

STRIKE COMMISSION

TRIUMPHANTLY VINDICATES THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION

Their Report in Effect Declares that the General Managers' Association is a Gigantic Conspiracy.

Messrs. Carroll D. Wright, John D. Kernan and Nicholas D. Worthington, commissioners appointed by President Cleveland to investigate the "Pullman strike" and report conclusions to him, have made their report and the more important conclusions deduced have been given to the public.

The wisdom of President Cleveland's action in appointing the commission will we doubt not be universally admitted, nor is it to be questioned that the gentlemen who composed the commission were guided in their investigations and conclusions by the highest considerations of honor and impartial justice.

The General Managers' Association.

Attention is first paid to an unlawful combination known as the "General Managers' Association," controlling twenty-four railroads having 221,097 employes, and a capitalization value of \$2,108,552,617. This unlawful organization is referred to as a "strike fighter and wage arbiter" and was organized for the purpose of perpetrating and perpetuating outrages upon their employes. The purposes of the association were piratical. It was a combination requiring of the twenty-four roads having a membership in it, mutual aid and support when any scheme for plunder had been perfected. In this connection the commissioners say:

"The commission questions whether any legal authority, statutory or otherwise can be found to justify some of the features of the association which have come to light in this investigation. If we regard its practical workings rather than its professions as expressed in its constitution, the General Managers' Association has no more standing in law than the old Trunk Line pool. It cannot incorporate because railroad charters do not authorize roads to form corporations or associations to fix rates for services and wages, nor to force their acceptance nor to battle with strikers. It is a usurpation of power not granted. If such an association is necessary from a business or economic standpoint, the right to form and maintain it must come from the state that granted its charter. In theory, corporations are limited to the powers granted either directly or by clear inference. We do not think the power has been granted in either way in this case."

The commission lucidly points out if the usurpation of power by railroad combinations "to fix wages, and for their joint protection," is permitted, "it would be rank injustice to deny the right of all labor upon railroads to unite for similar purposes." To show further the outrages perpetrated by the General Managers' Association, the commissioner says:

"United States deputy marshals to the number of 3,600 were selected by and appointed at the request of the General Managers' Association and of its railroads. They were armed and paid by the railroads and acted in the double capacity of railroad employes and United States officers. While operating the railroads they assumed and exercised unrestricted United States authority when so ordered by their employers, or whenever they regarded it as necessary. They were not under the direct control of any government official while exercising authority. This is placing officers of the government under control of a combination of railroads. It is a bad precedent, that might well lead to serious consequences."

The deputy marshals were, in numerous cases, the vilest creatures that could be raked from the slums of Chicago, and the commission characterizes the infamy in dignified denunciation.

Pullman.

The commissioners pay their respects to the Pullman Palace Car Company, and it is easy to read between the lines that each one of them was surcharged with mingled reprobation and detestation of its business methods. Not one word of commendation is offered. It is an exhibition of rich rascality and cold-blooded selfishness, heartless meanness, hypocrisy and vulgar chicanery, reduction of wages, high rents, rags, squalor and starvation, vindicating every accusation made in public or in private against the aggregation of infamies practiced under cover of boasted fair-dealing. Referring to Pullman employes, the commission bears high and eloquent testimony of their patience and good character, in saying that it is in evidence and uncontradicted that no violence or destruction of property by strikers or sympathizers took place at Pullman, and that until July 3 no extraordinary protection was had from the police or military agencies, even anticipated disorder. Such dignified, manly and conservative conduct in the midst of excitement and threatened starvation is worthy of the highest type of American citizenship, and with like prudence in all other directions will result in due time in the

lawful and orderly redress of labor wrongs. To deny this is to forswear patriotism and to declare this government and its people a failure. It would be difficult to find in the whole range of official literature a more gratifying indorsement of the high character of American workingmen. The Pullman employes, though robbed and starved and treated worse than swine, deported themselves in a manner which extorts from the gentlemen in possession of all the facts the highest commendation.

Causes Leading to the Strike.

The commissioners in commenting upon the causes which led to the strike, places the responsibility where it belongs. They say "it is apparent that the readiness to strike sympathetically was promoted by the disturbed and apprehensive condition of railroad employes, resulting from wage reductions on different lines, blacklisting, etc., and from the recent growth of the General Managers' Association which seemed to them a menace, and that "both the Pullman Co. and the Railway Managers' Association in reference to applications to arbitrate, closed the door to all attempts at conciliation and settlement of differences. The commission is impressed with the belief by the evidence and by the attendant circumstances as disclosed, that a different policy would have prevented the loss of life and great loss of property and wages occasioned by the strike."

In this way the commission battles down every "refuge of lies" in which those responsible for the strike have taken shelter and this brings us to the point where the commission triumphantly exonerate the officers of the

American Railway Union.

and their vindication could scarcely be more complete. As in duty bound, the commissioners exhausted all sources of information. Their authority was equal to the task imposed; with a high duty to perform and no favors to ask, lovers of truth and despisers of duplicity, their purpose was to obtain facts, verify them and do justice. As a result, they said:

"There is no evidence before the commission that the officers of the American Railway Union at any time participated in or advised intimidation, violence or destruction of property. They knew and fully appreciated that as soon as mobs ruled the organized forces of society would crush the mobs and all responsible for them in the remotest degree, and that this meant defeat. The attacks upon corporations and monopolies by the leaders in their speeches are similar to those to be found in the magazines and industrial works of the day."

We have in the foregoing presented the salient conclusions of the commission appointed with ample authority to investigate the "Pullman strike." Manifestly the officers and members of the American Railway Union feel a just pride in the result. Their characters are unsmirched. They committed no crime. They violated no law. Prosecuted and persecuted, they have been the victims of the malice of those who hoped to escape deserved obloquy and infamy by falsehood and treachery. And here we inquire how stands the matter with the

Old Orders of Railway Employes?

They saw the American Railway Union battling against the usurped power of the General Managers' Association and the unspeakable infamies of the Pullman Palace Car Company in the interest of degraded, down-trodden and robbed employes. The American Railway Union had one shibboleth, one battle cry, "Justice to workingmen, women and children." The American Railway Union demanded for Pullman employes food and clothing for the hungry and the naked. The American Railway Union voiced the universal demand of the toiling masses, and challenged to the contest wealth untold and all the power wealth could bestow. What did the old orders of railway employes do in this unparalleled crucial ordeal? Did the officers of these orders declare for labor? No. Did they bow down like slaves before such idols as wealth and power enacted for their worship? Yes. Did they lick the boots of the General Managers' Association? That is what they did. Did their members leave them by thousands for being manly, courageous, independent, self-respecting men who dared to be true to their suffering fellow toilers? Such is their degraded, base and slavish record. The commissioners who investigated the Pullman strike pronounce the "General Managers' Association" a shamefully illegal combination, practicing piratical schemes, and yet the grand officers of the old orders of railway employes sold out to it body and soul, and in solid phalanx won the unmitigated detestation of all honorable men. Is it to be supposed those grand officials invited the burning scorn and contempt of labor throughout the country and the world for no consideration but the smiles of wealthy villains? Read the "Lexow" developments and then answer the query. What were the considerations that would influence grand officials

to turn traitors to suffering men, women and children, mere skeletons amid the splendor of Pullman? Had their kidneys and hearts changed places and functions?

The General Managers' Association could tell, but the secret will never be known until the sea gives up its dead. In the meantime, workingmen, betrayed, have a right to repeat Tom Moore's malediction:

"O, for a tongue to curse a slave,
When treason, like a deadly blight,
Comes o'er the counsels of the brave,
And blasts them in their hour of might."

The American Railway Union, with perfect serenity, scans the battle track it tramped in the interest of labor, and now, more than ever before, contemplates its tempest-torn banners with exulting pride. They symbolize devotion to the cause of labor and the officers of the American Railway Union—

"Though their lives may pass away,
Like lightning on a stormy day."

A vast army of workingmen, good and true, will never cease to regard the Pullman strike as luminous with permanent glory, to which they may look back while they watch for the dawn of a day when all of the aggressors of labor and their dogmatic worshippers shall together go to the limbo of dead and disgusting monstrosities.

Santa Fe Wreckers.

The federal grand jury has found true bills against the men who are alleged to have looted the Santa Fe railroad of several millions and have indicted, among others, Joseph W. Reinhart, ex-president of the Santa Fe company. John A. Hanley, ex-traffic manager of the Santa Fe. These men are charged with violating the express provision of the interstate commerce law prohibiting the paying or receiving of rebates for freight. The evidence is said to be complete, and, indeed, the report of President Reinhart, made to the stockholders of the Santa Fe at the time of his enforced retirement, practically admitted the truth of the general charge that he had paid rebates to shippers in order to secure their business. The penalty upon conviction is fixed by the interstate commerce law at imprisonment for not to exceed two years, a fine not exceeding \$500, or both, in the discretion of the court.

The public will watch with interest the trial of this case. Few high officials spend much time in jail and the idea that the ex-president of the Santa Fe will go to prison is held by no one who has watched the methods of the courts, federal or state. Yet the chain of evidence is said to be complete that all of the men under indictment are guilty of the offense charged, and every interest of the public demands that they shall be punished, not only that outraged justice may be avenged, but that the men who looted the railroad company and plucked the stockholders of millions shall be advertised as criminals and the nation thus purge itself of complicity in their crimes. For the offense is not merely a national affair. It is international in its character and the honor of the United States, debtor to European stock and bondholders, is at stake here. Already the Goulds and the Reinharts have made American securities a by-word and hissing in the exchanges of Europe, and millions of money have gone to the revolutionary countries of South and Central America which would have found profitable use in the development of this country's material resources but for the distrust men of this stamp have engendered.

That is not a court of justice in which the millionaire and the pauper stand on any other than the basis of absolute equality. No one doubts what the fate of the poor man who cannot hire able counsel would be who had openly and deliberately violated the interstate commerce law. It is a flattering commentary upon our courts that the same degree of confidence is not felt when the criminal counts his dollars by the million.

Let justice be done in the case of Reinhart et al. If they are found guilty let the full measure of the law be meted out to them. The effect would be wholesome and would do much to restore popular confidence in our courts of justice.

THE Union Pacific Coal Company has notified J. F. Pierce, People's party candidate for State Auditor of Wyoming, that he must either resign from the service of the company or withdraw from the ticket. The order comes from the Union Pacific receivers. The State law prescribes a fine of from \$100 to \$500 when any individual or corporation in any way interferes with the candidacy of an employe for public office. Chairman Merritt, of the Populist State Committee, offers a reward of \$1,000 for the conviction of any person so offending.—*Railroad Gazette.*

In the foregoing, we have a specimen of *Cesarism* in railroad operation in the United States, but no United States judge issues a restraining order to curb the men who perpetrate the high handed outrage.

THE R. R. BLACKLIST.

A CONSPIRACY OF RAILROAD MANAGERS TO STARVE STRIKERS.

A Crime Against Heaven and Humanity as Satanlike as Any Ever Perpetrated Upon Mankind.

A dispatch from Omaha reveals a blacklist conspiracy among the railway companies that will receive the hearty condemnation of every American citizen who believes in fair play and frank fighting.

Since the strike the railway companies, it appears, have demanded from every applicant for work a "clearance" paper setting forth the cause of his retirement from his last service. This is entirely proper. It is similar to the "recommendation" demanded by most business houses. But instead of furnishing a frank statement to the workman the railway manager gives him what purports to be an honest clearance, but is really a sign that he is not worthy of employment. The trick is carried out by means of an ingenious watermark. The figure of a "sand hill crane" is worked into the blank form used for the clearance. When the head of the crane is missing the man will not be hired, even when the clearance is complimentary.

This unmanly device is used to the destruction of every unfortunate who took part in the strike, or who is conspicuous in any of the interdicted unions. It would be hard to adequately characterize the nature of the sneak who invented this code. As for the railway managers who use it, they certainly are guilty of conspiracy and should be punished in court. They are more lawless than the strikers. They are cowardly as well as lawless. They violate the principles of humanity and outrage the rules of fair play among men. When by means of this fraud they take the bread out of the mouths of women and children they become far less respectable and quite as dangerous to society as anarchists.

The country is now suffering the penalty of an alliance with the railway companies, enforced by the requirements of good order. They attempt to use this new-found friendship as a cloak to cover practices that in other times would not be tolerated. They were given their inch. They take an ell. So serious has their invasion of rights in one direction, through the complacency of the federal bench become, that the most conservative newspaper of America has felt obliged to call a halt.

We believe a workman blacklisted in the manner described above has ground for both civil and criminal actions against the conspirators. The railway managers must learn that what is criminal in a hired man is criminal also in one of their class. Felony is not wholly a matter of caste.—*Exchange.*

Defense Fund.

Previously acknowledged	\$1,000.00
Local Union 123	8.00
E. Boyce, Wardner, Idaho	15.00
Local Union 128	10.00
Local Union 146	25.00
Local Union 361	3.95
A. C. Kaiser, Elliston, Mont.	5.00
Jacob Simon, Sec'y Cigar M'ks. Un. 90	15.90
J. C. Fox	4.75
G. N. Schmidt, Sec. Trad'ng's Q. Quincy Ill.	55.00
E. Hegstrom, Chicago	10.00
Ed. Chopse, Sec. C. M. U. 207	5.00
H. Kuhn, Sec. Ger. Dra. Sr. Providence R. I.	25.00
S. A. Ronke	1.00
Mill & Smelter Men's Union, Great Falls	50.00
Local Union 146	53.00
Mass Meeting, Milwaukee	102.12
Local Union 124	4.25
Cigarmakers I. U. 46	5.00
American Federation of Labor	70.35
Local Union 84	10.00
	\$1,970.33

The Eight-Hour Day.

Does not our neighbor, the *Record*, err in asserting positively that "employers have learned by experience that a shortened day means relatively increased wage, just as a long day means a short wage?"

Economists, statisticians, business men and labor leaders have been studying this subject for some years, and all have come to the conclusion that the reduction of the hours of labor to the eight-hour point has not decreased the productivity of the worker nor the labor cost of the product. England has furnished a vast quantity of data bearing upon the problem, all of which support this position. It would of course be absurd to contend that the hours of labor could be indefinitely decreased without corresponding decrease of the product, but it has been thoroughly demonstrated that the change from ten to eight hours in English factories has cost the employer nothing and profited the worker much in time for rest, recreation and self-improvement.—*Chicago Times.*

The Railway Times will give you all the labor news for \$1 per year.

Universal Brotherhood.

BY MILES MENANDER DAWSON.

"Lo, we are of one blood!"
—Kipling's Jungle Tales.

The man who seeks his highest to engage
By patient, unremitting labor,
By serious thought and loftiest resolve,
In him I recognize my neighbor.
Across wide seas, if need be, we clasp hands
In real brotherhood;
And though thus separated in far lands,
Lo, we are of one blood.

Be his skin ebony as mine is white,
Or be it copper, yellow, red,
If but his soul yearns upward to the light,
What are such trifles? We are led
By inborn instincts from a common parent
To seek the common good.
Such things come not of chance; it is apparent
That we are of one blood.

Then czars and emperors and kings, hands off;
All men, our brothers, must be free;
The Hanover, the Hapsburgh, Romanoff
Yield to the human family!
Ye foes of liberty, in time beware!
It must be understood
That all men—at their option—everywhere
Are of the self-same blood.

Yea, at their option! Who appropriates
By force, by fraud, by merest chance,
The wealth another's industry creates,
Forfeits his own inheritance.
Men make their choices; who their duties shirk
And for self-comfort would
Degrade their fellow men to thralldom, work
Corruption of their blood.

Who loves his fellow-man, acts never thus
And by their deeds we know our brothers.
He who asserts relationship to us,
Proves it by granting it to others.
Exclusiveness, the "I am holier
Than thou!" has ever stood
As the sure mark of their true character
Who are of alien blood.

Mark the distinction! It is radical
And it is vital. They who ask
No more of any than they grant to all
Are brothers; they who fain would task
The weaker with the burdens of the strong,
And have till now withstood
The right of all men with their private wrong,
Are not of the same blood.

Nor of a nobler; they would have it so
But true men cannot recognize it.
The wretch who groans beneath the fierce
Knout's blow
Is nobler than the wretch who plies it.
By helping others we ourselves rise higher,
And life is more than food,
Than shelter—raiment—it is the desire
That all be of one blood.

Strike hands across the oceans, then, my
Brothers;
Stop not at nations' boundaries!
The foolish enmity of nations smother
The spirit which all nations frees.
Let not tongues, customs, mouldy prejudices
Prevent the common good.
Dispensation of your troubles this is,
Let all be of one blood!

The A. R. U. Booming.

President Debs is making a tour of the Eastern States in the interest of the order. The *New York World* of recent date contains the following:

Eugene V. Debs, president of the American Railway Union, organized a branch of the union in this city last Tuesday. Wednesday Debs held a conference with New York railway men as to the connection with the American Railway Union, and addressed a mass meeting in Brooklyn on Thursday. Today he will start on an organizing tour through the state, visiting Watertown, Rochester and Buffalo. The tour will terminate with a general reunion of prominent union men at Cleveland.

Debs said: "I have received forty-two applications for charters since I left Chicago. The union is booming. I predict that this country has seen its biggest railway strike. There will never be one like it again. At a convention of 420 delegates from the various branches of the American Railway Union, recently, the ballot was settled as being more effective than strikes. A resolution endorsing government ownership of railroads, telegraphs and mines was agreed on and the People's party was endorsed."

How can it be expected that a corrupt mind can be relied on to put a right political principle into practice. Have not all candidates for office in the past claimed high moral and patriotic sentiments and been elected as such, and have they not failed, as a rule to practice it? Had not the methods practiced by them before their election something to do with their actions afterwards? Is it not, therefore, safer to seek men, and follow methods in reaching a position, to practice a reform that has the spirit of reform embodied in it, even though it takes longer to gain the position?—*U.P. Employes Magazine.*

Certainly, candidates for office, under the banners of the old parties have made loud professions of honesty and fealty to right, truth and justice, but as often as they have been elected they have, that is the majority of them, proven themselves to be traitors to their professions. To trust them longer is madness. A new party is in the field. It is the party of reform in the best sense of the term. It is eminently safe and patriotic to espouse the cause of the Populists. The hopes of a better government centers in the success of the Populist party. It may require time to dislodge the old parties but they must be routed, horse, foot and dragon, if the country is ever to realize better conditions for the masses.

SAINT PAUL MEETING.

MEETING OF A. R. U. ADDRESSED BY HON. W. W. ERWIN.

Who Says Railroads Shape American Legislation in Their Interests and Against Workingmen.

The chairman introduced Hon. W. W. Erwin, who was greeted with cheers. He said, in substance:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I am down to meet the trades and labor assembly and its officers, and to talk with twenty or thirty others, as I supposed, but the rain kept the other speakers and part of the audience away. There are enough here to start the fire that will never be quenched until labor has its rights. I've been in this hall, where every second man said he was blacklisted, and I was thunderstruck. I don't know but one-third of those here are blacklisted; and this is the land of Washington, but he is dead; of Henry Clay, but he is no more; of Abraham Lincoln, who sleeps in a grave opened for him by an assassin. The only reason that they are not here is that they are dead. I have seen a letter of Washington when he was commander-in-chief, misspelled, in which he used a small 'p' for Putnam. Lincoln was a log splitter. All of these men had less privileges than you." Then the speaker spoke of the American Railway Union's Pullman strike, and of the men who were afraid to act for right, lest they lose their job, lest their wives and little ones should suffer hunger this winter. "Do you call this a republic?" said he. "What's the use of reading over the Declaration of Independence and vaunting of liberty if you can sit here silent? If it be true that the railroad labor of this city stand blacklisted because it dared to express its belief in favor of the starving men at Pullman. In this country every man is responsible for the public good."

Mr. Erwin then called for some one to state whether two-thirds of the railroad laborers in this city had been blacklisted. G. W. Stackpole responded. He said:

"All the railroad men who were not taken back are blacklisted. I am one of them. We cannot get a job at our kind of work in any city in the United States." Here he cited an instance of a switchman in illustration. He said that the spirit of '76, that of Washington and Jefferson, and of the soldiers of 1865, was still alive. He wondered whether those who had helped to abolish slavery for the negro were going to put their own necks within the yoke. His speech was one of fervid, rugged eloquence, that took with his audience immensely.

Mr. Erwin again came forward and said that Mr. Stackpole was a blacklisted man, pleading for right, and said that all had an exaggerated idea as to the perpetuity of their privileges. All are the victims of selfishness. "Who is it," he thundered out, "that has dared to blacklist these men, to place the mark of Cain on their brows? If Bill Erwin had done so he couldn't live in your city. By your indulgence corporations have grown up with powers no individual has. They own your legislatures, overshadow your courts, nominate and elect your public men and defeat your laws. Railroad corporations have in this way watered their stock to five times the actual value of their property. They have borrowed capital pell-mell, here and there, and you are paying a tax on five times the debt of the United States. The rapacity of the railroads did not cease here."

Colonel Pearce followed with a few remarks of real eloquence.

It was announced that next Wednesday night a meeting will be held at Market hall. A committee will be appointed to raise money for the defense of American Railway Union officials that will be made public through the press.—*St. Paul Daily Globe, Oct. 21.*

Some hundreds of people in the town of Pullman are gradually starving to death. This statement is literally true. Pullman is some miles out in the country from Chicago, and after the great strikes of June and July ended so much had been written about the place that the newspapers and public were tired of reading about it. For two months the press of Chicago had almost nothing to say about Pullman or the condition of the people who were living there. Yet the people have continued to exist, entirely dependent upon the charity of others. After public interest in the strikes had died away the supplies which were being furnished to the needy in the town of Pullman palace cars slowly but steadily decreased. The climax was reached this week when about 700 people who had applied at relief headquarters for food yesterday morning were told that there was nothing more for them.—*Chicago Correspondent Philadelphia Press.*

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To MAKE law ridiculous, it is only required to say, "There is a Jenkins on the bench."

Brave men know their rights and dare maintain them. And now is the time to join the American Railway Union.

There are in the United States sixty-five United States district judges, and on any given question, there are as many different opinions as there are judges.

MONEY talks, and that is why the "legal defense fund" of the American Railway Union should be heard in defense of organized labor in the coming trials.

Old Jay Gould and Russel Sage, it is charged, managed to steal \$11,000,000 of the Kansas Pacific railway company's assets, and an offer is being made to get it back.

To SEE the legal drag-net catch innocent men, while the scaly leviathans of crime go through unharmed, is one of the many illustrations of our much vaunted civilization.

It is said that the skin of a hippopotamus attains the thickness of two inches, but the skin of George M. Pullman is already four inches thick, and getting thicker every day.

GRAND CHIEF P. M. Arthur's great fortune is attracting attention. A millionaire labor leader is one of the signs of the times. Arthur set the pace when he said: "Take what you can get."

GOVERNOR MATHEWS, of Indiana, who, to aid the coal barons, called out his standing army, at a cost of between \$50,000 and \$100,000, never mentions the subject in his campaign speeches.

THE revelations of the Lexow commission ought to suggest the propriety of a restraining order by some sort of a judge. Tammany is the biggest mob on the continent. It looks like a conspiracy.

THE president's instructions to General Miles, when the standing army was recently called out to fight the battles of George M. Pullman and the corporations, were, first, bayonets, and then bullets. That is what the czar and Emperor William call a "strong government."

THE rallying cry of President Debs, of the American Railway Union, like "Scatswaha," is heard by the clans of highlands and lowlands from Cooper Union to Buffalo, and throughout the east, and lodges by the score are being organized. "Dinna, ye hear the Slogan?"

It would be an easy matter for legislation to tap the dropical railroad corporations, and after the water is out of them, the government could easily buy them at what they are worth and operate them to the immense advantage of all the people. Let them be tapped and squeezed.

THE National Labor Bureau at Washington, has begun its investigations of strikes and lockouts, the losses to employers and employes, the number of persons involved and the degree of success or failure attending each strike as viewed from both standpoints. The period covered by the investigation dates from January 1, 1887, to June 30, 1894.

THE street car companies of Pittsburgh, Pa., are discharging men because they are Knights of Labor, but this attempt to crush organized labor has not proved a success, a very large number of street car employes having joined the Knights since the employers began to show their hand. All honor to the plucky men who will not accept degradation without protest.

MR. GEOFFREY DARAGE, M. A., recently delivered an address at Eton College, having for his subject "Trade Unions in England, and the Great Improvement in the Condition of Workingmen During the Past Fifty Years, an Improvement Brought About Chiefly by United Workingmen." Eton College, which is near London, was established by King Henry IV, A. D. 1446, and has been in operation 448 years, educating the sons of aristocratic and wealthy Englishmen. Mr. Darage, regarding the labor question "an immense subject," deemed it prudent to discuss it before the scions of England's aristocracy, and force upon their attention the fact that labor is "an immense subject" from whatever point of view it is approached and discussed.

Mr. Darage, who is referred to by Englishmen as "a poet, a psychological

student, a country gentleman, a town man of fashion, a traveler, a polyglot linguist, a scholar and a philosopher," refers to labor agitators as philanthropists and men of brains who have been of incalculable benefit to England, and whom he is proud to know. In England labor agitators and organizers have established 594 trade unions, with 1,237,367 members, having an income of £1,790,842, or \$8,954,210, and this immense revenue is used to protect the members of trades unions when their rights are assailed, and to help them when sick or otherwise unfortunate. All that is wanted in the United States to accomplish a larger measure of benefits than has fallen to the lot of England's workmen is broadgaged leaders and united efforts. When these essentials are secured labor will be in a position to secure victories which will leave little to arouse contention.

Strike, Sympathy, Failure.

If there was ever a strike without a righteous cause, some honest, intelligent, labor leader, even the *Boston Labor Leader* ought to name it and give facts upon which he or they base their verdict. To say a strike was premature, that it ought not to have occurred when it did occur; that it entailed needless suffering and sacrifices, if it failed, is easy writing. To say, "I told you so" is an intimation that the preponderance of wisdom and discretion has always been on the side of anti-strikers. History renders no such verdicts, our readings lead us to conclude that there has never been an industrial strike without a just cause.

The British government, if a wrong is done to one of her humblest subjects, at once demands explanations and redress, and there is not a government on the face of the earth, worthy of the name that does not pursue the same policy. The motto being "a wrong done to the humblest citizen is done to the nation," and not to take cognizance of the wrong under the nation contemptible in the eyes of its citizens, and the nations of the earth, and though in the struggle the right may not prevail, the weaker or the less fortunate nation wins merited applause from all who are capable of appreciating courage to do and dare for the right. Only cowards say "I told you so."

There was never a strike for the right since time began when those who championed the right did not hope for sympathy, or who did not expect it from those capable of distinguishing between right and wrong. Sympathy is one of the noblest traits of human nature and its absence demonstrates beyond a peradventure that when antipathy and unkindness has usurped the place of fellow-feeling, whatever else may be said of such a creature, he or she, they are deficient in noble qualities.

But it is to be questioned if a strike was ever a failure except in a restricted sense. The object aimed at may not have been attained, and yet incalculable good may have been accomplished. The maxim has it, "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." That is to say, the right is never vanquished, cloven down here and there it may be, it has been, and its defenders have suffered, the time-serving gang has always applauded. Why such creatures exist, an inscrutable God only knows, but massed as they always are on the side of wrong, they are destined ultimately to go to the wall. In this is the hope of the world and especially of the workingmen. Bryant sums it up as follows:

"Truth crushed to earth shall rise again;
 The eternal years of God are hers;
 But error, wounded, writhes no pain,
 And dies among her worshippers."

THE *Railway Age* don't like the American Railway Union and omits no opportunity to air its malice. There must be, in the nature of things, a reason for this hostility, this vulgar malice, and it is not difficult to find it. The American Railway Union is the acknowledged champion of the rights of the oppressed, while the *Railway Age* is the defender and vindicator of the oppressor. The *Railway Age*, in the processes of evolution has not reached a plane above that occupied by certain vermin that prey upon men and beasts, such for instance as the louse, the flea, the tick, the leech, in fact, it reminds one of the shrewd bed-bug once seen looking over a hotel register as if to find the guest having the most blood to supply a midnight banquet for all the bed-bugs of the hostelry.

The *Railway Age* has an established reputation as a railroad manager's parasite and sycophant, and doubtless feels under obligations to those upon whom it subsists to perform such menial and vulgar duties as fall to the lot of scavengers.

TRAIN robbing, like railroad wrecking in the United States seems to have become an established business, and in both cases reduced to a science. Within a brief period two robberies have occurred, one in Virginia, where the booty was \$180,000, and one in California, where \$51,000 in gold was the prize. And within a few months the railroad wreckers had sent a score or more railroads into the hands of receivers, completely looted.

On the 30th of June, 1894, there were 969,544 pensions upon the rolls of the department, an increase of a little over 3,500 for the year. To pay these pensioners required \$139,804,401, a decrease as compared with the year ending June 30, 1893, of something over \$18,000,000.

Democrats and Populists.

The cyclone which swept over the country Nov. 6 was disastrous beyond expression to the democratic party, a party which in 1892 was given full power to control national legislation. In seeking for the cause of such a great catastrophe, a combination of earthquake, tornado and deluge it is simply required to say that a vast majority of the people did not believe the democratic party possessed the necessary ability to govern the country. If it be said that the principles enunciated by the party in 1892 were right, then, in 1894, it must be said that the party played traitor to its principles and its convictions, and thereby demonstrates its cowardice and emphasized its treachery. If it be affirmed that the democratic party is opposed to trusts and would guard the people against the piracies of such combinations and corporations it is only required for honest men to note the triumphs of the sugar trust and the whisky trust to convict the party of flagrant apostasy. If it is intimated that the democratic party is the friend of labor a reference to the brutal military orders of Grover Cleveland exposes the baseness of the claim. True, it may be, indeed, true it is, that by placing the republican party in power the change bodes still greater evils. It is a party of millionaires, plutocrats, high taxation and deep-seated hostility to labor, and in due time will have to go, and when it is out of power what then? This, and only this, the enthronement of the populist party.

The recent election, however, is not, it may be said, fruitful of hope that the populist party will at an early date control the national government. The populist party, it should be said, while the principles it advocates are fundamental, the party is too young for national triumph. Like the old abolition party, the policy it advocates is radical to the core. To achieve national success there must be repeated campaigns of education. The errors it would abolish are ancient, hoary with infamy, and are worshipped with heathen duration by men in both of the old parties, while the truths the populist party advocates are iconoclastic and are designed to tear down the images which have been so long the objects of idolatry. The reverses which the populist party received on Nov. 6 are less severe than might have been expected, when, considering the nature of the catyelsm that overwhelmed the democratic party. The democratic party was in power. To overthrow it was the one thing desired, and as a means to an end the republican party was selected by the people, and for the nonce all other political organizations were disregarded. But in no case was the populist party condemned. It was simply ignored for the time being, that there might be no mistake in securing the defeat of the democratic party. The result will not dishearten populists; on the contrary, it will have the effect of bringing them into closer alliance and prepare them for a more determined fight when the next campaign begins.

Standing Armies.

The war department at Washington has suddenly become profoundly interested in the military weakness of the government. As matters now stand, the United States has a standing army only a little over 28,000 men and this army has nothing under heaven to do except to keep a few Indians and squaws on their reservations and be ready for action should corporations require aid in subduing workingmen who protest against being starved. In a word, 28,000 men are loafing about military posts, eating and sleeping and living lives of idleness and military vagabondage.

But European countries support such immense armies that military gentlemen of whom West Point grinds out a large number every year, regard our standing army with undisguised contempt.

For instance, Russia has a peace footing army of 880,000 men which costs the miserable autocrat-cursed country \$186,349,000 annually. It is seen that Russia keeps in the field 852,000 more men than the United States and pays out for soldiers about \$170,000,000 more money than our democratic government. Germany, with a population of about 50,000,000 has a peace footing army of 498,000 men or 570,000 more than the United States for which she pays annually \$118,118,825 or about \$95,000,000 more than the standing army luxury costs the United States. When our West Point graduates note the differences, they cry out for more soldiers and predict great disasters if they are not at once enlisted.

They say, "a European country could land 200,000 men on our coast," and one military gentleman asserts that this "foreign army could get to St. Louis before we would be prepared to arrest the triumphant march of his troops." France keeps in her barracks 564,000 soldiers, or 535,000 more than the United States, and pays out annually for their support \$127,000,000 while the United States squanders only about \$23,000,000 on her standing army. Such facts makes the average West Pointer ashamed of his country.

Our military gentlemen want a "strong government," and it is, they say, quite out of the question to have a strong government like European concerns without a large standing army.

Austria-Hungary has a standing army on a peace footing, waiting for war, of 518,000 men, for which it pays annually \$55,235,000, which is \$32,235,000 more than labor pays for our military establishment. Italy, the home of dago degradation, equal to the Pennsylvania anthracite coal regions, has a peace footing army of 273,000 men who, now that Italy is bankrupt, are not half paid, if indeed they are paid at all, but it is held if Italy can have such a large standing army, congress ought at once to enact the necessary legislation and appropriate the required money to increase our standing army, though we sell gold bonds to gold bugs to raise the money. And while regular army officers are clamoring for more soldiers, various "war" governors of states want larger standing armies, "state guards" with superior guns to keep labor quiet.

All workingmen have to do is to keep the old parties, one or the other, no matter which, in power and our standing army, federal and state, will, in due time be equal to that of Russia or Germany, and we shall have blossoming on the "thorny stem of time" a strong government. Then the official aristocracy of the military machine will be able to strut and swell in all the pomp and glory of opulent idleness, and the president expand to the proportion of a czar.

Summum Bonum, Etc.

There are a number of old latin expressions which we Americans are in the habit of weaving into our literature. They are recognized as shibboleths, battle cries and rallying cries indicative of high aspirations, as, for instance, *summum bonum*, "the supreme good," *vox populi vox dei*, "the voice of the people is the voice of God," and *labor omnia vincit*, "labor conquers everything." *Summum bonum* is perfectly charming, but who cares for the "supreme good?" Who believes the voice of the people is the voice of God? Who indulges in the delusion that labor conquers everything? If there ever was a time when the supreme good of the people was the purpose of government the present is a good time to name the government for the purpose of finding out just how it was managed. If a people has existed whose voice was the voice of God we ought to know who they were, when and where they lived, and what they said, and what history could be more captivating than that relating to labor, when it conquered everything. The United States started out to secure for the people the supreme good by assuring them that when created they all stood upon the same elevated plane. Everything was of the *summum bonum* pattern. "Fo de wa," it was the supreme good to raise "niggers" for market, like cattle, or mules, or tobacco, or hemp, or any other marketable commodity. Since "de wa" it has become the *summum bonum* idea to reduce white men to conditions, worse in many regards, than was the condition of "niggers fo de wa," and men in congress, democrats at that, contended that labor is a commodity, like hides and hair, tar and turpentine, pork and beans, or any other commodity. In old plantation times the slaves, men, women and children, constituted a very important commodity. It was worth what it would bring in the market at private or public sale, and this commodity was always clothed, fed and housed at the owners' expense.

It was sleek and fat. The courts had it all fixed. Injunctions were not necessary. A nigger was never in contempt. His *summum bonum* was his master's pleasure. He was *Jenkinsized*, tied to his mule and plow. He was blacklisted and bloodhounded if he tried to get another job. "Since de wa" the "nigger" has become a "negro," a citizen, has mounted up to the political plane of his Caucasian brother, and, like "de pore white trash" at Pullman, can starve to death, be cheated and plundered and tell to an admiring world the difference between a chattel slave and a Pullman slave. Then the *summum bonum* business proceeds; thus the voice of the people is the voice of God; and thus labor conquers everything, except courts, clubs and armies. Under the new form of *summum bonum* plutocrats must be on top. Knaves must legislate. Havemeyer, the standard Dutch Duke de Sacharine, must hold court in the United States senate chamber, while the goldbug barons hold their receptions in the White House and the treasury building, and the *summum bonum* of the whisky trust is found in fattening steers and swine on whisky slops until they have delirium tremens, and are known as the jim-jam commodities of commerce.

The *summum bonum* of the nation will be secured when labor concludes to conquer legislation, and white workingmen are freemen it may do to say the voice of the people is the voice of God. Till then less latin, if you please.

Has your local union appointed an agent for THE RAILWAY TIMES? Don't neglect this important matter.

New ENGLAND workingmen express the opinion that ballots instead of bullets are to be the weapons of the coming revolution.

"Get into your holes," is what the coyote said to the prairie dogs, and it is what the Winchester said to the half-starved coal miners.

Pictures.

People, with rare exceptions, are fond of pictures, and though, perhaps, not aware of the fact, all the people, pink figured babies, youths, maidens, wives, mothers, young men and old men—though neither painters, photographers, nor engravers, are, nevertheless, picture-makers. These pictures are sometimes the perfection of beauty, chef-d'oeuvres—as fascinating, eye, more captivating than the highest achievements of Raphael, or any other of the old masters—and then another picture seen in every day life constituting a portion of the panorama forever unfolding to our vision, which torture the eyes and souls of beholders, and extort the exclamation: "Civilization is a failure," and "the hoped for millennium a delusion."

The panorama to which allusion has been made contains so many pictures that space forbids the mention of only the more notable, those which the people discuss whenever and wherever they meet. It is an ever lengthening panorama of poverty and progress, of wealth, want and woe—palaces on the hills, and huts in the valleys—graneries, where food is stored in fabulous quantities, and homes where men, women and children are in the grasp of starvation. Shakespeare said:

"There is a divinity that shapes our ends,
 Rough hew them how we will."

And we ask what divinity has been shaping the ends of the American people to bring about such conditions? Contemplating them, we lose all faith in divinity-end-shapers, and proclaim the belief that man is capable of shaping his ends and of determining his destiny, particularly in the United States. The government was founded upon the idea, the fact of man's capacity to shape ends, not only his own, but the ends of his fellowmen. For this he was given the ballot.

The ballot has lost none of its power. Now, as at first, it is the weapon that executes a free man's will as light may execute the will of God.

The panorama continues to unroll before your affrighted vision, and the picture of Pullman comes into view, at once a heaven and a hell. A whitened sepulcher, fair as a dream, on the outside, but on the inside a mass of indescribable horror, a blending of wealth and woe, where divinities and demons, in a long and loving embrace, chuckle in hellish glee as they add to Geo. M. Pullman's wealth and reduce his over-taxed employes to starvation.

There is no picture in Dante's Inferno to match the Pullman horror; an appalling abomination not paralleled even in hell. Geo. M. Pullman, with his chosen imps, sitting at the receipt of custom, clutching the last tribute-payment from famine-wasted men, women and children, is a picture of hog and horse-leach, such as was never before seen on the American continent.

As men view the picture of Pullman and its starving thousands of working people, they naturally inquire if the skin covered skeletons are the victims of Geo. M. Pullman's rapacity that aroused the sympathy of the American Railway Union? And when answered affirmatively, they ask why was it that every labor organization in the land did not proclaim a strike, and by one mighty and united effort come to the rescue of the American Railway Union and wipe out the Pullman infamy? Why should persecutions and prosecutions, that constitute some of the most repulsive frictions of the panorama, follow the American Railway Union philanthropists, whose only crime was sympathy for robbed and helpless men, women and children—follow them as blood-hounds follow criminals?

In contemplating the picture of Pullman, or the group of horrid pictures, of which Pullmantown, or Geo. M. Pullman, as you choose, constitutes the central, or the foreground object, men ask, how it happens, in a land where equality is its proudest boast, that the government, with all its power of money, courts and troops, never indicates nor intimates the slightest regard for the victims of plutocratic oppressions?

The answer is ready. The facts are numerous and palpable. Money controls the government—plutocrats have the money. It does not matter which of the two great parties that have controlled the government in the past, money has controlled them and will continue to control them until labor unites its forces and compels plutocracy to abdicate.

There are in the United States a hundred trusts, each protected by laws framed in the interest of rapine, every one of which has been placed upon the statute books by the power and influence of money. And workingmen have been beguiled by this power to use their ballots, as if they were spades, to dig their own graves. Such pictures tell stories of debasement, and lack of moral courage, such as might be expected in Russia, pictures of men born to a heritage of freedom and independence who, by their want of courage, have been subjected to wrongs and degradations, which defy exaggeration.

The panorama is forever unrolling, and anxious men await, with ever increasing solicitude, the coming of the picture, portraying the revolt of the oppressed and the dawn of the era of justice.

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No Capitulation.

Truth may be crushed to earth, but it will never abandon the conflict in which it is engaged with error—right wages eternal warfare against wrong. Justice will not cease denouncing injustice while the world stands. These are irrepressible conflicts—Truth, Right, Justice, are forever appealing to a "higher law" than statutes.

It does not matter, as to final decisions, what constitutions, statutes and courts may say, if Truth, Right and Justice are forever on the scaffold, while the lie, the wrong, the fraud are forever on the throne, then it will be folly, aye, madness, to anticipate peace on earth and good will. Christ said: "Think not that I am come to send peace; I came not to send peace but a sword." That is to say, Christ came to denounce wrong, injustice and hypocrisy. He assailed these things in high places. He did not care a fig for high priests. He scorned the Pharisees, hence, His crucifixion. Christ lived the poor. His sympathies were always with the oppressed, the hungry Coxites, the Pullman skeletons. Christ never denounced anyone for sympathizing with the hungry, the half paid, the half starved, the wretched, and He would have fed them and protected them if high priest injunctions had covered all Judea ten feet thick, and if arrested and indicted, He would have strode into court and exclaimed, "Woe unto you, Scribes, Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye devour widows' houses, therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation." That might have been "contempt of court," but He would have stood by the poor, in spite of "the gates of hell." Necessarily, there can be no peace on earth until there is a reign of justice. Courts may issue injunctions, indictments may rise and peep over indictments until they appear like a range of black hills; troops may be ordered to shoot workmen as if they were so many coyotes; bastille doors may close upon men for the crime of sympathizing with their fellow-men in distress, but the conflict will not therefore down. Right, Truth and Justice may be clubbed, bayoneted and shot, and apparently silenced. The eternal years are pledged to their final triumph. As well attempt to shackle the tides, bridle cyclones or silence Niagara.

True, there will be martyrs to Truth, Right and Justice, but the blood and tortures of men who suffer, or die for Truth, Right and Justice never cry "peace." The brave may pass away, but others will follow in their track of glory, made permanent and bright by their heroism, and when victory comes, as come it will, men and angels will gaze upon the shining pathway of valor made by men who would rather perish than yield up their liberties. In the words of the Peri:

"Oh! if there be on this earthly sphere A boon an offering Heaven holds dear, 'Tis the lost liberation, liberty draws From the heart that bleeds and breaks in her cause."

Revolution.

Rev. Dr. Parkhurst, the Presbyterian clergyman of New York, who has won fame by agitating the criminal conduct of Tammany officials which brought into existence the Lexow investigating commission, is still in the agitating business, in and out of his pulpit. In the pulpit he is an agitator, out of the pulpit he is an investigator, and in a recent sermon preached in his Madison Square Church to a large, wealthy, educated and refined congregation, he went in, to use a slum term, for "blood and hair," and treated his gold lace, velvet and prunella brethren and sisters to a really sensational sermon. As a matter of course the rich deacons, their wives, aunts and cousins thought the D. D. was "perfectly awful," but he kept right on with his billy and "knocked things silly." Quoting Jesus Christ, he said: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, that the publicans and the harlots go into the Kingdom of Heaven before you." That text was a screamer. Dr. Parkhurst, in the course of his remarks to his polished audience, said, "that Jesus Christ was the most inconsiderate and aggressive radical that ever stirred society into irrepressible resolution." That is to say, Jesus Christ went right down to the roots of wrongs and tore them up and scattered them to the wind. And when he denounced wrongs, and hurled his anathemas against iniquity, he selected the most guilty, the high priests and the elders, and brought them down to the level of publicans and harlots, even below the level of their despicable people—whom he said could get into the Kingdom of Heaven before them. It is not required to more than mention "harlots," every one understands their status, but why were publicans associated with them and doomed to everlasting infamy?

The publicans were tax-gatherers under Roman rule, who with rare exceptions, were infamous creatures. Theocrists, being asked which was the most cruel of all beasts, answered, "among the beasts of the wilderness, the bear and the lion, among the beasts of the city, the publican and the parasite."

Christ's denunciation of the high priests and elders, cost him his life—and it is well known that even now it is dangerous to attack crime in high places. The point we make is the declaration that Jesus Christ was the most radical and aggressive reformer that ever stirred society into irrepressible resolution. The declaration is abso-

lutely true, and the same spirit that animated the high priests and elders to lie about the reformer, have him arrested, indicted and killed, for telling the truth and espousing the cause of the poor, prevails now, but nothing less radical than Christ's method of revolution and reformation will answer the demands of the present. It requires courageous men for the mission, no weak-kneed, spineless, white-livered caricature of a man will answer the demand.

No irreverence is intended. Dr. Parkhurst is an accredited theologian of an orthodox church, and he says Jesus Christ was the most aggressive radical agitator and reformer that ever set on foot an irrepressible resolution. The great Populist party of the United States has set on foot an irrepressible resolution to root up and root out political crime and rottenness. In its iconoclastic march, it proposes to tear down the false gods of the old parties. It proposes to tell the high priests and elders of the old parties that publicans and harlots are superior to those who rob the poor for the purpose of enriching themselves.

The Populists are radical agitators. The high priests and elders of banks, corporations, syndicates and money combines of every description, are as violently opposed to the Populists as Tammany is to the Lexow investigating commission. But the time has come to expose rascality in high places, and this work is being done by the Populist party—and only by the Populist agitators. The country is waking up to the importance of the work and no earthly power can arrest its triumphant march.

The Spirit of Reform, published at Belmont, N. Y., tells how a railroad strike was once settled in New York. "When Horatio Seymour was governor of New York," says the paper, "a strike occurred on the New York Central Railway." The road was tied up and business was suffering. Seymour was equal to the emergency. He sent for the officials and said to them: "Gentlemen, this road was chartered to do the business of a common carrier for the benefit of the people of the state. I will give you just twenty hours to settle this strike and resume business, or I shall seize the road and operate it in the interest of the state. In less than the stated time the officials had made terms with the strikers and business was resumed." Unfortunately for all concerned, governors like Seymour are now no where to be found in the broad land. Governors, now-a-days, regardless of party tag call out the troops to help the roads to down their employees.

George M. Pullman Squeals.

A legal movement has been set on foot to revoke the charter of the Pullman Palace Car Company on account of numerous violations of its provisions.

It appears that the case was set for trial before Judge Gibbons, who, some years since, wrote a law book on "Tenure and Toil," in which the following quotation is made, as the basis of an affidavit for a change of venue:

"The idea of home—that idea, the incarnation of which is man's life, is essential to his true development and happiness—finds no association with the name of Pullman. The people dwell in houses not their own, and their tenure is subject to termination at ten days' notice, a condition embodied in the lease, the corporation reserving the right to cancel that lease, even though the rent may have been paid in advance for a longer period than the time of the notice stipulated. Is not this in contravention of the law fixing and maintaining the relative rights of landlord and tenant?"

"In this connection we must not forget that about 80 per cent of the laborers were in the employ of the corporation in control of its petty kingdom, and all the others are employed in establishments which are under its influence.

"Such an absolute extinction of individuality, and such an utter absorption of that individuality by a capitalistic organization, is without approach or parallel in the history of any other modern civilized community. In many respects the power of the Russian czar pales into utter insignificance in comparison with the power of the close corporation which rules Pullman. Can it be said that the power is always rightfully exercised? Man is not perfect, though his offers be filled with shekels and he be knighted by the king of Italy. That power is there, and the only escape from it is by emigration. Within the limits of this idea, social and industrial paradise escape from the all-pervading influence of the corporation is impossible.

"Many grievances exist, many acts of injustice occur, but no one dare utter a cry for help or redress. The laborers at Pullman believe that spotters—paid cave-droppers of the company—mingle with them to catch and report to their masters any sign or word expressed of disapproval or criticism of the actions of the authorities.

"Pullman is the only community of 10,000 people in the United States that has not a newspaper published within its limits. The freedom of the press here would be limited to the promulgation and approval of the decrees and dogmas of the powers that be."

Judge Gibbons' book was published in 1888—6 years ago, and before he was a judge, but even then, it was known that Geo. M. Pullman was pursuing a policy which has since made his name infamous whenever it is mentioned. It may be, that Pullman, who is squealing like a rat with its tail in a steel trap, may get the quo warranto proceedings into some other court, but the views expressed of Pullman by Judge Gibbons are important as showing that such a nuisance as Pullman ought to be abated.

Now is the time to subscribe for THE RAILWAY TIMES.

Harlan vs. Jenkins.

The Northern Pacific Railroad had been wrecked, not by the Dalton gang or any other gang of outlaws, but by gentlemanly experts in the business, who loot railroads in conformity with certain regulations known to the gang and which are as good as law. The operation is to water the stock and bonds about 50 per cent, then tax the people to pay dividends on fraud to an extent that makes angels weep. While this is going on the gang appropriates anything a "common carrier" can lift, and when there is nothing more in sight, send the road into the hands of receivers, and place the property in control of a United States judge. This done the next move is to reduce the pay of employees. Having looted the road, the next best thing is to loot the employees, and if they quit, get the judge in control to order the men to remain at their posts, because to quit would inconvenience the public and cut down the revenues of the road—in a word, the order of Judge Jenkins made slaves of every employe on the Northern Pacific who proposed to quit because their wages had been reduced. The employes of the Northern Pacific appealed from the decision of Jenkins to the appellate court, presided over by Mr. Justice Harlan, of the United States supreme court.

The case was heard and Judge Harlan said:

The injunction against employes so quitting as to cripple the property or prevent or hinder the operation of the railroad was equivalent to a command by the court that they should remain in the active employment of the receivers and perform the services appropriate to their respective positions until they could withdraw without crippling the property or preventing the operation of the road. The vital question is whether a court of equity will, under any circumstances, by injunction, prevent one individual from quitting the personal service of another. An affirmative answer to this question is not, we think, justified by any authority to which our attention has been called, or of which we are aware. It would be an invasion of one's natural liberty to compel him to work or to remain in the personal service of another. One who is placed under such a constraint is in a condition of involuntary servitude—a condition which the supreme court of the United States declares shall not exist. The rule, we think, is without exception, that equity will not compel the actual affirmative performance by an employe of merely personal services any more than it will compel an employer to retain in his personal service one who, for no matter what cause, is not acceptable to him for services of that character. Undoubtedly the simultaneous cessation of work by any considerable number of railroad employes, without previous notice, will have an injurious effect and for a time inconvenience the public. But these evils, great as they are, are to be met and remedied by legislation restraining alike employes and employers. In the absence of such legislation the right of one in the service of a quasi-public corporation to withdraw therefrom whenever he sees fit must be deemed so far absolute that courts of equity cannot interfere.

The result of these views is that the court below should have eliminated from the writ of injunction the words "and from so quitting the service of the said receivers, with or without notice, as to cripple the property or prevent or hinder the operation of the said railroad."

We give only so much of Judge Harlan's decision as relates to Jenkins' order to reduce workmen to slaves—or as Judge Harlan puts it to "involuntary servitude," which is slavery. This is what Jenkins did at the request of receivers of a bankrupt railroad that has been looted by a gang of cultivated and educated rascals.

It has been held by some that the federal judiciary is clothed with despotic and dangerous power, and Judge Harlan's decision brings the fact into the boldest possible prominence. Judge Jenkins did force "involuntary servitude" upon a large body of railroad employes. He subjected them for months to slavery as degrading as ever existed. He did this in violation of the constitution of the United States and in direct violation of a decision of the supreme court of the United States, a decision which declares that involuntary servitude "shall not exist."

All honor to Judge Harlan for squelching Jenkins, but there are sixty-three of those district judges in the United States, any one of whom can be reduced for a time to "involuntary servitude" and kept in that condition until by slow processes their case reaches an appellate court, when it is possible that some judge less learned and patriotic than Judge Harlan might declare that the Jenkins idea is the law.

Judge Harlan suggests "legislation" to correct certain real or supposed evils. By all means let us have legislation that will everlastingly prevent a United States judge from subjecting American citizens to the degradation of "involuntary servitude," and such legislation is bound to be provided. For it must be understood that after emancipating millions of African slaves, workmen of the white race will not quietly submit to fetters.

The Railway Telegrapher for October has an editorial article captioned: "Men Are Not Things," and proceeds to do up Vice-President Wickes, of the Pullman Palace Car Company, who estimates men as things, quoting Mr. Wickes as saying:

"We go into the market for labor just as we do for materials. It is all regulated by the law of supply and demand. We don't recognize the men as members of unions, but as individuals. If they are not able to plead their own case it is their own misfortune."

The Telegrapher proceeds to criticize Mr. Wickes by saying that that representative of George M. Puppy looks upon human labor in precisely the same light as he does iron, lumber, or any other material used by the company, which is, doubtless, truth, mildly stated, as also the fact that Mr. Wickes and men of his kidney regard a human being as a mere "animal," and entitled to no more consideration than any other raw material. It was this disregard of the rights and interests of the Pullman employes which distinguished George M. Puppy and his lickspittled Wickes that prompted the American Railway Union to espouse their cause and attempt their emancipation. What was the result? Every order of railway employes took the side of Mr. Wickes, and did what they could to perpetuate the cruel wrongs under which the Pullman "animals" suffered, and chuckled when they saw the righteous cause in which the American Railway Union was engaged cloven down and its officers in the clutches of the law. Pullman and the general managers always have funds to pay for hypocrisy, the more despicable the duplicity the larger the booty, at least some of the distinguished labor leaders who play pal to the oppressors of labor get rich.

Battle Hymn of the Wronged.

BY HAMLIN GARLAND.
We have seen the reaper toiling in the heat of summer sun,
We have seen his children needy when the harvesting was done,
We have seen a mighty army dying helpless one by one,
While their flag went marching on!
Chorus.
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah,
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah,
Glory, Glory, Hallelujah,
While their flag went marching on.
O the army of the wretched, how they swarm the city street;
We have seen them in the midnight where the Goths and Vandals meet.
We have shuddered in the darkness at the noises of their feet—
But their cause goes marching on.
Chorus.
Our Slaver's marts are empty, human flesh no more is sold
Where the dealer's fatal hammer wakes the clink of leaping gold,
But the slayers of the present more relentless powers hold,
Though the world goes marching on.
Chorus.
But no longer shall the children bend above the whizzing wheel;
We will free the weary women from their bondage under steel;
In the mines and in the forest worn and hopeless man shall feel
His cause is marching on.
Chorus.
Then lift your eyes, ye toilers, in the desert hot and drear,
Catch the cool winds from the mountains, Hark!
The river's voice is near:
Soon we'll rest beside the fountains and the dreamland will be here!
As we go marching on.
Chorus.

Special Notice.

To all local unions: Your attention is called to section 18, page 13, of the general constitution. The cost of membership cards from November 1, 1894, to January 31, 1895, is 50 cents. You will also note that they shall be issued by secretaries of local unions, and can be secured in advance, if so desired, upon payment of the fee.

Send in at once a complete and correct list of the officers of your union, together with a report of the situation at your point. We are determined to push the American Railway Union to the front, and ask the earnest co-operation of all interested in the labor cause.

Yours fraternally,
SYLVESTER KELHER, Secretary.

The 25th Anniversary of K. of L.

Mr. J. R. Sovereign, General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, has issued a call to the order throughout the world to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the order which occurred November 25, 1869, hence, the day for the celebration will be November 25, 1894.

The movement is eminently in the line of patriotic fealty to labor and the welfare of society. The order, says Mr. Sovereign, "from the day of its birth to the present, has been despised and hated by every person, combine and trust that conspired to rob industry of its just reward." Still the order lives and we hope the Knights will make the twenty-fifth anniversary a notable day in labor affairs.

*** The management of the Northern Pacific does not believe that active participation by its employes in partisan politics would be consistent with the discharge of the duties for which they are engaged, as appears by the following circular:

ST. PAUL, Oct. 8, 1894.
The Northern Pacific does not desire to take any part or interest in politics on account of the strike it would engender, which would interfere with the efficiency of its service. It is ordered that all employes refrain from taking any active part in politics, and if any employes are nominated for office they must resign from the company's service.
J. W. KENDRICK,
General Manager.

Of course this order does not undertake to interfere with the individual rights of men to vote as they please, but evidently is aimed at that kind of "pernicious activity" in wire-pulling and caucusing shouting which the president of the United States deemed it wise to prohibit even in partisan office-holders.—Railway Age.

In the United States, until recently, a general manager of a railroad had no recognized right to reduce employes to the degraded level of Russian serfs, nor was there in the country a lousy paper of any name to indorse the infamy.

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Force of the Logic of Events.

The elections have awakened unusual interest and action. The present campaign is marked by a peculiar temper which, if I am not mistaken, has appeared but twice since the United States of America were legislated into the United States.

In democratic countries ordinary election campaigns are noticeable by the wild excitement they create among the masses, such excitement as gladiatorial encounters may produce on the brutal passions of men.

This is a strong indictment against the elements which the male sex creates and amid which it moves. Do politics corrupt men, or do men corrupt politics?

The two election campaigns I have referred to, however, greatly differed from those of ordinary times. The "mud" and the "dirt" alluded to by Cardinal Gibbons lay unnoticed beneath the current of popular thought and mercenary ambition centered in the minds of a few depraved politicians.

Often we find it assumed that the love of gain is the motive power of man's actions. This, to a certain extent, is true. But there is another motive power which transcends all others, viz.: the love for liberty.

In the presidential election of 1800 Thomas Jefferson represented pure democracy, i. e., a republic in name and in fact. His personality glowed with the radiant spirit of the French revolution, in whose battle he had fought.

The elections of 1890 were similar to those of 1800, with a few incidental variations. The essentials were the same. It was a question of freedom versus slavery.

Liberty, like tyranny, is a relative term, existing in our minds and being determined by our sensibilities! Man wears unconscious the yoke of oppression until it begins to weigh and to gall.

Human conception of liberty is evolutionary. To Washington and the illustrious patriots who fought by his side liberty consisted in overthrowing British domination and establishing a republic.

The emancipation of the negro slaves in the United States was a long stride on the line of progress. The masses in Europe exulted in the victory of the North over the slave-holding states of the South, and it may be said that gladness prevailed among liberal-minded people.

cessitated those arbitrary measures. It may be so. But what is a republic when the right of man is violated? When liberty is strangled? As I said before, the centralization of political power inevitably brought in its train centralization of industrial and financial power to which the protection of the state was extended, for a republic in which monopolies of land and wealth exist, must, logically and unavoidably, become a plutocracy.

A. Lincoln was fully aware of that fact, and on several occasions he uttered his warnings and his fears for the future of American democracy.

The present election campaign whose climax shall be the presidential elections of 1896, also an epoch-making event. Once more, the masses have been brought to the forcible conclusion that they are oppressed beyond their power of endurance.

This is a strong indictment against the elements which the male sex creates and amid which it moves. Do politics corrupt men, or do men corrupt politics? This question is what Mark Twain would call a "stunner."

The miners' strike and that of the American Railway Union have brought to the front the wrongs of labor and the plutocratic character of our government.

The large dose of opium given to the toilers of this republic failed to withstand the shock provoked by the strike of the miners and that of the American Railway Union.

It is amusing to read the decision of Judge Jenkins on injunctions as reported in the press of October 1st. The learned judge, simple and unsophisticated, openly affirms that workers "ought not to be compelled to work for or remain in the personal service of another."

A strike which causes no damage to the property of the employer must of necessity be futile. Can you expect an employer to yield unless the loss to his business caused by the strike, gets heavier than he wishes to stand?

This hostile move of the legislature against organized labor is quite opportune. From the time of the Guilds in medieval ages to our own days, trades unions have been the means of preserving the wage system and building up capitalism.

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The cloakmakers' strike, inaugurated in New York on September 4, has just entered into a new phase. Through the insidious pessimism of the press which three days later came out with huge heading, "The Big Strike is Won!"

brought to public view. Since the great railroad strike stirred every muscle of the country, the capitalistic press and other human tools of monopoly, have diligently set to work to spare public sensibilities by silencing the plaints of the unfortunate.

But the cloak-makers' strike was not won, nevertheless. It has kept going ever since, although local compromises have been effected here and there. On the 10th inst, news read that 8,000 cloak-makers have just struck in sympathy for 1,500 of their comrades, whose wages had been reduced 20 per cent.

This morning, (Oct. 12) news reach us that the police clubbed the strikers without cause when these gathered on Rutgers Square to form for the parade. The police made a rush and charged a crowd of 10,000 persons massed to see the parade start.

Leader Baroness at last succeeded in leading his people to Union Square and mounted on the Plaza cottage, "by his side," says the World, "was a young man, his face deadly pale, his head hidden in bandages. He was Israel German, who lives at 186 Suffolk street, and he had been clubbed by the police at Rutgers Square. Amid groans and hisses, German was exhibited to the strikers as a proof of police brutality."

That king of hypocrites, the "World," finds no space to comment on that abominable assault on peaceful citizens and unfortunate down-trodden workers: It gives four full pages to election news, and comments: Who is going to sit in congress and senate next year is greatly more important than the lives of thousands among the masses.

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