredfold more execrable than those of which Debs and his associates stand charged, yet are they not indicted nor does the eloquent preacher before Chicago's most cultivated congregation suggest that his dear friends who own sugar trust stock dispense with Havemeyer and seek for a Benjamin Franklin, or that the Pullman stockholders look around for a modern John Stuart Mill. Patronizing advice of that sort is for workmen only. Business, of course, is business, and a Franklin or a Mill would hardly take kindly to the devices of watering stock and distilling dividends from the blood and tears of the laboring people.

Against the union's strike the corporation sets the lockout, against the boycott the blacklist, against law-breaking law-distorting by injunctions, against unintelligence unbridled greed. We hear much from the pulpit of the need of a stronger moral factor in the labor movement, but nothing of the morals of corporate management. The people, the common, hungry, thinking people, will pay little attention to advice coming from one who sees only with the eyes of a servant of privilege.—Chicago Times.

Subscribe for THE RAILWAY TIMES and vote the People's party ticket.

SPEAKS FOR REFORM.

JUDGE TRUMBULL OUT FOR THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

Hard Blows for Corporations—Pays His Respects to Federal Courts—
A Great Meeting.

At the second great rally of the Chicago populists, Judge Lyman Trumbull spoke as follows:

In this land of plenty, the fairest of earth, with a climate and soil producing everything necessary to the comfort and happiness of man, why is it that such discontent exists among our people? Is it not because the masses think that they do not justly share in the wealth which their toil contributes to the country. This feeling is extensive and it reaches among all classes of our people. Suffering as they think they do a common wrong, it is natural that they should be bound together by common sympathies. Hence the formation of labor unions. We saw it manifested in the recent strike, when the employes of one industry struck, hoping to better their condition, the sympathy of laborers in other industries inducing them to strike also. Various schemes have been suggested to reconcile this controversy between employers and employes, such as arbitration and the control by the government of the great corporations of a public character—the control of the great corporations of the country by the government. [Applause.] I do not propose to discuss either arbitration or governmental control of corporations. There are objections to both, and neither of them reaches the underlying cause of this dissatisfaction.

We must first ascertain what it is that creates the dissatisfaction and distrust throughout the country before we undertake to apply the remedy. This dissatisfaction is deep seated, and it is to find a remedy that I am before you tonight to make some suggestions as to what I think the remedy, partially at least, may be. Is it not, I ask you, the poverty and want from which laborers suffer, by reason of the inadequacy of the pay they receive for the labor given, that creates this distrust? They see around them, in the possession of favored corporations and the pampered few, all the luxury and extravagance which wealth can give, while the great mass of the people suffer often for lack of the necessities of life. [Applause.] Is it any wonder that discontent prevails among the masses and that they act in concert together in the effort to improve their condition when such a state of things exists? The happiness of the people consists in the happiness of the individuals who compose the masses, and laws which open the door to large fortunes by devise, by inheritance or by speculation have no tendency to promote the happiness of the people at large and often are not beneficial to those who have such fortunes.

Why it is that the wealth of this country, ample for the comfort and happiness of all, is rapidly accumulating in the hands of a few? It is, perhaps, partly due to the improvements and discoveries of the present day, by which one man with capital can purchase machinery which will enable him to perform the labor which formerly required many men, and thus there are left hundreds of unemployed people, who are at the mercy of the capitalists. The latter can therefore fix their own prices for their labor. [Prolonged applause.]

But it is chiefly the laws of property which have enabled the few to accumulate vast wealth while the masses live in poverty. For many generations laws have been framed for the protection of property rather than to protect the rights of man. [Applause.] For ages the money power has governed legislation—[cheers]—and I regret that even in this country the money power has often controlled legislation. In the language of the Declaration of Independence, the most valuable document ever given to mankind since there was preached in the mountains of Judea the sermon by the meek and lowly Jesus—"All men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." If man has the right to live, he has the right to the means to support life—[prolonged applause]—and it is unjust that any man or set of men should so absorb the means of living as not to leave enough for the support of all. If man has the right to liberty, then it is unjust that any other man should have it in his power at his discretion to deprive him of that liberty or abridge it. [Applause.] If man has an inalienable right to the pursuit of happiness, then he cannot be justly deprived of that right by laws interposed in the way of its pursuit.

Under the laws of Illinois, the owner

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little for the poor working girl toiling for 30 cents a day, and that while the income tax is a good thing in itself it is hard to see how it will benefit the poor...

Wood Workers' Convention.

The Machine Wood Workers' International Union held its convention in St. Louis during the first week of October. Besides endorsing the American Federation of Labor political program with a slight amendment to plank 10, it made many very radical changes in the general laws of the organization...

Swing is Dead.

In the last number of THE RAILWAY TIMES was published the sermon of Rev. David Swing, in which he violently denounced the laboring people for the strike of last July, and some editorial comment on his discourse.

On the Road Again.

At this writing Judge Woods has not announced the decision in the contempt case against the directors of the American Railway Union, and the conspiracy cases are yet to be called.

Go to the Bottom.

Many wise remarks have been based upon the rotting away of the Roman nation and countless terse sayings are supposed to set forth in briefest measure the reasons for the moral and material decline of a proud people.

Treason to Strike.

The indictment of Eugene V. Debs and his fellow officers of the American Railway Union for conspiracy is practically a declaration that a strike against the United States is treason, or at the least illegal.

THE RAILWAY TIMES will send you the best reform literature for a little work and no money.

The White Slaves.

There's a cry that comes from Pullman And echoes through the land. It tells of toilers there in want That need a helping hand.

The Lesson of Debs.

"Nothing succeeds like success," said some sapient philosopher, who might have added that nothing fails like failure. Napoleon after Marengo and Napoleon on Elba provoked varying judgments from that creature called the world...

No Use for Labor.

At the great meeting of the People's party at Central Music Hall, where Debs and Ignatius Donnelly spoke, it was necessary to provide for three overflow meetings. The campaign manager applied to the First Methodist church.

Erwin for Defense.

Of course in the inquiry, all rights must be taken into consideration, property rights as well as personal rights. But in the meeting, in the evolution, in the protest of the people to the resistance of the tyrant, all those things which the people do, which can be sustained by their conscience, and justified by the laws of God, that, they may do.

ERWIN FOR DEFENSE.

[Continued from First Page] in place of inspiration. The old tower of Babel—it is nearly reared, here, in this republic! But I tell you here, in this splendid court of justice, we ought to discuss this case, as if we heard the Father who brought Israel out of Egypt, August, Grand, shouting across our valleys and our mountains, "the nations of the earth shall totter beneath My arm. They are disobeying Me."

Of course in the inquiry, all rights must be taken into consideration, property rights as well as personal rights. But in the meeting, in the evolution, in the protest of the people to the resistance of the tyrant, all those things which the people do, which can be sustained by their conscience, and justified by the laws of God, that, they may do.

WALTER BAKER & CO. The Largest Manufacturers of PURE, HIGH GRADE COCOAS AND CHOCOLATES on this continent, have received Special and Highest AWARDS on all their Goods at the California Midwinter Exposition.

SPEAKS FOR REFORM.

(Continued from First Page)

of real estate is permitted to lease it for an indefinite period, and property is leased by the owners in Chicago every day for ninety-nine years. By what right does the owner of property today compel unborn generations to pay tribute and rents to generations unborn after him. [Prolonged cheers.] The statutes of Illinois have given to the owners of property the right to dispose of it by will, not wholly, but to a certain extent. If married, neither the husband nor the wife can give away the homestead or dower rights of the other, nor can creditors, heirs or devisees take away from the widow her allowance.

The money power has governed legislation in all civilized countries for generations. It matters not what party is in power in the national or state governments of our country, the money power has exercised a controlling influence in many instances in shaping the administration of our laws. If the accumulation of vast fortunes goes on for another generation with the same accelerated rapidity as during the present, the wealth of the country will soon be consolidated in the hands of a few corporations and individuals to as great an extent as the landed interests in Great Britain and Ireland are today.

Now, what is the remedy for this state of things, which, if permitted to continue, will make the masses of the people dependent upon the generosity of the few for the means to live? So far as concerns corporations of a public or quasi-public character, and none others should exist, the remedy is simple. [Applause.] These corporations derive all their property from the legislature, and they are completely under the control of the legislature whence they derive all their powers. [Cheers.] Is it competent for the legislature to regulate them by enactment and to regulate their mode of proceedings? It is entirely competent for the legislature to fix the number of directors that each corporation shall have. It may provide that a portion of those directors shall be chosen by the employees of the company. [Cheers.] Another portion may be chosen by the stockholders, and it may provide that from the revenues of this corporation, whether profits or not, there shall first be paid the honest compensation to the laborer—a certain fixed sum in compensation. [Hear, hear, and applause.]

This principle has received judicial sanction from a judge of the circuit court having in charge the Santa Fe railroad, who entered an order directing the receiver of that road to pay the employees of the company their wages every month, no matter whether he had the money to do it with or not. [Laughter.] If not, borrow it, and it shall be a lien in preference to all mortgages and other liens upon the property of the road. [Great cheers.] The laboring man being paid—he is worthy of his hire, and having the right to live must have the means to live—if the corporation makes money after paying the laborer his hire, then pay to the stockholders who have advanced the money a reasonable rate of interest on the money they have advanced, but not on watered stock. [Great cheers.]

Divide the balance upon some equitable principle between the stockholders and the men who have made the company a success. [Cheers.] This will reconcile the differences between laborers and capitalists by allowing each to share in the profits that are made. [Prolonged applause.]

The law now provides for the escheat of estates of persons who die without heirs. The same limitation might be put upon inheritances where there is no will, and in this way the accumulation of vast estates by inheritance or devise would be checked, and property, especially landed estates, which by nature belong to all, would be more equally distributed. [Great cheers.] It should not be forgotten that the method of transmitting property from the dead to the living is entirely derived from the state. No such natural right exists. If public policy requires that the state should give to the dying possessor, no longer able to control or take with him his possessions, the privilege of disposing of as much as may be conducive to the comfort and happiness of his surviving kindred, does it require that this privilege should be extended to his disposing of millions to the injury of the rest of mankind?

We have already abolished primogeniture in this country, by which the eldest son inherited the landed estates of his ancestor, to the exclusion of the other children, and no one in this country today would seek to have the doctrine of primogeniture re-established. Yet it exists in England today, and the time will come, I think, before many generations have passed, when the future inhabitants will look back with as much wonder to the estates which allowed the owner of a vast estate to determine who should have the possession of more than \$1,000,000, with as much surprise as we would now look back upon the doctrine of primogeniture.

I trust that congress at its next session will put a further check upon the power of these federal judges in assuming to take control of the railroads of the country. [Applause.] Courts were never organized to run railroads—[cheers]—and to issue injunctions without notice against a whole community, and then to punish by fine and imprisonment any one that questioned their authority. And if the next session of congress does not do it I trust the people of this country will send to congress representatives hereafter who will do it.

For the supreme court of the United States I have the greatest respect. It has been presided over from the organization of the court to the present day by great men and great lawyers, but the supreme court of the United States is neither omnipotent nor infallible. [Cheers.] It has made mistakes. It made a great mistake when it decided that the charter granted by a legislature and accepted by the corporators was binding eternally upon the people of the state which made it; that it was a contract, a contract made by a legislature which future legislatures could neither alter nor repeal without the consent of the corporators. But the court itself has corrected that error, and the late Chief Justice Waite, than whom a purer man never sat upon a bench, in an opinion of the court, said that corporations exercising powers affecting public interests were subject to public control. That court made another great mistake when some years ago, in the Dred Scott case, it decided that a man of

African descent was not a citizen and could not bring suit for his freedom in a federal court. But the people of the United States, the sovereign power above all the courts, reversed that decision—[applause]—and wrote it in the law of the land—yes, a law written by this right hand—[tremendous cheer]—which declared not only that a man of African descent was a citizen and had the right to sue in the courts, but that any man, any person belonging to these United States, or anywhere within their jurisdiction and over which the flag of this country waved, was a citizen and entitled to all the rights of man. [Tremendous cheers.]

Forbidden by advancing years to entertain political ambition, I may, I trust, be permitted without the imputation of interested motives, to make some suggestions as to the policy to be pursued by the middle classes and the toiling masses to bring about such changes in the laws of property as, by giving equal opportunities to all, will check the accumulation of the wealth of the country by a few.

If my voice could reach the people of this whole land, I would call upon the millionaires and would say to them in the language of scripture: "A good name is rather to be preferred than great riches." Money is the source of all evil, and in the language of the Savior of mankind, after meeting a young man having great possessions, he declared: "That it was easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God." I would call upon the millionaires for heaven's sake to cease their inordinate greed for more millions, and to unite in the passage of laws which, by giving and securing to all equal opportunities, shall promote the happiness of all.

Let the millionaires should not hear me—[laughter]—I would call upon the middle classes, the working men, the men of moderate means, the merchants and farmers, and warn them of the danger which is likely to come upon them, and tell them that if this accumulation of wealth in a few hands goes on, they themselves will soon be as completely at the mercy of the capitalists and monopolies of the country as are the laboring classes today. I would say to the laborers, now robbed of the just reward of their labor, and even compelled in this land of plenty and abundance to suffer often with hunger and cold, lay aside all manner of bickerings or disputes about minor affairs between yourselves—[applause]—and assert your independence by going to the polls, un-influenced by money or any other power, and there cast a freeman's vote for representatives in congress in whom you have confidence, and who will see to it that laws are enacted which will permit you to share in the wealth created by your toil and to eat of the bread your hands have earned. [Cheers.]

Rounding A Cycle.

BY MARIE LOUISE.

The great boycott-strike called by the American Railway Union has been the final test of the exact standing of organized labor relative to political authorities. Since about fifty years, labor unions have stood divorced from political action and have trusted to the power of organization for protecting themselves from capitalistic encroachments and maintaining a fair scale of wages. The political moves made by workmen in the beginning of this century to secure the right to work and live by the product of their labor having repeatedly failed, it was decided to inaugurate a new system of operation and new ethics for labor. The operations were to be conducted on the economic line and politics were to be entirely excluded. Mechanics of each trade came together and formed a society; societies amalgamated and federated and attained a large numerical strength. Each body had a constitution, had laws, by-laws and provisions in sufficient quantity to regulate the conduct of the half of mankind, and its majesty was represented by imposing, grave looking officers. The complexity of the executive mechanism made it necessary for the leaders to possess the diplomatic cunning and ready tactics of legislators.

The state extended to these unions the legal right to exist and operate, the press eulogized them, the capitalists praised the manly bearing of the men and the sober judgment and level-headedness of the leaders. Organized labor began to think itself powerful, honorable and honored; full of complacent pride, it dilated and expanded on all sides. The toilers, fairly intoxicated by the prestige they thought they had obtained, gravely demanded the legislators set apart a statutory holiday in honor of labor, a national celebration of their lofty social standing and a yearly exhibition of their numerical strength.

The legislators gladly granted their request and would not have hesitated to set apart a couple more such statutory holidays whereby the glorification of wage-labor would be its consecration for time and eternity. On the day set apart and called Labor Day, the nation went into feasts, games and recreations. The wage-earners turned out and paraded their numerical strength and all the peculiarities pertaining to modern wage-working.

Did the onlookers, the gold bugs, the sports, the capitalists, the dudes, the general mass of professional idlers admire the long, broken, wabbling columns of the sturdy, brawny, awkward sons of toil who labored that they, the idlers, may revel in luxury while they, themselves, were deprived of the common necessities of life? Whatever of greatness and merit lay in that vast throng of wage-workers was not conspicuous to the gaze of these social parasites. What they cheered was their good fortune in having a prey whose native stupidity made it easy to plunder. The slave always hugs his chain, and so the Labor Day farce was made possible. A little girl owned a rag doll and she told that the article is simply beautiful. She believes it and her pride in the possession of that article dilates in proportion to her ignorant credulity. Such has been the case with organized labor of the past fifty years. From the time it began to be organic, it was flattered and bamboozled by journalistic bluff and capitalistic cant. Caught in the meshes, organized labor puffed itself and, filled with pride, swelled out of all proportions. It gave to the thinking world a striking illustration of Lafontaine's fable the "Frog and the Ox." The frog (labor) swelled itself out to become as big as the ox (capitalism). The ox looked on placidly for it knew that when the frog over-

strains its capacity it must burst itself. In this republic, the condition of the frog obtained for labor on March 8, 1893, when the Ann Arbor strike was declared. The men went out confident in the strength of their organization and in the legality of the use of their only weapon for meeting aggressive capitalism. But the attempt was one too many and the injunctions of Judges Taft and Ricks were more than they could conquer, and organized labor stretched beyond its capacity, burst itself. As it burst, a long wail passed the lips of the wage-earners for they were confronted by a stern reality. The structure they had raised and perfected during fifty years, lay in ruin, a whiff from the political authorities had been sufficient to shatter it.

The famous injunctions of Judges Taft and Ricks in Michigan and, a few days later, of Judge Hazen of Kansas, demonstrated that labor organizations are legal technically but not practically. The illegality of strikes was fully shown, and strike is the only available weapon of trades unionism. The press, the politicians and the capitalists insist that the strike is legal in itself, but that all violence attached to it is criminal and treasonable. The question recurs what is it that the law calls violence in matters of strike? The injunctions issued against the presiding officers of the American Railway Union in the late boycott-strike define what it is the law considered violence from strikes. Do you not see that unless a striker goes home and closes his doors and windows, in order to be in perfect solitude, he is in danger of finding himself arrested for conspiracy against the nation? The later crop of injunctions against strikers resemble that of the laws in France against anarchists. Not only actions are held to be criminal, but looks and even thoughts. Neither is that regime of terrorism any longer confined to the west. Recently the supreme court of New York issued an injunction at the request of several proprietors of fashionable tailoring establishments to restrain their striking employees. John Stewart, a leader, was arrested, charged with conspiracy, even before the issuing of the injunction.

This is the condition in which fifty years of labor unions have landed us. The Pullman boycott has proven beyond the shadow of a doubt the total inefficiency of these unions, and the wage earners have decided to use the ballot to right their wrongs. This move rounds the cycle, and labor today is placed on the exact spot where it was fifty years ago. At that time, in 1844, the condition of the working class in Europe was most miserable, and great agitation prevailed throughout the country. The crops had been bad, business was dull, wages were low and provisions high priced. Hunger was a caller at many doors, poverty darkened the homes of all the toilers. Not having the right of suffrage the working class attributed their misery to their exclusion from political power and their incapacity to send to congress men devoted to their cause. In England the suffering masses uttered loud protest and chartism was the result. For many years that gigantic movement kept the country on the verge of a revolution. Meetings attended by several hundreds of thousands were held everywhere. In Italy the agitation clustered around Mazzini's new and improved Carbonari, the "Young Italy." Ramification of that secret society spread in France and over the rest of the continent; new societies, secret and non-secret, started up everywhere. The right of suffrage was the cry, the emancipation of the laboring class the hope. The strong arm of the law replied with bullets to the demand of the masses; riots broke out on all sides. Eighteen hundred and forty-eight set in. France was in a paroxysm of excitement over the measures of repression enacted by the government of Louis Philippe, and in February the people rose in their might and overturned the monarchy. On the ruin of this republic was established, manhood suffrage was granted and the masses were enabled to send to the legislature men of their own choice. The victory of the masses of France sent a thrill of joy and of hope throughout Europe. Labor dreamed of liberty and of bread. The rulers quaked. Who knew how soon the jubilant toilers would be muzzled anew? They made preparations to meet their rebelling subjects and swore to annihilate them if necessary. On France all eyes were focussed. But the elected of the workingmen were the supporters of the capitalists, and by arbitrary legislation and by force they precipitated an outbreak of the toilers, and the "insurrection of labor," also called the "insurrection of hunger," was fought June 22 to June 26, 1848. In magnitude it was a war, all the proletariat of France was engaged, or going to be engaged in it. The party of law and order, the capitalists, whose right arm the government was, triumphed, and labor was smitten even to the dust. Potentates of Europe rushed at their discontented subjects and reduced them to submission.

In their affliction and despair, the toilers resolved to seek other means than the political ones to work out their emancipation. Trades-unionism hitherto but little known, was selected and it was decided to operate on economic lines and discard politics as being useless and injurious. With what result have we experimented trades-unionism during this long period of fifty years? Labor leaders claim that it maintained high wages and gave labor a standing in court. Recent events deny both these assertions—wages are hopelessly low and labor has no standing in court. During the supreme sway of trades-unionism, millionaires came into existence, the national wealth monopolized in a few hands, the legislature became plutocratic, millions of toilers were debarred from working and millions of tramps filled our highways. The chasm between the moneyed class and the working class is wider than it was fifty years ago and more difficult to bridge over. In their misery and perplexity, the toilers are compelled to reorganize on a new plan and operate on political lines, just as they did fifty years ago.

Thus the cycle has rounded. Now for the gravitating of a new one, now for the inspiration and wisdom which fifty years of steady failure ought to give us. Now for a "getting together" for solid practical work. Anyone wishing THE RAILWAY TIMES, and not desiring to subscribe in the regular way, can secure it by getting a club of three names. Send the money for the three names for any length of time and the paper will be sent to your address free during the term of your subscription.

Industrial Federation.

BY WM. HARRISON HILEY.

Hitherto, in this nation and in all so-called civilized nations, the usurers of various kinds have governed the wealth-makers. The national laws have been made and administered by usurers for usurers. Our national finances, our railroads, our army and our navy are managed by usurers for the benefit of usurers. Virtually, the wealth-makers are slaves. Our nation is called a republic, but it is really an oligarchy in which all the means of obtaining a livelihood are controlled by usurers who can dictate the terms upon which the toilers shall exist.

Although the national government claims the sole right to issue money for the use of the people, it issues none to the people, but only to usurers of whom the people must borrow it on the usurer's terms. Thus the government will not either issue money to the industrialists or allow any of them to issue any for themselves.

The industrialists of the United States are in bondage to the usurers. The farmers, by means of mortgages, are under bondage. The money they needed to carry on their farms, and which they should have had free of charge for interest from the government, they have been compelled to borrow of usurers (who alone have had government money free of charge for interest). The manufacturers and miners, shipowners and lumbermen, merchants and industrialists of every kind have been compelled to pay an annual tribute to the Shylocks who have got sole control of our national money which should be issued by the government on equal terms to all citizens.

About four-fifths or five-sixths of our legislators are lawyers, most of whom are in the service of usurers, as in the case of Olney. Our chief magistrate is also a lawyer, as most of our presidents have been, or soldiers. (We speak of Lincoln as "the boatman," but they had to leave our ranks and become lawyers before they were considered eligible as candidates for the presidency.)

We seem to have been maliciously bewitched. The industrialists, employing and employed, have been wrangling with each other instead of co-operating against their common enemy. Nay, they have done a more amazing thing! They have elected their enemy to govern them! And so it has come to pass that the worms at the cores of the apples are anointed kings of the apples.

The capitol at Washington is a club of gabblers, slysters, pilferers and rich idlers. The farmers, miners, fishermen, artisans, manufacturers, merchants and other distributors (including carriers by land or water), are not there proportionally represented, for it has become a house of usurers. Shall we, the industrialists, continue to elect such people?

An old politician once said "Divide and govern." The usurers, through their press and platform, have contrived to divide the industrialists, to get one half of them to vote against the other half. Thus, in a total number of, say twelve million votes, if the usurers could by keeping up two twinned and twinned parties, get six million votes, plus a few hundred on one side and six million, minus a few hundred on the other side, they could keep for themselves the balance of power as they have kept it.

No honest and wise industrialist will ever again vote for the "democratic" or the "republican" parties, which might as well be called the jackstraw and fiddle-dy-wink parties in which the voters are the playthings, not the players. We must have an industrial political league, first national, and then international. To begin with it will not be necessary, and perhaps not advisable for the various organizations of reformers and workers to discontinue their various societies, but they should all federate for political purposes in one great league in which all persons should be eligible as members who are willing to earn their living by honest labor, men and women, employers and employed. Then "the gates of hell could not prevail against them."

We must stop voting against each other. We must vote for ourselves and vote the usurers out of place and power, disenfranchise and disenow them. There are practical difficulties in the way of discontinuing existing workers, unions and reform societies, and hence I advise a political federation without discontinuance, especially as most of the societies have some special work they can usefully accomplish. Therefore, I advise that even the Populist party, large as it is, federate itself with the rest for general political purposes under the general name of the Industrial Political League.

A common platform for the league can easily be agreed upon by the populists, nationalists, federating labor, socialists, American Railway Union, etc., etc. The chief thing to be determined upon, and that can be secured easily by co-operative effort, is that the industrialists shall govern this nation, that the usurers and their hired advocates shall be dethroned. Some of the usurers' scribes have been predicting that this nation must soon become a kingdom. We had better have an emperor than continue to be governed as we have been by the most ignoble and treacherous, by prevaricators and pilferers.

Never was revolution more needed than now, when the idlers, gamblers and thieves are governing and robbing the workers. Revolution is an "American method," but let it be a peaceful revolution. "We are many, they are few," and we can easily revolve the usurers and their retainers out of place and power by means of our votes. So, henceforth, let us unite and vote for ourselves.

Partisan politics will cut a bigger figure this year than ever before in the annals of organized labor. This is as it should be. The time has come when laboring men will have to come down off the "fence" and show their hands. Men have got to be men and declare their position. They are either in favor of present conditions or they are against it. "He who is not for me, is against me." Organized labor has for years been voting for men "who have proven themselves to be straight-forward and just to his fellowmen" and they are just now beginning to realize where they "are at." Working people who do not care to continue their miserable conditions will pay little attention to the advice to vote for men instead of principle, and that, too, through the different ballot boxes. There is but one union man's and one workingman's party, with true men and true principles, and that is the People's party.—Farmer and Labor Review.

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A SPLENDID SPEECH.

(Continued from First Page)

unite for defense against intolerable wrong. It is a revolution which lets the presidents, and managers, and owners of the railroads and trusts go free of all punishment for the crimes they are committing; which sends out no process against any of the corporations or corporation men in the American Railway association, while it uses all the powers of the attorney-general of the United States to prosecute and, if possible, to send to prison the members of the American Railway Union. It is a revolution which is putting the attorneys of corporations into ermine on the bench to be attorneys still.

It is a revolution by which great combinations, using competition to destroy competition, have monopolized entire markets, and as the sole sellers of goods make the people buy dear, and as the sole purchaser of labor make the people sell themselves cheap. Last and deepest and greatest revolution of all is that by which the mines, machinery, factories, currency, land, entrusted to private hands as private property, only as a stewardship, to warm, feed, clothe, serve mankind, are used to make men cold, hungry, naked, and destitute. Coal mines shut down to make coal scarce, mills shut down to make goods scarce, currency used to deprive people of means of exchange, and railway used to hinder transportation.

This is the revolution that has come. With local variation it is world wide, and against it the people are rising world wide in peaceful counter, revolutions, in people's parties. It begins now to be seen generally what a few have been pointing out from the beginning, that the workingmen in organizing to defend themselves have been only pioneers. The power which denied them a fair share of their production was the same power which is now attacking the consumer, the farmer and even the fellow capitalist. In organizing against modern capitalism the workingmen set the example which all the people are now driven by self-preservation to follow.

The trades union of the workingmen was the precursor of the farmers' alliance, the grange, and the People's party. Chicago today leads the van in this great forward movement. Here the workingmen, capitalists, single-taxers, and socialists have come together to join forces with each other and with the farmers, as has been done in no other city. Its meetings are attended here by thousands, as you see tonight. It is the most wonderful outburst of popular hope and enthusiasm in the recent politics of this country. Chicago thus leads in numbers and in enthusiasm and promises of success, because it has led in boldness and sincerity and thoroughness of reform doctrine. The workingmen of Chicago at the Springfield conference, which was the fountainhead of this tidal wave, stood firm as a rock for the principle, without which the industrial liberties of the people can never be established—the principle that they have the right at their option to own and operate collectively any or all of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. They already own some; they have the right to own as many more as they want. This is the mother principle of the government we already have, and it covers the whole brood of government railroads, telegraphs, telephones, banks, lands, street railways, all the municipalizations and naturalizations in which everywhere the people are giving utterance to their belief that they are the only proper and the only competent administrators of the wealth which they create.

The declaration of independence of 1776 declared that the people felt themselves able to manage for themselves the government, all of whose powers sprang from them. This declaration of 1894 is the proclamation of the next step in independence. The people have done so well that they will move forward again and manage for themselves some more departments of the commonwealth all of whose powers spring from them. The democratization of government, the democratization of collective industry—they are parts of one great upward emancipation. The American idea, says Emerson, is emancipation. The co-operative commonwealth is the legitimate offspring and lawful successor of the republic. Our liberties and our wealth are both must be for the people. Wealth, like government, is the product of the co-operation of all, and, like government, must be the property of all its creators, not of a privileged few alone. The principles of liberty, equality, union which rule in the industries we call government must rule in all industries. Government exists only by the consent of the governed. Business, property, capital are also governments and must also rest on the consent of the governed. This assertion of the inherent and inalienable right, and ability, of the people to own and operate, at their option, any or all of the wealth they create is the fundamental, irrefragable, and uncompromisable keynote of the crisis, and with this trumpet note you can lead the people through any sacrifice to certain victory.

Jefferson, one of his biographers tells us, was one of the most successful politicians of his time because he kept his ear close to the bosom of the people. If we will do the same we will hear the great heart of the common people beating the world over with this new hope of coming to own their means of production and the fruit of their labor, and so for the first time in history owning themselves. The people always think quicker and straighter than the philosophers, because while the philosopher simply meditates the people suffer. The people here tonight have learned in their marketing, in their cut wages, in their lockouts, and search for employment, in the prices they pay for their sugar, and coal, and matches, and meat, and hundreds of other things, that all the reforms—the tariff, the banks, the land system, the railroads, and the currency—would leave them still the slaves of life and means of production in absolute right as private property beyond the reach of all these reforms and with wealth which puts them beyond competition. Herein is the inner citadel of monopoly and "plank 10" is the battering ram which will bring down its walls.

This cardinal principle, to which every candidate of the People's party of Cook county who seeks the support of the workingmen must subscribe, has been adopted in substance by the party in New York. The party in Connecticut in their last platform show themselves ready for it. It will without doubt be

adopted overwhelmingly by the next national convention of the People's party, and under the banner of this principle—which is as big as the crisis—the party will move into the presidency, perhaps as soon as 1896. It is not to the parties that have produced the pandemonium of intermittent panic which is called trade and industry that the people can look for relief. To vote for them is to vote for more panics, more pandemoniums. Both these parties have done good work, but their good work is done. The republican party took the black man off the auction block of the slave power, but it has put the white man on the auction block of the money power to be sold to the lowest bidder under the iron hammer of monopoly. The democratic party for a hundred years has been the pull-back against the centralization in American politics, standing for the individual against the community, the town against the state, and the state against the nation. But in one hour here last July it sacrificed the honorable devotion of a century its great principle and surrendered both the rights of states and the rights of man to the centralized corporate despotism to which the presidency of the United States was then abdicated.

There ought to be two first-class political funerals in this country in 1896, and if we do our duty the corpses will be ready on time. "Are you going to the funeral of Benedict Arnold?" one of his neighbors asked another. "No, but I approve of it." We will not go to the republican and democratic funerals, but we approve of them. There is a party that the people can trust because in the face of overwhelming odds, without distinguished leaders, money, office, or prestige, it has raised the standard of a principle to save the people. The continual refrain of Mommsen, the great historian of Rome, is that its liberties and prosperity were lost because its reformers were only half reformers, and none of its statesmen would strike at the root of its evils. By that mistake we must profit.

It is a fact of political history that no new party was ever false to the cause for which it was formed. If the People's party as organized in Cook county is supported by the country, and the people get the control of their industries as of the government, the abolition of monopoly will as surely follow as the abolition of slavery followed the entrance of Abraham Lincoln into the white house in 1861. Then we will have the judges and the injunctions, the president and the house of representatives. There will be no senate; we will have the referendum and the senate will go out when the people come in. The same constitution that could take the property of unwilling citizens for the railroads for rights of way can take the railroads, willing or unwilling, to be the nation's property when the people come in. Then the national debt, instead of representing the waste of war, will represent the railroads and other productive works owned by the people and worth more, as in Australia, than the bonds issued for them. The same constitution that could demonetize silver can remonetize it, or demonetize gold for a better money than either. The honest dollar will come in when the people come in, for it will not be a dollar that can be made scarce, to produce panics, and throw millions of men out of work, and compel the borrower to pay two where he received only one.

Women will vote, and some day we will have a woman president when the people come in. The postoffice will carry your telegrams and your parcels as well as your letters, and will be the people's bank for savings, and their life and accident insurance company, as it is elsewhere already. Every dark place in our cities will be brilliant with electricity, made by the municipalities for themselves. Workingmen and women will ride for 3 cents and school children for 2 1/2 cents, as in Toronto, on street-car lines owned by the municipalities, and paying by their profits a large part of the cost of government now falling on the taxpayer. When the people come in political corruption, boss rule, and boodle will go out, because these spring mainly from the intrigues and bribes of syndicates to get hold of public functions for their private profit. We will have a real civil service, the inevitable and logic result of the demands of the People's party, founded, as true civil service reform must be, on a system of public education which shall give every child of the republic the opportunity to fit himself for the public service. The same constitution which granted empires of public lands to create the Pacific railroad king will find land for workingmen's homes and land to co-operative colonies of the unemployed.

There will soon be no unemployed when the people come in. They will have no shoemakers locked out or shoe factories shut down while there is a foot unshod and all the mills and mines and factories the needs of the people require the people will keep going. Every man who works will get a living and every man who gets a living shall work, when the people come in. These are some of the things the People's party of Cook county means. At the coming election let every man and woman vote—for the women must vote through the men until they vote themselves—let every man and woman vote for those, and only for those, who accept this grand principle of the liberation of the people by themselves. Let this platform get a popular indorsement at the polls next November that will advertise to the world that the people have at last risen in their might, not to rest until another great emancipation has been added to the glorious record of the liberties achieved by mankind.

Don't Be Fooled By Palliatives. One of the greatest dangers to the labor movement is that too often mere patchwork is accepted as progress and the main issue lost sight of. It is not a little temporary relief we want but a reconstruction of the industrial system. On this subject the Chicago Times pertinently remarks: Addressing itself to a constituency which it believes to be made up almost wholly of wageworkers and in very great part of men considering more or less scientifically current industrial problems, the Times ventures to suggest a doubt of the value of partial solutions of the labor problem, conciliatory devices intended to make the wageworker contented with his lot, profit sharing, compulsory insurance, building advances and all the other dodges by which persons who, by their monopolization of natural opportunities, practically are men who seek to evade the substance of justice by offering its shadow.

Half a loaf is not better than no bread when the whole loaf is yours, and acceptance of half is connivance at your own robbery.

Congresses designed merely to "conciliate" the employer and the employed, to discover some practical method of arbitration in labor disputes, to "bring about a better understanding between master and man," to rescue labor from the baleful influence of the "mere theorist," and teach the workingman to reverse the teachings of the "practical men" who will teach him to contentedly produce \$5 a day and take only 50 cents of it for his labor, really stand in the way of industrial progress.

Such discussions, indeed, might have a certain value if they did not tend to divert the thought and action of the people from the more deep and searching investigations by which alone can the evil which lies at the bottom of industrial ills be discovered and removed. While the status of industrial society remains as now, while the law protects certain classes in the enjoyment of a monopoly of natural opportunities, or creates and confers upon them special privileges, there is sore need for artificial means of regulating the inequalities which must certainly be developed out of such conditions. Any efforts, then, for alleviation of the lot of the wage-worker under existing conditions will be commendable provided they do not interrupt, discourage or impede the wiser and more far-reaching agitation for permanent justice and fair play to all men.

Unhappily in the vast majority of cases these endeavors for partial justice are made for the express purpose of discouraging the wageworker from demanding exact and entire justice. They are a tub thrown to the labor whale. The privileged classes, rather than surrender their privileges and their monopolies, say to those who clamor for free competition, "Be still and we will give you a small part of our profits, or we will help you provide against old age by contributing slenderly to your insurance fund, or we will build you a model village, or when we cut down your wages 10 per cent we will consent to arbitration of the question whether the reduction should be more than 5."

It is well for the wiser counselors of labor to look behind the fair promises of those who propose philanthropic congresses for the cajoling of labor. Better that mitigation of the lot of the wage-working class should be deferred for years to come than that progress toward absolute equality of opportunity for all men should be checked by the cajolery or patronizing beneficence of those who control natural opportunities today.

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